Interior Public Space, On the Mazes in the Network of an Urbanist. Greco Roman Thoughts, through some Remarkable Indo-European Cities, including those in the Americas, crossing the Turkic and Arabic Spheres in their Proximity, and abridging to the Japanese Capital as Introductory Exemplar, to Reconstruct Today's Reasoning on Public Interiors by Means of Defining Types, Interrelating People and Actions, Describing Socio-Spatial Transformations, and Comprehending Cultural Meanings, In nine books.

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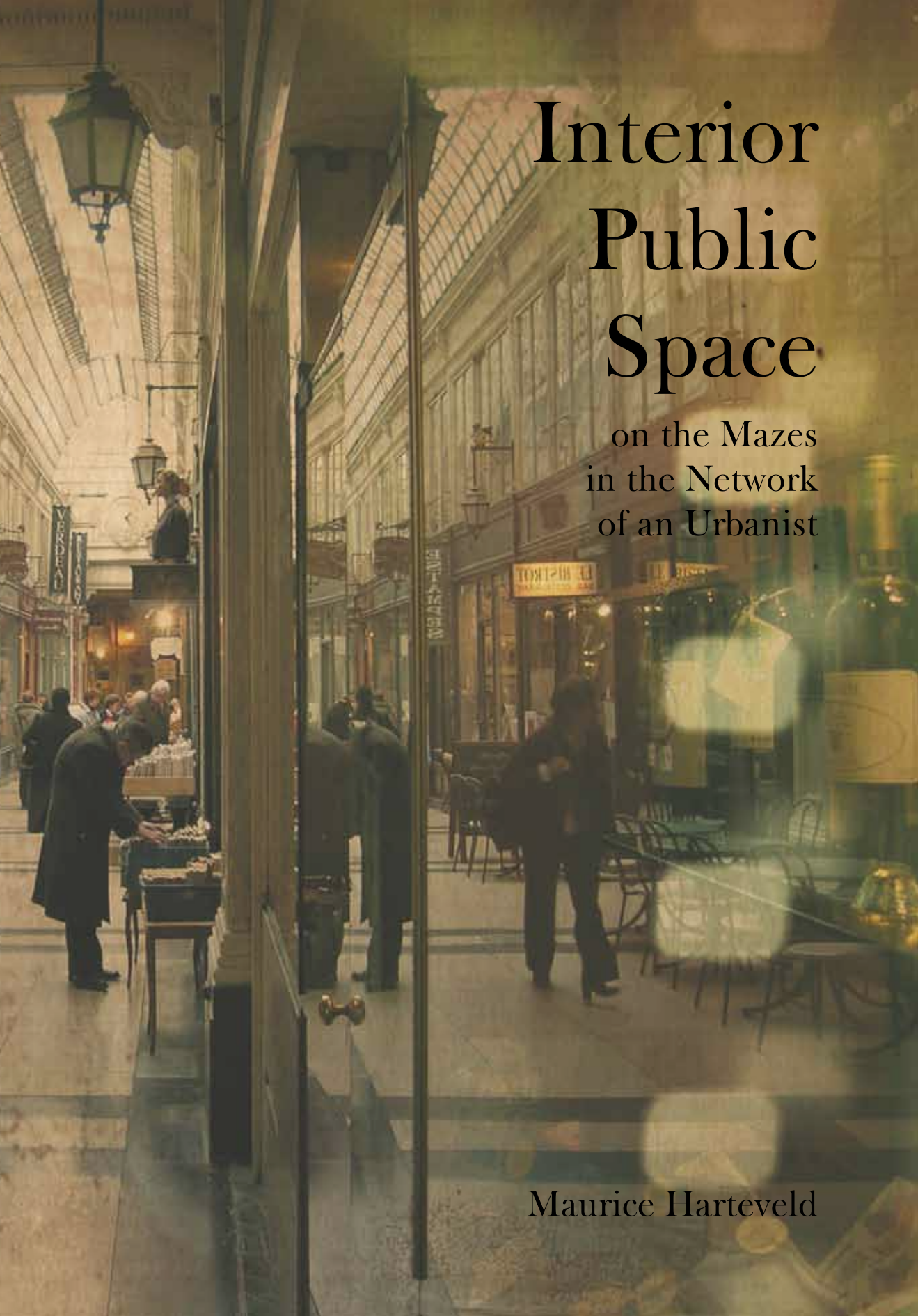

Interior Public Space

on the Mazes in the Network of an Urbanist

Maurice Harteveld

Interior Public Space

On the Mazes in the Network of an Urbanist

Proefschrift

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door
Maurice Georges Alain Daniel Harteveld

bouwkundig ingenieur, architect, stedebouwkundige
geboren te Voorburg

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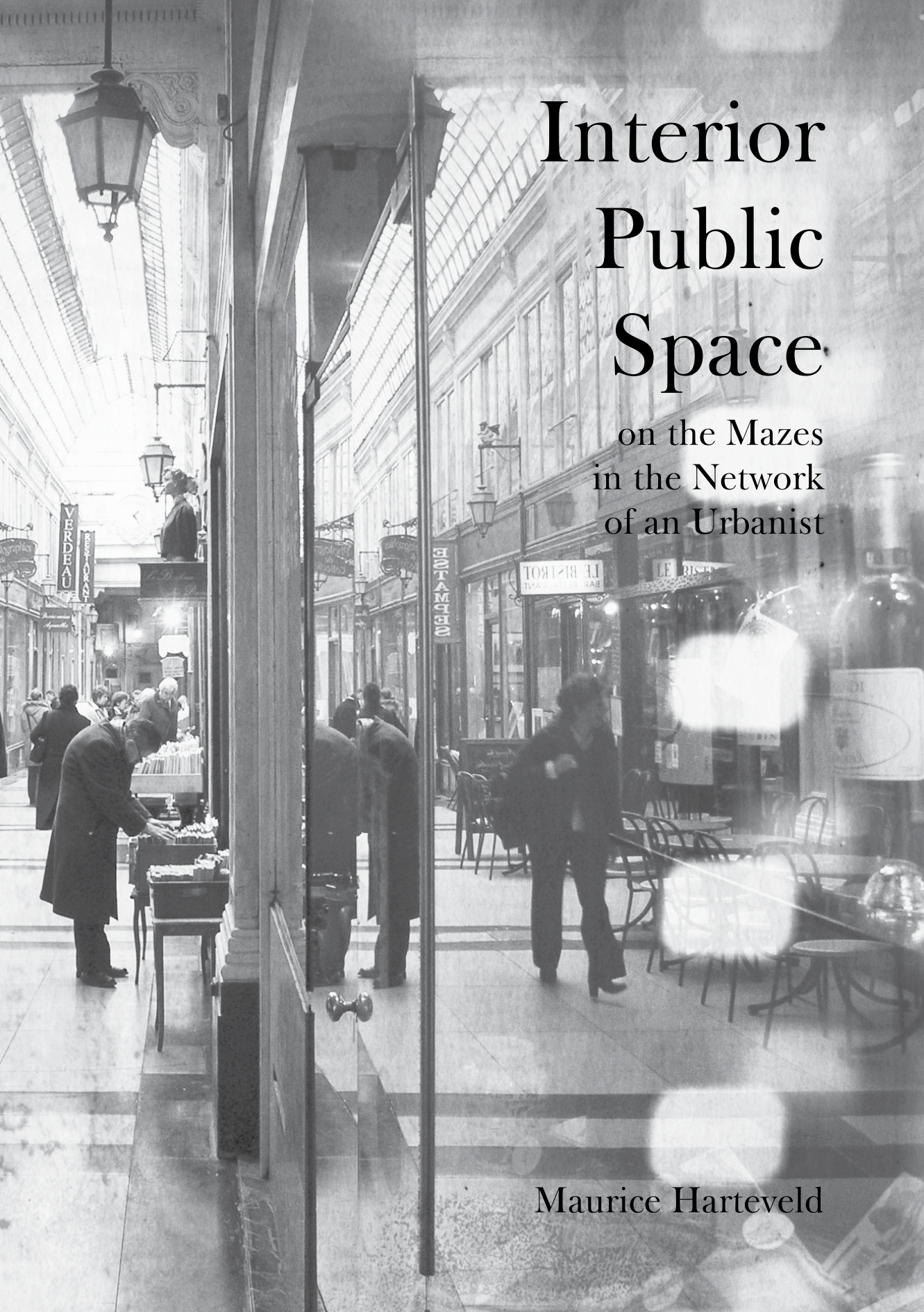

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To the public

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A Scientific Journey of a Designer, Following the Evolution of Greco-Roman Thoughts,
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comprehending Cultural Meaning

In Nine Books

by
Maurice Harteveld

architect, urban designer and planner

2014

Delft
Delft University of Technology
Faculty Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences

Contents

Florence, 1452

“... Tota vis ingenii omnisque rerum aedificandarum ars et peritia una in partitione consumitur. Integri enim aedificii partes et partium singularum integras, ut ita loguar, habi‖tudines omniumque denique linearum et angulorum in unum opus consensum et cohesionem una haec partitio utilitatis dignitatis amoenitatisque habita ratione commetitur. Quod si civitas philosophorum sententia maxima quaedam ast domus et contra domus ipsa minima quaedam est civitas, quidni harum ipsarum membra minima quaedam esse domicilia dicentur?”

Leon Battista Alberti in De Re Aedificatoria, Libro Primo, Capitolo IX. (Alberti 1452, as transcribed by Jacobi 1521: xiv).

Introduction

This thesis on interior public space starts from the observation that certain interiors act like public space simply because a lot of people are there. Public space is generally seen as the place where the culture of a city is being formed and where socio-spatial transformations become visible. It is the place where urban and architectural design cross and where plans are confronted with everyday life. Since the rediscovery of ancient Roman principles during the Early Renaissance, public space is understood as the peremptory opposite of private space. Over time, this thought has increased progressively among urban thinkers and centuries later. Especially since High Modernism, this dichotomy even has become instrumental as the ideal division in the organisation for the city. A space is either public or private. The German-American philosopher and political theorist Hannah Arendt could be seen as an emblematic interpreter of this presumed incompatible binary relationship as she put the public and private 'realms' in opposition of each other. Decades earlier in the sphere of what we now call urban design, the French civil engineer Georges-Eugène Haussmann paved way for the dichotomy in terms of 'space'. Public space was aimed to be publicly-used, publicly-owned and publicly-known, not private. This was translated into pioneering theory on urban design and planning by his German colleague Reinhard Baumeister and popularised internationally by fellow countryman Hermann Josef Stübben. Their ideas on public space, presuming the private space to be the opposite, became the new dominant theorem among urban theorists. On the global stage, thinkers like Howard, Hénard, Rey, Buls, Bertran de Quintana, Unwin, Brinkmann, Eberstadt and Nolen would follow. They followed a trend in society. Time and again, in a variety of post-revolutionary societies, boosting democratic – often republic – civil societies around Europe, the Americas and beyond, public issue had been put first and placed in opposition to ancient privileges and private interests. In this line, the other theorists likewise focussed on, if not pursued, publicly-used, -owned and –known spaces. Public space had to be accessible for all, it should be outdoors and foremost in the hands of the public government. This implied that privately-owned interiors thus can't be public. From that point, nowadays, it has become difficult to define public spaces within the interior. As a result of basing established theory on practice, today large groups of thinkers continue to neglect or even reject the existence of interior public space. Nagel, Giroux, Low, Smith and Miller are just a few names related to the rather pessimistic New York scene. They carry on the ideas of the city's sociologist and journalist William Whyte, who had aimed for a counteraction to what he called 'the war against the street'. As such, indirectly they all continue High Modern (re)searches to a common space for all people sharing and interacting as performed by theorist like Riesman, Nisbet, Wheelis, Stein, Bell, Jacobs, Cox, Rudofsky, Minar, Greer, Slater, Suttles, Pawley, Rowe and Koetter. In the same manner, one could also put forward for example those following the French school of Lefebvre, Tonka and Baudrillard or others elsewhere aiming for a kind of absolute public space.

Yet, in the recent years too, some theorist do acknowledge however that public space is not always either public or private. Following their thoughts, showcased by among others by the discussed interiors themselves, society seems confronted with an apparently sudden diffusion of the public-private pairing. Supposedly in difference to the past, interiors can be used by large crowds now, known by many, accessible for all, yet not owned by the public government. Accepting this, progressive thinkers from a variety of places have come with a 'third space' to identify these. Thinkers like Cerasi, Alexander, Trancik, Gehl, Siola, de Solà Morales, and Kayden call it for instance 'semi-public spaces', 'collective spaces', 'in-between space', and 'privately-owned public spaces'. Others like Soja or for example Koolhaas search for another kind of 'other space' like 'third space' or 'generic space'. They end up with a new notion in-between public and private or introduce an ultimate neutrality, in essence still not fully acknowledging public nature of certain interiors. The more, in this way, they still acknowledge the absoluteness of two spaces as in the preceding times.

This research continues the searches of particularly Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Anne Vernez Moudon and Margaret Crawford, as they have broadened the definition of public space in our field and preceded me in acknowledging that public space exists within interiors. This research adds to this. Interior public space have been there for quite some time, if not: always. They did not suddenly emerge. Perhaps absolute public space has never existed. No place in the world is used, owned and known by all. Public spaces have always been as specific and relative as are the people, who use, own and know the place. This is also true for their designers and other actors involved. An innumerable amount of examples in current cities serve as an example. So, any obstacle that hinders a clear understanding of interior public space is set in the theoretical status quo bias. Interior public spaces are not in the scope of urban theorist and designers following mainstream as long they are not really defining them as such. As long as they all keep focussing on the publicly-owned and forget the publicly-used, they make a professional blunder, because these spaces are crucial for the city and its culture. These spaces are used by many people and consequently the place of major socio-spatial transformations. So, if we want to see what is happening in the city and how we can contribute, the existence of the interior public spaces cannot be the problem, premises in urban theory are. This problem setting demands a review of our understanding of these interiors. Thus, the aim of this research is to show that certain interiors are public nonetheless. In this line, the aim is to bring the practice of designing public space, in particular interiors, back to urban theory in order to review the currently general accepted understanding and definition of public space. We can learn from practice by researching actual cases. By describing and discussing the public nature of certain interiors in practice and in itself illuminating the multiplicity of those public spaces in several typological evolutions, this thesis gives several antithetical arguments to the general accepted urban theory. The question that runs as a leitmotiv through this research therefore is:

"Showcased by exemplary typological cases, in what ways in practice have public spaces evolved within the interior while general accepted theoretical understanding on public space has been established?"

On forehand, clarification on the delineation of the research phenomenon and relevant scope is needed to know what to discuss. Defining public space in a general manner is essential. We have to search for commonly-known general broader categories, thus genera, to identify public qualities of a space. These qualities are attributes that are associated to the public nature of a space. So, simple sub-questions must be ask first;

α "What phenomenon is meant with 'interior public space' and which genera make them public? In other words what determines the public qualities of an interior public space as such?"

Additionally, we need to understand the developments in the conceptions of public space both in theory as well as those in practice in order to understand why there is a mismatch anyhow. We are able to distinguish dominant ideas through different times and across different places, forming common thoughts and theoretically not identifying interior public spaces. The evolution and migration of those ideas are relevant to determine paradigmatic ones, forming the dominant general theory on public space nowadays. Yet, we have never fully investigated what has happened in practice in the meantime. The course of theory was set. Studying and/or reviewing actual past and present public interiors across different places is as crucial. These preparatory studies in essence can be examined by asking:

β "What paradigmatic ideas have formed today's theoretical approach to interior public spaces and what exemplative designs have formed today's practice?"

To ease pairing with the developments in theory, this study needs a similar emphasis on those examples serving as models for many others, thus forming next generations of realised designs. Tracing the evolution and migration of their designs, reveals the selection of exemplary interior public spaces. This thesis constructs epistles on the evolution of a few exemplary types of interiors, all often essential in the path system of many people in daily life: the arcade, the bazaar, the mall, the subway and the skyway. The typological evolutions of these spaces are emphasising different public qualities and as such they bring the first two sub-questions together. By focussing on the exemplative interiors one asks to what degree it is publicly used, publicly owned, and/or publicly known. This is guided by four subsequent questions:

γ "Showcased by a set of exemplary types of interiors, in what ways interior public spaces have evolved?

To trace certain inherited public qualities, each of the epistles has the foci on [i] the emergence of the type, on [ii] the selection and representation of the first model(s) in the city of birth, and on [iii] the further variation, transformations and mutation of the type hence its wider migration changing its public nature.

δ "Showcased by these typological evolutions, what cross-cultural exchange has taken place and what socio-spatial transformations have been going along effecting the public qualities of the interiors, through different times and across different places?"

Acknowledging that every city and culture, society and space has its own dynamics, in each of these typological evolutions public qualities may change. Therefore, each epistle also explicates [i] cross-cultural exchanges between design cases in different cities, as well as [ii] the interrelation between the design of interior public space and occurring socio-spatial transformations.

ε "Showcased by the exemplative interiors in the typological evolutions, which designs, designers and other actors, and actual built interiors have affected the public qualities of those spaces?"

In the reconstruction of the typological evolutions, this thesis traces knowledge on what and who has made a particular interior space public. As the point of departure is urban and architectural design, the emphasis in this search is on the design of interior public space. In what way did [i] the designs, [ii] the actors in the designs, and [iii] the actual built interiors have affected the public qualities of the interior public spaces. Usually plans have been forgotten, interiors may be demolished and the thoughts of designers and other actors involved have not been noticed. So, the intentions for the future and the interpretations of precedents and early models are largely unknown today. What's told in secondary sources seems to be often rephrased or reinterpreted. Therefore, mainly primary sources, created at the time under study, have to be retraced and used to get this information on the table. It concerns mainly written documents, supported by original visual material. A lot of this material has not seldom been behind closed doors for long times.

ζ "Showcased by the exemplative interiors in the typological evolutions, what has been the influence of the people, the public governments and the public opinions on the public qualities of those spaces?"

Naturally as well, in discussing public space, the main group of involved actors in the typological evolutions is 'the public' itself. As such the public nature of an interior, or any space, is formed by [i] the people using the interior, [ii] public governments, controlling the interior by representations and [iii] the public opinions, aggregating what people think. In general, the influence of the people using the interior can be mapped by accounts of first-hand experiences or observations by others at the time. The influence of public officials, delegates and legislatures on the public qualities at the time can be traced back to for example public testimonies, governmental minutes, policy documents, ancient decrees with an intent to serve the public, regulations and/or laws doing more or less the same. The public opinion at certain moments in time can be retrieved from contemporaneous media, varying from pamphlets, newspapers, magazines to, more recent, blogs on internet. They bring together an additional selection of sources to establish the public influence on the public qualities of the interiors discussed.

In sum, firstly, the course of the typological evolutions in terms of public space relates to the culture of a city and the socio-spatial context in which the interrelated cases have been set. Secondly, the typological evolutions relate to the affect the designs, designers and other actors, and actual built have had on the public qualities. And, thirdly, they relate to the influence the public has on the public nature of a certain space. One can learn that designs, designers and other actors involved, and actual built interiors also influence the public in its three faces and vice versa, depending on the given the city's cultural and socio-spatial contexts. This knowledge set out the way to research the interrelated public as actors determining the public nature of an interior too. So, in this chain of reasoning, the last sub-question brings together the typological evolutions by placing them together and giving an overview of the multiple interrelated ways to create public space within the interior in practice:

η "By placing the set of exemplary typological cases together, in what ways public space is created within the interior in practice?"

No epistle as such however, is isolated within singular descriptions of one typological evolution. It makes sense to presume that there are interrelations between several cases at once, even between epistles. In this explorative research there are innumerable relations present as such. The found public qualities can be described, compared and interrelated on the basis of the links between designs, between actors in the designs, and between the actual interiors, as well as on the basis of similar roles people, representations and popular views have in (trans)forming these qualities. In essence, all those kinds of relations can be conceptualised to be ground for defining common principles to understand the design of public space of all kinds. The answer on this question ultimately aims to redirect theoretical reasoning on the bases of what has been practice for centuries.

In this research, the use of type and the emphasis on their evolution are propositional. Because eventually this needs justification, an evaluative question aims methodological explication:

θ "What interrelated series of methods are premised to review the understanding of the design of public space of all kinds by means of types and their evolutions, and what in this is adjusted for application in this research?

The use of type and the emphasis on their evolution can be clarified and framed by the interrelated series of methods inherited from similar scientific searches. In line with the whole research, the foci in this are on [i] the emergence of the concepts of type and representation in our profession, [ii] the use of these concepts, and on [ii] the variation, transformations and mutation of these concepts in later researches, including the adjustments made for application in this research.

The research is documented in nine books. The first book introduces the phenomenon of study and delineates the research question. The second book explores theoretical approaches to public space and defines the notion of public. Together they answer sub-question α,

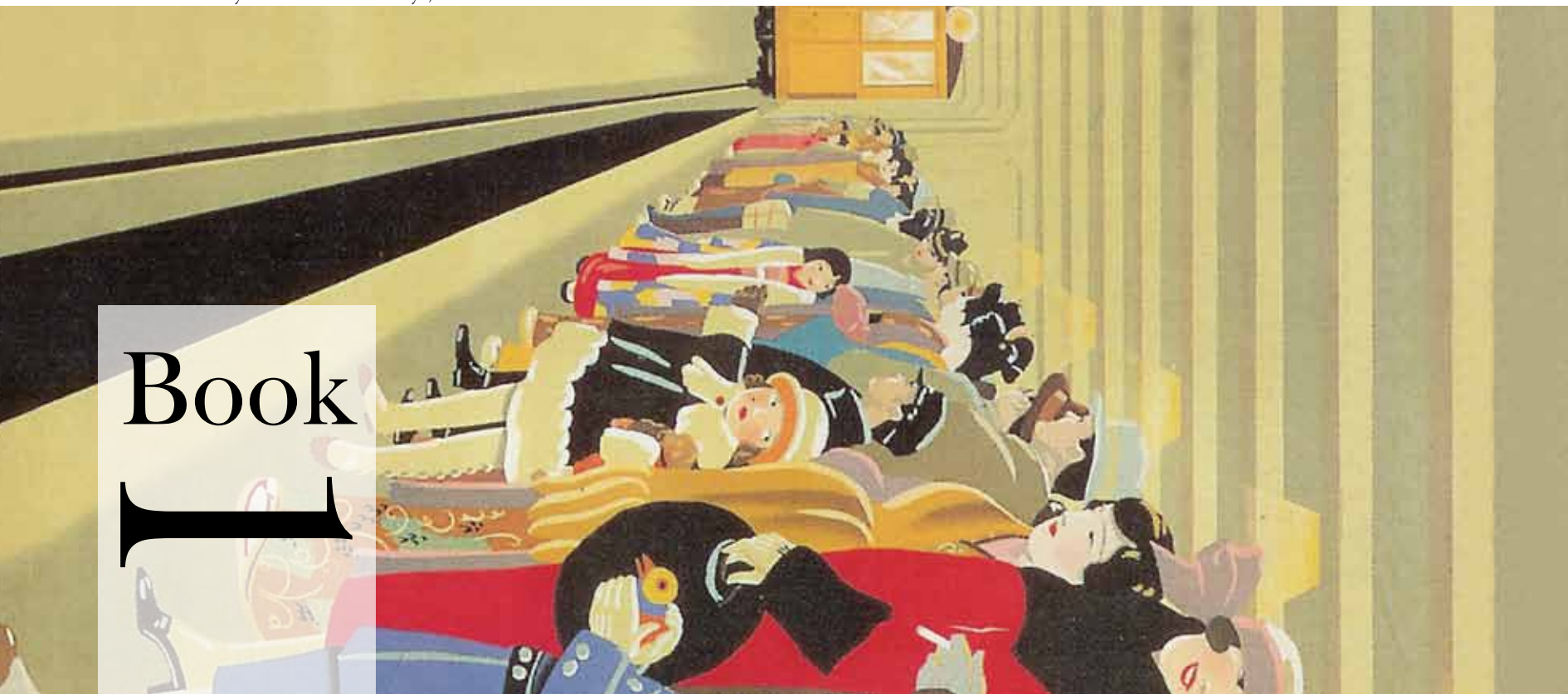
while contributing to the larger framework in which the current theoretical understanding of public space can be related to the design of it in reality acknowledging case specificity. The third book brings this knowledge to the design profession and exposes conflicts between theory and practice as well as searches in abridging that. In this manner, together, the three introductory books dispose essential information to answer sub-question β. The five following books are focussing on the research of exemplary types of interior public space, which have been present roughly all the years in which the persistent theory on public space as opposite of private space. These typological epistles are focussed on the evolutions of the types by emphasising on the exemplative interiors forming public space in practice. The outcome is related to sub-question γ, while adding to α and β. Each books clarifies present cross-cultural exchange and socio-spatial transformations, interrelates designs, actors in the designs, and the actual interiors, and studies the interrelated influence of the people, their representations and popular views. In line with aforementioned, these books in a variety of ways answer to sub-questions δ, ε, and ζ. After researching five exemplary typological cases, the set satiates the desire for knowledge on what and who has made interior spaces public. There is not one answer nor one holistic scheme, so other cases may bring other answers. Nonetheless, together these five convince us by ascertaining that indeed there are different genera identifying public qualities of a such space, that they come in multiple ways, and thus that there is a mismatch between the theoretical approaches to public space and public space in practice. Together they give a realistic view on interior public space. The ninth and last book of this series concludes in order to reunite reality and theory by summarising major findings in one time line and it reassembles the typological evolutions on the basis of familiar interrelations in order to give an answer to sub-question η. By conceptualising the past and present practices, reunite them to theory, review their evolutionary relations, principles and methods are being defined to understand all kinds of public spaces. In addition, the last book answers sub-question θ. In retrospective, on the basis of this final construct, this book includes an explanation and legitimation of epistolary research, by making explicit which lenses are used for review, and by illuminating on the exploratory actions taken within this scope. This part makes the underlying research methods and applied preconceived notions, type and evolution, explicit by describing them more thoroughly and, although still of a preliminary nature, bringing those methods further.

Tokyo, 2008

“At June 21st 2008, I returned from the last journey. I travelled through Japan, among others I was in Tokyo: Here my research would come to conclusion and for the last time I delineated my research. - My hotel room overlooked the Shibuya district. Looking down the view was rather impressive. When traffic lights turned green, hundreds of people started to cross the streets in almost every possible direction. When it turned back red again the crowd stopped and waited patiently. This pattern was repeated every two minutes. This was outside. Yet, what perhaps was more impressive was what was going on inside. Not only outdoors people seemed to move like human ants. Inside the surrounding constructions the moving crowd continued. The main entrance of my hotel was within one of these interiors. It was linked with a skyway to Shibuya's terminals, a department store and a small multi-layered shopping mall. Like outside, the interior was used by millions of people too. As soon as I stepped out of my hotel, I remained indoors and went with the flow. Within the context of my research this was one of the best observations of a public interior. If people were walking almost too close together, it appeared that they congregated without pushing and if a pedestrian crossed, in a split second the rest changed direction to make room for this person. When I asked direction, no matter how busy, they always tried to help. After some days I linked their behaviour to a kind of Confucian society. Somehow it must be a reflection of a behaviour reaching for social perfection, without actions done out of immediate self-interest, but instead pursuing the personal exemplification of every individual. I realised that interior public space, as I had defined it through the years, was based on a Socratic notion of publicity: Open for every individual but never personal. I'm used to spaces where people get together and freely use the place. Do whatever they like, without disturbing others. I'm used to the assemblage of people who are by themselves and having a few companions present. Where individuals or groups identify differences either they influence social life or they do the opposite and simply keep things for themselves. Although after a while I became used to the mass, still during my limited stay never had it really become common for me. But somehow I was never on my own.”

The Interior

Poster of a subway at Central Station in Tokyo, 1930s



Book 1

Chapter 1 Thinking outside the Box

Of all cases in the world, Tokyo's interior systems must excite curiosity and imagination of any Western urban designer, planner or architect highly. These systems are part of the biggest built structures in the metropolis, so impressive in size. They are also the busiest places in the urban fabric, more then the streets outdoors, so impressive by its crowd. Millions of people use these enclosed spaces daily. Innumerable shops, restaurants and offices are accessible only from these interiors. The same counts for the numerous stations and thousands of other facilities within the system. Consequently in these interiors an indefinite large number of actions and movements occur. They make these interior systems vital centres in the city. They include places with essential urban program and important human activity. Thus, if we define city centres as city cores, the large interior systems of Tokyo are the city's cores; literally the inner parts of the urban construction. If we define city centres as the places where individuals assemble or strangers gather as a group these interior systems then also could be defined as the core centres of Tokyo; essential in the network of public space. As such, they give Tokyo little resemblance with a traditional city in the so-called West.

It is something most of my Dutch colleagues which have returned from a recent visit agree on. The number of fellow researchers and designers travelling to the capital in the Land of the Rising Sun is large. During the years of my research in my country the attention for the Japanese metropolis revived. Sometimes magazines even have devoted full issues to Tokyo. Although I did not study the reason behind this revival, regularly the public debate was focussed on Tokyo. Often Dutch magazines apprehended the latest interior projects and described them as some sort of alien phenomenon. A centre appears not to be formed by one recognizable historical core - self-evident for the majority of westerners -, but by an intense compaction in urban programme and infrastructure, one of them stated. Stations seem department stores and hotels at the same time. The astonishment is manifest: The ease with which several programmes are combined, the three-dimensional spectacle of infrastructure and the visual bombardment in the public domain turn Tokyo into 'a city of superlatives', as two colleagues call it; 'with an architecture and urban design which speaks to the imagination'. (Veldman and Bobbink 2005, August) Some may call these places even 'a microcosm of the Japanese city: an environment of radical, apparently thoughtless juxtaposition and indiscriminate accommodation'. Harmony, proportion, order, beauty, authenticity perceived as rendered obsolete are superseded by a kind of opportunistic pragmatism whose only criteria for success is performance: 'whatever works'. Debaters agree: They form nevertheless important places in the apparently incoherent city. (Daniel, May 1999: 5, Bijl, December 2003: 34-35)

Figure 1.1.1a.
Outdoor public space in Shibuya

Figure 1.1.1b.
Interior public space in Shibuya, upper levels

Figure 1.1.1c.
Interior public space in Shibuya, lower levels

These Dutch impressions are exemplary to a larger trend in observing urban space in Japan as well as marking a paradigm in hypothesising an explanation for the phenomenon or predicting logical consequences of the hypothesis. On the one hand the Dutch observations follow the line of leading contemporary Modern architects and urbanists while on the other hand they fundamentally differ from those of many forbears. The general interest in the sublime simplicity of structural systems defining space is replaced by a fascination for chaos and outrageous amalgamations. The Western view of the Japanese city has changed. Bruno Taut, Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius[1] and others promoted its minimalistic architecture. In Taut's perception, Japanese design had banished the oppressive musty smell of age "and with it, all non-architectural accessories, all ornaments contradicting pure architecture." Wright confided that "the great gospel of simplification that came over, the elimination of all that was insignificant" had inspired him. Similar minimalist values come into play for Gropius too. He stated that refined simplicity in form and material is "the most mature and consummate example of Japanese architecture" (Taut 1936: 19, Wright 1954 as quoted in Pfeiffer 1987: 32, Gropius 1968: 127) Now the architecture of the same country is appreciated for its variety of forms, symbols, graphics and colours. The urban chaos and complexity is embraced, the complex systems of public interiors included. According to Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown[2] the switch reflects an inescapable generational conflict to escape minimalism. (Venturi and Scott Brown 1991: 8-24)

> "Each generation of Western architects has seen in Japan what it wanted to see. The interpretation of our generation was exposed to was extra-selective; it corresponded to the minimalist, structuralist, modular purity of early Modern architecture and focused on the villa's and shrines of Kyoto."
> (Venturi and Scott Brown 1991: 8)

In their vision the Japanese design culture is not only a simple and minimalistic one but, as ancient Buddhist temples may illustrate, it is also one of extreme complexity and contradiction. The interior systems in Tokyo indeed underline this. An apparently abstract interior design is combined with ultimate kitsch and orgiastic origami decorations. Systems are complicated and hard to understand. Signs are everywhere. The city combines both revolutionary grandeur and evolutionary pragmatism, as Venturi and Scott Brown would say. At the same token, the interior systems are the manifestation of the juxtaposition of contemporary constructions within the pre-war street patterns and property lines. As a hidden order in Japanese villages and kimono patterns the chaos of Tokyo is inherent to its culture. It is valid chaos. According to the Venturis, it makes Tokyo a city of *now*. (Venturi 1990, June and Venturi 2004: 93-94) Before presuming that in the past perhaps there was no chaos, or to be precise; Westerners saw no chaos, it should be clear that they did. Taut wrote also about his first chaotic experience of Tokyo. His general impression was one of 'intolerable garishness'. For him the city was overly ostentatious, representing a civilisation in decay. "But this utter aimlessness, this total absence of direction even in bad taste, did more than shatter our illusions about Japan; it lacerated our finer feelings". He related the chaos to violations of - so to speak - pure Japanese taste. Taut preferred the Japanese art

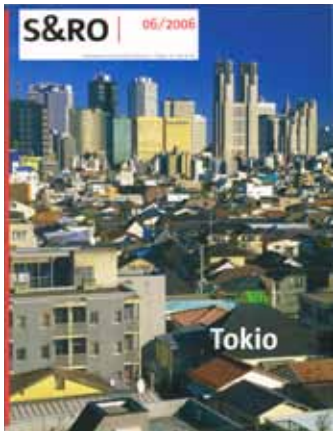


Figure 1.1.2.
S&RO, Dutch urban design and planning magazine, one of the special issues on Tokyo, 2006

[1] Bruno Julius Florian Taut (4 May 1880 – 24 December 1938) and Walter Adolph Georg Gropius (18 May 1883 – 5 July 1969) were German architects and urban planners. Frank Lloyd Wright (8 June 1867 – 9 April 1959) was American. Their work, both in design and writing, is widely regarded and represents the various styles in the days of Modernism.

[2] Robert Charles Venturi, Jr, called Bob, (born 25 June 1925) and the Northern-Rhodesian-born Denise Scott Brown, née Lakofski, (born 3 October 1931) are American architects and urban designers and planners. They married in 1967, and worked together since. They derive their reputation from both their designs and theoretical and critical writings.

Figure 1.1.3.
Learning from Tokyo, by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, July 1990

of omission, which he saw especially in the more traditional areas. Here "their houses, their costumes, their tools, as well as all of their doings, keep true to the typical characteristics of ancient tradition." (Taut 1937: 2, 63, 101)

As said, today Modernists seem to appreciate Tokyo's disorderliness. The Japanese architect Kazuo Shinohara[3] was one of the first Japanese designers to criticize the foreign Early Modernists approach. In the beginning of the 1960's, he embraced the city's chaotic urban condition as a design theme. He said, "Whether one likes or not, the future city of the world could only express the 'beauty of chaos' in the future". In particular, he pointed to the area around Shibuya Station. In his view, too many Modern buildings were competing with one another, without including the influences of the area's 'liveliness'. Accordingly they ought to grasp the new urban structure to include it, which made the Modern concept of space in the beginning. It is an interesting observation. Twenty years later, when 'chaos logic' reached the non-specialist through popular science books, the line of Shinohara's reasoning evolved. Space was not logically connected in his view. He predicted that 'urban space in incoherence' would be newly constructed by way of Modernistic urban concept as a principal subset. (Shinohara 2000: 784-785) Indeed, where some designers, like Jean Nouvel, chose to proceed a minimalist approach, more and more Tokyo started to amaze Late Modernists world-wide. For them, its chaos and its axiomatic absence of the least contextual coherence was astonishing. (Nouvel et al 1992: 80) No matter if this might be true, in their re-interpretation a new system of concepts emerged.[4] Large public interiors had become part of a collage network, juxtaposed on other structures and above all unintentional. In viewing reality, simplicity gave room to complexity. Order became chaos. This new paradigm was led especially by the designers once brought together in the 1988 MoMA Deconstructivist Architecture exhibition.[5] Bernard Tschumi,[6] for example, perceives the chaos of Tokyo as legitimate urban forms. He sees department stores combined with museums, health clubs and railway stations, with putting greens on

[3] Kazuo Shinohara (2 April 1925 – 15 July 2006) was a Japanese architect, embracing Tokyo's chaotic urban condition with projects like Mathematical City (1967) and Progressive Anarchy (1981). He taught at the Tokyo Institute of Technology.

[4] The urbanisation of the ancient hinterland might show an influence of the landscape, which is of higher importance than stated and contextually determining the composition of the city to a certain extent up to today.

[5] In July 1988 an exhibition called 'Deconstructivist Architecture' was organised at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. The curators were Philip Johnson (8 July 1906 – 25 January 2005), the American architect and founder of the MoMA Department of Architecture and Design, assisted by Mark Antony Wigley (born 15 December 1956), a New Zealand-born American architect and then photographer.

[6] Bernard Tschumi (born 25 January 1944) is a French-Swiss architect.

the roof, and highways juxtaposed on shopping centres. According to him, a presumed fragmentation and dislocation validates a discontinuity in the network of public space. More over, he opposes to – what he calls - nostalgic Western attempts to restore the relation between street and plaza. Peter Eisenmann[7] is inspired by Tokyo likewise. He put forward that Tokyo is 'a place of no place', an atopian example for the West. Even Rem Koolhaas,[8] sceptical towards embracing Japanese chaos or introducing chaos theory in architecture, has seen an inspiring 'vastness and shameless of its ugliness' in Tokyo. It feeds his personal logic. In a Tautian way, he placed it next to the present sublime and beautiful, but now it is tolerable! The dominance of the ugly and the utterly makes the beauty more than ever unexpected and 'stunning' and therefore in its interrelation the ugliness seems to be needed. For Koolhaas the city's disorder is mainly the result of unexpected and unintentional processes.[9] (Tschumi 1991, February; Eisenman et al 1995: 42, Koolhaas 1993: 23-24, Koolhaas 1995: 88) These men represent a large amount of contemporary architects and urbanists who mainly observe a disturbance of a presumed civic peace in Tokyo. They assume there is a lack of social order and they refer to the city's contradictions or its chaotic spatial behavior. Tied to the concept of a 'system', the numerous elements in the system seem to form many disorganised relationships. The opponents see organised relationships. The colleagues who still emphasise extreme simplicity of form and seek for society's minimal state, conclude that the simpler it seems the more complex design actual is. (Nouvel et al 1992: 136) Chaotic, simple, disorderly or orderly, disorganised or organised, all observers base their conclusion on their own way of dealing with the city's complexity. Basically, without tarring them with the same brush, they generate straightforward questions. Their re-interpretations add to new understanding of the lay-out and location of the complex system as well as its usage. Is the design influencing who egresses, who enters, who stays and who controls? Investigating the composition and use of interior systems introduce essential basic insight in a research on interior public space. In relation to Tokyo, this may disturb contemporary Western designers,

[7] Peter Eisenman (born 11 August 1932) is an American architect.

[8] Remment Lucas Koolhaas, called Rem, (born 17 November 1944) is a Dutch architect.

[9] The MoMA exhibition featured works of an international variety of Modern architects, which also included: the Canadian-born American architect Frank Owen Gehry, born Ephraim Owen Goldberg (born 28 February 1929), the Polish-born American architect Daniel Libeskind (born 12 May 1946), British Iraqi-born Zaha Hadid (born 31 October 1950), and the Austrian firm Coop Himmelb(l)au, which was headed by Wolf Dieter Prix (born 13 December 1942) and Helmut Swiczinsky (born 13 January 1944).

Figure 1.1.4.
Tokyo Subway Station, 1950s

as we seem to know already what we see: We see terminals joined to malls, subways, skyways, arcades et cetera and we seem to know how design and use is related. Yet apparently, the correlation of phenomena here and there does not give generally accepted answers, let alone a satisfying understanding on these interiors as public space. Perhaps if only we relieve us from the condition upon any outcome would be presumed and study the phenomena without preconception, we are able to open up to different insight, based on the case itself. Eventually without emphasising on presumed essential features and plain nature or presumed unpredictability and state of disorder, the public interiors can be explained in a more fundamental manner. The aim of this research has always been exactly that, as for us architects and urban designers, the research has aimed to create understandable insight in the socio-spatial roles of interior public spaces in our contemporary cities. What has made them public space and what is today? What is the influence of the design and …of the designer? With those questions in mind and without prejudice, the findings in this research will hopefully help to place similar complex design assignments in the future with a better understanding of their position in the network of public spaces.
Although this book focuses, – like the whole research –, on the *interior*, the inside of a building or built structure, in the end there may be a fuzzy delineation between public indoors and public outdoors. Interior public space exists within the limits figured as spatial, yet as it appears on the surface and is publicly somehow this kind of interior can not be not singly internal or inward oriented. (see Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989vii: 1106, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 537) This book serves as a prolegomenon to the others. It introduces the general approach to the topic and roughly delineates the research.

In general, first, I have to admit that although some would qualify public interiors as plain and simple, clearly outlined as if it's a box, in the perspective of my research goal I can not perceive them as such. The phenomenon is not simplex, as it can not be characterised by a single aspect. Neither one of the interior public spaces can be characterised without its special features. This makes it not easy to describe them. To reach my aim, the accompaniment by anything else supporting its public nature and making it a single space a larger structure, got full attention. Interior public spaces have to be seen as a part of a whole, comprising various parts. So the interiors are part of a complex, a larger system. At the same time, secondly, I have to admit that although others would qualify public interiors as chaotic, again in line with the research goal I have to start from an opposite point of view assuming that somehow they have to be predictable. It was a presumption to make, if only I would like to forecast an interior's state in the system. Reasoning from the complex system, in the end I am able to reveal that nor the composition of the interior systems, neither their use are in their basis chaotic.[10] Through observing and analysing them, these interiors do follow a certain order and logics. In retrospective avoiding some persistent or dominant urban and architectural theorems on large urban interior system seems to be the essential first step in approaching these interiors as public spaces. Every study and every case in this research has started with a fundamental spatial and social analysis.
As such, this book also illustrates the main research approach.

[10] As our connotation of 'chaos' derived from the Ancient Greek 'χάος', which is the antithetical concept of 'cosmos' ('κόσμος'), an ordered whole, it thus refers to something which in its nature is disordered. Especially in mythology, chaos was also the primal emptiness, empty space which future was not predictable and gives great confusion. (Barnhart, 2006: 159, 198, 224, 1007) Consequently, interior public space is hard to be understood if we presume chaos.

To create understanding of the social and spatial roles of interior public spaces in the contemporary city, I did not focus on what we presume. Perhaps too much of today's knowledge is based on hypothesises or theorems which never have been proven.[11] I choose the opposite approach; I use what we already know. I mean, it is often not common knowledge, but it has been there somewhere. By diving in archives and travelling the globe, I learned from history and from abroad. By observing and learning from experience I describe the cases of today. By listening to the testimonies and arguments from other urban researchers I learn about the design contexts. By inductive reasoning I studied of the principles of a design and by logic I could reinterpret and systematize the design of public interiors. For this a high degree of attention was given to the designer's use of precedents. Designs of the past are always used as an example for a current assignment. In general they help decide the outcome of similar instances in the future. Specifically in this so-called epistemological research they help to recollect knowledge on interior public spaces to justify future designs and to draw conclusions about the likelihood of potential events. Every study underlines that designers can only adopt the established principle of a precedent, and that any subsequent case has to transform in composition or use, because it has another position in the city and another meaning in its culture.

[11] See also Book 2.

Figure 1.1.5a.
Ueno Station, 1933

Figure 1.1.5b.
Ueno Station, 2008

Chapter 2 Spatial Composition and Metropolitan Use

Tokyo is an interesting case. It has many huge interior systems which are used by millions every day. Shibuya's interior system is one of them. It is composed of seven stations, an underground market, a multi-level mall, some skyways, many subway tunnels, giving access to numerous shops, stores, offices and as said a hotel. Although describing the whole in words is rather difficult because the street pattern moves in three dimensions, is worth a try: The main public interiors are located on the first floor, one storey above street level. Here crowds of people move between the so-called Keiō railway terminal in the west and the three parallel terminals of Japan Rail in the east. The restaurants and shops on this level clearly profit from the infinite large streams of passers-by. This level also provides commuters an easy entry to their offices, which are located above the Keiō terminal. Guests of the Tōkyū Hotel conveniently take one of the elevators up to the main lobby and the off-day shopper may go to the connected Mark City, a small multi level mall in the west or they may shop at the Tōkyū Tōyoko Department Store in the east.[12] On the second floor, above the three parallel terminals, the Tokyo Metro crosses over. It is another railway company. Thus, another station serves the people. A view from the broad and spacious skyway in the middle of it all shows both second and third levels. Thousands of rather fashionable pedestrians choose their direction. Large amounts of stereotype businesspeople alter with young Japanese hip hoppers, glam rockers, punks and metal heads walk by. The users of this system seem different from those in other systems. They seem part of a special group of people sharing common manners and looks. Especially on Sundays this becomes manifest. Then the Shibuya interior street life becomes

[12] Tōkyū Sekkei (東急設計), a Japanese design consultancy, was responsible for Shibuya Mark City, including among others Shibuya Excel Hotel Tokyu. The complex opened in 2000. The Tōkyū Tōyoko Department Store (東急東横店) is closed in 2013 and will be rebuilt as department store with an additional office tower, to be opened in 2018. A complete redevelopment of the complex, including the south and west parts, has started in 2006 and is scheduled to be completed in 2026.

Figure 1.2.1.
Shibuya Station

even more colourful when a few prominent teenage cosplayers, so-called gothic lolitas and women wearing modern styled kimonos also pass. People go up the stairs, move down, take the slopes or use the escalator without any major conflict, even when the interior is slightly jammed. Large windows show the outdoor city, a destination for shopping, eating and partying. Streets directly outside are always as crowded as inside. The busy crossings and huge neon signs both announce Shibuya's shopping and entertainment district. The skyway itself runs over a busy avenue and the western bus terminal. Directly downstairs, car and bus traffic dominates the road. Further east the interior system continues with a second broad but shabbier skyway. This one crosses the eastern bus terminal and the Meiji Dōri, one of the major arteries for traffic on street level. In the end it penetrates the hilly street pattern on its own level. On this side, under the Meiji Dōri, a new Tokyo Metro line opened recently.[13] It is located on the fifth basement at approximately minus twenty-five metres. Its terminal stretches to the two storeys above. Construction works and posters in the east skyway announced the enlargement of this underground station in 2012, when the Tōkyū line would move to share the new Shibuya terminus. This new station - dubbed The Underground Spaceship after the giant egg-like structure floating in the middle of the station[14] - is designed by renowned architect Tadao Ando.[15] It is located square below another terminal shared by Tokyo Metro and Tōkyū. Just above their platforms on the second basement and still below street level, the west and east parts of the interior system are connected as well. The system is still expanding. A broad underground walkway close by is serving more rail travellers. Little to no shops are yet located here. However… the underground concourse does give access to some shops and the underground market, called Food Show and related to the above department store, and almost four hundred metres away from the new underground station it gives underground access to a different department store, more shops and some cinemas. Skyways, subways, malls, stations and concourses on eight different levels spread the pedestrian traffic. Seven levels of interiors are described already, but the last one is perhaps the most important one: Level one or ground level. At this level the interior system is connected with the exterior. The main entrances of Shibuya Station and the department stores of Tōkyū and Shibuya 109[16] across the streets are

Figure 1.2.2.
Shibuya Spaceship Subway Station, model by Tadao Ando, 2008

[13] The line opened for service on 14 June 2008.

[14] Ando's design uses what he calls the natural ventilation system without the help of fans or other machinery. In the station, the hot air generated by incoming trains, body heat, electronics and other machines rises and dissipates through a gigantic duct more than 30 metres deep and 10 meters wide. Conversely, fresh air is brought into the station, cooling the trains and the station.

[15] Tadao Ando (born 13 September 1941) is a Japanese architect.

[16] The Japanese architect Minoru Takeyama (born 15 March 1934) designed Shibuya 109, also known as Fashion Community 109, between 1978 and 1979.

Figure 1.2.3.
East Mall at Shibuya

marked by luminous signs and colourful ads. Their entrances to the system are clearly visible. The same goes for the long escalators in the grand open atrium in the connected interior of Mark City which bring masses of pedestrians upstairs and downstairs. Dozens of other connections are made. Not always they are as fine or imposing in appearance. Often they are small in size and rather utilitarian then dignified. Nevertheless, everywhere in the system the nearby exits are indicated and sooner or later people flow from indoors to the ancient vibrant urban fabric outdoors. Interior and exterior are complimentary. Street level is crucial.

As explained in the introduction, the interior system of Shibuya is not the only indoor street network of Tokyo. The metropolis is spread with it. Especially those around the biggest and busiest stations stand out. Each network differs however. Shinjuku's system for example is less compact then Shibuya's. It is formed around the Shinjuku Station and it stretches out to most other underground stations in a radius of 750 metres[17]. The interior system in between is mainly composed of long strings of neat subways with little intersections. In the west these subways continue to the business district around the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office.[18] In the end, the exit or entrance to the system is smooth. The broad sidewalks along the monumental avenue of Chūō Dōri continue indoors. Its car traffic dominated by taxis disappears in an in-between tunnel. The pedestrian subway only has a few restaurant facilities, which are mainly located near the station. Most walls are blind. Only offices have extra entrances below ground and thus at those spots glass facades reveal underground lobbies and atria. In the tunnel, floors are smooth and lighting is sufficient. This section is almost only serving pedestrian traffic; mainly business men in black suits. If necessary, they can use moving sidewalks or travelators to speed up their walk in the direction of the main station building. On the other side of the station the subway system continues. The larger part of the east section is located under the commercial district. Again most buildings have entrances both on street and underground levels. People walking here differ from the other side. These people shop or stroll along the show-windows, but as most commercial activity is on street level, the tunnels are not really packed at day time. An underground mall, which runs parallel to the main subway, even seems quiet then.[19] A few individuals and some couples stroll along the underground shops. It is a huge contrast with the central part of the system during traffic hours. Daily about three-and-a-half million[20] people pass this interior, which makes it world's busiest system. At the platforms, commuters wait politely in line to give space to those stepping out of the train. When they step in people quickly move, push and

[17] Shinjuku Station serves the shinkansens or high-speed trains and six metropolitan lines of the Japan Rail East, among which the Yamanote Line, one line of the Odakyu Electric Railway, two lines of the Keio Corporation, one of the Tokyo Metro and two of the Toei Subway.

[18] The Japanese architect Kenzo Tange (4 September 1913 – 22 March 2005) designed the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office between 1988 and 1990. After its opening in 1991, it is often also referred to as Tokyo City Hall or Tochō for short.

[19] This mall is called Subnade (サブナード店) and includes an underground parking on second basement level. The parking was planned in 1967 and constructed between 1968 and 1973. The mall was part of the plan and opened two years later.

[20] In 2007, the Japan Rail Shinjuku terminal had 785,801 entries. The amount of exits was most likely close to this number. Analysis of the entry and exit figures of Tokyo's public transportation authority (commonly known as Toei) showed a deviation of only a few percentages. In the same year, TMBT's main terminal had 133,509 entries and 129,179 exits. The other TMBT Shinjuku terminal had 27,800 entries and 25,885 exits. The Odakyū Electric Railway Co., Ltd. had a total of 498,918 people passing its terminal. The Keiō Electric Railway and the Tōkyō Metro had respectively 747,407 and 258,609 people passing-by. The Shinjuku Line owned by Seibu Railway had 195,171 people getting on and of the trains at its terminal. So, the average number of daily users at Shinjuku Station in 2007 was 3,5 million. However, an unknown number of users transferring between different operators' lines might be counted twice. Today numbers have slightly dropped. (Data retrieved on 21 July 2008, after the site visit, see:
http://www.jreast.co.jp/passenger/index.html,
http://www.kotsu.metro.tokyo.jp/subway/kanren/passengers.html#c,
http://www.kotsu.metro.tokyo.jp/subway/kanren/passengers.html#d,
http://www.odakyu.jp/company/about/jyokou.html,
http://www.keio.co.jp/group/traffic/railroading/passengers/index.html,
http://www.tokyometro.jp/corporate/data/jinin/index.html,
http://www.seibu-group.co.jp/railways/kouhou/joukou/img/17joukou.pdf.

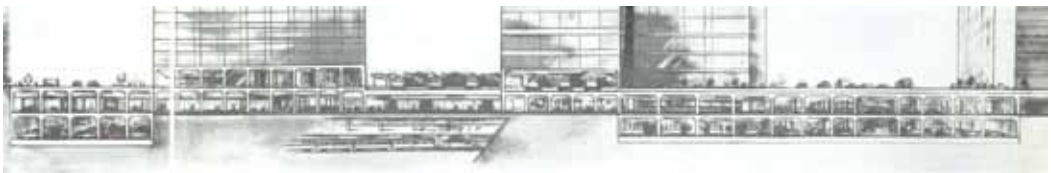


Figure 1.2.4.
Development plan for a subcentre in Shinjuku, including a underground level, by the Bureau of Capital City Development of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, May 1966

stand extremely close to each other. The terminals of Shinjuku Station are spacious. In terms of floor area, they are almost equally divided between street and underground levels. Although both are sufficiently used, for travellers entering the Shinjuku district by foot the underground level seems a better option to choose, because the surrounding streets are crowded with cars, taxis and busses which may only disturb large pedestrian flows. On the other hand, in the west and east subway strings, the staircases connecting the inside and the outside are however numerous, always narrow and nearly hidden. Most of them are located within the building block. Recent urban designs are improving the connection to the exterior, but still they do so only to link the newly developed areas on the south[21]. (see 商店建築社 2005, April)

In different perspectives the interior systems in and around Ikebukuro Station[22] and Tōkyō Station[23] are comparable with the one of Shinjuku. Both interiors add another layer of streets underground and reach out to neighbouring underground stations.

[21] Designs are made for Shinjuku Terrace City flanking Odakyū department store, JR Shinjuku Station Southern Terrace and Takashimaya Times Square.

[22] Ikebukuro Station serves four lines of Japan Rail East, three of Tokyo Metro and one each of Seibu Railway and Tōbu Railway. Shinkansens stop here too.

[23] Tatsuno Kingo (13 October 1854 – 25 March 1919), a British schooled Japanese architect designed Tōkyō Station in 1914. It is one of the few stations preserved in its original state, almost unaltered. Like most of the city, the station was severely damaged in 1923 by the Great Kantō earthquake. In 1927, Tōkyō Station got the city's first underground station, as part of the reconstruction plan for Tokyo created between 1924 and 1925. After the Station was devastated by bombing in 1945, its roof and interior changed drastically. In 2012, after a five-year project, the station was restored in its original glory. Nowadays, it officially serves seven lines of Japan Rail East, several shinkansens including one of Japan Rail Central and a line of Tokyo Metro. The interior system also includes links to Ōtemachi Station. One terminal of this station connects Yūrakuchō Station, Hibiya Station and on a distance the Ginza Stations (Ginza, Ginza Itchōme, East Ginza). Thus, six other lines of Tokyo Metro and two of Toei can be reached somehow by walking the interior system.

Figure 1.2.5.
Entrance to Subnade

Figure 1.2.6.
Shop at the Tokyo interior system

Figure 1.2.7.
Subway of the Shinjuku System

In Ikebukuro three parallel strings of pedestrian subways are unlocking the banking quarters on each side of the station and two underground malls next to the main station introduce commercial activity to the system, but in contrast this system is much smaller in span. In the other case the interior system has a similar span as Shinjuku, but the underground network is grid-like and almost only consists of narrow blind tunnels. These tunnels lead to the neighbouring stations and they link the atria and lobbies of several offices in the so-called Marunouchi district. Again next to the station, the underground commerce provides a large variety of shops and other facilities. Also this network is grid-like.

The interior system of Shimbashi Station[24] on the other site of the Tokyo conurbation connects neighbouring stations to each other in a similar way as the systems of Shibuya, Shinjuku and Ikebukuro do. A large part of the system is on the first basement level, where it connects the main terminal above with all surrounding stations below. The string of pedestrian subways starts at a small underground shopping mall close by Shimbashi and moves northwest and east. Halfway stairs lead the people up to a broad skyway on level two. This skyway is only partly covered. It runs above the subways and joins more outdoor skyways in the north and south directions. The businesspeople walk upstairs to their office towers every morning and return in the evening, while during daytime other people change stations or find their ways to the many high-class department stores, boutiques and restaurants in the neighbouring Ginza district. Often also modern young people gather here in hoping they will see their idol entering the headquarters of a national broadcasting station at the NTV Nittele Tower.[25] Girls running over the skyways trying to get a signature of a pale blond long haired Japanese rocker then seem normal. In general the system works similar to the other places; it mainly serves pedestrian traffic and it gives easy access to facilities and neighbouring buildings. That said its multilevel lay-out differs. Shibuya is very compact and vertically organised, Shinjuku and Ikebukuro are stretched and mainly underground, and another large system, around Shinagawa Station,[26] is mainly composed of open-air skyways. So, in a way the Shimbashi system combines all, but then it is less compact, less layered, less underground and less elevated. One characteristic makes it really distinguished. The system includes lowered outdoor plazas. Walls in the eastern

[24] Shimbashi Station serves also four lines of Japan Rail East, then one of Tokyo Metro, one Toei Subway and the automated monorail service of New Transit Yurikamome. Renewal began in 2012 and is planned to be ready in 2016.

[25] The British architect Richard George Rogers, Baron of Riverside, (born 23 July 1933) and the local firm Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei (株式会社　三菱地所設計) designed the Nippon Television Tower, better known as NTV Nittele Tower between 2000 and 2003. It opened in 2004. The complex was formerly also called Tele Tower.

[26] Shinagawa Station serves the four lines of Japan Rail East, shinkansens and the Keikyū Main Line.

Figure 1.2.8.
Shimbashi System, upper level

Figure 1.2.9.
Tokyo Shiodome Building

pedestrian subways have disappeared so that these plazas with their large pine trees and high-rises become visible. They introduce natural light and fresh air to the interior system. A few people can sit on the terraces outside the coffee and lunch corners at the basements of the Television Tower and Shiodome Media Tower[27]. In the air, a monorail and two levels of skyways fly over. The extra upper skyway links the monorail terminus with the third level of the high rise. Between the buildings sloping stairs and long escalators link each skyway and the lower level to the streets; all under a large glass roof. A second lowered plaza gives access to the head-office of Dentsu, a Japanese advertising agency. A six-level atrium with some shops, cafes, and restaurants anchors the site's office tower[28]. It also features a little performance theatre and a Dentsu library and museum. Nevertheless there seems little difference in the program around the plazas. Also the last plaza, in front of Shiodome City Center[29], leads to an atrium kind of space where more little restaurants and coffee corners are located. On the other side of the building structural glazing gives people indoors a clear view of the rebuilt Shimbashi Station[30] and fashionable Ginza. Apart from the physical link between the inside and the outside, such views may avoid the feeling of isolation and help in the orientation as well as giving pedestrians an idea of day and night, weather and seasonal variations.

[27] The japanse architect Seita Morishima (1949 – 2008) of Kajima Architectural Design (鹿島建築設計) designed the Shiodome Media Tower, also between 2000 and 2003.

[28] The French architect Jean Nouvel (born 12 August 1945) designed the Dentsu Head Office Building and Jon Adams Jerde (born 22 January 1940) is responsible for the blueprint of the atrium building and the urban design of both outside plaza and skyway levels. Nouvel and Jerde worked together with Kiyokazu Hosokawa and Tomio Ikai.

[29] The Shiodome City Center is designed by the Irish-American architect Kevin Roche (born 14 June 1922), and the Japanese architects Masaharu Rokushika and Hiromitsu Yamashita (no data provided) and sculptor - industrial designer Naoki Tominaga (18 May 1913 – 11 April 2006).

[30] The site was declared a national monument in 1996. After archaeological investigation, the 'old' Shimbashi Station was reconstructed in 2003.

Chapter 3 Interpretations

Time and time again, descriptions of these kinds of spatial-functional compositions of whole systems seem to be essential for the research of interior public space. Observations of the cases are the first step. Tokyo shows that some are stretched, while others are more compact. I did not see chaos or simplicity. Some interiors are horizontally organised, others rather vertically. Interiors can be small and narrow or grand and impressive. It can be dominated by shops and restaurants but also by offices, hotels, cultural facilities or none of that all, as many interior streets are plain pedestrian passageways. Tokyo shows also that daily millions of people use interior systems as such. People really gather at large inside, where they hub from one station to another, where they take a weatherproof short-cut, where they shop or where they just stay for a while. Nevertheless, independently of their composition, function or size, the interior systems are always connected to the exterior. Always people move on and go outside. The design of the joints and the amount of them determine the interior's relation with the exterior, especially when the interior is located on the lowered or elevated levels. In the run to the restoration of Tōkyō Station, one of the leading Japanese architectural magazines (新建築) presented four eleborate analyses of the interior Marunouchi System, of which the station is part of.[31] These analyses show how people use these interiors every day, when they are on their way to work or to a shop. The analyses show also that the public space is flexible: Sometimes for example the atria transform into public festival grounds. While these interiors then are public, exterior space may become at times more private, as for special events the street transforms into a private garden or an illumination museum. The research on interior public space is motivated by more general shifts from the exterior to the interior rather than temporal changes, but they can precede a more continuous situation. Both are current around the globe. The

[31] I name the systems after their district name. In all but one case this is also the name of the station. Tōkyō Station is the exception.

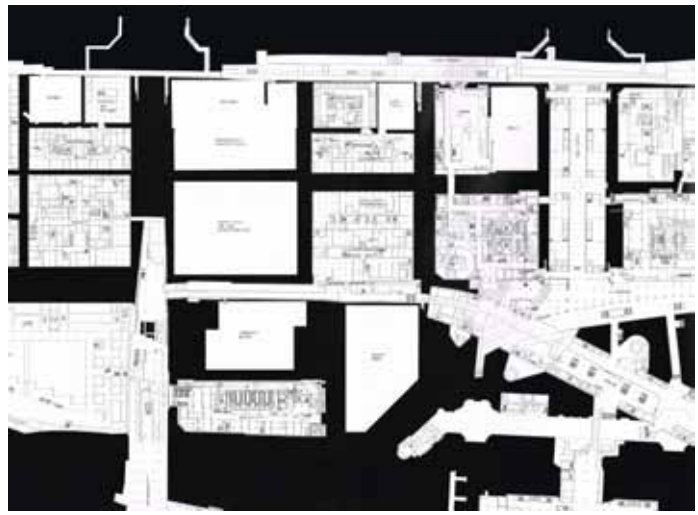


Figure 1.3.1.
Analyses of the Marunouchi System by the University of Tokyo Chiba, June 2008

design team of the Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei, the main land owner in this district, underlines this. They show that since then the area has changed enormously. Most part of the nineteenth-century street pattern may still exist, but interior public space is added. The team shows similar patterns are present in New York Midtown, London City, Paris Rive Droite and Berlin Mitte. Also in these cities urban activity patterns move indoors. In a second analysis, the laboratory of the Capital City University Tokyo Koizumi concludes that in time, above grounds level buildings has become more public. The result in Marunouchi is that once separated buildings now have become one built structure. The third analysis of the district illustrated how. The study laboratory of the University of Tokyo Chiba presented two drawings: One of the street level and one of the basement level. On street level, glass facades, though transparent, divide the public spaces in the buildings from the sidewalks and roads, whereas under the ground, despite blind walls, they literally open up. On this level, most basements have doors to the subways. Dialectically this has changed the use as well as changed use has conditioned this transformation. In the fourth analysis, the Tokyo Institute of Technology Tsukamoto continued this reasoning and perceived the system from below grounds. Elevators, escalators and staircases connect back to the ground floors of the buildings. Building lobbies are the last space before really entering the building. (新建築 2008, June: 8-107) These analyses go beyond mere observations and descriptions. The drawings show reductions on the base of public use. Public exteriors and public interiors are recognised not only spatially, by composition, but also by use related to the public qualities of the analysed spaces.

If one analyses the Tokyo interiors as parts of systems, simple schemes alone can not be the answer. It would not do justice to its complexity. At the same time if one analyses these interior systems in an organised manner, it is hard to jump into the contemporary conclusion that they are chaotic either. That seems contradictory. So why nevertheless do we do so? Why today a westerner would come almost to a state of disarray if he or she tried to grasp the phenomenon? Spatial reduction analyses can show compositions of clearly defined elements. These elements can be understood as types of public interiors common in many western cities. To introduce a few: the railway terminus, the covered mall, the skyway and the underground walkway. We ought to be acquainted with most of these elements. The more so as typologically these elements have their origin in 'our' world. They originated in London, Paris, New York, and adapted and mutated in for example Minneapolis, Toronto or where ever – odd places perhaps. From there soon they spread over Europe, the Americas and to the rest of the world, also to Japan, where now they are everywhere. But instead of feeling familiar with them, and with the systems they are part of, we refer to disorder: 'a visual bombardment in an un-familiar astonishment', 'not harmonic', 'out of proportion', and 'ugly'. Perhaps it is even 'overly ostentatious with an utter aimlessness' or it has a 'superseded authenticity'. For contemporary westerners especially these systems seem complicated and hard to understand. It may be the result of 'outrageous amalgamations', but it is hard to conclude any of this as long as we limit our knowledge to our own connotation and experience. Even though analysing the spatial

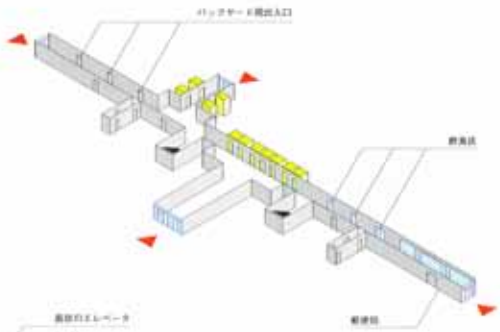
Figure 1.3.2.
Analyses of the Marunouchi System by Tokyo Institute of Technology Tsukamoto, June 2008

富士ビル

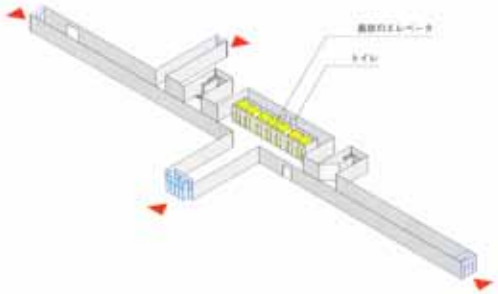
第一世代

1962年3月竣工

丸の内仲通りに面するエントランスの正面にエレベータが7機並び、T字の交点がエレベータホールとなっている。そこから両側に伸びる屋内通路に面するのは、テナントのバックヤード用出入口、飲食店と郵便局。



丸の内仲通りビル



第一世代

1965年1月竣工

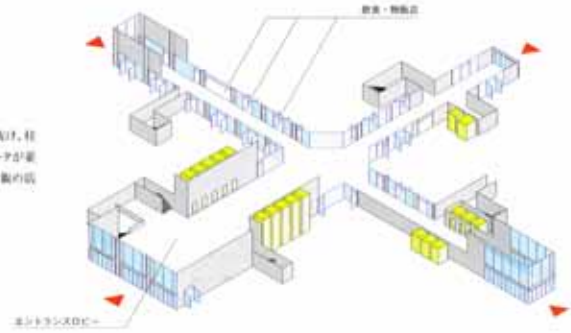
富士ビル同様、丸の内仲通りに面するエントランスの正面にエレベータが7機並び、T字の交点がエレベータホールとなっている。この7機のエレベータが島状に配され、その後ろにトイレがあるという平面が特徴的。

新東京ビル

第一世代

1965年6月竣工

大名小路に面するエントランスロビーは2層分の吹き抜け、柱間3つ分と広くつくられ、その両脇には5機ずつエレベータが並ぶ。十字型の屋内街路沿いには、ガラス張りの飲食・物販の店舗が1数軒ある。



有楽町ビル

第二世代

1966年5月竣工

有楽町駅に近い角に2層吹き抜けのエントランスロビーが設けられ、そこと丸の内仲通りを結ぶ通り抜け動線となっている。その動線に沿って並ぶ9軒のテナントのうち7軒は屋内・屋外の両方に面している。その動線から少し外れて、アルコーブ状にオフィス階のエレベータホールがつくられている。

国際ビル

第二世代

1966年9月竣工

2層吹き抜け、柱間3つ分の広いエントランスロビーから伸びるふたつの屋内街路のうち、西側のものには丸の内仲通り沿いの店舗の裏側や屋内街路からもアクセスできる店舗の入口が面している。一方、東側の屋内街路には数軒の物販店と独立かれたエレベータホールが面している。

composition and metropolitan use is the first essential step to take, making subjective cultural or emotional coloration explicit is an equally important next step to take and perhaps in our field too often forgotten. Each system is assembled and used in its own way not only spatially but also socially. Of course we know this; still by focussing not only on the city but also on the cultural context we are able to separate a connotative meaning from a denotative one. Cultural meanings might differ, while the objective content of the elements in the system are the same. Culturally and socially a terminal, a mall, a skyway or a subway in Tokyo is something different than elsewhere. It explains the observer's confusion. Although the intention of my contemporaries will be to do no more than to describe the physical object, without understanding cultural and social differences their impressions stay personal, wonderful to read, but less useful to create understandable insight in the social and spatial role of interior public spaces. Therefore relating the research aim to the cultural context is necessary.

The interactions between the interior public spaces and their social and spatial contexts as well as their imbedding in culture and city always have an effect on the design. The reconstructions of design history show a variety of ways in which new variants arise out of these interactions and develop into new complex systems and patterns. Generally, the introduction of public interiors not only has changed the network of public space both in composition and in use, also the composition and use of the existing network has influenced the type. In each city or civilisation the interiors can have their own cultural meaning. There is a unique relationship between cultures and cities, society and space, and as such this conclusion follows the ideas as conceptualised by Modern urban critics, such as the American Lewis Mumford and the Frenchman Henri Lefebvre[32]. There are however major differences between their concepts and my findings. I am unable to underline either a need for designers to restrict to the culture of a city, as Mumford would advise, or to underline a need for designers to create a planetary space as social foundation of everyday life, in the line of thoughts of

[32] Lewis Mumford (19 October 1895 – 26 January 1990) was an American writer on social, architectural and urban history and Henri Lefebvre (16 June 1901 – 29 June 1991) was as French sociologist and philosopher involved in architecture and urban issues.

Figure 1.3.3a.
Shibuya System

Figure 1.3.3b.
Shinjuku System

Figure 1.3.3c.
Ikebukuro System

Lefebvre. In the end of my research, Mumford's advice to create a local space to suit specific cultural and civic requirements seems an equal deterministic outcome as Lefebvre's advice to design a global space to condition different social and spatial practices. Where Mumford states that if urban constructions are introduced in an unfamiliar community, the city becomes a crystallisation of chaos in terms of dissociation and disorder or malfunctioning designs, – which of course would justify the Late Modern reasoning of my colleagues to qualify Tokyo as a chaotic city – I have to conclude that spaces and societies seem to adapt. Thus, as far as his reasoning concerns the example of Tokyo; not necessarily western influence is "a monotonous reflection of the military-bureaucratic mind", the result of imperialism, in an attempt to "civilize the natives but helping the wilderness creep in on civilization". Also Lefebvre's line of reasoning approaches the same apocalypse: If designers do not conflate the space as understood by theorists with the space of social practice they will 'dismantle society' and 'chaos will be generated'. His advice however is different. We should not try to conceptualise society and fix space, but we should try to overcome variation. According to him even extreme differences like those between Western and Japanese civilisations do not have to play a part in urban design if we focus on 'creation' and the production of space. It would open a myriad of possibilities, without choosing any of the multiple, varied and even contradictory interests in society or perceiving a direction of everyday life. But although socio-spatial adaption continuously plays a role in the evolution of types, I must also conclude that cities and cultures show certain persistence. Increasing the spatial fitness seems neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for it to be adapted. (Mumford 1938: 3-12, 271-273 and Lefebvre 1974: 178-195, 478-485)

This is underlined by the broader research on interior public space: Within different cities or civilisations similar interiors have acquired different culture meanings. It is the result of both social adaptation and spatial transformation. Arcades for example, have emerged in Paris as bazaar-like passages. The Bourgeois people adapted a type, which was originated in ancient Persian cities and present in

Legend - Figure 1.3.3.

N

upper levels
street level
underground levels

Figure 1.3.3d.
Ueno System

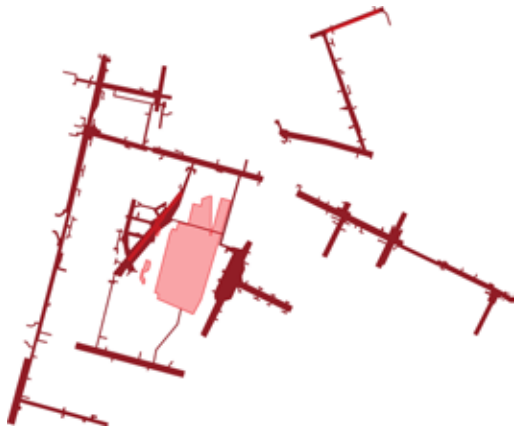
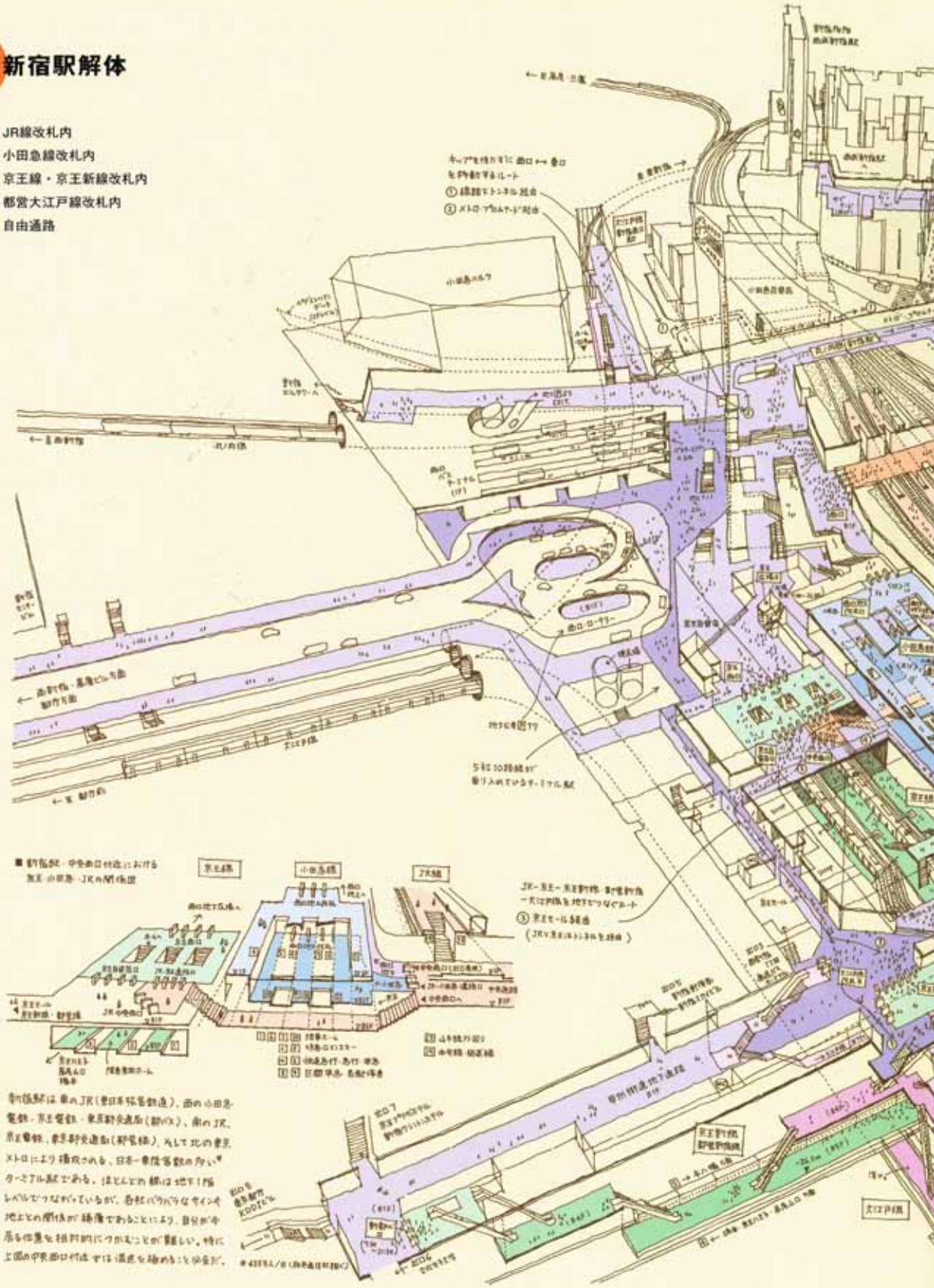


Figure 1.3.3e.
Marunouchi System

Figure 1.3.3f.
Shimbashi System

ザ・新宿駅解体

- JR線改札内
- 小田急線改札内
- 京王線・京王新線改札内
- 都営大江戸線改札内
- 自由通路



新宿駅は東のJR（東日本旅客鉄道）、西の小田急電鉄、京王電鉄、東京都交通局（都バス）、南のJR、京王電鉄、東京都交通局（都電荒川線）、そして北の東京メトロにより構成される、日本一乗降客数の多いターミナル駅である。ほとんどの線は地下1階レベルでつながっているが、各社バラバラなサインや地上との関係が複雑であることにより、自分が今居る位置を相対的につかむことが難しい。特に上図の中央西口付近では混乱を極めることが多い。

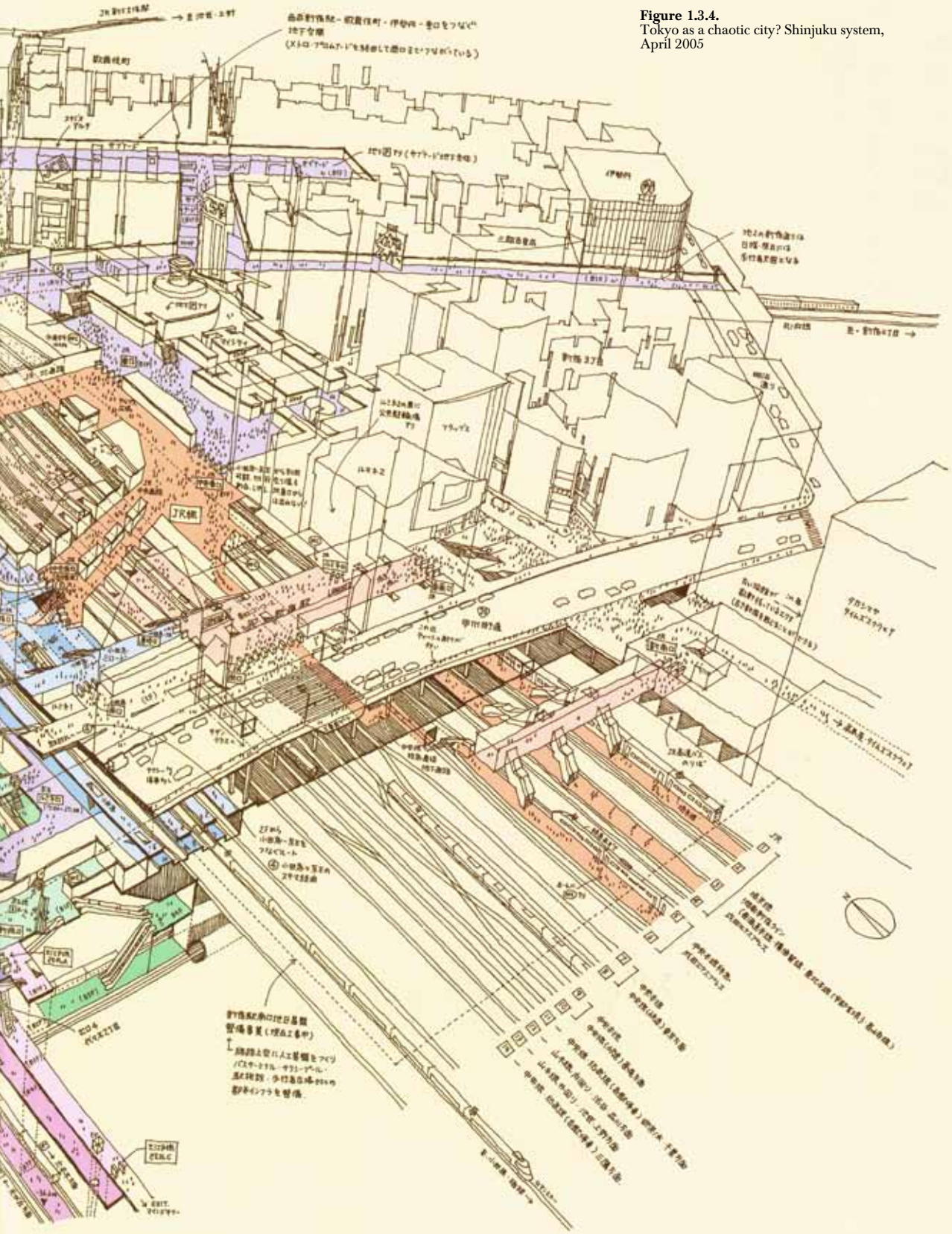


Figure 1.3.4.
Tokyo as a chaotic city? Shinjuku system, April 2005

cities like Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo and Tunis, to the urban pattern in their home town. The type of design changed in a few decades into a gallery-like short-cut, with more grandeur and greater connectivity. It contrasts to the developments in London occurring at the same time: Since the imitation and introduction of an early Parisian type in the orderly Georgian Metropolis the arcade design stayed a bazaar-like passage and with that the London arcades were more like incidents in the city; more a shopping destiny rather than a comfortable short-cut in the urban fabric. In another few decades the type got a third meaning. In Brussels and Milan the Parisian passage type developed into a grant covered shopping-street which reconstructed the hearts of both cities to become capitol centres of newborn nations. In the same line of examples, the arcade design lost its prominent short-cut function in Moscow and evolved into a more independent type. Every unique urban fabric, society and time fraction changed the arcade. One would not understand the form and function of the many American arcades built in the early twentieth century if one doesn't know its typological origin and evolution. Similarly one would not understand its design and use if one isn't familiar with the nation's large immigration and industrialisation at that time. Similar comprehended information helps to understand the German, French and Dutch arcades built in the last decades. A multiplicity of relatively simple interactions led to small mutations and a new generation of designs. My other typological studies underline this also. A bazaar in Isfahan differs from one in Istanbul, the London mall is unlike the West Edmonton Mall, and a subway in Chicago is not the same as one in Montreal. Dialectically any form of outcome in which urban designers and architects are advised to design in equivalence to the city's cultural specificity or in which they are advised to design a space without any cultural identity to ease social transformation seems too restrictive. Both extremities serve a critical social rhetoric within the professional scopes of either Mumford or Lefebvre. As my research is neither pure historical nor pure philosophical, the existence of both a mutual exchange between city and culture and a reciprocal relationship between space and society asks for a more pluralistic approach. In Tokyo this interplay is set in great cultural and social differences. Originally types from the West are introduced in a different context. It is a great example to illustrate two major conclusions. On the one hand I have to conclude that spaces and societies seem to adapt, while on the other hand I must also conclude that cities and cultures have shown certain persistence.

Figure 1.3.5.
Wayfinding with help of the Shimbashi Station Guide Map

Chapter 4 The Culturalist Approach

Figure 1.4.1.
Main station Tokyo, design drawing by Franz Baltzer, 1903

Modern historians, such as Mumford, have advised designers to limit their ideas to the city's cultural specificity. Accompanied by designers such as Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and Edmund Bacon,[33] his rhetoric should been seen within the context of an Early Modern American search for cultural identity. In extremity, if designers would have eliminated every form of cultural exchange then by matter of course many types of public space would not have evolved the way they did. More likely they would not have emerged at all. Concerning the interiors: Without exchange along the Silk Route bazaars probably would never be established. Without the travel reports of journeys to the Orient the arcade would never have been born. Without modern globalisation the covered mall most likely would not have been spread all over the world. The same is true especially for the public interiors of Tokyo. Without cultural exchange train terminals – now essential in the city – would never have been there. The period of the design and construction of the first terminals defines the dawn of public interiors in the Japanese capital. If we go back to the early nineteenth century, little announced the rise of large metropolitan interiors. More so, little announced the rise of public interiors. Simply because there were no public affairs as such and there was not at all a cultural notion of 'public' or 'private', as cultures in the West had developed at the same time. Society was arranged in a different way. The city was divided in parts which were used by different groups of people. Street patterns and even walls divided people both spatially and socially. The city was fragmented, but within every fragment groups of people shared common understanding revealed by the use of the same manners, tradition and law. It all changed with the introduction of public transit and the design of train terminals. A Western model of public space was introduced, based on equality and liberty of every group and every individual. So as soon as trains were used by all kinds of groups in the Japanese society, they connected all kinds of spatial fragments. Stations have introduced a new kind of space, open to all. This extreme case of cultural exchange serves as a perfect example to oppose Mumford's lessons from history.

This major transformation of the Japanese city started one-and-a-half century ago. While industrialisation and cultural exchange had transformed cities around the world, the Tokugawa rulers had chosen to continue Japan's isolation from the rest of the globe. For centuries only some rare Dutch traders were allowed to trade with the Japanese[34]. The Japanese society was absolute. Thus, any form of trans-cultural diffusion was precluded, and consequently in time the differences between the West and Japan had grown. By the mid nineteenth century, Western traders, with Americans and Brits in the lead, aimed for new contacts in the East, and Japan was seen as an interesting option. The Dutch government supported its allies and in a first diplomatic attempt King William II of the Netherlands

[33] Louis Henri Sullivan (3 September 1856 – 14 April 1924) was an American architect, associated with the Chicago School. Frank Lloyd Wright, born Frank Lincoln Wright (8 June 1867 – 9 April 1959) was an American architect, leading in a group of architects active in the Midwestern United States, known as The Chicago Group yet often named as the Prairie School. Edmund Norwood Bacon (2 May 1910 – 14 October 2005) was an American urban planner, architect, and renowned for his Philadelphia practice, as under his leadership the American city became engaged in a continuous program of restoration and rebuilding.

[34] After a series of events in the first years of the seventeenth century, Japanese rulers chose for isolation. It resulted in the Closed Country Edict (鎖国令) of 1635, which prohibited any Japanese from travelling outside Japan or, if someone left, from ever returning. Like other ports, Nagasaki closed its gates and the Dutch were restricted to the artificial island of Dejima, just outside the city. This was exceptional because they alone were allowed to resume trading. Yet although, it is also known that some neighbouring Chinese and Korean traders have berthed in Japan as well. The period of isolation is often called Tokugawa – or Edo Period, named after its rulers or its capital.

urged Japan to open the gates for other countries. Although not directly successful, it was the beginning of the end of isolation and a series of events followed. Eventually in 1854 a forcible attempt by US Navy opened Japan. The Shogun signed a treaty of peace and amity, establishing formal diplomatic relations with the United States. (Van der Chijs 1867: 77-78, 116-118) After more than four centuries of isolation, the States became the first other country (re) introducing western culture in the country. Slowly, Japan opened its doors for other countries. When also power changed to a Meiji ruler, this process was catalysed. The so-called Meiji Restoration completely restored exchange with the west. They opened all borders and a rapid westernisation of society began. The culture clash was huge. In a wave of 'Wakon-Yosai' (和魂洋才), as an alluring slogan of that time would say, Japanese spirit nevertheless ought to be combined with Occidental technology. It serves as the best example to illustrate how spaces and societies seem to adapt to new cultural items. The effort then was to try to preserve the Japanese tradition while bringing in Western means. This sounded appealing, but the introduction of new science required a far more fundamental transformation in thought and in patterns of organisation than considered necessary at first. Society had to change at large, but apparently was able to do so. (Vogel 1979: 3) Steam locomotives and rail transport were among the newly introduced techniques. As said, its railways and stations impacted the city fundamentally. Suitable for the research to interior public space, it seems the perfect illustration of the complicated process of westernisation which conditioned the introduction and rapid developments of the large interior systems. How did Tokyo adapt?

Figure 1.4.2.
Japanese woodblock print of Shinbashi Station (upper image) by an unknown artist, 1872

To be precise, the old Shinagawa and Shimbashi Stations were the first western public interiors to be constructed in Tokyo. Shimbashi marked the end point of Japan's first stretch of railway. The terminal was designed in a western Classicist manner by the American architect Richard Bridgens.[35] It headed the train station and provided passengers a place of shelter, just like those in London. The station had two tracks and one platform with a simple linear shed. It was constructed on the edge of Ginza, an area which at the time just was reduced to ashes by a major fire. The government brought in foreign consultants to do the reconstruction works. This took place under the leadership of the Ministry of Finance in cooperation with the Tokyo Prefecture. In line with the westernisation policy, they selected the British architect Thomas Walters to supervise the project.[36] The result was designed on the basis of a rational street layout. Trains would bring the new strangers, mostly western traders, from the Port of Yokohama to the new modern and westernised district of the capital. A London style mall in the axis of the station would guide the traveler further.[37] (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1994: 4-5) Despite their differences, for Dutchmen, Brits or Americans the architecture and the urban spaces were familiar, making Ginza a popular place for foreigners. For Japanese however, the concept and design was absolutely new. The spatial structure of the area was based on a western idea of public space, where all kinds of people were supposed to use the streets, to stroll along the shops, and exchange goods or ideas; where they could gather and where they actually moved to the station to access mass transit. There, in its interior different groups of people were brought

[35] The English-born American-Japanese surveyor-engineer Richard Perkins Bridgens, locally known as Richade Brigi'ensū, (baptised 17 August 1820 – 9 June 1891) designed the original Shimbashi Station with support of the HBM's Chargé-d'Affairs of the British Legation. He came from San Francisco to Japan in 1864, and he was active in Yokohama and Tokyo. Besides Shimbashi Station, he designed its twin station in Yokohama, the new international harbour, and many other buildings that played important roles during the Meiji Period. Between 1909 and 1914 the station was demolished to make way for a rail yard.

[36] Thomas James Walters (17 July 1842 – abt.17 December 1897) was an Irish born British architect and engineer. Before the fire of 26 February 1872, he had worked in Hong Kong and in 1877 after he finished the job as Surveyor General, he left for work to Shanghai. Eventually, he moved to the United States.

[37] A broad green strip in the middle of the space dominated the design. The mall was tree-lined and included gas lighting, just like London (see Book 6).

together in one place. In the past these groups were strangers. It was so imbedded in society. Tokyo, previously named Edo, was traditionally an integral part of the Chinese zone of civilisation and thus, only a few years before the introduction of railways and stations, the city was still based on an ideal Confucian model. There used to be a dominance of several classes, each hereditary and each living in its own area: The castle town was built for the *daimyo* (大名), which was the urban ruler and his vassals. The *bushi* (武士) or samurai lived in the first belt around the main castle. The *chōnin* (町人) or townsmen consisting of artisans, merchants and service people lived in the second and the peasants[38] lived on the farmland, surrounding the urban area. Each *machi* (町), an urban district or municipality, was converted into a separate administrative unit, supplied with guards and gates and to keep public order each individual citizen was made subordinate to the laws of the shogun and the daimyo under the system of joint responsibility; the *gonin-gumi* (五人組). Almost every aspect of urban life was placed under the scrutiny and regulation of the administrative class. The city was the stage of legal responsibilities and social restrictions. Railroads were bypassing this system. (Hall 1955, November) The idea of mass transit comprised the transport of *all* members of the general public. So in that way, in a city traditionally divided by several urban communities, a Western-style public sphere was developed and public space was juxtaposed on a complex network of what I could like to call communal spaces. Together with the spatial structure the social structure had to change, people had to behave differently. A great reportage of the first years of the social reorientation is given by The Illustrated London News. In an article on the opening of the Shimbashi Station the newspaper reported Japanese changes in the social condition, ideas, and habits, while the ceremony was still an odd mixture of two very different cultures. On October 14, 1872,[39] lancers, men on horsebacks, the imperial carriage, the Court and the members of the Government, were all in traditional court dress. Together they formed a procession going from an ancient city gate to the new pristine building in an alien architecture. The route was crowded with all kinds of people and at the station a British legation send by Her Majesty was waiting for the Emperor to board the first train. The contrast between Eastern society and Western society was conscientiously bridged by Japanese coachmen wearing European clothes and felt hats. (The Illustrated London News, 7, 21 and 28 December)

Figure 1.4.3.
Japanese drawing of the ceremony of opening Shimbashi Station, c1872

> "The opening of the new railway from Jeddo to Yokohama, which is the first line constructed in Japan, took place on Oct. 14. It was an interesting occasion, more especially for the European residents at Yokohama, who have witnessed during the last three or four years, wonderful changes in the social condition, ideas, and habits of the Japanese." (The Illustrated London News 1872, 7 December)

West and East seemed to love the new encounter. While in Tokyo the event was recorded on many woodblock prints, which on its turn was also a reflection of 'Wakon-Yosai', in a counter wave of Japonism, the London newspapers widely discussed the introduction of a station too. The popularity of the station was the result of a deliberate plan of the new elite to guide decisions and achieve a new social coherence. Without reducing people's sincere enthusiasm, in

[38] The peasants were known as Honbyakushō (本百姓).

[39] With the year 1873, the Gregorian calendar was introduced to Japan. According to the Japanese Nengō calendar, 14 October 1872 was known as the twelfth day of the ninth month in Meiji 5.

fact terminals had been a playground of a westernisation policy. Of course, in retrospective we can only speculate on the Meiji interest to introduce transport for the benefit of the public, but in general four very different reasons could have motivated the new government. Perhaps their policy was part of a gradual transformation to popular governance. Opponents conclude that it might as well be part of a focus on the state's own interest: To keep political power effectively with the new elite, society's support is needed. In a more materialistic approach, some historians state that introducing new techniques was part of an ambitious agenda to reform the nation and achieve international recognition. Idealists however would underline the government's best hope for humanity. Of course, in fact all four positions are somehow antagonistic. So, again it might not be either / or, and in a more pluralistic approach they could be complementary. (Berry 2001: 134-136) In a reconstruction of the governmental policy, we can recognize at the same time an urge to gradually transform society, keep power, get international recognition and achieve a higher ideal.

The encouragement of the Emperor's government to develop more stations started already before Shimbashi Station really opened. At the time Minister of the Right Iwakura Tomomi[40] pressured the former daimyo of the province to the urgency of building more railways and the necessity for that purpose of forming a partnership among the nobility. The former daimyo responded to Iwakura's plea in the same month Shimbashi opened. He petitioned the government recommending the establishment of a nobles' company to finance construction of lines to Aomori in the

[40] Iwakura Tomomi (26 October 1825 – 20 July 1883) was the Udaijin in the new Meiji government. This is most commonly translated as the 'Minister of the Right'. He acted as an assistant or junior minister of the Council of State, overseeing all branches of the Department of State. His deputy would be the Sadaijin or the Minister of the Left.

Figure 1.4.4.
British wood engraving of the arrival of the Mikado and opening the nation's first railway, 1872. By Frederick Wentworth (29 November 1834 - 8 December 1896) and Félix Élie Régamey (6 August 1844 - 7 May 1907)

north of the country and Niigata in the west. Iwakura backed up this plan by advising the Council of State; 'the government should speedily grant permission and provide him with adequate support'. Encouraged by these developments soon a group of daimyos officially applied to establish a railway company. Within a few years they would submit detailed plans to the Public Works Ministry and began construction. (Ericson 1985: 28) The controlled policy and manipulations of Iwakura were effective. In 1883, the second railway opened, but now 'privately-owned'. Its final terminus, Ueno Station, was opened on the northern edge of the old downtown. Western style of travelling had entered the more traditional ward of the working class. The terminal building again headed the train station, but apart from the central timpani above the entrance its design is essentially different from the design of Shimbashi. The columns, walls, and complex bracketed roof structure were inspired more by native Japanese styles. It was a modest first step to transform society. Simultaneously international policy and ideology conduct the new developments. For this proof is given by a journey of high-ranking Japanese government officials to the United States and Europe. Initiated in 1871, so still during the construction of Shimbashi, Iwakura had led this large delegation. The members had to present a credible face to Western powers, they had to renegotiate unequal trade-treaties, and they were charged with learning about Western ideas. Although most talks on the trade relations floundered or only lay groundwork for further negotiation, the desire to learn about other societies was most fruitful. After the delegation had arrived in San Francisco, they travelled by train to Washington D.C., New York and Boston to meet US officials. (Nish 1998: 7-12) Iwakura experienced the use of steam railways and its meaning for foreign nations. A technique which until then only was known from a couple of handbooks on the theoretical and practical knowledge of all types of steam technology[41] (Harte 1852 and Chijs 1867: 433) was revalued to overcome cultural differences. When the Japanese diplomatic journey continued in Great Britain, they were able to study the western transportation systems much closer. Their effort to revise the treaties with Britain failed, but some members moved on to France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Russia. In every country the western style of movement was used to travel. When a few continued their journey home via Saigon, Hong Kong and Shanghai, all places under Western domination, the East-West contrast was occupying their minds. Foreigners seemed rich and wealthy, while Asians seemed poor and oppressed. This

[41] The former emperor received these handbooks from the Dutch Opperhoofd of Dejima in 1854.

Figure 1.4.5a.
Manseibashi Station, 1900s

Figure 1.4.5b.
Tōkyō Station, 1900s

observation convinced the government that they should further reform and industrialise. It would bring prosperity to the people. (Nish 1998: 28-29, 125)

By all means, train travelling became popular and within two decennia the new elite constructed more railways and more terminal buildings. Every ward got its own terminal. The Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations opened as part of a railway which connected the northern railway to Ueno with the governmental and first railway in the south. The Ikebukuro Station would open later on the same track. The Honjo Station opened as the endpoint of another new railway, which was going west. At the new Iidamachi Station people could board to travel east crossing Shinjuku.[42] The introduction of train stations of course is an important prelude to a much larger cultural diffusion. Stations have changed social behaviour. Mass transit disregarded the ancient conventions of social stratification. The construction of an elevated railway, followed by the introduction of an underground railway accelerated this process of socio-spatial change. The elevated railway started to operate service inside the city. It linked Iidamachi Station in the north with Shimbashi in the south and connected each of the railway lines. In the city, the line introduced three new terminals: Manseibashi Station, Tōkyō Station and Karasumori Station.[43] They were all designed in a Dutch Renaissance style. Of all stations today especially the central terminal represents an ultimate effect of the cultural exchange. It is facing the Imperial Palace and it is located in the first belt around the main castle. Previously this area was the exclusive domain of a samurai group and now here, like any terminal area in the city, all kinds of people come together. The westernisation policy really resulted in a fundamental socio-spatial transformation of Tokyo. What in the case of Shimbashi had started as quasi-individual initiative had become a part of governmental planning. The construction of the inner-city railway was even guided by use of western-style public law. It was a direct result of the 1888 Tokyo City Ward Reform Ordinance.[44] (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1994: 10) One of the targets of this ordinance was to improve infrastructure. This law was meant for road construction, but when the envisioned introduction of street cars was translated most tangibly in the construction of an inner-city rail line this law was used too. Under a next ordinance[45] the Governor of Tokyo could purchase remnants and in some cases the contiguous lots as well. Inspired by the famous Parisian 1852 ordinance for street

[42] The Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations opened in 1885, the Ikebukuro Station opened in 1903 on the same track. The Honjo Station opened earlier; in 1894. In 1915 Honjo was renamed as Kinshichō Station. Iidamachi Station was opened in 1895 and closed permanently in 1999. Two other stations opened in between: Ochanomizu in 1904 and Shōheibashi in 1908 (now also closed). Most original terminals have disappeared today. The 1923 Great Kantō earthquake and the 1945 firebombing at the end of the Second World War damaged most stations.

[43] Tatsuno Kingo designed all three. For his designs he was assisted by the British engineer and photographer William Kinnimond Burton (11 May 1856 – 5 August 1899). Karasumori Station, later renamed to Shimbashi, opened in 1909, Manseibashi Station opened in 1912 and Tōkyō Station, also known as Central Terminal, opened in 1914. When Kingo past away, his junior partner architect Manji Kasai (3 September 1863 – 19 August 1942), with whom he already collaborated in the design of the last two stations, continued the work. Shimbashi Station was redesigned between 1968 and 1976. Manseibashi Station closed in 1943.

[44] One of the targets of the 1888 Tokyo City Ward Reform Ordinance, or Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance (東京市区改正条例), was to improve infrastructure. The inner-city rail project started already a year after the adoption of this regulation. Franz Baltzer (29 May 1859 – 13 September 1927), a German engineer, worked on the railway project between 1898 and 1903, when he presented his final sketch for the central terminal. Like the first Ueno and in absolute contrast with Kingo's designs, it was inspired by local architecture. (Baltzer 1903, 21 November, 12 and 19 December)

[45] The Order of Acquisition and Disposal of Land and Buildings (東京市区改正土地建物処分規則公布) of 28 January 1889 was needed tor the realization or formation process of the 1888 Tokyo City Ward Reform Ordinance.

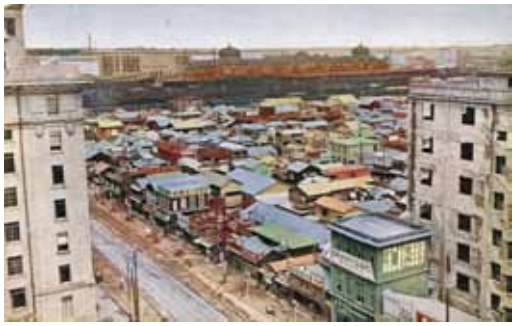


Figure 1.4.5c.
Urban fabric on the back side of Tokyo Station, 1900s

Figure 1.4.5d.
Karasumori Station, later renamed as Shimbashi Station, 1900s

improvement and in a similar way, expropriation of land for the rail developments was regulated. (鈴木栄基 and 石田頼房 1987, June) But westernisation had its boundaries. These advanced provisions in Japanese urban planning soon conflicted with Article 27 of the new Meiji Constitution,[46] which regulated 'the right to own or to hold property' as 'inviolable'. This regulation introduced the Western idea of private property and thus dichotomously the concept of public was officially arranged. It replaced a pre-Meji system in which all land was under the sole ownership of the emperor and people could have the right to utilise it[47]. However, by introducing an inviolable ownership the western conception of public interest weakened. (Tsuru 1993: 164, 173) Even under the new national City Planning Law of 1919, which eventually replaced the City Ward Reform Ordinance, governmental interference had to stay limited in comparison to the Western model. It seemed a matter of course that new rail lines would be developed by private firms again. At the same time the changed juridical context led to new ways in design and construction. Avoiding above ground difficulties and now inspired by the London underground, a businessman started to construct an underground railway. Slowly he was able to realize his plan. In more than a decade Ueno Station and a station in the neighbouring Asakusa district were connected.[48] (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1994: 32) Soon after, more underground tracks followed. At the end of the 1930s, a network of elevated and underground railways connected a wide variety of former socio-spatial fragments in the city. The network joined Asakusa, a traditional Geisha district, Ueno, a working class area, Ginza, a rebuilt Western oriented upmarket area, Marunouchi, a commercial district located within the palace's outer moat, and Shimbashi, an old wooden town of fishermen and traders. Railways broke through some walls of Confucian order. They created a network of public space: People had to mingle at the terminal. Although laws regulating the public interest de facto were different, a Western idea of public sphere and public space was combined with a traditional system of joint responsibility and communal spaces. The terminals, cores of today's interior systems, witnessed a spatial and social adaptation process in the city. Their construction effected outdoors, but above all one could conclude that the interiors themselves were the rudiments of public space in the city. In the perspective of the general research this is interesting enough, but within the consideration of Mumford's advice the case proofs that also at the time of the first publication of Culture of Cities, alien concepts could be adapted by societies and spatial systems. Or as the French historian Fernand Braudel[49] typically states: "Urban development does not happen of its own accord: it is not an endogenous phenomenon produced under a bell-jar. It is always the expression of a society which controls it from within, but also from without." (Braudel 1979: 520)

[46] The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (大日本帝國憲法), more commonly known as the Meiji Constitution, was the fundamental law of the Empire of Japan from 29 November 1890 until 2 May 1947.

[47] In the English language this system often is called the system of Public Land Public Citizen Laws (公地公民制). However in line with ancient Chinese civilization, the Han character 'public' (公) refers to the 'whole' which includes 'me'. This notion is for example related to 'fair' or 'just' (公平).

[48] The so-called Ginza Line was the first underground line. It began as the brainchild of a businessman named Noritsugu Hayakawa (3 November 1893 – 24 June 1980). After he had visited London in 1914, where he saw the London Underground, he concluded that Tokyo needed an own underground railway. He founded the Tokyo Underground Railway in 1920, and began construction five years later. The portion between Ueno Station and Asakusa Station was completed in 1927. In 1930, the subway was extended to Manseibashi Station, and in 1934 the line reached its originally planned terminus of Shinbashi. In 1938, the Tokyo Rapid Railway began service between Shibuya Station and Toranomon Station, a year later extended to Shinbashi. The two lines began through-service interoperation in 1939 and were formally merged as the Teito Rapid Transit Authority in July 1941.

[49] Fernand Paul Braudel (24 Augustus 1902 – 27 November 1985) is known for his Modern emphasises on the role of major social changes in the making and writing of history, including those in urbanism.

Chapter 5 The Societalist Approach

Figure 1.5.1.
Metabolism 1960 – A Proposal for a New Urbanism, as published by The Japan Architect, April 1961

The successful introduction of the station type in Tokyo illustrates that social patterns and spatial structures are able to transform. Bringing in an unknown type in a cultural environment did not necessarily lead to the chaos which might grow out of the difficulties in assimilating the new type. A new network was added to the existing network and public space was added to communal space. The case shows that a type with a very different composition and presuming very different activities can become a part of the city, even a constituent entity. In Tokyo, the first clear evidence of this process came to the surface at the same time when Mumford drew his conclusion. For example, after 1926 starting at the beginning of the next reign, the so-called Showa period, large companies began to locate near the front of Tōkyō Station. Thus, the spatial use in the larger area changed. Because of its proximity to government buildings, many commuters from all over town began to use this station too and soon also here underground stations were built. While the interior system was enlarged, new people were attracted. Shoppers were going to the commercial areas east of the station[50] and as the station transformed into an interchange, long-distance travellers added to the crowd inside the station. So by the same token, the construction of a station resulted in a change in social behavior. (新光社 1931, entry on 大東京) Urban history learns the historian and us that behaviour and use may change. This – I would say – is most clear in the early example of Tokyo and its stations.

Then, what about Lefebvre's reasoning? Is a design, which neither supports nor opposes a city culture, helping to abridge differences in society? In other words: Instead of confronting designs of specific cultural and civic origin with social and spatial systems in other contexts, can we ease social and spatial adaptation by designing a space whose significance can be socially produced? Lefebvre called this concept 'social space'. He desired the creation of a planet-wide space, explicitly the result of a social organisation in which he advocates collective ownership and an egalitarian society. He absolutely should be considered a socialist.[51] Diametric opposed to the culturalist, he was not focussing on cultural differences. His reasoning derives not from the view point of culture at all, but from society. In a search for more complex spatialities he is envisioning international social equality. Again in extremity, if designers in the past would have designed only 'social spaces' to allow every form of social adaption then spaces would have become generic environments, and mutation and hybridisation seem only applicable to the production of space. Thus when designers would eliminate all architectural representation of cultivation and civilisation in a design then by matter of course a differentiation in types of public space would be based on use only. This is what Lefebvre preferred. The identification of bazaars, arcades, and malls as such becomes hard or simplistic. According to Koolhaas for example they all

[50] To be precise, the shoppers would go to the neighbourhoods of Kyōbashi and Nihonbashi, or Nihombashi, both east of Tokyo Station.

[51] Throughout his work Lefebvre refers to François Marie Charles Fourier (7 April 1772 – 10 October 1837), a French utopian socialist and philosopher, and to Karl Heinrich Marx (5 May 1818 – 14 March 1883) and Friedrich Engels (28 November 1820 – 5 August 1895), both German socialists and philosophers.

serve a similar public activity, even arguably the last remaining form of it: shopping. Consequently in his evolutionary perspective every interior is perceived alike. (Lefevre 1974: 7-14, Chung, Inaba Koolhaas and Leong 2001: i, 1-39) But history learns for example that without the specific cultural and civic design characteristics of the bazaar, travellers would never have been amazed and the so-called Western designers would never have been inspired to build something alike. This is true also within the broad Western context. For example, without the unique grandeur of the Parisian arcade most likely no developer would have assigned a designer to develop a plan for his own city out of France. And even within a nation or a state, because for example without the typical landscaping of the early American outdoor malls, at no time the covered mall would have come into existence. These statements, forming a perspicacity of this research, may correspond with the epistle on the introduction of the terminals in Japan. Western-style stations fed the phantasmagoria of a new spirit. But there was also a counter story. If we move on in history, a small group of influential Japanese architects rejected every cross-cultural association and abjured the exuberance of Western architecture. In the back stream of the International Style and justified by the Japanese tradition the eccentricity of the ornament was banished. Neutrality and uniformity would replace the design of space were people come together.

In the end of 1959, the group of Japanese designers presented their ideas. Like Lefebvre would do later, they envisioned spaces without applied ornament or a fixed function to convey human vitality. The next year during an international conference in Tokyo,[52] this group presented its first declaration: 'Metabolism 1960 – A Proposal for a New Urbanism'. They tried to overcome

[52] Over two-hundred urban designers and architects from twenty-seven countries gathered at the World Design Conference in Tokyo, which was held from 7 to 16 May 1960.

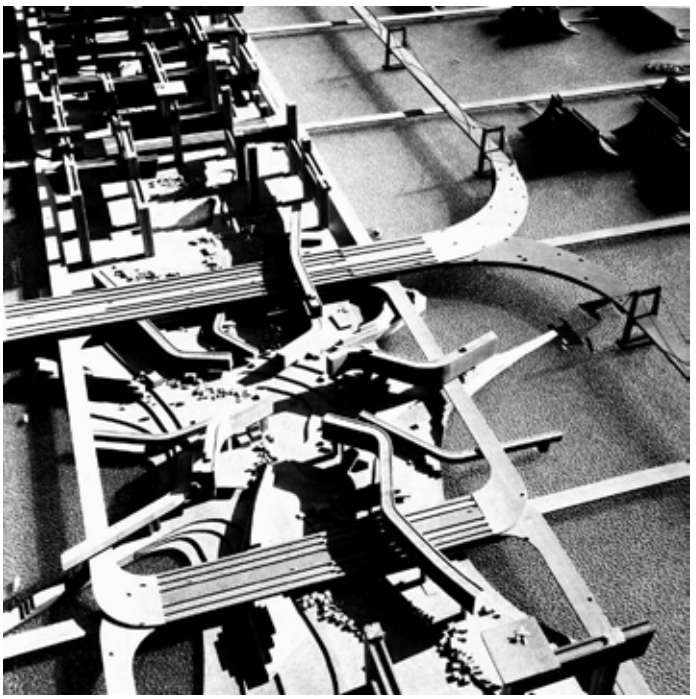


Figure 1.5.2.
Model for Tokyo Bay, 1960

variation. Their rejection of a presumed modern conflict between humanity and technology could stand in line with Lefebvre's rejection of the differences between 'social energies' and 'physical energies', or 'human and physical fields of force'. In the Metabolist opinion human society had to be regarded as 'one part of a continuous natural entity that includes all life'. They would like to condition the continuous transformation process. They aimed one kind of socio-spatial 'structure' for the city's metabole or change. Secondly they believed that technology is the extension of humanity. Human society cannot be conceived independently of the universe, nor may the cosmology leave out the knowledge of societies, Henri Lefebvre would say. The terminals were a logic case of study, because according to the Metabolists Japanese society was always growing, moving, and changing: For centuries the population has been increasing and influencing the nature of cities. Since antiquity the Japanese people were discouraged to live in fixed places. They travelled to trade, moved with the clan, went on pilgrimages, etcetera. Thirdly they were always altering to improve. Westernisation and industrialisation could both serve as examples. They called the Japanese society a fluid society, dynamic in its nature and continuously reproducing itself. Therefore they promoted spaces that are capable to serve society. (Lefebvre 1974: 21; Kikutake, Maki, Otaka, Kurokawa and Awazu, 1960, May; The Japan Architect 1961, April; and Kurokawa 1977: 27-31) A key passage in this declaration reads:

> "We regard human society as a vital process, a continuous development from atom to nebula. The reason why we use the biological word metabolism is that we believe design and technology should denote human vitality. We do not believe that metabolism indicates only acceptance of a natural, historical process, but we are trying to encourage the active metabolic development of our society through our proposals." (Kurokawa et al 1960 quoted in 1977 : 27)

Kisho Kurokawa,[53] one of the profound Metabolists, advocated a less fixed design. By focussing on 'wabi' (侘, or: わび), a taste for the simple and quiet, the detachment of things, and the

[53] Kisho Noriaki Kurokawa (8 April 1934 – 12 October 2007) was a leading Japanese architect and urban planner. He contributed to the Metabolist declaration, together with the architects Kiyonori Kikutake (1 April 1928 – 26 December 2011), Fumihiko Maki (born 6 September 1928), and Masato Otaka, or Ootaka, (8 September 1923 – 20 Augustus 2010), and the graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu (19 February 1929 – 28 April 2009).

Figure 1.5.3.
Pedestrian Y-bridge near Shinjuku Station just after opening, 1967

aesthetic or absolute 'nothingness', he tried to condition socio-spatial transformation. By removing its architectural vocabulary, Kurokawa attempted to reconnect constructions to changing society. In this line, he introduced the concept of 'engawa' (掾側), connection or media space, and 'jiga' (自我) or capsule space. The first concept had resulted in plain or simple spaces in-between the outdoor streets and indoor corridors, or between plazas and halls. They were designed as porch-like spaces which should intermediate between the urban environment and the building. The capsule space was a different kind of space. This space, both indoors and outdoors, was conceptualised against the backcloth of mass-production, prefabrication and standardisation. Plain simple spaces now should allow or even introduce flexibility, growth and change.[54] "People want space; and capsules as shapes or styles don't matter", was Kurokawa's credo. (Kurokawa 1972, March and November, as published in 1977: 185-187, Jencks 1976: 8-15) The credo was so powerful, that a new spatial concept of layering or cocooning around an inner space by use of neutral or empty spaces dominated Japanese urban planning ideas for decades.

It seems a typical Japanese answer to a transforming society at that time: back to the own roots. However, if we look back, the ideas can not be perceived as pure Japanese. Just like the exchange of designs, also the exchange of conceptual thoughts can be traced. When the Metabolist link their conceptions of space to the Japanese impermanence to space, the influence of Western spatial and social conceptions is obvious. It leads us to the visit of Kenzo Tange[55] to the CIAM Team 10 meeting of 1959. As the tutor of Kurokawa, Tange was introduced to a wide set of new Western approaches towards space. At this conference, for example the Dutch designer Aldo van Eyk stated that architecture implies a constant rediscovery of human qualities translated into space. As he would say later: 'Space has no room'. Also fellow-countryman Jaap Bakema was presenting a similar conception: that of 'in-between space', later to be followed by idea of 'transition space' of the British colleague Shadrach Woods. In the same line Alison and Peter Smithson, both from Great Brittan too, had advocated for more or less generic spaces of mobility, communication systems and infra-structure since 1954 and they repeated this concept at this meeting. All were advocating a modest role for the architect and a neutral space able to adapt to social change. Kurokawa admits that after this visit, Tange reported on the activities of Team 10. So already a year before the Metabolist declaration, he had brought the Western ideas home to his students. (Smithson 1968: 20, 41, 48, 65 and 101, Kurokawa 1977: 41)
Otherwise, also after both the declaration and the plan, Metabolism was not developing in isolation. Their theory on the presumed implications of space-use were adopted by among others the British Archigram group: The space capsule was for example a source of inspiration for Warren Chalk, the transient space and deformable space were ideals of David Greene and so on. (Archigram 1972: 25, 44, 75, 109 and 115) In France, the members of the Situationist International were influenced on the same subject. Their plans, and a Dutch plan for 'New Babylon', shared similar conceptions and a positive faith in the power of architecture to stimulate new behaviour. (McDonough 2004: 233) Also these design experiments introduced 'in-between space', 'transition space' and a variety of

[54] Commonly '掾側' means veranda, porch, balcony, open corridor and '自我' self, the ego.

[55] Kenzo Tange supported the Metabolist Group since the 1960 manifest.

Figure 1.5.4.
New Modern part of Shinjuku Station just after completion, 1964

related conceptions. The international environment dominated by groups of Archigram, Situationist International[56] was the soil in which eventually Henri Lefebvre could have intellectual roots. More so, Lefebvre became closely related to among others the Archigram and Situationist groups. His protégé and compatriot Hubert Tonka[57] brought them together. (Tonka 1997 quoted in Dessauce 1999: 10) Indirectly the ideas of Team 10 and the Japanese Metabolists had influenced not only each other but also those of Lefebvre. They all somehow tried to abridge a presumed gap between ideological considerations of the meaning of space and experiences in everyday life, despite culture and civilisation. It seems typical for the Modern avant-garde designers in postwar twentieth century.

In retrospective, the idea of Metabolism was above all philosophical. The first, most famous and widely publicised plan of the group is the utopian urban plan of tutor Tange; A Plan for Tokyo – 1960 – Toward Structural Reorganization.[58] Although this urban plan gave a great amount of detail presupposing to be implemented, it was more a theoretical exercise which foresaw a need to restructure the twentieth century city. The city was tied together by technological communication lines, and an emerging rail network, but lacked any other sufficient and direct communication. The proposed network would introduce a three-level road system, looped expressways, with connecting ramps which formed direct communication and transportation throughout the city. A planned linear expansion over Tōkyō Bay introduced a framework grid supporting high-rise towers. Branching perpendicularly from the expressway axis connecting to Tōkyō Station would consist individual units containing among others parking, shopping centres, public squares and monorail stations. (Tange 1960, 1961, and 1961, April) The plan was in line with his doctorate thesis,[59] which concerned an interpretation of urban structure on the basis of people's movements commuting to and from work. Perhaps it was Tange's logical response to mobility problems and the transformation of society, giving thought to the nature of urban structures as such, that had permitted growth and change.

Since this plan, the Metabolism Movement had produced numerous other plans for the capital city. Yet still in the formation of the city no overall plan had been realised. More than two decades after Tange's plan, Isozaki and Maki presented a new Plan for Tokyo. It continued a focus on transformation, transportation, communication and people on the move. Again the main arteries abridged Tōkyō Bay, but the new plan was less an adaptable plug-in mega-structure, and more a traditional urban formation. Of course the metropolis had changed. Where in the sixties the international business district was concentrated around Tōkyō Station, in the eighties the situation was different: centres had risen in the vicinities of all larger stations, and thus Ikebukuro, Shinjuku and Ueno had become also under consideration of the city government. Tokyo had abandoned the Early Modern concept of a city and transformed into a new spatial complex, in which the development of a terminal culture, transportation nodes and huge commercial environments became dominant. Focussed on traffic and the exchange of information, this development accelerated Tokyo's growth from the second half of the 1970s into the 1980s. (Hikosuka 1991: 12) More and more

[56] More extreme was the Italian group of 'Superstudio', who depart any conception of space, but space itself. See Book 2 and 9.

[57] The urban planner Hubert Tonka (born 21 March 1943) was editor of the journal 'Utopie: Revue de Sociologie de l'Urbain', which appeared between May 1967 and December 1977, that is to say a total of 18 numbers in 17 issues (one double issue and one appendix). The eponymous group was born in 1966 at Henri Lefebvre's house in Hagetmau in the Pyrenees.

[58] 東京計画1960 — その構造改革の提案

[59] The title of his doctorate could be translated as 'Spatial Structure in a Large City'. Tange completed it in 1959.

terminals would be connected to other terminals and to new public interiors. It was the start of a new era in which large public interior systems appeared in the city. For Metabolists, the so desired city seems suddenly to have assumed considerable realism. In Tange's redevelopment proposal for Tōkyō Station, he replaced the old Western-style station by a Metabolist high-rise version. The original twenty metres high silhouette was – so to say – 'restored' to hundred-and-twenty metres. The new station would become part of an enclosed ensemble with two buildings on each side of the tracks and two bridge-like wings connecting them. The façades were imposing in size but modest in ornamentation. Indoors, a large concourse on street level would replace the traditional terminal hall. It would mainly facilitate pedestrian flows to the train tracks above and the subway below. Outside, an elevated deck would do about the same. This plan largely followed one of the previous redevelopment proposals of Tange. Also exemplary is the 1980 proposal for Shiodome / Shimbashi. This plan also introduced underground spaces and elevated decks to mediate between station and street network. However, the main station, as it was, was unaffected. All attention for a new terminal was focussed on the surroundings of the neighbouring underground Shiodome Station a few blocks south. This station would be extended to relieve congestion and two interior malls would connect the underground portion of the complex with the commercial streets of Ginza. Upstairs, again a huge pedestrian deck was introduced. It would give access to hotels, offices and housing, but also by a skyway it would connect Shimbashi. Again space was facilitating all kinds of connections. (Tange 1987, June published in 1987, November/December) A few years later, in 1988, Kenzo Tange started at a proposal for a third centre: the Shinjuku district. He won the architectural design competition for the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office. Again the plan was connected to a new subway station. A group of high-rise buildings formed an open urban space, 'unparalleled elsewhere in the world' he would say. An extensive interior system connected an outdoor semi-ellipse plaza. Surrounded by the assembly building, it should be the heart of society. Slopes designed gently downward towards a stage should condition open-air performances which could be enjoyed by the public. But it had become an in-between space which was not capable to serve society; neither dynamic in

Figure 1.5.5.
Shiodome redevelopment proposal, design by Kenzo Tange, 1980

Figure 1.5.6.
Japanese commutors at Tokyo Station, 1970

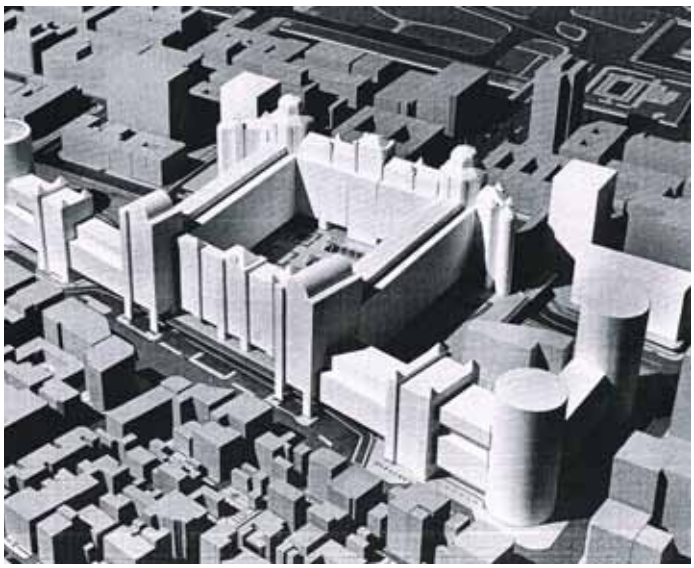


Figure 1.5.7.
Tokyo redevelopment proposal, design drawing by Kenzo Tange, 1986

its nature nor continuously reproducing itself. Within the country immediately the critique was manifest: "There are no humanly-scaled urban images. The problems that remain are those of the human-city interface. It is only by developing visible and invisible aspects of the interface that fragments of the urban culture of the past, now reduced to information, can survive." (Hikosuka 1991: 13) Things started to change. Shiodome Subway Station closed in 1986. A few years later during a survey excavation for historic remains conducted in the area of the Shiodome site, the foundations of the first Shimbashi Station terminus were rediscovered along with the platforms and track beds. It was decided to preserve this area and in 1996, the Old Shimbashi Station Terminus was designated as tangible cultural property by the national government.[60] All plans changed and preservation and restoration work started. Shiodome identity as an historic district was put forward and planners aim to design "a city for the 21st century that still retained some of its older character". Designers created barrier free plazas and other public spaces indoors and outdoors, all in addition to the existing spaces of pedestrian flow to encourage people to gather in each of the zones. Tree-planted areas had been provided with the idea of creating a calming and pleasant cityscape. (Nishikawa 2003, July) Building regulations even introduced an architectural vocabulary. Shapes and styles did matter again. A similar reorientation in plans had become true for Tōkyō Station. As soon as demolition plans were published opposition started to roar. The ideas to redevelop the station and the square in front immediately drew protests from architectural historians and led to the formation of a citizens' group to lobby for the protection of the station. Within a few months, the government placed a temporal freeze on the sale of government and Japan Railways land, in an effort to calm frenzied land speculations. (Reynolds 1988, 11 March) It was the start of a long process of reviewing plans and preserving the station. Also the Tōkyō Station building became part of a preservation project. Like Shiodome/Shimbashi, this did not hold back new developments. When a few years ago renovation and restoration plans for the

[60] The area was archeologically investigated in 1991. The preservation of the station, or what was left, was formalised on 18 October 1996, on the basis of a report made by a so-called Cultural Properties Commission, which was established under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (文化財保護法, passed on 30 May 1950, with number 214). This law defines and protects Japanese cultural heritage. Japan had passed its first preservation law already in 1897, but a new variety of buildings could be designated as important cultural property in the new law. (Reynolds 1988, 11 March)

old terminal building were put on the drawing board, the whole complex became part of reconsideration. Today this has resulted in a redesign of the interior on street level to connect both sides of the station in a more sufficient way, in the demolition of a 1950s department store hiding the entire terminal exit on the east and in an improvement of the connection between a contemporaneous underground shopping mall and the old station[61]. New high-rise towers have been constructed to mark the future east exit and to give room for new programme. In a hundred years, the interior public space has transformed from a single terminal to a labyrinth of station terminals, tunnels subways and malls. Every addition to the system and every transformation of the surrounding area have led to more users. Now the interior has to be enlarged and widened, and the connection between interior and outdoor street patterns is object of improvements. All is done to serve the people in a better way. Tōkyō Station is still there, but "Tōkyō Station becomes a town. 'Tōkyō Station City'[62], as the developers announce today. (East Japan Railway Company, 2008, 29 August) These kind of transformations are ongoing in most stations in the city, more so, in most large public interior systems in metropolises all over the world.

To summarize the Tokyo case: In the 1870s society underwent a huge transformation. It led to the opening of the borders of Japan and a long-term shift in the city. As soon as the Westerners could enter the city, they stared to impact the urban space. On request, they brought along urban projects based on their own ideas of a modern industrialised city. They added a notion of Western public space. Especially the introduction of rail transit and the design of terminals and station areas had a major contribution to this. Until then, the citizens of the capital were used to a different kind of 'common spaces', each organised in a different way, serving a smaller community and far from open for all kinds of people. With the opening of mass transit, people were assembling at one place, despite differences in communal background. As society euphorically continued to change, urban space transformed further. Although, it introduced a kind of interior atypical to the traditional Japanese culture, the social and spatial structures adapted. The new public space was embraced; somehow. A century later, the local Metabolists began to oppose to these kinds of Western designs. In their view, the projects should be replaced by new structures introducing a neutral kind of space more fitted to Japanese society. On the one hand, this advocation was part of a larger social reorientation and renewed interest in the own culture. Yet, on the other hand, the proposed reconstruction echoed a radical wave of western Modernism. The means to do so – by demolishing the existing – were by themselves a break with what had become part of Japanese society and Tokyo's urban space. At the time, protest to these plans would be understandable. A variety of collectives disapproved of the Metabolist proposals. Although explicitly called 'engawa' and 'jiga', the proposed neutral spaces were again related to Western culture, but now without undergoing further westernisation or any other social transformation justifying them. The existing terminals were playing a just too important role in the contemporary city, also culturally. The pertinacious opposition could move the Metabolists to adjust their plans. Similar to the

[61] The station building on the Yaesu side was constructed in 1954 as a railway hall to create an east exit. It also housed the Daimaru Department Store (大丸東京店) and it connected the station with the underground shopping mall of Yaesu, now known as First Avenue Tokyo Station (東京駅一番街), already opened in July 1953.

[62] 「東京駅が街になる」... TOKYO STATION CITY（東京ステーションシティ）」(East Japan Railway Company, August 29th, 2008)

Figure 1.5.8a.
Tokyo Central Station, 1950s

Figure 1.5.8b.
Tokyo Station City, 2000s

European experiments, the realisation of such extreme adaptable variants failed in Tokyo. The terminals were never demolished and public space was never replaced by something else. However, the Modern plan makers did re-introduce a focus on the terminals and with that they provoked a breakthrough in the construction of larger interior systems, which expanded the public space in a, for a long time, unequalled way. Whereas, the attempt to create something like 'connection space', 'media space', and 'capsule space' continued on a Western line of reasoning, in return, the adjustment to the Japanese culture and the translation into visionary plans inspired designers in the West. Yet, even though, impermanence might be one of the essential fundaments of Japanese culture and, as emphasised by Kurokawa, and transformation and tradition is one, I must conclude that the culture of the city illustrates certain persistence. Perhaps any civilisation expresses an awareness of cultural heritage. Too much impermanence or transformation leads to discussion. The reflection on the city's interior systems illustrates this. Recently, even some old stations in these systems had been restored. Thus, to go short; what conceptually and aesthetically has been considered as a valuable part of the city's culture by the generation of designers after Kingo, has been rejected by Tange et al a few generations later, only to be revived by a succeeding generation of today. The work of the Metabolism group tends to be theoretical, while their avant-garde design applications to the every day is rhetorical. Eventually any supporting evidence for the success of their concepts, also lies within, and will be advanced by, their own poetry, as Lefebvre has said. It "succeeded only in producing a lyrical metalanguage of history, an illusory fusing of subject with object in a transcendental metabolism". (Lefebvre 1974: 27)

> " ...dans et par leur poésie, les surréalistes n'apportaient qu'un métalangage lyrique de l'histoire, une fusion illusoire du sujet avec l'objet ainsi dans un métabolisme transcendantal. Métamorphose verbale, anamorphose, anaphorisation du rapport entre les << sujets >> (les gens) et les choses (le quotidien), les surréalistes donc surchargeaient le sens et ne changeaient rien." (Lefebvre 1974 : 27)

Like Lefebvre's own above arguments to reject surrealistic ideas, perhaps it is also too romantic, revolutionary or idealistic to presume that 'social space' can overcome a conflict between humanity and technology. During the life of Lefebvre, the attempts of Metabolism have shown that such an approach is not able to abridge differences in cultures and civilisations. It does not help to design spaces for real societies. Less fixed spaces detached of any style or aesthetic can not 'guide' transformations in the city. The people reject ideas and designs representing this presumption. The implementation of social space, or anything in the line of such, creates a new conflict: a conflict between the legacies of physical artefacts of society acquiring meaning, the way society values existing designs which may be used and the effect of a philosophical upheaval in the way designers are presumed to think of space.

Chapter 6 Delineations of this Research

In the West more and more the debate around public space seems to focus on public interiors. This is not extraordinary, because in present-day Western society we see a lot of exemplary interiors becoming part of urban life and urban structure. In everyday use, being in the city most often means that interior public space cannot be avoided. Like in Tokyo, part of these interiors is even a constituent element in the contemporary city. The developments of huge public interiors in the city and the seemingly sudden appearance of large interior systems have called for this research on interior public space. As surely a wide spread urban design task is coming into view, urban and architectural designers really should understand the socio-spatial roles of interior public spaces in the contemporary city. For example, millions and millions of people use railway stations to change trains or to enter the city every day. For me a transfer at Rotterdam Central Station is as common as a walk through the street were I live, but more people use and know the station, pass through it and gather there, than in the case of my street. In New York, going from 7th Avenue to Grand Central on 5th Avenue, a pedestrian tunnel and the 42nd Street Shuttle provide me with an easy hub between the two subway stations. In Toronto, an underground and elevated walkway-system links most offices and shopping centres downtown. In Paris, arcades form comfortable connections, as do bazaars in Isfahan for example. They bring me where I have to go. They are all examples wherein public transport and pedestrian traffic has defined how we use the urban interiors. There are also examples where en masse people spent longer periods of time in an interior without going anywhere. People shop, stroll and enjoy the indoors as if it is the outdoors. The interior becomes a destiny; a destiny even for urban entertainment and leisure. Think of the mall for example. Is it not quite common in American suburbs to meet at the mall? Here we encounter strangers or join friends as we did almost solely outside in ancient times. Often the food court is the area used for gathering. Nothing really changes: Like any old courtyard it is an enclosed space, having its opening to the main artery. But now, it is shut in by the counters of the multiple food vendors and above all it is inside. We can also spent hours on the main mall itself. In general the space contains trees, seating and other features pleasing to the eye. While we sit and chat, we watch the fountain and the people passing by. All these interiors emerge in our networks of public space. It seems a new phenomenon coming into our view only recently. In the last decades the fast increasing amount of interiors serving the larger public seems to envelop us. Is it an uprising? Is it a revolt that assaults outdoor space? Is this an attempt of certain groups in society to overthrow public owned public space and create its own?

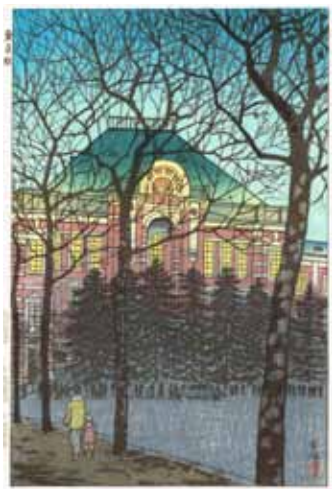


Figure 1.6.1.
Japanese woodblock print of Tokyo Station, 1954. By Kasamatsu Shiro (11 January 1898 - 14 June 1991)

Overwhelmed by what's going on in the world, we juxtapose foreign futures over ours. We feed ourselves with projects which we use to support our line of reasoning, while globalisation and the internet

eases the accessibility of an immeasurable amount of sources. In a way we always did. Around the globe and throughout all times designers and critics rave about developments abroad; they love it or they detest it. They use it periodically to understand emerging phenomena in their own cities. Today is not very different. We try to get a grip on the rise of interior public space by looking to similar developments in other cities. So as an example again, of course my Dutch colleagues are looking to Tokyo. Some step over the chaos and then ask what we can learn from their approach to urban space. Should we allow a similar private regime to serve the public domain? Isn't it time to ease our approach towards privately owned public space and learn from the Japanese cases? Is Tokyo our future? (Chorus 2006, April: 23, Wissing 2006, June: 11) They ask similar questions after they have observed Chinese cities, Arabic new tows, or Brazilian metropolises. These are very interesting questions, but the answer might be too much based on the observations only, and the physical experience is perceived from the own cultural background. In Japan, we may confuse public space with traditional common space, which can easily be perceived as equal but which is not the same. If we mean public space, do we then understand

Figure 1.6.2a.
Street exhibition renovation of Tokyo Station

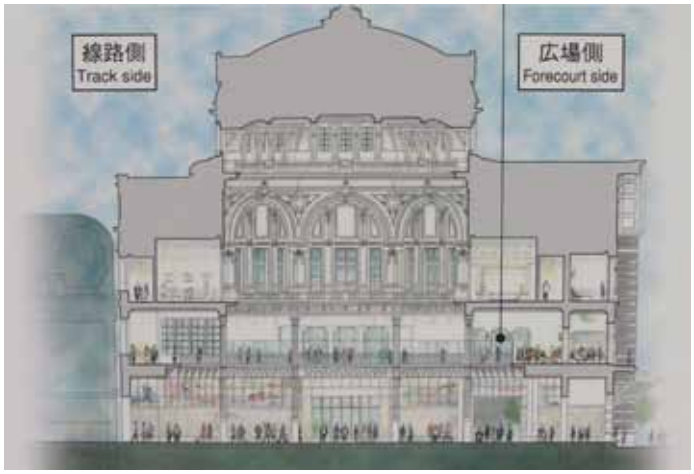


Figure 1.6.2b.
Street exhibition renovation of Tokyo Station

the same? Is the space only for the use of the public, or analogously related to the people in general and at the same time open to view or knowledge of all? With space, do we mean a room as well as an area or perhaps an empty interval? The Japanese case serves merely as an example of the complexity of the subject. It could easily be replaced by another. The differences in cultural meaning and semiosis stay as long as our denotations are based on our own references. They are embedded in our culture. In the end, the only phenomenological similarity may be that the compared cases concern interiors. Thus in line with our definition, we only look 'on the inside' of a built construction and we study the designs only from the 'inner' perspective. (Nakao 1995: 335, 457, 543, 596, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 195, 537, 859, 1039) On a global level the process of interactivity between designers of disparate cultural groups is an extremely complex one. This research does not endeavour to map this. For the larger part this is not necessary, because most striking public interiors in our cities are originated in what has been called the West. Therefore, this research sufficiently may delineate itself somewhere along cultural lines of what we still call the Western World. Yet, I have to admit this would be risky as immediately it recalls absolute definitions of the Occident and the Orient as started by Max Weber.[63] (Weber 1909 and 1924) It makes 'Western' a phenomenological dichotomist conception, related to an Early Modern abstract notion inclusively deriving from Western social sciences, including politics, and in its premises it is always non-overlapping with 'Eastern'. Although social science is essential to any study on public space, a delineation depicting the outer edges of west on this basis will be first and foremost Western conceptualised. It will be an outline, in which many others may not recognise themselves. In this line of reasoning, the emblematic idea of a typical Western city and a typical Eastern city splits the world in two and objects globalisation, thus overlap and exchange, through times. Hence, to the same effect, I have to describe the drawn outline of this research by the underlying similar cultural identification of public space. As such, the research is based primary on the influences of an Indo-European culture, which includes the dominant current culture across the Americas, especially the north. Yet, then also, people in the Turkic and Arabic cultures have been active in the becoming of today's public spaces as to varying degrees. Their societies have been reaching into Europe and Iran through history and as such they have influenced the phenomenon of study. Perhaps, in its essence, this research is based on all relevant interrelated aspects settled on the Greco-Roman traces, which goes along with the birth of the notion of public in the first place.[64] The outline of this research may be blurry but delineated on the one hand by our social notion of public space culturally funded in an Indo-European world and on the other civically based on archaic Roman and Greek conceptions.[65] The choice of my case studies includes several interiors within this common cultural and societal derivation, and thus my research uses Japan only as an introductory case.

All together, the general focus of the research is set along a line of understanding complexity rather than of presumed chaos or order. The existence of both a mutual exchange between city and culture and a reciprocal relationship between space and society asks for a

[63] Maximilian Carl Emil Weber, called Max, (21 April 1864 – 14 June 1920) was a German educated as lawyer, became a politician and an economist, influencing social science. He distinguished 'Okzident' and 'Orient'.

[64] See Book 2.

[65] An Indo-European world would roughly include most of Europe, the Iranian plateau, much of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. An area based on Greco-Roman traces would refer to those geographical regions and countries, which were directly, protractedly and intimately influenced by (ancestral) cultures of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

more pluralistic approach. In that sense the research follows the footsteps of Robert Venturi's 'both-and' approach (1966), Charles Jencks 'multiple coding' (1977), and Robert Stern's 'doubles of post-modernism' (1980).[66] Likewise, it validates complexity and unifies contradictory levels: Spaces can be closed yet open, and projects can be modern ideologically and still be based on tradition. This approach helps us to acknowledge that some interiors are part of the urban network of public space, and it allows us to read the present in the past as much as the past in the present. Thus, it fuses different inflectional forms, the modern universal 'cardboard box' with the local specific meanings. It unifies the approaches of Kurokawa and Kingo, Lefebvre and Mumford. Foremost, it syncretises the designs desire for a clean break with the recognition of the continuity of tradition. (Venturi 1966: 30-38, 71-89, Jencks 1977: 38-45, Stern 1980, Spring) Particularly if we want to understand interior public space, the actual observed properties of design, such as style, form, material, colour, contrast and unity, or lay-out, size et cetera, needs to be completed with hereditary information, even if not expressed, and the variability in relation to its environment and its particular use through history. A public interior expresses the condition of numerous public spaces and numerous forms of relationships among its elements, within and across different (sub)-cultures and cities, all predominantly referring to a common notion of public and private matters, property and powers.

So firstly, if interiors are public, they should not be perceived as independent entities but by matter of course as being part of a network of public space transforming in time. The analyses,

[66] Charles Alexander Jencks (born 21 June 1939) is an American-British architectural theorist and landscape architect. Robert Arthur Morton Stern (born 23 May 1939) is an American arcitect.

Figure 1.6.3a.
Interior of Marunouchi System, 1928

progressive in nature, have to be focussed on the network as a whole, the interior system, its components and its relation with the exterior. Every spatial analysis describing this arrangement of composition can be best interrelated to the social behaviour patterns and the use of the public space. Secondly, any idea in practice, introducing a new composition and use in reality, embeds designs in a set of crucial characteristics of the specific city and its culture. The ways networks are composed and used vary as to the extent to which they are part of specific urban mechanisms. Understanding the design of interior public space is related to the understanding of the context. But again, these mechanisms evolve through time and seldomly by themselves. The spatial interventions and social change, by which the evolution is catalysed, are in cases throughout all times related to spatial and social transformations elsewhere. So, thirdly, mapping the cross-cultural relations designates a group of related design solutions as well as it clarifies the adaptation to an environment, the mutation caused by copying errors and the specialisation process as a whole. Most frequently the press witnesses this process. It does so especially when a public interior appears new in a city and feeds the imagination, or when an interior has to close. Where in the early days, ancient epistles and travel reports describe all this and inform people abroad; today, newspapers, magazines and other mass media do so. If available, books and articles introducing the initial intentions of the designer, constructor or developer may counter this process by a preliminary and still theorematic vision on the past future. True or false, often these writings do reveal design precedents in another city or foreign culture. Mapping these processes help to define mechanisms applicable to other cases. Inherently, lastly and above all, in a research on interior public space the emphasis must be on the identification of the public interest. Interiors can be public as they can pertain to the affairs of all people, but the views on how people should benefit from this, how they do really and how this must be regulated differ strongly. Therefore as the public interest is the dominant and most fundamental premise in the design of the network of public space, the next book will illuminate exactly this.

Figure 1.6.3b.
Interior of Marunouchi System, 2008

Florence, 2006

“On April 6th, 2006, I crossed Piazza della Repubblica in Florence. It was a vibrant city square, surrounded by cafes and terraces. People were all around. This square could represent a typical European public space. The dominant Neo-Classical facades of the Arcone on the west side were designed in honour of the newly reunited Italy. It had been built, when Florence was briefly the national capital, thus in the same period when a scientific view on urbanism was born and the modern public works departments were founded. Writings learned that it had been a time in which public space seemed focused on the outdoors, but was it really? The shape of the place and surrounding arcades could resemble older squares in the city. Its urban and architectural design could even bring back the ideas of the Florentine Renaissance, or on a distance it might recall those places of the Roman Republic which were encircled by portico. A triumphal arch added to these images, because it was proudly crowned with the lines: «l'Antico Centro della Città - Da Secolare Squallore - A Vita Nuova Restituito». The text remind people to the fact that this square always had been the ancient centre of the city and that it restored to new life from age-old squalor. Indeed, paintings in the Uffizi had taught me that the square, once the Roman centre of the ‘colonia’ Florentia, had become covered by medieval market structures. The relocated Loggia del Pesce used to be one of them. While I crossed the square to continue on the old main axis of the Roman settlement, I questioned if public life was focussed on the indoor in the past. I entered the monumental premises of Palazzo Strozzi as I was wondering. Inside, I could enjoy a unique exhibition on Leon Battista Alberti, presenting his models, manuscripts and printed books. I realised three things. First, the idea of the city had been changing continuously as did the notion on public, public matters and public space. The exhibited ‘Città Ideale’ of an unknown artist represented the Renaissance idea for a city square. On itself, it was a re-interpretation of what a modern Roman forum would be. Although in size, height and even colour, it introduced similar design as Piazza della Repubblica, the public meaning of such a square could never been exactly the same. Instead, it had to been subject to continuous transformation. The same goes for Alberti's own work, reinterpreting ancient works, and work of the next generations, who like me, expounded it. Second, the shifts of paradigms in the design of public space and related reasoning often had come together with political transformation. The exhibition enlightened how Alberti's work was created in an era, which was dominated by a church convocation in the city, assembling Latin and Greek ideas. Rediscovered ideas on public and public space as such could not stand on their own, nor would it make sense to develop them completely independent, in any future. Third, by focussing on these shifts in history, long evolutionary processes could become comprehendible to study and in its reconstruction, understandable to read.”

The Public

Fresco of the Athenian philosophers in Stanza Della Segnatura in Vatican City, 1500s

Book 2

Chapter 1 Modern PubliCity

When a designer walks through the inner city of Florence, he or she will experience the sequence of the narrow streets and the rhythm of the buildings along them. Many streets are curved and irregular. Only once in a while there is a vista offering prospect on a longer distance or a square giving room for a stay. The architectural variety is rich, and harmonious in colour, texture and material: White, ochre, yellow stucco and solid rustic stonework for most constructions and some terracotta panels or black and white marble for the monuments. Wooden shutters, iron grilles and cave-like entrances are in almost every facade. The standard pavement binds the public spaces together; whether it is a remainder of the old 'via strata' or part of modernised streets introducing new granite blocks. Even asphalt does not contrast much, everywhere the ground surface is dark gray. Apart from colour, texture and material, they introduce small elevations, slants, steps or even stairs and their surface is raised, lowered or otherwise moulded to serve the user better. From many perspectives the public network is conceivable as a sequence of three-dimensional outdoor rooms. All public spaces are more or less boundlessly related to each other. Some shade off into each other, others cross clear borders, but every street and every square in the centre of Florence is always open for everyone. They are in any case publicly-owned. Via del Corso is, Via Roma is, and Piazza della Repubblica is. Yet, the arcades of the Arcone[67] seem also part of the public space. Are they owned as such? From several perspectives the matter of being private space normally could be defined simply by fences, walls, built constructions, the roof and a door or a gate separating it from the exterior, but by nature arcades are half open by a succession of arches and vaults and half interior, part of the building. The ambiguous nature is accentuated by a different pavement. It is predominantly of white Tuscan marble,

[67] The Italian architect Vincenzo Micheli Pellegrini (8 September 1833 – 17 September 1905) designed the Arcone.

Figure 2.1.1.
Ponte Vecchio over the Arno river in Florence, 2006

Figure 2.1.2a.
Left: Loggia del Mercato Nuovo

Figure 2.1.2b.
Right: Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore

ornamented with unicursal hexagrams in black and red. This pavement seems to indicate a private ownership. Thus, on the one hand the arcades are open to everyone, while on the other hand they are privately held. This is different in the case of the Loggia del Pesce.[68] Its pavement is different and it may be questionable if this old fish market is interior or exterior, but it is most probably publicly-owned. Throughout the city we find more equivocal examples. For the Loggia del Mercato Nuovo[69] the ambiguity is exactly the same as for the Loggia del Pesce, but in the case of the nineteen-century glass-and-steel Mercato Centrale[70] new questions rise. It is really indoors, enclosed and incorporates two floors, thus moving away from the streets. The atmosphere is very different, but still, like outdoor markets, very urban. In the same respect we could approach the Stazione di Firenze Santa Maria Novella.[71] Like in many stations all over the world, the interior design is different from the outdoors and the ownership is private, but its urbanity resembles outdoor stations. Above all, by serving public transit, as illuminated before, it is essential in the network of public space. What about the Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore[72] or any other church? If anywhere we find people gathering at large, it is in the Duomo. In the pre-republican era, churches were built with funds from the public, so they could be defined as public space. However: Again indoors, they are enclosed and most people nowadays pay a ticket to get in; especially in Florence. They may be more a museum, but then still. We can use Florence to continue where Book 1 ended. Any Italian city may do so, but especially this city could serve as a great base to start defining interior public space. In many projects in everyday life, it is not the question if an interior is public space, but what makes them public and how to define them?

As illustrated in the previous book, from out of the people's perspective public space within the interior does exist, simply because it is used by them at large. These spaces are public by their social meaning and value, which reaches much further than the building itself and in which their urban nature is turned into an interior. In a system of relations between building and city, both in themselves and in their interrelation, they are representatives of the collective life. Aware of this nuance, a difference in '*public space*' and '*collective space*' seems one of the persistent designers' solutions.

[68] The Tuscan, Arezzo-born, architect Giorgio Vasari (30 July 1511 – 27 June 1574) designed Loggia del Pesce in 1567.

[69] Generally, the local Tuscan architect and sculptor Giovan Battista di Marco del Tasso (1500 – 8 May 1555) is indicated as the designer of Loggia del Mercato Nuovo, working on it between 1547 and 1551. Yet, early documents stated that the Lombard-Venetian poet, courtier and architect Bernardo Tasso (11 November 1493 – 5 September 1569) was responsible in 1548. Mercato Nuovo, also called Loggia del Porcellino, was built to extent the old covered market or Mercato Vecchio in the centre of the city.

[70] Between 1870 and 1874, Giuseppe Mengoni (23 November 1829 – 30 December 1877) designed The Mercato Centrale, north of the city centre, to replace the old covered market. The market would be also known as Mercato di San Lorenzo.

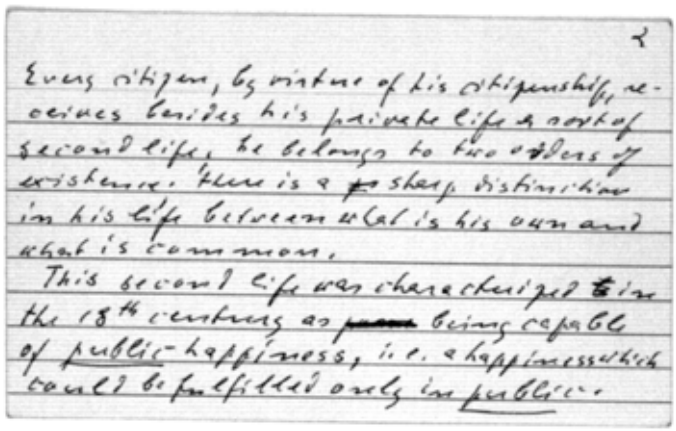
[71] The Stazione di Santa Maria Novella replaced between 1934 and 1936 the former central station of Florence. It was designed in 1932 by the so-called Gruppo Toscano, which included Giovanni Michelucci (2 January 1891 –31 December 1990), Italo Gamberini (21 September 1907 – 25 October 1990) Nello Baroni (27 October 1906 – 28 March 1958), Pier Niccolò Berardi (3 October 1904 –2 January 1989), Leonardo Lusanna (24 January 1908 – 5 January 1973) and Baldassarre Guarnieri, called Sarre, (1904 – 21 October 1933), who died before construction.

[72] Arnolfo di Cambio (c.1240 – 1300/1310) designed The Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore, Duomo di Firenze in 1296. Many designers continued the work. Francesco Talenti (c.1300 – 1369) enlarged the overall project between 1349 and 1359. Emilio de Fabris (28 October 1807 – 3 June 1883), designed the new facade, the last major architectural addition, in 1871. This was completed in 1887.

Learned from Late Modern architects, today to some the '*spazio collettivo*' or '*espacios colectivos*' may even have become the main new challenge. (e.g. Cerasi 1976: 24 and 30, Trancik 1986: 11 and 225, Siola 1988, November/December, and Solà Morales 1992, 12 May) This so-called collective space is formed by gathering, but unlike traditional public spaces like most streets and squares it is privately-owned. What has collectivity to do with ownership? Others search for another kind of '*other space*' like '*in-between space*', '*third space*' or '*generic space*', partaking the original pairing of public and private and either simply formed an additional combination of its binary antecedents, explicitly recomposed the dialectic by intrusive disruption or introducing an ultimate neutrality by characterising some of those spaces as part of an endless repetition of fractals. (e.g. Gehl: 1987: 107-108 and 2011: 124-124, Soja 1996: 60-62; 263-266; Koolhaas 1996: 1248-1264)

By introducing new notions implicitly the difference in ownership remains the most important base to define spaces. In general, the question if an interior is public or private means questioning if it is publicly-owned or privately-owned. It is a difference extremely dominant, if not embedded, in our profession. However if urban designers and researchers cross disciplinary borders and learn from social science, a difference in public outdoors and public interiors simply does not have to be made anymore. Following lines of reasoning in Modern sociology, another point of view could be given. Here publicity was defined by social behaviour and ownership was or became less relevant. On the one hand within social sciences, references were made towards what was called; the '*public realm*', on the other hand towards the '*public sphere*'. The first reference, the public realm, as the sphere of action and speech, would contrast to the private realm of the household, as the sphere of necessity, or shortly as a sphere of existence, survival and the reproduction of

Figure 2.1.3.
Florence with the Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore and Battistero di San Giovanni in the northern part of the centre, Piazza della Repubblica and Loggia del Mercato Nuovo in the middle, Palazzo Vecchio, Galleria degli Uffizi and the collonade under the Corridor in the south


2

Every citizen, by virtue of his citizenship, receives besides his private life a sort of second life, he belongs to two orders of existence. there is a sharp distinction in his life between what is his own and what is common.

This second life was characterized in the 18th century as being capable of public happiness, i.e. a happiness which could be fulfilled only in public.

Figure 2.1.4.
"Every citizen, by virtue of his citizenship, receives besides his private life a sort of second life, he belongs to two orders of existence, there is an sharp distinction in his life between what is his own and what is common", Hannah Arendt in response to a paper on Private Rights and the Public Good given by Charles Frankel (13 December 1917 - 10 May 1979), a Professor of Philosophy and Public Affairs at Columbia University, 15 February 1974

life. The term public alone in this line signified 'common to us all'. Property was relevant foremost in the private realm. (Arendt 1958: 52-67) This definition was closely related to the second reference framing the public space. This one introduced the notion public sphere, which was translated from '*bürgerliche öffenlichkeit*' or just '*öffenlichkeit*'. It betrayed a municipality of concurrent meanings, but starts with the behaviour of people. The public sphere 'stoot or fell with the principle of universal access...'. Ownership was of less concern. (Habermas 1962, and 1991: xv, 70, 85) By using the term realm, a quite simple reference to a region, under the dominion of a king, could be made. Yet, any region with the suggestion of a ruling power would apply. Thus, in this conception the public realm ought to be defined as an area controlled as a whole and the people would and should be all part of it. Slightly different, by using the term sphere, the circuit or range of action, knowledge, or influence was linked to the connotation of public. A long list of related connotations might follow, but they all more or less shared the same essence. The general linguistic emphasis was put on the apparent outward limits of public space. In the same line, one could explain the public sphere, as it relates to the place or position people have in the whole, to the aggregation of persons, and to which they claimed to have special interest. Metaphorically, it could be the orbit of individual people set in groups and the larger whole. (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989xiii: 278 and 1989xvi: 205-206) Hannah Arendt, using realm, saw people as part of something big, the all-embracing, whereas the younger Jürgen Habermas, prefering sphere, choose to start with the people, expanding their influence to something larger.[73] In both, public space was more than just a physical volume defined by absolute public qualities, reduced in ownership presuming a use by all people. In the latter notion ownership issues is left even. But if in this line public space had not been immediately dependent on the complete legal control of the government, does it exist anyhow? A universal public or the people would make spaces public, because they could control the space by action, by influence or merely by knowing the place and talking about it. Pertaining to the place made a space public before anything else. The purpose for that might be many, as many as the aggregate of persons forming the particular public. Over time, each public space had its own cultural meaning and social value, its own unique history and future. In close association to each other and

[73] Johanna Arendt, known as Hannah, (14 October 1906 – 4 December 1975) was a German-American philosopher, and societal and political theorist and Jürgen Habermas (born 18 June 1929) is a German philosopher and sociologist.

by matter of course, these values and meanings derived in their interrelation. The appearance of the city's network could portray all that, and because so, the city could represent an innumerable amount of things. Many urban and architectural designers might have their own interpretation. Contemporary Florence, as an example, has been filled with histories and memories to the past open for explanation. "The central city has a distinct character of almost oppressive strength", as Kevin Lynch[74] has put it; "Every scene is recognizable, and brings to mind a flood of associations." The Image of the city may be unusual, but strong. (Lynch 1960: 92-93)

Florence not only includes numerous public spaces in a system and numerous forms of relationships among them, but due to its role in history it is able to help us to trace the Greco-Roman or Indo-European notion of public, and thus it traces us back to the concept of public interest. In all phases in history, a renewed public interest reanimated the idea of public space, and in all times the urban vision on public space predominantly was related to a common notion of public and private matters, property and powers. In brief: Florence is founded in the last years of the Roman Republic. It developed itself towards a city-state in medieval times, approaching the concept of a well-ordered polis. It was in the centre of the early republican rebirth in Europe during the Renaissance, and it was briefly the capital of a reunited Italy in the nineteenth century. Also 'quit recent', during The Sixties when popular culture rose, a counterculture emerged and a social revolution was announced Florence became a stage of an idealistic scene of architectural and urban designers envisioning a new public space. This period was an essential period for understanding contemporary public space, or at least it was essential to introduce the subjects of today. In this period, not only German philosophers like Arendt and Habermas redefined the 'public interest', but innumerable others commented on the issue or criticised it too. It was the time of increasing global flows of people and the establishment of mass media. While travel and television changed powers and new groups took a share in the public debate, in politics a new populism was introduced, claiming to support these groups, typically trying to appeal a broad spectrum of the public by opposing 'the establishment' or 'the elite'. A broad

[74] Kevin Andrew Lynch (7 January 1918 – 25 April 1984) was an American urban planner, and student of Frank Lloyd Wright.

Figure 2.1.5.
The first exhibition of Superarchitettura in Florence by Superstudio, December 1966

Figure 2.1.6.
Città con Cupola e Torri by Aldo Rossi, January 1978

reinvestigation of the public interest was the result. Like other groups in society, urban and architectural researchers and designers started to respond to these transformations by determining public space as a crucial subject in their assignment.

Every city had its own scene dealing with the changing civic society and trying to create a more sufficient or adaptable urban space: Where Tokyo had Metabolism, London had Archigram and Paris had the Situationist International, Florence gave birth to Archizoom Associati and Superstudio.[75] Likewise, they introduced concepts for an almost generic space open to the public at all times to all means. By means of fictitious projects, storyboard illustrations and photomontages, these groups criticised the establishment. They summoned to reject 'design' and advocated constructions built in favour of society. They envisioned noncomposed spaces, without patterns or details. Society was seen as in its nature having primary needs very similar to those present in the time of the earliest human existence. Anti-design responded to the ways in which Modernist designs were consumed and discussed in order to overcome the presumed formalisation of present unjust social divisions. (Natalini 1971 cited by Lang and Menking 2003: 20-21)

> "...if design is merely an inducement to consume, then we must reject design; if architecture is merely the codifying of bourgeois model of ownership and society, then we must reject architecture; if architecture and town planning is merely the formalization of present unjust social divisions, then we must reject town planning and its cities...until all design activities are aimed towards meeting primary needs. Until then, design must disappear. We can live without architecture..." (Natalini 1971 cited by Lang and Menking 2003: 20-21)

On the other hand in the same years, due to certain backwardness or searching for different answers, designers counter-reacted. Florence served other Italian designers to join occurring social ideals to the evolution of a city and its culture. And thus more in line with the approach of Lewis Mumford, someone like Aldo Rossi[76] used Florence's unique character to emphasise the persistence of its culture, its 'consciousness' and 'memory', to explain its precise form. While he acknowledged a certain universality of experiences, he presented a view on the city, which was specific and divers. It would manifest itself in various ways: "in the relationship between the public and private sphere, between public and private buildings, between the rational design of urban architecture and the values of locus or place." As such, it allowed public space within the interiors too. (Rossi 1966: 10-11, 62 n 1; and Rossi and Eisenman, translated by Ghirardo 1982: 21, 108 n 1, and 122)

> "Firenze è una città concreta; ma la memoria di Firenze e la sua immagine acquistano dei valori che valgono e rappresentano altre esperienze. D'altro canto questa universalità della sua esperienza non potrà mai renderci conto del tutto di quella forma precisa, di quel tipo di cosa che è Firenze. Il contrasto tra particolare e universale e tra individuale e collettivo emerge dalla città e dalla costruzione della cosa stessa: la sua architettura. [...] esso si manifesta sotto diversi aspetti, nei rapporti tra sfera pubblica e privata, nel contrasto tra la progettazione razionale dell'architettura urbana e i valori del locus, tra edifici pubblici e edifici privati." (Rossi 1966: 10)

[75] Archizoom was a design studio formed in 1965 by four Italian architects who had met in the Facoltà di Architettura of the Università degli Studi di Firenze: Andrea Branzi (born 30 November 1938), Gilberto Corretti (born 12 April 1941), Paolo Gino Deganello (born 9 September 1940), Massimo Morozzi (born 28 January 1941). In 1967, the Italian designer Lucia Bartolini, née Morozzi and sister of Massimo, (23 Augustus 1944 – 17 Augustus 2009.) joined together with her husband Dario Bartolini (born 5 May 1943). The group became known as Archizoom e Archizoom Associati. Superstudio was an architecture firm established in 1966 in Florence too by Adolfo Natalini (born 10 May 1941) and Cristiano Toraldo di Francia (born 18 September 1941) of the same faculty. The two groups joined within the framework of Superarchitettura, founded in an exhibition held from 4 to 17 December 1966 at Galleria Jolly 2 in Pistoia, near Florence. The members of Superstudio separated in 1973. Archizoom split up in 1974.

[76] Aldo Rossi (3 May 1931 – 4 September 1997) was an Italian architect and urban designer.

In Florence, the culturalist was always present, history manifested itself all around. It would be difficult to position radicals, like Adolfo Natalini of Superstudio without Rossi. The city's past influenced most present views on the future of the city. It was an interdependency which made the Italian city symbol for the Late Modern recognition of the continuity of tradition, also for foreigners. Some years earlier for example, the British architect and urban designer Gordon Cullen[77] saw the city as "occupied territory serving the legitimate social and business needs of people and traffic routes", in which there was always a natural place for 'indoor landscapes' and 'outdoor rooms', including enclosures. History learned that these spaces had been relevant for the city if they could be "an environment for the complete human beings". Instead of illuminating the ideal open space, he focussed on the expression of inside volumes externally', the 'space continuity', and the relation 'public and private' and 'external and internal'. He concluded his reasoning with the dome of Florence as the 'most obvious' of architecture's example in a city, the inescapable monument. (Cullen 1961: 28-33; 184-192) In the rest of Europe, similar examples could be found. Yet above all, the reconnaissance of cultural tradition and history in the determination of the future was embraced especially by urban theorists in the United States of America. The 'New World' was rediscovering the 'Old World', because American cities seemed to become a most prevailing result of High Modernism. While nation-wide being faced with an extreme suburbanisation and a growing middle class, the new city was characterised by spatial homogeneity and car mobility. In retrospection, the Italian city, being one of the cradles of the Western society, might be an understandable reference to find answers to questions like: What does a city's form actually mean to the people of the people who live there? And: What is the nature of a city? Catalysed by Americans like Kevin Lynch from Boston, the analyses of Florence could help the modern metropolis to overcome man-made problems 'that often override the specificity of site'. It might help to improve its form and public image. (Lynch 1960: 91-120) Philadelphian architect and planner Edmund Bacon[78] has used Florence to explain the continuity of the city, its circulation and its composition. The Renaissance concept in which space is created by several buildings designed in relation

[77] Thomas Gordon Cullen (9 August 1914 – 11 August 1994) was a British architect and urban designer.

[78] Edmund Norwood Bacon (2 May 1910 – 14 October 2005) was an American urban planner and architect. From 1949 to 1970, he was the Executive Director of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, and form 1950 to 1987, he taught among others at the University of Pennsylvania.

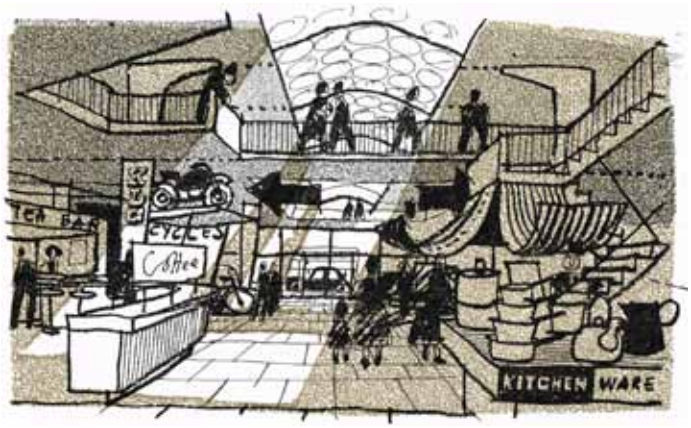


Figure 2.1.7a.
External and internal as defined by Edmund Bacon, 1967

Figure 2.1.7b.
External and internal as defined by Edmund Bacon, 1967

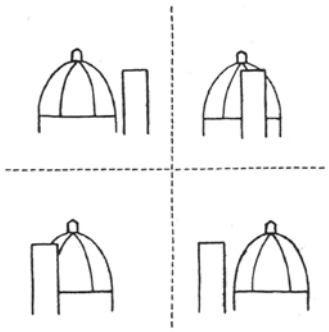


Figure 2.1.8.
Cupola del Duomo as analysed by Kevin Lynch, 1960

to one another seems to fit his ambition to think beyond the design of buildings and the design of circulation space. (Bacon 1967: 17, 85, 92-99) Younger Philadelphian designers like Venturi continued thoughts, but understand the comparison differently: The piazza in the Modern city derived "from our justifiable love of Italian towns. But the open piazza is seldom appropriate for an American city except as a convenience for pedestrians. The piazza, in fact is 'un-American'." Questions rose as to what was American: the open space of the parking lots, the highway, the spatial sprawl, or the city with thousands of the same houses… Route 66 and Levittown?[79] To stimulate understanding, he juxtaposed two different ideas: Modern Rome compared to Las Vegas, The Strip as the piazza, and casinos as churches. American outdoor public space was infrastructure; people met elsewhere, indoors sometimes. The "outside in and inside out architecture" of Palazzo Strozzi helped "architecture open the door once again to an urbanistic point of view." (Venturi 1966: 133, Venturi and Scott Brown 1968, March: 37-43 and Carroll, Scott Brown and Venturi 1972, August/September: 38-42) Each in their own way, Americans questioned how to acknowledge and combine the populist aesthetic with modernism as well as tradition. Many urban researchers had questioned this, often with a mission to oppose rather then to accept. In California, for example, Christopher Alexander[80] used Florence with the aim to create awareness on the uniqueness of place. The city modestly illustrated his proposal for urban design rules which he derived from the ideas on 'a growing whole'. He opposed the planned suburban city. Familiar to most others, his concept emphasised the relation of the origin of the city, the continuity of its creation and its ongoing growth. (Alexander, Neis, Anninou et al 1987: 9-10, 31-99) Boston colleagues Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter[81] had opposed even stronger, by choosing a different direction in reasoning. For them Florence symbolises what the city could be, or should be. In reaction to the High Modernism, they had placed the Renaissance site plan of Vasari's 'Galleria degli Uffizi' next to the Corbusian idea of a 'Unité d' Habitation'[82]. These designs had similar proportions, but in the way they were located and their foot-print was related to the open space, they could be seen as each others opposite or inverse. Rowe and Koetter were in favour of design solutions like Vasari: While Le Corbusier presented "a private and insulated building which, unambiguously," catered "to a limit clientèle, Vasari's model is sufficiently two-faced to be able to accommodate a good deal more". They qualified the later as being urbanistically far more attractive. In their vision, the solid Unité endorsed 'a private atomised society', while reciprocally the void of the Uffizi confered 'value upon both new and old'. Although they acknowledged that their comparison was trans-cultural, and between a museum and an apartment building, pure figuratively it made sense. Their so-called figure-ground comparison illustrated their critique on the disintegration of High Modern architecture, both as psychological construct and as physical model, as for example we also could discover in the research to the covered mall[83]. According to them, the architecture of the early twenty century, represented by towers and slabs in a garden-like environment, did neither meet the Modern self-defined scientific obligation nor their social aim. The urban space was not professing to be humane, but avoiding a discussion whether science or people would build the town, Rowe

[79] U.S. Route 66 was one of the original highways in the United States. Opened in 1926, it ran from Chicago to Los Angeles. Levittown gets its name from its builder, the firm of Levitt & Sons, Inc. It is built it as the first and one of the largest mass-produced suburbs between 1947 and 1951.

[80] Christopher Wolfgang Alexander (born 4 October 1936) is an Austrian-born American architect.

[81] Colin Frederick Rowe (27 March 1920 – 5 November 1999) was a British-American architectural historian and critic in the field of urban planning and design. Alfred Herman Koetter, known as Fred, (born 12 April 1938) is an American architect and urban designer.

[82] Giorgio Vasari designed Galleria degli Uffizi, or Uffizi Gallery in 1560. After his death, the local Tuscan architects Alfonso Parigi, il Giovane or 'the Younger', (1606 – 1656), court architect, and Bernardo Buontalenti (abt.1536 – 25/26 June 1608) continued the work. The office building was finished in 1581. The 'Unité d' Habitation' referred to was built in Marseille between 1947 and 1952. It was the first of five Unités designed by Le Corbusier, born Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris (6 October 1887 – 27 August 1965).

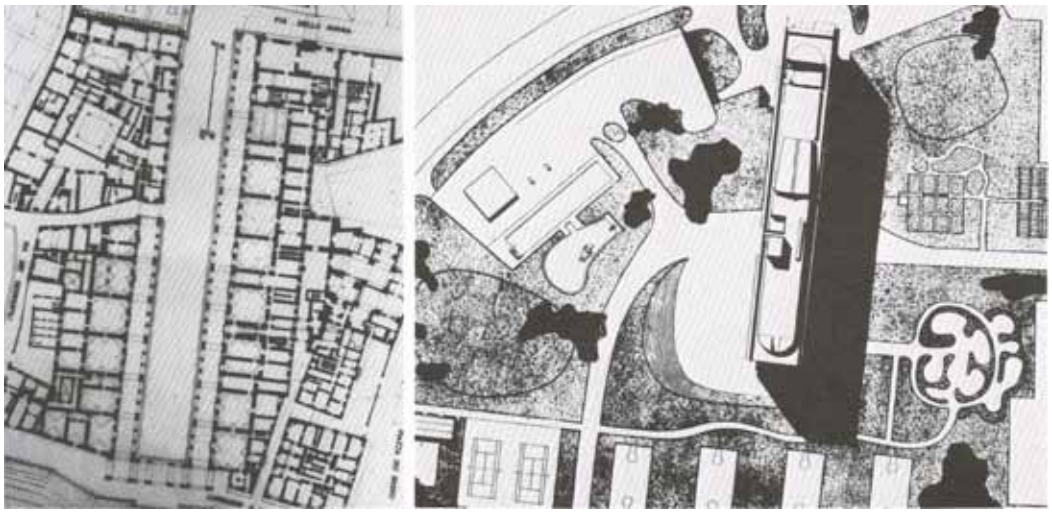
[83] See Book 6.

and Koetter proposed a reunification of the humanitarian ideals of Modernism and their scientific or objective way to do so. Like their contemporaries, they abridged presumed opposites; order and disorder, the simple and the complex, and thus they focussed on the 'joint existence of permanent reference and random happening, of the private and the public, of innovation and tradition'. This duo qualified the public spaces introduced by Superstudio as non-oppressive egalitarian, but utopian and those of Venturi as Disney space.[84] They insisted on an ideal shared, their criticism on High Modernism. In their vision the two spatial concepts should be complementary. (Rowe and Koetter 1978: 2-8, 42-43, 68-69)

All together and despite any criticism or different favours, all ideas indeed all seems to match. The Americans echo what Venturi would call 'complexity and contradiction', Jencks 'multiplicity in both ideology and tradition', and Stern 'fusion of modernity and specificity'. Their focus on ancient Italy was manifest, while simultaneously in a movement of reunification of modernity and tradition the Modern Italian thinkers, like Natalini and Rossi, were catapulted to the intercontinental stage. Natalini's international break-through was marked by the participation of the exhibition, called 'Italy: The New Domestic Landscape', which was shown at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1972. A year later when the members of Superstudio separated, Natalini started to unite his ideals with the heritage of Europe. He started realising a series of projects for historical cities, among others his home town Florence. A few years ago, Natalini was even consulting architect on the project 'Nuovo Uffizi', in which the old Florentine museum doubled the display capacity through the extension of the gallery over the original 'corridors' and the incorporation of some adjoined buildings.[85] The ideology of his fictive projects introducing endless spaces was reassembled in the void of the Uffizi accepting architectural and urban design. A differentiation of traditional and modern public space, non-oppressive egalitarian and Disney space

[84] With 'Disney space', Rowe and Koetter referred to the two popular theme parks developed and designed by the American film maker, animator and entertainer Walter Elias Disney, known as Walt, (5 December 1901 – 15 December 1966). Disneyland in Anaheim near Los Angeles started as a project proposal, dubbed Disneylandia, in 1952. After it opened in 1955, it would attract the attention of architects, urban designers and planners, like the American banker, planner and developer James Wilson Rouse, called Jim, (26 April 1914 – 9 April 1996). In his keynote speech before the Urban Design Conference at Harvard University, held 26 and 27 April 1963, he stated that "the greatest piece of urban design in the United States today is Disneyland". In that year, the work for the second park had started in Lake Buena Vista near Orlando. This park, named Disney World, would be dedicated in 1971, a few years before Rowe and Koetter published their work. At the time, it was about to be expanded by EPCOT, an acronym of Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow, showcasing "a community of tomorrow that will never be completed" with a "completely enclosed" dynamic urban centre offering "the excitement and variety of activities found only in the metropolitan cities: cultural, social, business, and entertainment". (Sklar and Disney 1967) EPCOT opened in 1982.

[85] Progetto dei Nuovi Uffizi, or the project for the new Uffizi, took place between in 2006 and 2011 under direction of Laura Baldini (born 6 February 1946).



Florence, Uffizi, plan

Le Corbusier: Marseilles, Unité d' Habitation, 1946, site plan

Figure 2.1.9.
Comparison between Galleria degli Uffizi and Unité d' Habitation by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, 1978

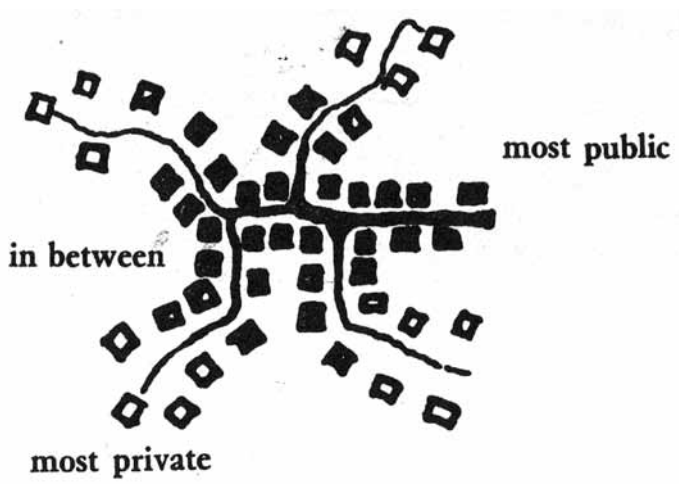


Figure 2.1.10.
In-between by Christopher Alexander, 1977

seemed to become compatible for Natalini.
The global fame of Rossi was demarcated in 1976, when he started to teach in New York. When he arrived to the US, he started to write his 'Scientific Autobiography', which appeared as one of the landmark titles in the Oppositions Books series of MIT Press. Soon also 'L'Architettura della Città', originally written in 1966, was translated in English in the same series. In the new introduction, he underlined that he was hardly an expert on the history of American architecture and cities, but from his own reference the emerging American city adds an extraordinary testimony to his book. In line with this, he reached out to the American urban researchers. In his opinion the evolution and formation of the sense of space as constituted in their city was the most important feature of some American work, notably that of Lynch. His work stayed largely focused on the European city, with a major base point in Florence. (Rossi 1966 and 1978; Rossi and Eisenman, translated by Ghirardo 1982: 12-19; and 20-35; Rossi and Scully, translated by Venuti 1981)
So, where in the end Natalini found justification of his social ideals in the historic city, the premiss of Rossi beginning with the memory of place led the way to a comprehensive vision on cities and spaces of a civic society in transformation. Ideal became real and vice versa. These Italians aimed for unification of the contemporary social ideals and the present culture of the city, seemingly coincidental to many American urban researchers and designers, which were climbing the public stage in the nineteen-sixties and seventies. But although the reality check of Late Modernists, addressing the limitations of their predecessors, had been a basis of a new emerging intercontinental network, they were not reached consensus on the notion of public space. A vivid example of this, crucial in this research, was the approach on public interiors. First, in line with Cullen, Alexander approached the phenomenon in its variety, highly interesting in the degrees of publicness. Interiors could serve a role in between the most public and the most private spaces in the city. More so, "when a public building complex cannot be completely served by outdoor pedestrian streets, a new form of indoor street, quite different from the conventional corridor, is needed", as he stated. (Alexander, Ishikawa, Silverstein et al 1977: 192-196, 246-251,

492-498, 580-584) Second and different, Lynch approached public interiors rather neutral. For him they were no more than nodes, comparable to squares and essential to be recognisable. In his conception they should be either introverted while giving a sense of its environment, or extroverted and giving direction to the outdoor world. (Lynch 1960: 72-78) Lastly, just serving again as an example, the approach of Rowe and Koetter was a frankly pessimistic one. They saw public interiors as restrictive spaces, places of exclusion and the result of a protectionist solution. If private persons would continue to become more indolent and feeble and society would continue to base itself on laissez faire introducing public interiors, it might oppose democracy in the end. (Rowe and Koetter 1978: 117, 132-134) The examples brought forward by these men were the same: they talked about train and subway stations, through-the-block arcades and covered markets. Yet, whereas interiors serving public transit hardly were presume to form a public threat, market halls and arcades absolutely did more or less in some of the arguments. The only critics a design of a transit-oriented public interior would get was its relation with the outdoors, but as long as stations were serving people using public transport, the debate on their presence was not at all dominating the field of urban and architectural design. That role was reserved for interiors devoted to public trade and entertainment. Certain researchers underline that these spaces would not have the presumed ideal neutrality of an outdoor street or square, as they were dominated by commerce. Like Rossi, and foremost in a search for arguments often classical Greek and Roman examples, like those of the Acropolis of Athens and Forum Romanum, were adapted be the Americans. The 'città antica', with its public buildings, spheres and spaces, seemed to suit every kind of reasoning, diversifying in every direction. Alexander stated that the contemporary arcades had taken the place of the ancient forum. Therefore they seemed typically Roman, thus ok. Rowe and Koetter conclude the opposite. Rejecting interior public space, they started their reasoning with a reference to the same forum, yet in their opinion it would correspond to estate structures, noted for their exclusive properties, and to contemporary shopping malls. In a bourgeois analogue, they underlined that being Roman not simply meant it should be good. (Rossi 1966: 108-117, and Rossi et al 1982: 119-126, 131-137, Alexander et al 1977: 582, Rowe and Koetter 1978: 84-85, 107-113) Each critic built on a different combination of interpretations of city culture, while aiming at different social ideals. In themselves, these early searches could be qualified as associative and mostly locked in architecture and planning. Nevertheless, despite any differences, in essence they were characteristic for the introduction of a Late Modern debate on public space, recombining ancient views.

In a few decades the arbitrariness in dealing with the subject would fade. Following the German forerunners in social science, or at least driving on general developments in society, design was related to the sphere of action and speech of people, and on their circuit or range of action, knowledge, or influence. In this process, the rising concern with the American extreme sprawl and the set out to revitalise declining downtowns should not be underestimated. New Yorkers took the lead in criticising the occurring situation.[86] They emphasised the importance of 'public life'. Journalist and urban

[86] See Book 3.

researcher Jane Jacobs[87] claimed the death of the American cities and designer Bernard Rudofsky[88] stated: "The city has neglected the people and the people in turn have neglected the city". (Jacobs 1961: 57, Rudofsky 1969: 17-19) They demarked what nation-wide was the problem: A mismatch between architecture, planning and social reality. Inspired by successful efforts in Europe, planners started to close or restrict main streets to traffic and to construct elaborate and extensive pedestrian malls.[89] The focus in street design was on the people, creating 'pedestrian streets', 'livable streets' and 'private indoor streets'. Consequently in the nineteen-eighties the interest of urban designers was combined with contemporary social research, aiming to improve the public quality. At the time urban design theorist Anne Vernez Moudon[90] summarised the two most fundamental questions as follows: What are streets, and what are the streets of the future? In answering the first question many aspects of the city's history, linking urban activities in time as well as in space, were brought forward. While the second question would be answered from out of ideology or philosophy: "many streets of the future will be reclaimed for the use by the people at large. Rethinking street use, however, means rethinking many characteristics of our society and our cities." The question abridging cultural and social research seemed simple: Were streets public? This question to her had two sides: It is a strict legal question, as in public or private property, and it is a social question, as in public or private use and thus the debate turned to democratic spaces. (Francis 1987: 23-33, Moudon 1987: 13-16) So in the case of public space in the recent decades two different approaches were joined by simply questioning the essence of public space. The questions of what public space is and what public space should be were linked by the question of what makes space public.

Due to the social transformations reaching their climax in the Sixties, the idea of public space changed. The dominating proposition to envision *new* public space, depicting a universal public, was replaced by one in which the *existing* network used by real people was revaluated. Ideology weakened and in the end the social revolution had occurred modestly. Mass mobilisations and protests might have brought countercultures to the light, but as political awareness and acceptance continued to grow popular culture became established, and thus not the ideal city became the focus but the real city, permeating the everyday lives of society. Consequently, more than High Modern architecture and planning ever did, Late Modernists tried to understand the specificity of site, the values of locus, and eventually the public quality of space. Since the Eighties, somewhat polychotomous, our colleagues referred both to the space of the community, nation or state and to the space of the people in general. Still, why in the case of *interior* public space do we tend to refer to collective space, as the privately-owned but publicly-used space? In other words: Why do we define implicitly the difference in ownership as the most important base to define spaces? Is space owned by the state more public then spaces which are an important constituent of the contemporary city and of our urban experience? It seems a matter of definition, but questioning if an interior is public or private from out of a broader perspective means raising doubts about it is relevant for the urban network anyhow, and thus if it have to be part of our urban design assignment.

[87] Jane Jacobs (4 May 1916 – 25 April 2006) was an American-born Canadian journalist.

[88] Bernard Rudofsky (13 April 1905 – 12 March 1988) was an Austro-Hungarian-born American architect, urban designer and social historian.

[89] See Book 6.

[90] Anne Vernez Moudon (born 24 December 1945) is an urban designer and researcher.

Chapter 2 Public Issues and Politics

Today, many interiors can be called public, just because in everyday life they are of or pertain to the people. They are public, because they belong to the people with or without relating to the government affecting laws and regulations. This definition is quite understandable if one considers that the notion of '*public*' carries a long evolution. In the dawn of the English Renaissance, the word '*pupplik*' appeared as an adjective in the English language. It had the meaning of 'open to general observation, sight or knowledge' (1394). Soon it had transformed into the meaning of 'concerning the people as a whole', as in '*publique*' and in the spelling '*publike*' (1427 and 1447). It was borrowed from the old French '*public*' and '*publique*', which on its turn came from the Latin '*pūblica*', an alteration of the Old Latin '*poplicus*', meaning 'pertaining to the people'.[91] In the sixteenth century, the English word appeared as a noun; to converse in '*publike*', meaning to converse in a common place (1500). Like we see in the English translation of Alberti's work, this connotation had diversified both to the abstract meaning of 'the community, nation or state' (1611) and to that of 'the people in general' (1665). It would opposed to '*private*', which in its turn is borrowed from the Latin '*privatus*' meaning apart from public life, close to the meaning of individual.[92] (Kuhn and Lewis 1984: 1445, Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989xii: 515-519 and 778-781, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 859, 840-841) A distinction between '*publicus*' and '*privatus*' is founded on a strong communal idea in which Roman public affairs oppose any kind of selfish behaviour. It is one of the major and fundamental connotations on public at the present. It is a favourite reference in the rhetoric of Late Modern ideologists: if a design concerns public issues egoism is taboo. Thus public space involves everyone, or has to involve everyone. The early series of evidences of this connotation can be best illustrated by a quote of Marcus Tullius Cicero of 51 BC.[93] In his philosophical treatise, De Re Publica he stated: "Those apologies […], which undertake to

[91] The alteration '*pūblica*' is influenced by '*pūbēs*', the adult population, perhaps related to the Etruscan 'puplu'. (see also Barnhart, and Steinmetz 2006: 818)

[92] The Latin '*privatus*' is originally the past principle of '*prīvāre*' meaning to deprive, to free, to release. The later is a verb derived from '*prīvus*' meaning one's own, single or individual.

[93] Marcus Tullius Cicero (3 January 106 BC – 7 December 43 BC) was a Roman statesman, lawyer, political theorist, and philosopher.

Figure 2.2.1.
Fresco of Marcus Tullius Cicero in the Sala Maccari of the Palazzo Madama in Rome, 1889, by Cesare Maccari (9 May 1840 - 7 August 1919)

furnish us with an easy excuse for living in selfish inactivity, are certainly not worth hearing. They tell us that to meddle with public affairs and popular demagogues, incapable of all goodness, with whom it is disgraceful to mix; and to struggle with the passions of the insensate multitude, is a most miserable and hazardous life." (Cicero 51 BC, as translated by Barham 1841: 148-149)

> "Iam illa, perfugia quae sumunt sibi ad excusationem quo facilius otio perfruantur, certe minime sunt audienda, cum ita dicunt accedere ad rem publicam plerumque homines nulla re bona dignos, cum quibus comparari sordidum, confligere autem multitudine praesertim incitata miserum et periculosum sit." (Cicero 51 BC as quoted in: Ciceronis, and Zetzel (ed) 1995: 42)

He wrote his lines only a few years after the founding of Florentia, modern Florence. The colonia was planned like most Roman coloniae. It was designed according to the well-known ideal plan, which comprised a rectangular grid lay-out still recognisable in the present urban tissue. It used to be surrounded by a wall with four gates in each direction of the wind. The gates connected the two major streets, Via Principalis and Via Praetoria, and at their crossing the main square, Principia, was located.[94] However it was not an ordinary settlement. Where most coloniae were primarily military in purpose, being intended to defend Roman territory, this colonia was founded to house 2,000 persons who held Roman citizenship. It was planned in 59 BC together with seventeen other settlements on decree of Gaius Julius Caesar.[95] (Hopfensack 1829: 168-169) For the first time the right of founding these coloniae was taken away from the people, and passed into the hands of the veterans and needy citizens, who according to Cicero used it mainly for private purposes. The way which this newly constructed

[94] The 'via principalis' included Via Strozzi and Via Corso. It was a 'decumanus', an east-west-oriented road which crossed the perpendicular cardo or 'via praetoria', now Via Roma and Via Calimala. The 'principia' or main square was located at the Piazza della Repubblica.

[95] The Roman general and statesman Gaius Julius Caesar (13 July 100 BC – 15 March 44 BC) was appointed dictator of the Roman Republic, elected for four terms and reigned between 49 BC and 44 BC.

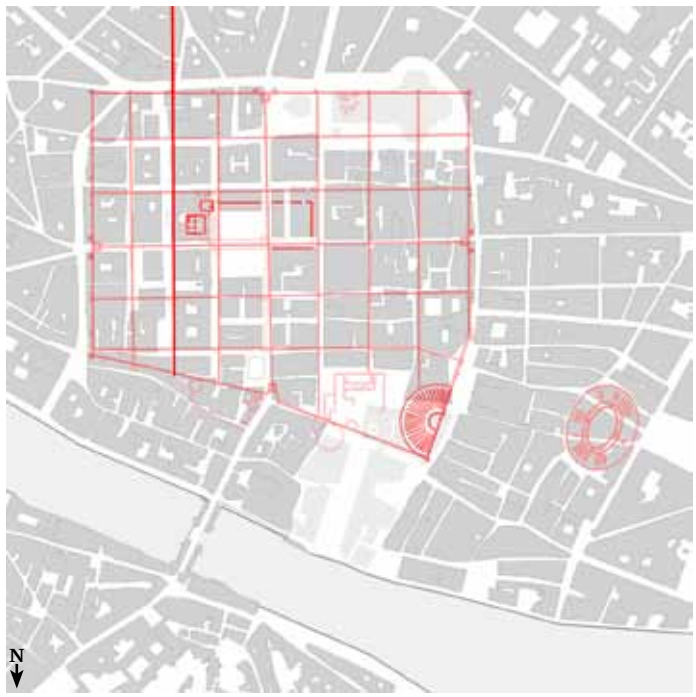


Figure 2.2.2.
Roman Imperial Florentia, with an aquaduct running though the colonia to the north, basilicae and templa around its central forum, and theatrum near the water and an amfitheater outside the fortification walls

Florentia was settled illustrates Cicero's criticism. On the one hand, he reported that the sell of land and public revenues took place in random auctions, rather than in Rome or some other specific location. On the other hand, he stated that magistrates, who wished to found a colonia, passed it on to friends and agents used to operate only under the auspices of their supervising benefactor. (Cicero 63 BC, as quoted in Ciceronis, Long and Macleane (eds) 1855: 429-430, 438-439, Gargola 1995: 179-187) Thus privatisation was not centralised and the coloniae got their own political organisation digressing republican law, excluding people. It marked the last days of the Roman Republic, introducing civil wars and the dictatorship of Julius Caesar. Thus logically, Cicero's writings echoed inclination and revolution championing a return to the traditional republican government, society's first guardian of the 'public issues'. The '*res publica*', the Latin law to match, was weakened and self-interest of the government's leader was to blame. Both Arendt and Habermas directed the attention to the Roman public law and approach the public realm or sphere as something in which not everybody can participate as promised by the government. (Habermas 1962: 16 and 66, Arendt 1958: 243-247)

In the current era, after two millennia, we still seem to agree on the idea that the public space is a public affair, public issue or public matter. As a result when this is injured, we continue to refer implicitly to the fundamental ideas of the '*res publica*', also now we do so trying to change or perhaps even to overthrow a political regime coming down in the city and thereby we wish to transform it by a renewed popular movement. Like in Early Roman times, in most Western countries the public affair is regulated democratically and thus one could conclude that a public space should be a democratic space. Should we have a vote in interiors? Have we in the streets? Fair enough maybe not today, because for the majority participating in public space, it is often a matter of going along, rather than continuously and actively debating with other people. Maybe public life has changed. According to American sociologist Richard Sennet[96], it has become a formal obligation in which most people approach their public business in a spirit of acquiescence. From this point of view the private has become a new focus, a new commitment and belief. This private commitment is an escape of the world at large and of the formalities of the '*res publica*' as a part of that world: Perhaps it partially explains the current emergence of public interiors. According to Sennet, at the end of the 1970s, public man has fallen and public space has died. He opposes privately-owned public spaces. In this vision, these designs absorb public life. They make the street dead. The street becomes a sole place for motion and transportation and "loses any independent experimental meaning of its own". (Sennet 1977: 12-16) Habermas talks about the destruction of the relationship between the public and private spheres, in which an illusion of a perfectly private personal sphere is created and the influence of 'semipublic' authorities increases. Although Sennet agrees with Habermas that it has been part of a larger shift in meaning of 'public' and 'private', he does not victimise the public, but instead, he puts the emphasis on the responsibilities of the people to express themselves and break through isolation: Each person should contribute to a general restoration of the public's relationship to the milieu in which these projects are set, each person should restore his or her belief in a

Figure 2.2.3.
The murdered French revolutionary leader Jean-Paul Marat (24 May 1743 - 13 July 1793). It is painted by Jacques-Louis David (30 August 1748 - 29 December 1825) in 1793 and used by Richard Sennet on the cover of The Fall of Public Man in 1977

[96] Richard Sennett (born 1 January 1943) is an American-born sociologist, teaching in London.

meaningful surrounding and every individual should show it to others. (Sennet 1977: 3-4, 12-16, 31-32, Habermas 1962: 176-177) No matter if we put the blame of privatisation of public spaces on the government, or we request individuals to participate in the public space, we recall the ancient notion of '*res publica*' in order to restore the clear division in public and private. Yet, it seems to be forgotten that Roman public law didn't end at the contour of the publicly-owned domain. Dealing with a wide variety of common interests in the urban society the 'res publica' was part of the '*res extra commercium*'. (Kirchner 1949: 10, 22) This Roman law was part of a previously unwritten set of regulations and laws, which were passed down mainly through precedent, but which was collected and issued from 529 to 534 by order of eastern Roman Emperor Justinian I[97]. The overall law was understood by three public sub-affairs. The first was the '*res communes omnium*' or the law protecting the elementary human needs, which had to be submitted to, like air to breath. The second was the '*res divini iuris*'. It was the law of the gods. It related to anything which could be called divine. Everything what was related to the supernatural protecting society should be open for the community, and anything which was a danger to this was forbidden. The last, thus, is the '*res publicae*'. It was the law which protected matters subject to public use. Examples are publicly used roads, harbours, rivers, baths and water-works. In all three laws, no liable claims or demands could be made by any individual. (Justiniano 529-534a and b, both quoted in Vinnii J.C. 1703: 6, 391) In general the '*res extra commercium*' was not subject to the ordinary rules applying to property. The '*res publica*' alone more or less was. The general law could order someone to do something, give something to someone, or stop doing something, and still recognising trusts of property. Like we can learn from Vitruvius Pollio[98] the issues covered by these laws played a role in our profession already in the earlier times of the Roman Republic. In the construction of the republican city as well as in the design of the public space the whole set of issues were seen as highly relevant for our profession. First he clearly divided the profession along the lines of public and private, thus "into two parts, of which the first is the construction of fortified towns and of works for general use in public places, and the second is the putting up of structures for private individuals". Then he introduced three classes of public

[97] Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus, commonly known as Justinian I or Justinian the Great, (482/483 AD – 13/14 November 565) was the Eastern Roman Emperor from 527 until his death. The collection of laws is named 'Corpus Iuris Civilis' for the first time in 1583. (Kunkel 1947: 114, 151-155)

[98] Vitruvius, commonly referred to as Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c.80/70 BC – after 15 BC), was a Roman architect and engineer.

Figure 2.2.4.
Mosaik of the Roman Emperor Justinian in the San Vitale Basilica, Ravenna, 6th cent.

constructions: “the first for defensive, the second for religious, and the third for utilitarian purposes. Under defence comes the planning of walls, towers, and gates, permanent devices for resistance against hostile attacks; under religion, the erection of fanes and temples to the immortal gods; under utility, the provision of meeting places for public use, such as harbours, markets, colonnades, baths, theatres, promenades, and all other similar arrangements in public places.” (Vitruvius probably around 25 BC, transcribed by Jocundus 1513[99]: liber primus iii, and translated by Morgan 1914: 16-17)

> “aedificatio autem divisa est bipertito, e quibus una est moenium et communium operum in publicis locis conlocatio, altera est privatorum aedificiorum explicatio. publicorum autem distributiones sunt tres, e quibus est una defensionis, altera religionis, tertia opportunitatis. defensionis est murorum turriumque et portarum ratio ad hostium impetus perpetuo repellendos excogitata, religionis deorum inmortalium fanorum aediumque sacrarum conlocatio, opportunitatis communium locorum ad usum publicum dispositio, uti portus, fora, porticus, balinea, theatra, ambulationes ceteraque, quae isdem rationibus in publicis locis designantur.” (Vitruvius probably around 25 BC, transcribed by Jocundus 1513, Liber Primus, III)

Vitruvius, who published his treatise ‘De Architectura’ on the eve of the new Roman era, reasoned in line with the contemporary aim to reestablish the republic. Far from being able to redirect the new Roman state to reinforce its republican form of government, transformation was on its way. Despite this, he dedicated his book to the new ‘Imperator Caesar’. According to him, Augustus[100] was giving his “attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes”, so that the State was not only enriching itself with new conquered provinces, but that its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in works for the people.[101] (Vitruvius around 25 BC, transcr. by Jocundus 1513: liber primus iii, and transl. by Morgan 1914: 3) Thus in Florentia, the forum with its temple, the two thermae used for their public baths, the theatre and the colinia’s amphitheatre, should be part of the people. Although also the early Senatus Populusque Romanus[102] did not involve all people, it was the best reference for Vitruvius. It regulated the relation between

[99] The first known reprint of Vitruvius is that of 1486 by the Venetian Franciscan friar, architect and engineer Fra Giovanni Sulpitius (abt.1435 – 1515). Sulpitius was court architect accompanying the French king Charles VIII (30 June 1470 – 7 April 1498) to France in 1495. Alongside the rise of Venice, this particular travel contributed to the gradual widespread of the work.

[100] The treatise De Architectura was dedicated to the Imperator Caesar, Augustus born Gaius Octavius Thurinus (23 September 63 BC – 19 August 14 AD).

[101] Vitruvius presented his writings to the new government, because it was this subject which was made known to him by the father of Augustus, Julius Caesar.

[102] Senatus Populusque Romanus (SPQR) could be translated as The Senate and Roman People. It has been generally used in Roman works on politics substituting what we now call the Roman Republic, including the speeches of Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Figure 2.2.5.
Photo of hypothetical model of Florentia around 123 AD, displayed at scale 1:200 in Palazzo Vecchio

government and only *certain* classes of people and *different* in each province of the old Roman Republic. Talking that for granted, it is manifest that Vitruvius was concerned with the then prevailing public issues in society including public works. More so, his explicit and rational approach of the interrelated body of public matters and their effects on the design is evident throughout large parts of his written work. Soon after publishing, the Roman Republic transformed under the leadership of Augustus into an autocracy, to be followed in the next centuries by the forecasted extension of the empire. The vision of Vitruvius on the profession seems ephemeral, as the notion of 'public', the ideas of the 'res publica' and the design of the 'public works' were fading. It is the beginning of a long lasting situation in which political power was held by single rulers or by single authorities; a complex era which was a prelude to the collapse of the Empire and which in the end and under influence of Christianity gave birth to a powerful new nobility of authoritarian kings and a liberal aristocrat elite. The common people had little impact on the government[103]. The attempt of Justinian I to re-establish the republican relation between The Senate and the People of Rome and to spread it again all over Europe was a rare one. The recollection of ancient laws did not help him to recover the western provinces, even after his conquest. Soon after his death is was clear that the territorial extension was temporal. Both the large republic and the unified empire were definite history.

For centuries, 'the republican idea' was in decay in the larger part of the continent. A significant change in this process could be indicated first in the fifteenth century. Of many changes, the convocation of the council of the Latin and Greek churches, starting in 1431 in Basel and ending in 1439 in Florence, would mark the turning point best. During this event Roman representatives met Byzantine scholars and craftsmen. On the one hand, their intellectual exchange led to the Western rediscovery of the ancient texts, including the old republican concept and the books of Vitruvius, while on the other hand the pope's decision to join the council in the first place led to political upheaval opposing the direct rule of the Papacy, representing the current dominant power base, and those supporting him. For the opponents, an insurrectionary republic form of government would be the answer and thereby within three years the papal court was expelled indeed, chased by noblemen supported by rebellious Roman condottieri.[104] They established a new republic of Rome, which shortly lived. But still, the revival of this city republic was not an incident. Both in the history of papal Rome and in the nearby cities, citizens had taken control by means of the formation of city-states based on a republican idea. The Republic of Venice and the Republic of Genoa are early examples. Like Rome, they were once outposts of the Byzantine Empire, thus in a way the western leftovers of the Roman Empire and as such de facto isolated republics for centuries. During the rise of Mediterranean trade and wealth in the area, cities like Lucca, Siena, Mantua and Florence gained independence from the Holy Roman Empire and adopted the transformed medieval republican idea from their neighbours.[105] When the court of Pope Eugenius IV[106] fled from the unrest in Rome to Florence, republican Northern Italy became the focal point of western Christianity. Thus for the masority of people in the west. For the scholars, this medieval republic form

[103] In Medieval Europe generally the dominant ideal of government was everywhere princely rule. The republican balance of power – of governmental authority and liberty for the people – between monarchy and aristocracy or aristocracy and commons was of 'constitutional restraints on divinely sanctioned kingship'. The 'civitas dei' replaced the 'civitas terrena'. (e.g. Momigliano 1963, and Jones 1997)

[104] These condottieri were contracted by the papacy. They were mercenary soldier leaders of the papal army.

[105] The Republic of Venice, at the time known as Repùblica Vèneta or Repùblica de Venecia, gained independence from Byzantium around 697 and this lasted to 1797. Other independent medieval city republics, or self-governing city-states, in the region were: Amalfi, Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, Sienna, Matua, Florence, and thus Rome for several short times.

[106] The Pope was born in the Republic of Venice as Gabriele Condulmer (1383 – 23 February 1447) and he was crowned as Pope Eugene IV, thus Eugenius Quartus Pontifex, in 1431.

of government would be part of new deliberation, especially when the ancient texts on the '*res publica*' were discussed. The city-states were more or less republic, but often faced with powerful leading families.

Among the debaters was the Florentine architect and philosopher Leon Battista Alberti.[107] He had accompanied the Pope to his city and as a member of the papal court since, he jointed the convocation: first he met the other scholars in Bologna and then in Ferrara.[108] (Borsi 2006: 73) While these events brought Alberti and many others in contact with the forgotten knowledge and culture of classical antiquity, he wrote among others his essay De Iure, in which he discusses the present state of the 'reipublice'. (Alberti 1437, Alberti 1437/38) For this work he must have been introduced to Justinianic laws, or at least a reflection of the set. It was a brief study, but fundamental in today's light. When the convocation also renewed exposure of the treatise of Vitruvius, Alberti was again inspired. In this seminal work 'De Re Aedificatoria', written in 1452, he had found a basis for own scientific work on the art of building, which more than Vitruvius, he brought to the bigger audience. The republican concept echoed loudly in his writings. "It will not be amiss to recollect the opinions of the wise founders of ancient republicks and laws concerning the division of the people of different orders", as Alberti started one of his books on the building profession. But his interpretations on the public issue differ from Vitruvius. He acknowledged that the wide variety of orders and classes in society might set an argument for being able to treat 'public buildings', 'those of the principal citizens', and 'those of the common sort', but he continued with the statement that all

[107] Leon Battista Alberti (18 February 1404 – 20 April 1472) was among others a Florentine architect, painter, poet, priest, linguist and above all philosopher.

[108] The Council was positioned in Bologna in 1436 and in Ferrara in 1438. Maybe, Alberti was also present at the last Council held in Florence, but his unfinished Autobiography is stops in 1438. The Council achieved nothing in the end. However widely recognized, it did influence what was later known as the Renaissance.

Figure 2.2.6.
Roman mosaic of Plato's Academy from Pompeii, 1st Century BC

Figure 2.2.7.
A papyrus fragment of Plato's dialogue of Politeia (Πολιτεία) in ancient Greek, written by Plato around 380 BC.

the citizens should be concerned with everything of a public nature part of the city. Time was changed. In a wave of Florentine tumult, popular revolts and periodical transitions of power between the Alberti, Albizzi and Medici families,[109] Leon Battista chose to follow Socrates in Plato's ancient dialogues.[110] The city should foremost be a place of liberty and equality. "So our design is to describe and illustrate by examples such a city as the wisest men judge to be in all respects the most convenient; and in other respects accommodating ourselves to time and necessity, we shall follow the opinion of Socrates, that what ever cannot be alter'd but for the worse, is really best." (Alberti 1452, as transcribed by Jacobi 1521: xlix-xlx, and, as translated by Leoni 1755: 64-68) In the ethics of Socrates, public affairs were indeed the basis of a well-ordered polis, or city-state: a concept close to the medieval situation. Socrates objected hunger to the own private advantage. This presumed democracy, as Aristotle[111] continued to philosophise. This might be a democracy where the poor may have more power than the rich, because there were more of them. On the one hand, equality made the will of the majority supreme and, on the other hand, liberty gave all men the ability to live as he liked; the privilege of a freeman. Thus, he continued characteristic of democracy, "whence has arisen the claim of men to be ruled by none, if possible, or, if this is impossible, to rule and be ruled in turns; and so it contributes to the freedom based upon equality". (Plato 380 BC, as translated by Jowett 1871: 274, and Aristotle 350 BC, as translated by Jowett 1885: 189) In a way it was a critically developed thesis, in which Platonic ideals became more practical for Alberti. The recollection of the Socratic ideas on the '*pólis*' (πόλις), the '*pólitēs*' (πολίτες) and '*politikós*' (πολιτικος), – roughly translated as the city-state, its citizen and everything having to do with the citizen or the state – clearly put the emphasis on

[109] The powerful Alberti, Albizzi and Medici families were the centre of the Florentine oligarchy. After the Revolution of 1378-1381 the Alberti 'casate' lost power in favour of the others. Some members of the family were sent into exile. After the Revolution of 1422-1427, a popular revolt against taxation, the Medici gained more influence and the Albizzi family was exiled. Every revolt somehow was used to take the government of the republic from the hands of the people, or to be exact the plebeians, in favour of one of the ruling families. (see Machiavelli 1532, translated by Lester 1845)

[110] Socrates, or Σωκράτης, (abt.469 BC – 399 BC) was an ancient Hellenic or so to say Athenian philosopher. Plato, or Πλάτων, (428/427 BC – 348/347 BC), was his student. The Republic or Politeia (Πολιτεία) is written by Plato in approximately 380 BC.

[111] Aristotle, or Ἀριστοτέλης, (384 BC – 322 BC) was also an ancient Athenian philosopher, on his turn student of Plato. He wrote Politics or Politika (Πολιτικά) in approximately in 350 BC.

Alberti's longing of a public government and more power for the people in general. He aimed explicitly justice and integrity for the government, and good and welfare for every citizen, and with that he repositioned public affairs against the adversarial interest of private persons. By doing so all attention was given to the '*pubblico*', the public issue, the '*res publica*' and thus to his aim to re-establish the republic. He placed many architectural and urban designs along a line dividing public and private. According to him, of all constructions of public nature the city was the greatest and most important. This included the benefit of water, vineyards, roads, rivers, canals, harbours and squares. Traders might have their shops in these public places, "but all nasty, stinking occupations should be removed". It contrasted his approach to buildings. For example, although places for exercise, public schools and hospitals include some parts for particulars and others for the common, he contrived them according to the rules for the houses of the private persons. The same went for the cloisters, because they are used by persons never or rarely appearing in public. The location in or nearby the city was important however. Lastly in this series of examples, the senate house, the temple and the tribunal serve the dignity and convenience of the public affairs and therefore should be positioned in the centre of the city. However because they so fundamentally benefitting the republic, his design approach differed: "in publick buildings of this sort, you must neglect none of those rules which belong to the convenient and honourable reception of a multitude of citizens, and there easy dimension: And above all you must take particular care, that there is not least want of sufficient passages, light, open areas, and the like." Still these buildings "tho' for the publick use, are yet the property of only a few persons; which are the priests and magistrates; and therefore we shall treat them in their proper places". (Alberti 1452, as transcribed by Jacobi 1521: lx-lxviii, xcvii and clii-cliii, and, as translated by Leoni 1755: 80-93, 134 and 210) Alberti systemised the wide collection of Vitruvian structures. Roman laws surrendered since the ancient polis, but according to Alberti, many buildings which had supported the city's public nature in the Middle Ages, should be qualified as private properties now. In Renaissance design theory, the laws regulating the public interests beyond what was commerce seemed to be narrowed down to the '*res publica*' alone. Sun, wind and air could not be controlled, and god was given to the priests. More so, a dichotomy between public and private on the basis of ownership emerged. Over time, this division with associated limitation continued to be valid in

Figure 2.2.8.
De Re Aedificatoria written by Leon Battista Alberti, manuscript dated 29 December 1485

Figure 2.2.9.
La Città Ideale by Luciano Laurana, c.1470

VLTAS ET VARIAS ARTES
que ad vitam bene beateq; agendam
faciant suma industria & diligentia co
quisitas nobis maiores nostri tradidere.
Que oms & si ferant pre se quasi certati
huc tendere: ut plurimum gnri hominum prosint: tn hre
innatum atq; insitum eas intelligimus q̄ppia: quos sin
gulos singulos preceteris diversosq; polliceri fructus ui
deantur. Nanq; artes qdem alias necessitate sectam.
Alias probamus utilitate. Alie uo q̄ tm circa res co
gnitu gratissimas versentur in pretio sunt. Quales
aut he sint artes non e ut prosequar: in promptu .x.
sunt. Verum si repetas ex omni maximarum ar
tium numero: nullam penitus inuenies que no spre
tis reliquis suos quosdam et proprios fines petat et
contepletur. Aut si tandem coperias ullam que cu
huiusmi sit ut ea carere nullo pacto possis: tum ex de
se utilitate voluptati dignitatiq; couincta prester meo
iudicio abearum nuo excludendam ee non duces ar
chitecturam. Naq; ea qde siqd rem diligentius pe Architectura
sitaris & publice & priuatim comodissima & ueheme
ter gratissima generi hominum e: dignitateq; inter
primas non postrema. Sed anteq ultra progrediar
explicandum mihi ceseo quenam hri velim architectu.
Non eim tignarium adducam fabrum: que tu summis ce
terarum disciplinarum viris compares. Fabri eim manus
architecto pro instrumento e. Architectum ego huc
fore constituam qui certa admirabiliq; ratione et
via tum mente animoq; diffinire tum & opere ab
soluere didicerit quecunq; ex ponderu motu cor

our conception. This emphatically included the adjoining design recommendation on the accessibility, dimensions and lightning of privately-owned but publicly-used interiors. Yet, less known and as my case studies show, many times it was also forgotten, contributing to the public quality of numerous projects, including the larger majority of public interiors at the present.

In retrospective by a brief, very brief study in history, we can recognise a few fundamental issues in defining the public issue. Most basic, in the Western notion of public seems always part of politics. Ultimately originated in the Greek polis, still today our connotation of public space is the outcome of a continuous debate through history. It evolves through discussions among the common people and in a process of making decisions creating polities. Thus, both debate and process is public by nature, and presumes democracy; rule by the people and by representation. Public space is democratic space, where on the one hand, citizens hold the power and on the other hand, a popular government controls the space. It aims to be a place of liberty and equality, but consequently it is a place in which individuals would always oppose. The public issue is two folded: Originated in the republican relation between The Senate and the People of Rome, still today it either relates to the people in general, the users of the space, or it relates to the government, the law makers and safe-keepers of space. In times of populism, or any future major socio-spatial change, it may explain desires to change in power fundamentally or to reorganise everyday life. Cicero and others have done no different, but it does not explain the public quality of space itself. Through times, the popularity of an interior affects the design of space or at least the approach to its public design. So does the way policy is made and controlled. Regulating property has been a steady principle to maintain public space. However, as this research emphasises, this has never been the only mean to govern the public quality of space. Since the Renaissance, publicly-owned space even has become the basis for the organisation of our cities. The question remains: Why?

Figure 2.2.10.
Woodcut of Florence from Liber Chronicarum, 12 July 1493, written by Hartmann Schedel (13 February 1440 - 28 November 1514)

Chapter 3 Republic Rebirths and Publicly-Owned Space

As said, the revival of the republican idea was not an incident. The emancipation of the Western bourgeoisie led to a variety of republics, ephemeral or more permanent ones. Examples are the Dutch Republic established in 1581, the English Republic of 1649, the American Republic established in 1776 and of course the French Republic of 1789. In their declarations of independence, chief magistrates opposed absolute despotism, ancient rights and privileges, and tyranny. In a Socratic way, they all objected hunger to the own private advantage and advocated general benefits. The outcome was never exactly the same, but favouring the republican concept, together they could be represent a transformation in political structure and illustrate the Western rebirth of the public issue, eventually transforming public space.

The Flemish and Dutch merchant classes gained wealth very much like the Tuscan and Venetian traders did. In both cases this made their cities culturally and economically the richest parts of the continent at the time, but the counties, duchies and lordships of the Dutch were governed by the absolute monarchy of Spain. So in imitation of the Italian republics, they declared independence and established the 'Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden'. The republican ideal would give the people influence on the government. In a clear reference to Italy, their declaration of independence[112] was opposing Spain's direct governance far abroad: thus both in their cities and in the Italian ones. The Kingdom of Naples was ruled by the King of Spain too for example. It was recently extended by the annexed parts of Tuscany[113]. The elaborate declaration states that the king was tyrannising the people there, interfering with religion and gaining influence in Europe's most important cities. Accordingly, old freedoms had been replaced by slavery. (Asseliers 1581, July) By the act of abjuration, freedom would be regained. Similarly the 'Act declaring England to be a Commonwealth' was establishing a republican form of government. Although, the text was much shorter than the Dutch one and it was the result of national political machinations after years of civil war, likewise it was objecting absolute royal government. Parliamentarians opposing royalists had the same rhetoric as the continental republican strivers of the past. As of 1649, England was intended to "be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreame authoritie of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament and by such as they shall appoint and constitute as officers and ministers under them for the good of the people and that without any King or House of Lords".[114] The public issue was put first. (Parliament 1649, 19 May) This republican government did not last long, but ideas remained. After a chaotic period, changing all kinds of public governance and restoring the monarchy, England got a republican king, as he was also the head of the Dutch republic.[115] During his reign parliamentary representation was re-established

[112] The Act of Abjuration officially named 'Placcaert vande Staten generael vande Gheunieerde Nederlanden', and later to be shorted as the 'Plakkaat van Verlatinghe', is the formal declaration of independence of the Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlande; the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands.

[113] The State of Presidi was created by Rey Felipe II de España, also known as King Philip II of Spain (21 May 1527 – 13 September 1598) in 1557 out of territories once belonging to the Republic of Siena.

[114] The existing House of Commons claimed the powers and style of the entire Parliament.

[115] King Charles II Stuart of England, Scotland, and Ireland (29 May 1630 OS – 6 February 1685 OS) restored monarchy in 1660 and reigned until his death. King James II of England and Ireland, also know as King James VII of Scotland (14 October 1633 OS – 16 September 1701 OS) was his successor in 1685. From 1689, Willem III Hendrik, Prince of Orange (14 November 1650 – 8 March 1702) reigned as King William III over England and Ireland and as King William II over Scotland. He was Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands since 1672 too.

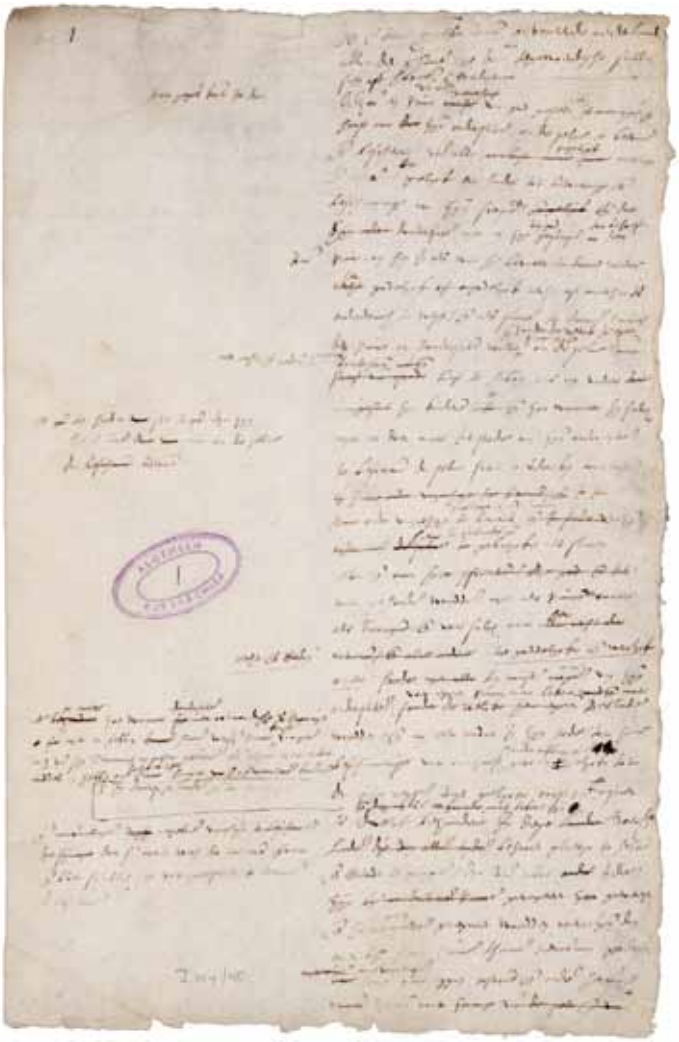


Figure 2.3.1.
Plakkaat van Verlatinge, 1581

without abolition of the monarchy. By the 'Bill of Rights',[116] the parliament regulated that British monarchs could not govern without their consent. The Lords assembled would "lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm", and that "the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament". (Parliament 1689, 13 February) This time the public issue was guaranteed by the 'free speech' of the members of parliament. It was the anacrusis of a new republican idea in which people have impact on the state's government, explicitly by means of constitutional freedom. The English Bill of Rights combined statements made in a previous parliamentarian document "concerning divers Rights and Liberties"[117] with civic virtue and public representation. (Parliament 1628, May) The next declarations of this kind, the 'Virginia Declaration of Rights' and the 'United States Declaration of Independence'[118] developed this idea further. The first American declaration in the line of evolution stated that "all men are by nature equally free and independent", "the people have a right to uniform government" and "the freedom

[116] The act of the Parliament of England with the long title 'An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown' was later known as the 'Bill of Rights'. It was one of the basic documents of English constitutional law.

[117] This document is commonly known as the 1628 Petition of Right, formally titled 'The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereunto in full Parliament'.

[118] The 'United States Declaration of Independence', was titled officially 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America' and it was printed as the 'Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, In General Congress assembled'.

of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments". In rhetoric similar to that of its predecessors, the second added that "a Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people". It likewise claimed the people's freedom, by which this declaration announced the American republic. (Mason 1776, 12 June, Gwinnett, Hall, Walton et al 1776, 4 July)

The series of declarations of independence marked the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment. The Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau[119] summarised the current ideas in 'Du Contrat Social ou Principes du Droit Politique', one of the time's landmark works. His outline for a republican government 'of an antiquity that lost itself', would give these political transformations theoretical foundation. He describes a republic as it would be reintroduced by bourgeois societies across Europe and America: Favouring equality and liberty, aiming for democratic representation in the classic way, and opposing oppression and tyranny – also for Geneva. As long as by nature the common people could not be the sovereign government as well, a republican representation was the answer for Rousseau. Because: "Le peuple le trompe bien moins fur ce choix que le Prince". The people would be far less often mistaken in its choice than the prince. (Rousseau 1754, 12 June, and 1762: 130-132) Only if the public was allowed freedom, it could develop itself, as his younger German colleague Immanuel Kant would added.[120] In his article called 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?', he questioned the republican ideas of his time: Could the people be really free and develop themselves with pervasive restrictions on freedom defined by a government? More then Rousseau, he aspired freedom for common people by means of voices of the populace, self-governance and reason regarding public order and harmony in the commonwealth. His influential and strong emphasis was on liberty and individual rights. "Perhaps a revolution can overthrow autocratic despotism and profiteering or power-grabbing oppression", he wrote. (Kant 1784, 30 September)

> „Daß aber ein Publikum sich selbst aufkläre, ist eher möglich; ja es ist, wenn man ihm nur Freiheit läßt, beinahe unausbleiblich. Denn da werden sich immer einige Selbstdenkende, sogar unter den eingesetzten Vormündern des großen Haufens, finden, welche, nachdem sie das Joch der Unmündigkeit selbst abgeworfen haben, den Geist einer vernünftigen Schätzung des eigenen Werths und des Berufs jedes Menschen selbst zu denken um sich verbreiten werden. Besonders ist hiebei: daß das Publikum, welches zuvor von ihnen unter dieses Joch gebracht worden, sie hernach selbst zwingt darunter zu bleiben, wenn es von einigen seiner Vormünder, die selbst aller Aufklärung unfähig sind, dazu aufgewiegelt worden; so schädlich ist es Vorurtheile zu pflanzen, weil sie sich zuletzt an denen selbst rächen, die, oder deren Vorgänger, ihre Urheber gewesen sind. Daher kann ein Publikum nur langsam zur Aufklärung gelangen. Durch eine Revolution wird vielleicht wohl ein Abfall von persönlichem Despotism und gewinnsüchtiger oder herrschsüchtiger Bedrükkung, aber niemals wahre Reform der Denkungsart zu Stande kommen; sondern neue Vorurtheile werden, eben sowohl als die alten, zum Leitbande des gedankenlosen großen Haufens dienen.“ (Kant 1784, 30 September)

The aspirations for liberty and republican ideals progressed by revolution found ground in France. Like in republican Florence and

[119] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (28 June 1712 – 2 July 1778) was a Genevan philosopher, writer and composer.

[120] Immanuel Kant (22 April 1724 – 12 February 1804) was a German philosopher.

Venice the ambitious French mercantile class was not represented in public life. Like their peers in the cities of the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States they resented the nobles' privileges and likewise revolution was born. The new conception of what once was the 'res publica' was still based on the common purpose or the public issue; In opposition to authoritarian kings, one recognised the ancient democratic concept of equality; And as a remainder of the recent acquired liberty of the aristocratic elite, freedom for the individual was added. *This* effected public space. Habermas had shown, that the French bourgeoisie not only claimed the public sphere but more specifically also claimed public space. According to him it was the result of their newly acclaimed freedom of speech. (Habermas 1962: 84-85) The enlightened idea was wide spread in the West. A few moths before the French Revolution and across the ocean the Congress of the fresh-born American nation assured freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly by means of their the 'United States Bill of Rights'. (Muhlenberg, Adams, Beckley and Otis 1789, March 4) France soon would do the same. A month after the storming of the Bastille, commonly known as the flashpoint of the French Revolution, the 'Journal des Débattes et des Décrets' started to publish every debate and decree from L'Assemblée Nationale. The publication of these political debates by itself might be seen an early example of the acclaimed freedom of speech, but anyway without doubt it was evidence of a reunification

Figure 2.3.2.
Cupola del Duomo, late 16th century, as analysed by Lodovico Cardi, also known as il Cigoli, (21 September 1559 - 8 June 1613)

of governmental politics and the public involvement. The first edition of the daily newspaper published the French version of the First Amendments to the Constitution, the 'Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme'. In line with the others, the declaration stated that the law is the expression of the general will and that all the citizens had the right to contribute personally, or by their representatives. In the same reasoning, the revolutionaries also legislated that no one should be worried for his opinions, even religious, as long as their demonstration did not disturb law and public order. (Assemblée Nationale 1789, 29 August) It should be seen as one of the first steps towards constitutional freedom in a time when noble power and control have been replaced by the motto 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité'. The French constitution of 1793[121] explicitly introduced the freedom of public assembly for all. It regulated that the right to assemble peaceably cannot be refused. Almost as a republican habit the underlining desire for such a right was explained in the law text once again: "The necessity to promulgate these rights arises from the presence or the fresh memory of despotism". This constitutional text is the last evidence in series towards a new idea on public space. (Constitution du 24 juin 1793, Articles 7, and 122-124, as quoted in n.a. 1848: 43)

> "De la Garantie des Droits : - La Constitution garantit à tous les Français l'égalité, la liberté, la sûreté, la propriété, la dette publique, le libre exercice des cultes, une instruction commune, des secours publics, la liberté indéfinie de la presse, le droit de pétition, le droit de se réunir en sociétés populaires, la jouissance de tous les Droits de l'homme.
> - La République française honore la loyauté, le courage, la vieillesse, la piété filiale, le malheur. Elle remet le dépôt de sa Constitution sous la garde de toutes les vertus.
> - La déclaration des Droits et l'acte constitutionnel sont gravés sur des tables au sein du Corps législatif et dans les places publiques." (Constitution du 24 juin 1793 : Déclaration des Droits de L'homme et du Citoyen, Article 122-124, as quoted in n.a. 1848 : 54)

Inspired by the American and French declarations, the English philosopher Thomas Paine[122] signified the republican principles of freedom and rights of man by un-confounding 'democracy' and 'representation'. "Simple democracy was no other than the common hall of the ancients", but as population increased and territory extended it had become "unwieldy and impractical". These democracies degenerated convulsively into monarchies or something alike. According to him, what is called a republic ought to be instituted on what it is to be employed, "res-publica, the public affairs, or the public good; or, literally translated, the public thing" and the new-found system of representation was in his eyes the best form of government. In his country, he opposed the presents of lords and monarchs, but also the stadtholders of the republic in the Netherlands. (Paine 1792: 18-20)

In sum, public space had become in principle democratic space, republican space *and* liberal space since and as such part of a political discussion. In the light of today's public interiors, it is an interesting transformation. Often we ask ourselves if the interior is democratic space. Does it serve everybody in an equal manner? May we gather? Can we say whatever we want? As most interiors are in the hands of private owners, some critics are in doubt. The

[121] The constitution of 1793 is known as 'Constitution du 24 juin 1793' or 'Constitution de l'an I': It consisted of two pieces: 'Déclaration des Droits de L'homme et du Citoyen' and 'Acte Constitutionnel'. This constitution also known as 'Constitution Montagnarde', named after a political group in the Convention Nationale, called La Montagne or Les Montagnards.

[122] Apart from being a philosopher and writer, Thomas Paine, called Tom, (9 February 1737 NS – June 8, 1809) was a revolutionary and traveller: He was born in Kingdom of Great Britain and emigrated to the Province of Pennsylvania in 1774 where he participated in the American Revolution. In 1781, landed in France and proceeded to the Netherlands. After some years living in respectively the young United States of America and Brittan again, he moved to the newly established Kingdom of the French where he joined the Revolution of the 10 August. In 1792, he was elected to the National Convention of the French Republic. In the early 1800s, he left to United States where he spent his last years.

Figure 2.3.3.
Déclaration de Droits de Homme en du Citoyen, c.1789, painting by Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (29 November 1738 - 7 May 1826)

confusion is understandable, because where the idea on public space and the public issue continue to develop progressively and in a diversified manner, public space as the pre-eminent ideal basis for the organisation of our cities seems to have done the opposite. The ideal has become publicly-owned space. – In line with the other developments in the Enlightenment, property had become the most important part of that ideal. Private property was seen as 'an inviolable and sacred right' in the French Declaration of the Rights. No one could deprived of private usage, if it is not when the public necessity, legally noted, evidently would require. Expropriation could only happen under the condition of a just and prior indemnity. Or as the US Bill of Rights similarly stated "No person shall be […] deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation". (Muhlenberg, Adams, Beckley and Otis 1789, March 4, Article 'the Seventh', Assemblée Nationale 1789, August 29, Article XVII) So, on the one hand public space had evolved to the place of free speech and free assembly, of democracy and demonstrations, and of necessity, while on the other hand as private ownership and property evolved to an inviolable and sacred right, public space was reduced to publicly-owned space. The attribution of these two different legal rights apparently introduced an unbridgeable contradiction, especially in the case of privately-owned but publicly-used interiors. However, in practice the problem was not that current. Although theoretically indeed the focus on the publicly-owned space might be the most dominant and most common in urban practice, not all design initiatives in the urban fabric were outdoors or on the publicly-owned space. On the contrary: When the English Parliament approved the Bill of Rights in the 1620s, in London the privately-owned mall was introduced. In axiom originated in the last days of the Florentine Republic, this type of privately-owned space grew out to a more publicly-used mall which was reproduced in London and in several cities across the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands and the United States. Similarly, when the first arcade in Paris appeared in the 1780s, it took only a few years before the French Revolution began. Likewise this did not stop these privately-owned public interventions in the network of public space. The opposite was true. The arcade boomed. It became a Pan-European hit and it was even a symbol of the newly established Italian Republic in the next decade. Eventually also this type reached the United States.[123] For the emancipated bourgeoisie the right to assemble publicly was not explicitly granted or limited to the publicly-owned space. From another point of view, restrictions of liberty could never apply to individual rights and private ownership.

The paradox which we are still facing today came to the surface in the nineteen century. In a need to manage the extreme urbanisation processes during the Industrial Revolution the question came up how to reorganise the city for the better purpose of the common people within the restriction of the public property. In this era, the extremely rapid, chaotic and unhygienic growth of the city had dictated public control on urban development. Especially, it aimed to limit the complete freedom of action for private enterprise. The state established building regulations and carried out public works. In line with this, the public administration and the private sector

[123] See Book 4 and 5.

came to an agreement in which the publicly and privately-owned domains were accepted as a common base and ownership was used to regulate and plan. (e.g. Mumford 1961: 474-476, Benevolo 1975: 755, 765-766) Within our discipline, one began to differentiate between urban and architectural design, and urbanism gained independence with the invention of terms like 'urbanización' (Cerdá 1867i and 1867ii) and 'städtebau' (Baumeister 1876). In rethinking the organisation of the city public space slowly turned into a synonym for publicly-owned space. Early scientists did reason; if places were in possession of a public government, they ought to be part of the policy in which the democratic state controlled and regulated the city. In this perspective, Herman-Josef Stübben[124], famous for his early tractate on town construction, was most clear. In an easily understood manner and by a wide juridical study on all kinds of building regulations from practice, he placed publicly-owned space next to privately-owned space, the 'öffentlichen Verkerseinrichtungen' next to the 'Privatwirthschaft'. Thus in his vision, beside the needs of the private households, a public organisation of traffic was needed. Streets and squares could and should reorganise the city plan. (Stübben 1890: 274-276) Expropriation was thereby the essential new answer to overcome the paradox. Beyond the then current law systems and motivated from out of the public issue confiscation of any private property was allowed, rather than just taking it away. This was what the redevelopment or '*Risanamento*' in the centre of Florence had initiated in the same years. When the Mercato Vecchio was demolished in 1865 and Piazza della Repubblica was constructed and opened in 1895, it was the perfect example to illustrate the vision of Stübben. Already was his book larded with Florentine squares from the Renaissance, but the Neoclassical redesign in casu would represent the new age. In a next edition of his publication, he would include this example on two full pages; the old and the new situation. (Stübben 1924: 610-614) One of the rare predecessors in theorising urbanisation, Reinhard Baumeister,[125] had laid out foundations for this approach. He had agreed to make room for the increasing amount of urban traffic in the fast growing city and, like Stübben, he added that its construction could improve urban hygiene. Building regulations, plan documents and a special police force would control initiatives on the private property. (Baumeister 1890: 1-4, 20-39) Both examples underline the new Modern narration of history, in which theorising on urban design has been strongly influenced by the countless unregulated and uncoordinated

[124] Hermann Josef Stübben (18 February 1845 – 8 December 1936) was a German architect, devoted to urban design and planning.

[125] Reinhard Baumeister (19 March 1833 – 11 February 1917) was a German civil engineer, specialized in the construction of roads, water-, and railways. Later he turned completely to town construction, became a professor and worked as 'Oberbaurath' based in Karlsruhe, Germany.

Figure 2.3.4.
Mercato Vecchio in Florence, 1882-83, as painted by Telemaco Signorini (18 Augustus 1835 - 1 February 1901)

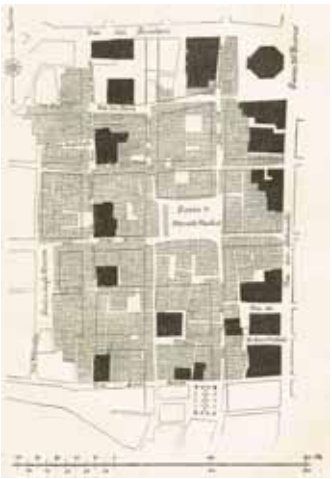


Figure 2.3.5.
Design for Piazza della Repubblica by Herman-Josef Stübben, 1865

public and private developments of the bourgeois society. So, the publicly-owned space became one of the main focuses of urbanism. It dictated the 'newborn' discipline since then. Where planners continued to envision futures for the city, involving the whole urban surface, designers and engineers actually creating the urban environment restrained themselves in general to the outdoor space. At the time the German theorists like Baumeister and Stübben widely discussed the approach of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann[126] in Paris. To a lesser degree also Cerdá, a Spanish early theorist, referred to the French approach. He became inspired by the urban approach in 1844, a few years after he left a special school for the engineering of roads, canals and ports. According to him, the French city showed that "the new era with new elements" would "eventually bring a new civilisation" radically transforming the way of being and human functioning, in the industrial order, economically, politically and socially. By re-using arguments on hygiene and traffic similar to the Germans, he rejected privately-used and completely covered streets, and he focussed on 'la via pública': "the surfaces that are intended for public use for the movement of the community" (Cerdá 1867i: 6-7, 274-279, 295-301) Both of the neighbours of France, the Germans and the Spanish, did triumph his grant interventions. They related them to similar interventions known in other cities and called for this approach at home. At the same time in practice, '*boulevards*', '*avenues*', '*esplanades*', '*alées*' and other grand streets became typical for the European urban plans. In summery, broad streets, of which some tree-lined; spacious squares and public planted areas varying in size and type could be defined as the most remarkable elements of nineteenth century urban planning. The projects appeared in many respects as the continuation of earlier planning traditions with similar goals, methods and solutions, as the Swedish historian Thomas Hall[127] clearly put forward; the desire for rectilinearity and straight streets with uniform blocks were largely in accordance of the contemporary idea and little interest was paid to what was happening inside the blocks. (Hall 1997: 299-305, 344-345) Perhaps by some official channels, the government, its public work departments and most urban theorists, but in opposition to the research of Hall, the nineteenth-century city was maybe more then ever before famous for its interior public space. Within the new building regulations many market halls, exhibitions and bazaar buildings, arcades, pedestrian tunnels and covered overpasses have been established. All of these examples were indoors, publicly accessible and often on private property. In the 1840s, for example, Londoners pioneered in envisioning subways and, in the 1860s, Parisians forecasted skyways. Soon the Western city was famous for its privately-owned railroads, which moved either on, below or above street level and which was used by an innumerable amount of people. Its huge terminals, likewise usually in hands of private owners, dominated the urban fabric. Thus, maybe contrary to the general narration, urban improvements in the network of public space have also been made outside the order of the city government. Whether it was to lay down roads for public transport, to construct foot passages or to facilitate the public otherwise, private initiatives continued to take part in the urbanisation process. Many times, especially in the case of pedestrian areas, these new privately-owned public spaces were covered. Consequently the urban citizen largely gathered in these

[126] Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (27 March 1809 – 11 January 1891) was a French civil engineer, in a way that we now would call urban designer and planner. He was supervising the modernisation programme for the City of Paris, commissioned by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (20 April 1808 – 9 January 1873) the first President of the French Republic and at the time known as Napoléon III, ruler of the Second French Empire.

[127] Thomas Hall (born 19 July 1939) is a Swedish art historian.

places other than outdoors.

In opposition to the current main stream, the ancient conception of defining public space by its use and meaning for the people was present in the ideas of the Austian early theorist Camillo Sitte.[128] By referring to Aristotle and Vitruvius, he continued the older connotation. He described ancient forums, surrounded by temples, basilicas and market halls, as 'the main squares of every city, a life necessity of the first rank, in which a great part of the public life took place'. In his opinion, open space had transformed, because in the city of the nineteenth century a larger part of the public life took place in enclosed areas and not outdoors. Consequently, the open space was not necessarily the main public space and thus Sitte strived for the reunification of the main points of the city with the main points of civil society; linking monuments to squares, or in other words linking communal sites to grand open spaces. (Sitte 1889: 1-12) So, though very different, this idea was really based on ideological grounds too, and not just a romantic longing to the past.

> "So, ist die Bedeutung der freien Plätze inmitten der Stadt (eines Forums oder Marktplatzes) eine wesentliche andere geworden. Heute höchst selten zu großen öffentlichen Festen verwendet und immer weniger zu täglichem Gebrauch, dienen sie häufig keinem anderen Zweck, als mehr Luft und Licht zu gewähren und dieses in seiner architektonischen Wirkung besser zur Geltung zu bringen. Ganz anders im Altertume. Da waren die Hauptplätze jeder Stadt ein Lebensbedürfnis ersten Ranges, indem auf ihnen großer Teil des öffentlichen Lebens sich abspielte, wozu heute nicht offene Plätze, sondern geschlossene Räume verwendet werden." (Sitte 1889 : 4)

Admittedly, also the theorist favouring the definition of a publicly-owned space did not fully exclude publicly-used space in private hands. Stübben shortly did discuss privately-owned alleys, courts and arcades and more extensively he elaborated on private railroads. He wrote about the arcades: "Sie sind vom künstlichen Standpunkte ein willkommenes, anziehendes Mittelding zwischen Strassen und Inner-Architektur…" So, in the city they were a welcome hybrid of street and interior architecture, but, he continued, if the passage was not wide enough then it was less acceptable. He was also not enthusiastic about private railroads either. Railroads which were constructed at several places around the city by themselves could be an advantage for the city, but being privately-owned they could threaten the city as well. Every company used its own track; the

[128] Camillo Sitte (17 April 1843 – 16 November 1903) was an Austrian architect, devoted to urban design and planning.

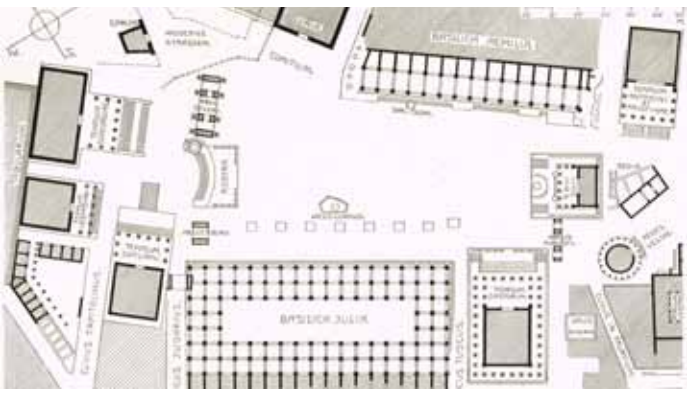


Figure 2.3.6.
Forum Romanum, as drawn by Camillo Sitte, 1889

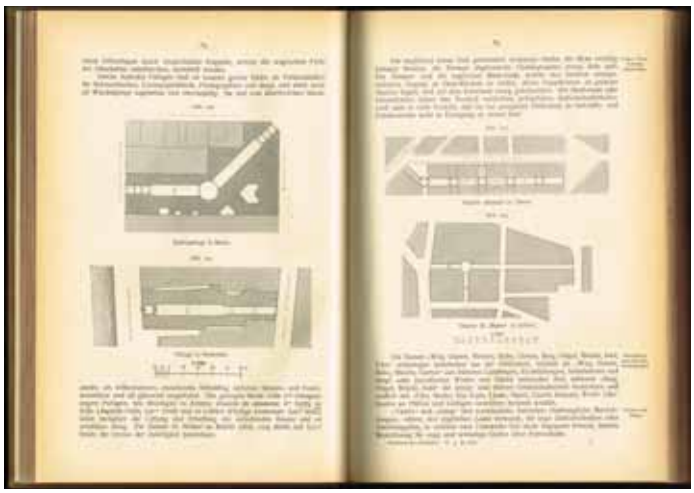


Figure 2.3.7.
Arcades as included in the work of Stübben, 1890-1924

various tracks cut the urban fabric in fragments and the many terminals often were poorly connected with the surrounding streets. In his vision viaducts and tunnels should be constructed because they would less intersect with the existing network and the station buildings should give entrance to the city by means of squares. But, above all and to limit the damage, he advocates public involvement; among others again in a process of formal expropriation before construction begins. (Stübben 1890: 66, 214-218, 282) Baumeister would follow the same line of reasoning. According to him private streets which were devoted to public use should be expropriated in a near future to become part of the urban street network. According to him, the legally obligation of a city administration ought to be appointing general development plans and constructing roads. In the case of facilitating public transport and constructing roads, private firms might be involved from out of the viewpoint of competition, but that's all. (Baumeister 1890: 64) Stübben and Baumeister present a pragmatic and almost instrumental approach to the design and planning of public space. The impact of the German interpretation was huge and on an international level. Whereas Sitte remained a local, Stübben presented his thoughts at the VIIth International Congress of Architects[129] in 1906. He showed and discussed his ideas on 'the planning and laying-out of streets and open spaces' for an audience of people representing twenty-one countries across Europe, America and their colonies. Always his emphasis was on the creation of 'open-air space', because the requirements of traffic and hygiene had altered. (Stübben 1906, 19 July and 25 August) This was where he met others. Most of world's leading designers and theorists agreed. For example the Brit Raymond Unwin[130] repeated the old but now common aversion to the haphazard and unordered developments according to 'the interest or caprice of individual landowners'. Designing public space meant regulating the public issue and opposing egoism. In a utilitarian way and thus in line with Stübben, he followed also the plea of Ebenezer Howard advocating for 'common ownership' and 'pro-municipal work' and suggested to consider always the planning of roads and open spaces next to the planning of the building sites. Eugène Hénard en Adolphe-Augustin Rey[131], new heralds of the French urbanism, concluded the same: Focus on outdoor space. In a more

[129] The seventh session of the International Congress of Architects was held in London from the 16th to the 21st of July, 1906 under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Stübben was one of the permanent members of the committee.

[130] Sir Raymond Unwin (2 November 1863 – 29 June 1940) was an English architect, who developed himself as an urban designer and planner. He died in the United States.

[131] The Frenchmen Alfred Eugène Hénard (23 October 1849 – 19 February 1923) and Augustin Rey (24 February 1864 – 15 September 1934) were both architectural educated, and practicing also as urban designers.

enlightened way Charles Buls from Belgium and Miguel Bertran de Quintana from Spain[132] rephrased this common mission to say it's the best to focus on the development of 'voies publiques et des espaces libres', thus public streets and free spaces. (Howard 1898: 82-90; The Royal Institute of British Architects 1908: 369-440) With the international career of Stübben, the German approach came to the spotlight. Indeed, Germany led the world in their governmental regulations on public space and private buildings. Overviews like 'The Basis of German City Planning Procedure' and 'Planning Towns and Cities: Principles advocated by German Authorities for Future Growth, Squares, Class Districts and Buildings' stand up well. Many German works were translated. Books and articles in professional journals demonstrated how the German school strived "to combine old systems with new ones and to deal with the artistic, technical, social, sanitary and economical side of city building, and with the problem of transportation". They explained how Germans innovatively cut up the land by streets, roads, boulevards and promenades, all open spaces. (Incorporated Society of Architects and Engineers of Germany 1907, 6 March, Eberstadt 1909, December, Brinkmann 1910, October, and; Nolen 1911, October) Soon also the fundamentals of Baumeister reached the English speaking world. His ideas on town extensions and their links with technical and economical concerns were translated in 1914, together with his explicit vision on building regulations. (Baumeister, as translated by Koester 1914) The utilitarian approaches at the turn of the century, synchronised internationally, introduced a new period. In times of fast urbanisation the western ideas on the public issue had become practical, functional, and down-to-earth.

The early urban designers did not ignore the discourse on public space of the Austrian Sitte. Many refer to his work, - even Stübben did, but often they did so only for to the content which was in line with the pragmatic approach. "Yet in Germany the Vienna example will not be entirely adopted" as one of the German colleagues would say. Most of what the world knew of Sitte was rephrased by others. But as many works were interlarded with his ideas, indirectly the influence of Camillo Sitte was predominant, or as Unwin analysed the ongoing situation: The Germans had developed the ideas further and a new style was emerging. (Unwin 1906, 19 July, Brinkmann 1910, October)

> "In Germany, for example, we find that the art of city building has been widely studied for many years; that many able professional men devote themselves to this work; and that there is a valuable literature and at least one good periodical (Der Städtebau) devoted entirely to it. So far has development gone in Germany that since the time when many comprehensive town plans were laid down a new style almost has sprung up, and the school which we in England associate with the name of Camillo Sitte is exercising a predominating influence." (Unwin 1906, July 19)

With a repeating overflow of Sitte's ideas, it took still decenia to a first true English edition of the work. The French-Swiss edition was already there in 1902, but as it was altered and only showing medieval examples, it was not spreading the contemporaneous aspects of Sitte's approach. It affected the international scene. Often professionals could speak French but not German. A great example

[132] The Belgian Charles François Gommaire Buls, also known as Karel Buls, (13 October 1837 – 13 July 1914) was educated as artist and linguist. As a politician and former mayor of the City of Brussels he was concerned with urban design. The Spanish-Mexican Miguel Bertrán de Quintana (5 August 1878 – 23 August 1951) began his career as an architect in Barcelona.

is Unwin's 1909 reference to Sitte. It was most likely based on the French edition, as he only included his older examples. Also, the passages translated in the book 'The American Vitruvius' in 1922 could not give the Anglo-Saxon speaking world an elaborate insight in the alternative early thought on urban design. In the book's broader view on the Modern revival of civic art, the medieval examples of Sitte are overwhelming, but seemed historical.[133] When finally in 1945, the book was translated in English, the world was accustomed to utilitarian urban design and planning. Leading American critics would aptly qualify the work as disappointing. (Sitte, as translated by Martin 1902, Canosa 1926, Arseven 1926, and Stewart 1945, see also Hegemann and Peets 1922: 7-27, and Wittkower 1947: 164-169)

A second translation of Sitte's book, published in 1965, was received much better. (Sitte, as translated by Collins and Crasemann Collins 1965) The introduction date of this work was crucial. Translated as 'City Planning According to Artistic Principles', it could floodlight the Modern paradox, which showed that the social and juridical definitions of public space could lead to contradictions in the current urban design approach. Though time, new delineations defined public space: democratic, republican, liberal and last, outdoors and publicly-owned. In this process, interior public space had been excluded in our ideals, and in our theoretical discourse. This continued to contrast with the developments in practice. In the 1950s, after the successful introduction in Edina, the covered mall took over the American suburb. Soon, very soon the type had spread all over the United States, Canada, and on a different scale around the cities on the European continent. Similarly, underground walkway and skyway systems emerged in the 1960s. Within a short time the idea was adopted around the Great Lakes region, and a few more southern places in the United States. In the 1970s, officially recognised public atria were designed to facilitate the New York citizen. In Modern times people gathered in underground shopping centres and glassed atria. The work of Sitte would also fit some of the first new explorations to the degrees of publicness by means of in-between space, the relation between outdoors-indoors, inside-outside, introverted and extroverted. It was another rediscovered tradition for the Late Modernists, at least very clearly for the modern American East-Coast. "Modern systems! Yes Indeed!" Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour[134] would quote him. His work is a new focal point as Alexander, Rowe and Koetter underlined. Christopher Alexander – too enthusiastically – would cheer: "Camillo Sitte, the great Italian planner". …Of course, as written before, Italy too was symbolising our western roots. Across the ocean, Rossi would say it differently. He meant that it seemed that useful answers to many ambiguities were still provided by the work of Camilo Sitte. In his search he had not limit himself to technical considerations only. (Sitte, as translated by Collins and Crasemann Collins 1965: 91, Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972: 81, Alexander et al 1977: 533-534, 607, Rowe and Koetter 1978: 36 Rossi et al 1982: 34-35) In line with the coevolving conceptions of social scientists concerning the public realm and the public sphere, the designer's variation of connotations as well as those of planners reintroduced a clear focus on the influence of the people in urban space.

[133] Only the Spanish 1926 version was based on the German fifth edition. It allowed more contemporary examples. Opposite, the 1926 Turkish edition did not, as it was also translated from French.

[134] Steven Izenour (16 July 1940 – 21 August 2001) was an American architect.

Chapter 4

The New Topographic Map of the City

In the contemporary city, we meet in public atria and shop in malls; we move along covered walkways and go from street to street by taking shortcuts through the buildings of a city block. Despite the respected theories, the amount and proportion of public space within urban buildings has steadily increased. It adds to the larger network interlinking interiors and exteriors. While interior public space has become an important constituent of the contemporary city and of our urban experience, it is still rarely approach as such. Prompted by this disconnection, it is relevant to reinvestigate the relation between the public, the public matter and the public space, and thus to follow different leads to examine contemporary design in relation to public interiors.

Since the 1960s, in particular the urban architectural analyses and designs of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown have accorded interior public space new and ancient meanings, significant and multiple roles in the city. For several reasons, this is more than valuable to dwell upon. The couple has placed the Modern paradox as object of study in the heart of their oeuvre. Like their contemporaries, at the time, they had rediscovered the ancient Italian city and related it to cities in the United States. Young Venturi was "familiar only with the auto-scaled, gridiron city and the anti-urban theories of the previous generation", whiles the traditional urban spaces, the pedestrian scale and the mixtures, yet continuities, of Italian piazzas were seen as a significant revelation. He had visited Rome in the late nineteen-forties. Still, in his view, studying ancient Greek and Rome, or general European history, was as interesting as important as studying the contemporary city, emblematised by the cities at home. Especially, it would be the case in new popular places, like the highly populated monotone suburbs of Levittown, the popular recreational resort of Disney World, and the recently developed Las Vegas Strip. In the mid-sixties,

Figure 2.4.1.
Caesars Palace, Las Vegas, 1968

this interest came to the large audience after he had joined Scott Brown with students in a 1968 studio, entitled 'Learning from Las Vegas, or Form Analysis as Design Research', and published on it. Like the visit to Rome, the visit to Las Vegas revealed lessons on open space, big scale, and the buildings which were "open to the promenading public". (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972: 18-19) Differently to Rome, in Las Vegas, the people gathered indoors. Of all interiors, at the time, Caesars Palace stood out.[135] It stated to be the newest, most magnificent resort in the fun capital of the world, having non-stop fun, top star entertainment, lavish cuisine and seven hundred palatial guest rooms and suites: "Look at me… having an orgy of entertainment and excitement… living it up, day and night… cavorting and carousing …too busy too write, From the noblest Roman of them all", a postcard at the time coquetted. So being there, Venturi and Scott Brown, joined by Steven Izenour,[136] approached the agglomeration of Caesars Palace and Strip as a whole in "the spirit if not the style of the late Roman Forum". In mind already, they juxtaposed Las Vegas against Rome. Later, this association got form in two graphic ways. First, they put picture

[135] Caesars Palace is designed by the American architect Melvin Grossman (10 April 1914 - 10 November 2003) and interior designer Jo Harris (27 January 1927 – 4 June 2005). It opened in 1966. In 1992 and 1997 The Forum Shops at Caesars were added and in 2004 The Palace Tower by design of the American firm WATG (Wimberly Allison Tong & Goo).

[136] Steven Izenour (16 July 1940 – 21 August 2001) was an American architect.

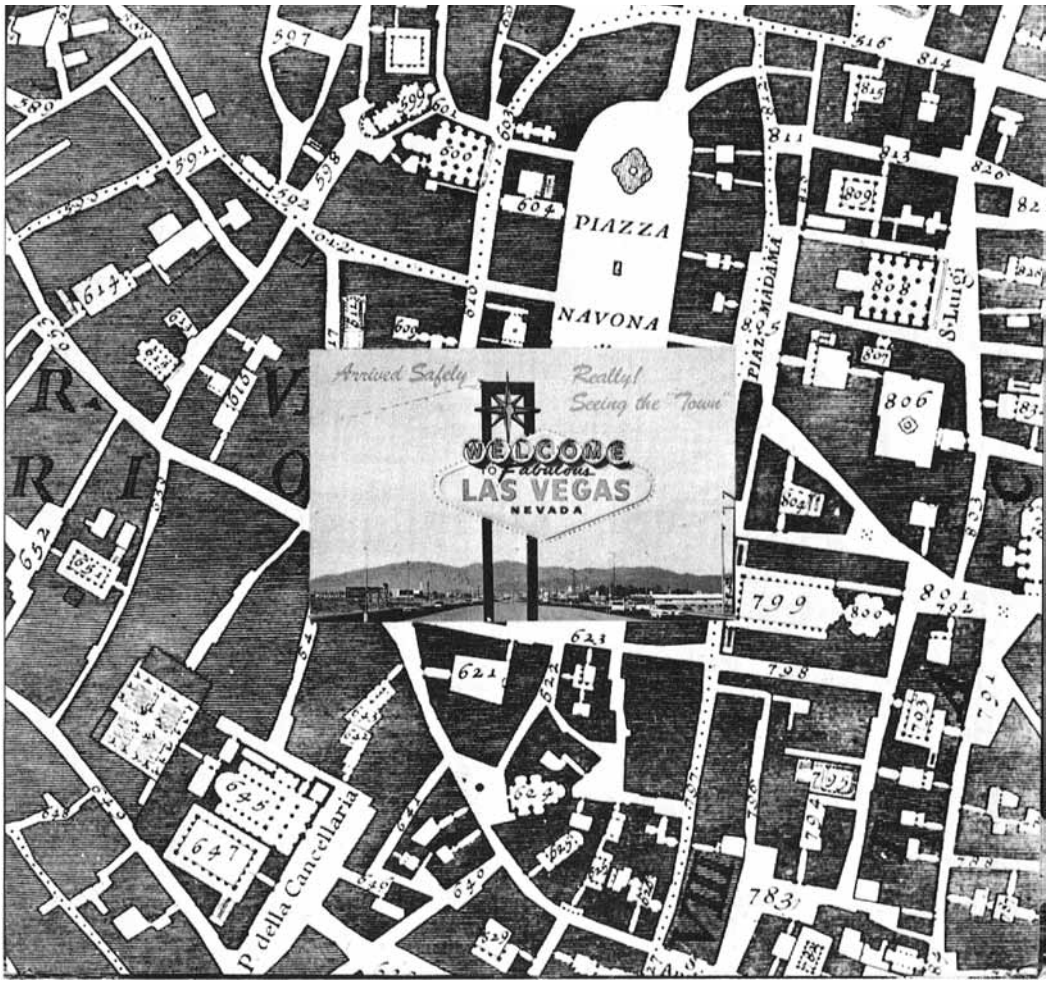


Figure 2.4.2.
Nolli's map of Rome by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, 1972

fragments of the casino's signs of Caesars Palace over Giovanni Battista Piranesi's drawing of the Pantheon,[137] as both buildings were imitating designs of the Roman Republic.[138] Second, they put an ordinary postcard of Las Vegas over Giovanni Battista Nolli's map of Rome.[139] Together the two contiguous placements represented inclusion and allusion of ancient as well as modern public life. Whereas contemporary plastic Classical columns were playing an indoor game with ancient Rome, so did the researchers with their images. The result uncovered the sensitive and complex relation between public and private space. It was the beginning of their analyses called 'Nolli's Las Vegas', of which the concluding map drew the public interiors in the same way as was the outdoor network. (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972: xi, 18-19, 51, 54-61, Piranesi 1836: 21, Nolli 1748) The Modern contradiction was bypassed. By critically recombining old metaphors with a contemporaneous urban network, old concepts of public space and their representations by surveyors and designers were transmitted to Modern times. By doing so Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour had opened ways to understand posterity by means of fundamental ancestral approaches. This would represent the fundamental shift in thinking, announcing Late Modernism approaches more useful to understand interior public spaces, as well as in itself this way remained a continuation of the pre-modern concepts as well as those of High Modernism. These ideas became quickly absorbed within architectural practice.[140]

The accelerator was 'Roma Interrotta' an urban exhibition held in Rome, which would be known also as 'Nolli's Rome Interrupted'. In a Venturian way, the map of Nolli was used to identify the thematic assumptions in Late Modern urban design. It was the outcome of a meeting between the Italian architect Piero Sartogo,[141] who had been asked to propose a theme for this exhibition, and his American colleague Michael Graves[142] in 1978. Together with several other renowned professionals they had been discussing their interest in urban design, as in its relation to architecture. In speculating on what might be thought of as the nature of urban interventions it seemed appropriate to identify them around Nolli's Rome. (Cerruti for Incontri Internazionali d'Arte 1978) So using their urban experience they did. Since the original map was divided into twelve sections, presumably because of the technical limitations of printing, it felt that the distribution of these sections to individual participation might yield a comparison of urban intentions, especially at their juncture or streams. Each architect got a piece to rethink Rome. In line with the analyses of Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour, the Nolli plan was interesting because it recorded a sense of figural void in the urban landscape by the virtue of the enclosive gesture of the surrounding buildings, as Graves introduces the project "…not only in the public domain, such as the piazza, but also the semi-public conditions of the major pieces of architecture in the city". Inspired by the 1960s publication of Frutaz, including all known plans of Rome, Nolli's plan was chosen also, because it contrasted with medieval plans, distinguishing between inside and outside, and twentieth-century plans, which described a more continues relationship between inside and outside. (Graves 1979a: 4) Beside Graves and Sartogo, the plan was distributed to some other Americans, Italians and other Europeans. Robert Venturi,

[137] Giovanni Battista Piranesi, also known as Giambattista Piranesi, (4 October 1720 – 9 November 1778) was a Roman-Papal etcher. His son Francesco collected and preserved his plates. A twenty-nine folio volumes containing 1440 original prints appeared in Paris between 1835 and 1837. Venturi used 'Veduta del Pantheon d'Agrippa, oggi Cheisa di S. Maria ad Martyres.

[138] The Pantheon in Rome was rebuilt in circa 126 AD probably by the design of Apollodorus of Damascus (abt.50-130 AD). Originally it was built in the republican times as a temple to all the gods of Rome.

[139] Giovanni Battista Nolli, also known as Giambattista, (9 April 1701 – 1 July 1756) was a Roman architect-surveyor and topographic engraver. Venturi used a fragment of 'Nuova Pianta di Roma data in luce da Giambattista Nolli', which was a part of a folio containing seventeen sheets comprising among others the map of Rome on twelve double-page sheets. The ichnographic plan was published on commission of Pope Benedict XIV, born Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini, (31 March 1675 – 3 May 1758). Nolli's map ranks as one of the greatest of any European city in the Age of Enlightenment, side by side with two other plans. The first was the plan of the city of Paris, made by the French sculptor, painter and cartographer Louis Bretez (abt.1700 – 1760), under the authority of the French magistrate Michel-Étienne Turgot, Marquis de Sousmont, Seigneur de St. Germain sur Eautre (9 June 1690 – 1 February 1751), who at the time was the master of the Parisian merchant guild; Prévôt des Marchands de Paris. The second was the plan of the cities of London and Westminster made by the Genevan-British geographers and topographic engraver Jean or John Rocque (abt.1704 – 27 January 1762), according to Act of Parliament. (Rocque 1746, Bretz 1739)

[140] In the mid 1970s, they were invited by The Smithsonian Institution in Washington to organise an exhibition on the American city. It would be called 'Signs of Life, Symbols in the American City'. The Las Vagas study was included in this expo, held between 26 February 1976 and 31 October 1976 in Renwick Gallery of the National Collection of Fine Arts.

[141] Piero Sartogo (born 6 April 1934) is an Italian architect.

[142] Michael Graves (born 9 July 1934) is an American architect.

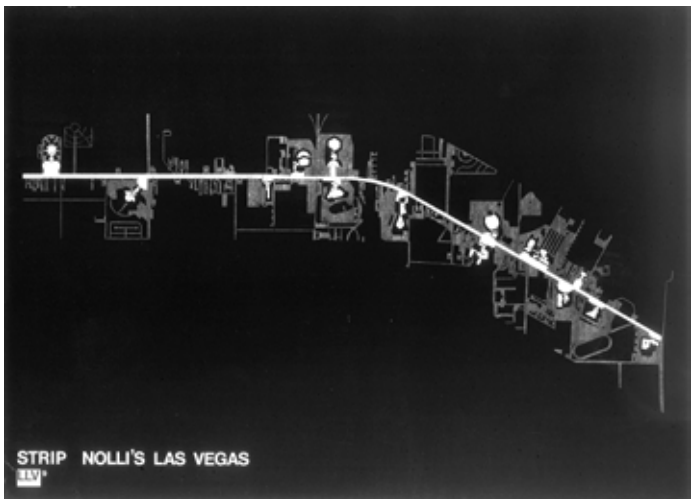


Figure 2.4.3.
Nolli's Las Vegas by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, 1972

Colin Rowe and Aldo Rossi joined, as did among others Costantino Dardi, Paolo Portoghesi, Aldo Guirgola, James Stirling, Steven Peterson, Antoine Grumbach, and Leon and Robert Krier.[143] Most of them laid the emphasis on the ambiguous public-private relation. Of course Robert Venturi related the assignment directly to his own constructed fundament, now illustrated by his redesigned section called 'The Strip fuori le Mura', he underlined once again the sensitivity and complexity of the public and private relation in space. Interiors could be open to the public, whether they were located in Roman churches, off streets and away from the piazzas, or in Las Vegas where they form the ornamental and monumental main place in casinos and hotels. (Venturi and Rauch 1979: 66) By means of a similar urban-architectural intervention, Sartago presented a strategic design based on the distinction between the 'strictly public sphere of interventions and the strictly private ones'. By the use of arcades or 'street-galleries' he introduced an enclosed and continuous peristyle. These dynamic areas, as he called them, would link the fixed elements of the urban space with the individual locations. (Sartogo 1979: 30-33) All together, in the exhibit, we could recognise three approaches: The more or less purely spatial one, the social one and the combination of both. In the contribution of Peterson for example, the emphasis was clearly on the map's spatial qualities. Space was defined as the 'medium of urbanism'. He stated: "The Nolli map epitomises the basic condition of urbanism. He represented the city of Rome primarily as the interwoven relationship of spaces, incorporating the entire spectrum of sequences which connect the public and semi-public to the private." In his vision space as it was drawn by Nolli should be interpreted as the positive actuality of volumetric form. He conceived it as a positive entity in an integrated relationship with the surrounding solids, or in other words as the prerequisite medium from which the whole fabric of urbanism emerges. The varying degrees of definition and specificity were perceived as the exact opposite of the modern conception of space as a ubiquitous continuum without form and inhabited by an assembly of autonomous objects. For Peterson, 'Modern' space was consequently unsuccessful, anti-urban, and thus in comparison to the space of Nolli, it would be

[143] Costantino Dardi (28 November 1936 – 24 November 1991) was an Italian professor in architecture. Fellow countryman Paolo Portoghesi (born 2 November 1931) is architect and theorist. Romaldo Giurgola, called Aldo, (born 2 September 1920) was an Italian-American architect, who now is naturalized as Australian. Sir James Frazer Stirling (22 April 1926 – 25 June 1992) was a British Architect. Steven Kent Peterson (born 22 October 1940) is an American architect. Antoine Grumbach (born 24 January 1942) is an Algeria-born French architect. Robert, or Rob, Krier (born 10 Juni 1938) and Léon, or Leo, Krier (born 7 April 1946) are Luxembourgian architects, urban designers and brothers.

called ‘anti-space’. (Peterson 1979: 76 and 1980, Spring) In the contribution of Leon Krier, the emphasis was absolutely on society. To him the map illustrates “the spontaneous formation of anti-institutional social centres”. He thought that this represents “an alternative model to stop the bureaucratic transformation of the city into purified and controlled functional zones”. He gave special attention to the mismatch of the approach of Modern governmental institutions and the way contemporary public life took place for the common people. In this line he referred explicitly to Hannah Arendt, who stated that public space could not be erected for one generation and planned for the living only. In stead it should be transcend the lifespan of mortal men; without it no polities, strictly speaking no common world and no public realm could be possible. (Krier 1979: 98-99, see also Arendt 1958: 55) The last example, the contribution of Graves combined the two. From out of the idea that a city was a ‘collection of buildings’, as well as ‘shared space’, Graves made a distinction between the Classical approach of room making and the Modern idea of fluidity: While in general the discrete room would offer a greater level of distinction between the public and private realm, the chance to attach itself to the next larger ordering of spaces could be diminished. Fluidity might do so. On the other hand, as seen in some opaque linkages the public and private realms could not always be distinguished and in a fluid network of passages one could also distinguish serial and rather discretely linked rooms. For Graves the map of Nolli represented this translucency. In his view it could be said that any worthwhile urban composition would “surely include the virtues of all of these models” as they were “certainly not mutually exclusive, but in fact depend on each other to establish a larger unity”. (Graves 1979b: 84)

The shift in reasoning was supported by the practice of Venturi and Scott Brown. The Modern concept of the ‘rue intérieur’ as seen in the earliest design projects, matured in their later work, including internal streets imbedded in a surrounding network of urban public spaces and pathways, both interior and exterior.[144] (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 65) ‘The street through the building’ had been a recurring theme in their oeuvre. It was designed to support the urban circulation system, while at a smaller scale it formed the

[144] See for example the corridors and closed pedestrian passage in the F.D.R Memorial Competition of 1960, which Venturi designed together with the Autrian-American architect John Keiser Rauch Jr. (23 October 1930 – 10 April 2006), business partner from 1964 on. The project was designed in association with American landscape architect Georges Erwin Patton (18 March 1920 – 6 March 1991) and Greek-American structural engineer Nicholas Louis Gianopulos, called Nick, (born 1 October 1924).

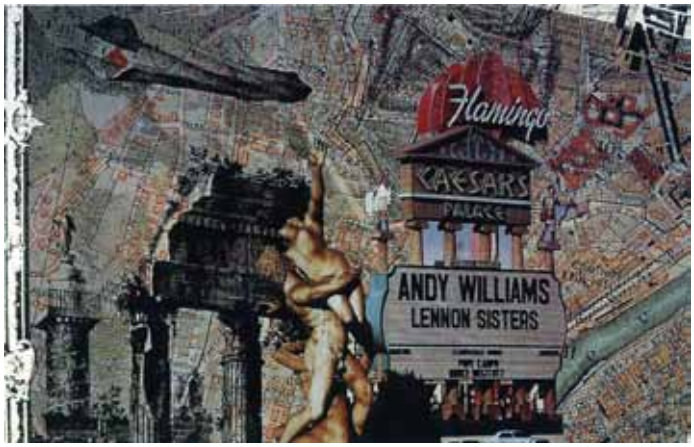


Figure 2.4.4a.
Roma Interrotta, proposition of Roberti Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 1977

spine, as they called it, of the public sector of the building. To make appropriate public interiors they had studied surrounding urban patterns closely, and then they designed the architecture to fit with these and to encourage communication. (Venturi and Scott Brown 2004: 160) Their interior public spaces returned to the symbolic streets of former days, to the preferences for traditionally scaled high naves, and to the redemptive design projects seeking for unity though collective productive activity and social reorganisation. It brought not only Venturi and Scott Brown together, but also the urbanist and the architect: It introduced a four-way dichotomy that was within them as well as between them. In an article published in 2007, Denise Scott Brown and I attempted to extend the dialog on this.[145] Representing two generations in architecture and urbanism, we joined efforts to widen their understanding of this changing and developing phenomenon as seen in Florence, Rome and so many places, and presented it to the public. It had been the last major stepping stone towards re-understanding and defining interior public space. It helped to enlighten the forefront of the Late Modern search and bring it to the standpoint of the present.

Denise Scott Brown underlined that different internal streets and spaces created very different public qualities – as different as those of a city. In certain designs, together with Venturi, she designed the major street internal to the project, but outdoors. These spaces were aligned with surrounding pathways. In others, they made similar routes interior. Then, the space was both street and the major public area of the building. In few cases, they had converted a building and introduced new indoor streets. These were kept low and narrow. As such they were the least open in the series, yet still also set at right-angles to the outdoor path. They found metaphors in a range of urban prototypes, from medieval market routes to expressways, while they bore in mind the issues of location and capacity that transportation planners considered. (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 65) Combining rooms and fluidity, Graves would say. They developed categories and hierarchies of street types based on Modern transportation engineering, lessons learned from their teachers; from Lou Kahn's famous plan for the central Philadelphia's streets, called 'Plan of Proposed Traffic-Movement Pattern', and from David Crane's 'four faces of movement' and idea of the 'Capital Web'.[146] The traffic movement studies of Kahn were

[145] However, although they refer to interior public space frequently in their writing (e.g. Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972: 50-51, Venturi and Scott Brown 2004: 133-140, 160-161), Venturi and Scott Brown haven't described their views on it in great detail until the more focused examination that the dialogue between Denise Scott Brown and me have sought to provide since 2005. Our collaborative article 'On Public Interior Space', published in the AA files 56, has been a reflection of this dialogue. This chapter is too; therefore it largely overlaps our article.

[146] Louis Isadore Kahn, called Lou and née Itze-Leib Schmuilowsky, (20 February 1901 – 17 March 1974) was a Russian-American architect and planner. From 1954 to 1965, Venturi held teaching positions at the University of Pennsylvania, where he served as Kahn's teaching assistant, an instructor, and later, as associate professor. It was there, in 1960, that he met fellow faculty member, architect and planner Denise Scott Brown, also a student of Kahn. David Alford Crane (25 January 1927 – 20 May 2005) was a Belgian-Congolese born American architect and planner active in Philadelphia.

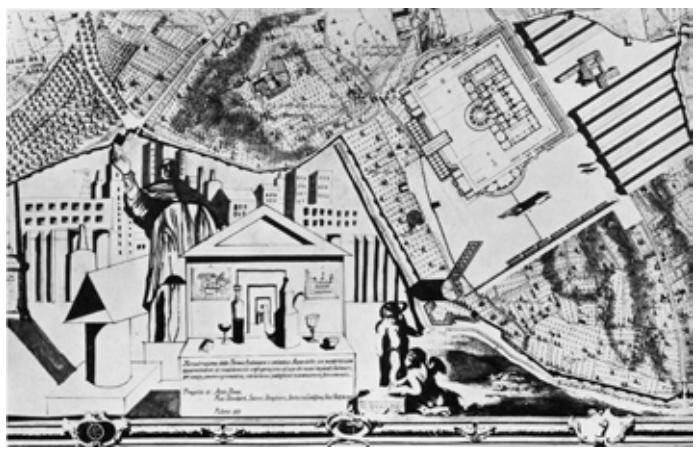


Figure 2.4.4b.
Roma Interrotta, proposition of Aldo Rossi, 1977

redefining the use of streets by separating one type of movement from another "so that cars, buses, trolleys, trucks, and pedestrians" would "move and stop more freely, and not get in each other's way" It was a system of movement not designed for speed, Kahn said, but for order and convenience. Additionally, Crane suggested that streets functioned as channels for the circulation of people, goods and vehicles; as city builders, in giving access to places for settlement; as rooms for activities, especially in mild climates and in developing areas, where much of life would take place outdoors and on streets; and as information givers, telling travellers where they were in the city, providing the locus for communication between individuals and purveying messages, communal and commercial. (Kahn 1952, Kahn 1953: 11-27, Crane 1960, May: 32-39, Venturi and Scott Brown 2004: 116, Scott Brown 2006: 33-44) These lessons seemed rather structured, functionalistic, but together with their own analyses of Las Vegas, they were the most important underpinnings of their ideas on the design of the public sector, or street, in buildings. Follow the poeple where they go and gather. Still, this had been only half the story. The other half of it concerned specifics of the brief or programme, which gave the basis for a design project. In the client's intended activities, the relation between them and the spaces required to accommodate them, laid the first definition of the public realm. Combined with the first role of circulation space, the 'street through the building' formed part of the movement system, along which the building's spaces were located, and from which access to and among users' activities was obtained. This approach followed the line, where urbanists studied urban economics and transportation engineering to understand how patterns of circulation affected urban development and how land use and movement would interrelate in the city. And Crane included 'giving access' as one of his four faces of movement, pointing out that this quality defined the street as a 'city builder',

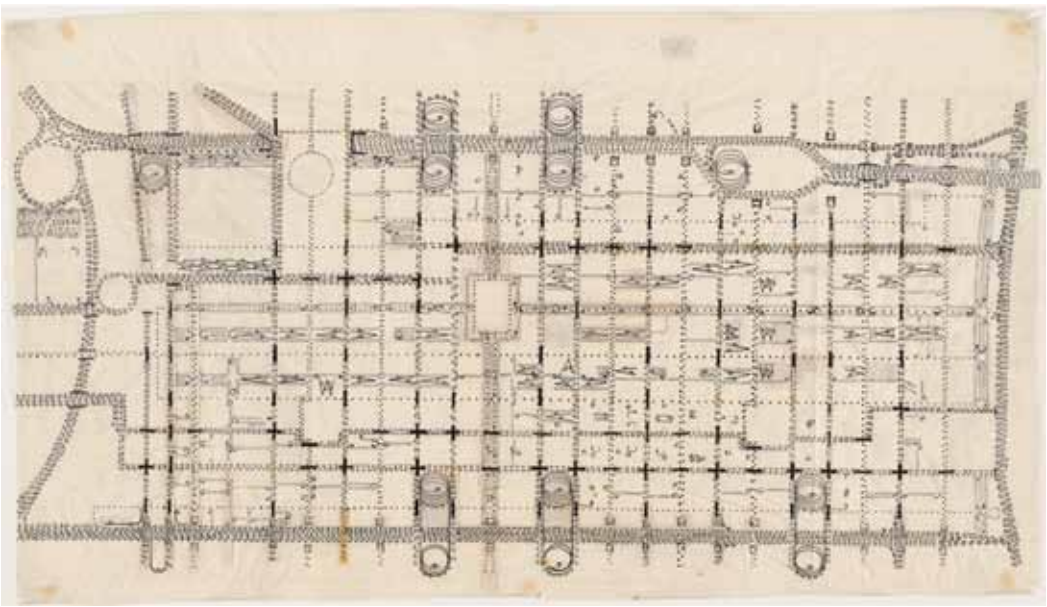


Figure 2.4.5.
Traffic Study project for Philadelphia by Louis Kahn, 1952

because giving access to land enabled its development as public. In the same way, Venturi and Scott Brown considered the 'street-through-the-building' as an access giver and tried to combine activity patterns and circulation in designing buildings as we would in planning a city. They had done land use and transportation planning inside buildings. (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 65) By doing so she abridged urban reality and utilitarian theories, founded by Josef Stübben and confederates. "Yet, as 'interior urbanists', we find we must work with categories of function beyond those of the brief", she stated. These remarks should relate to the building's role in the community, and may concern the size and volume of movement or activity. Particularly important were categories that differentiate between public and private activities or spaces, and help to define the character of each and the relations between them. Again abridging history and continents, like Camillo Sitte she was arguing in support of the interwoven relationship between public and private. "So, understanding public space means understanding its relation to private space, and especially so as we consider public interiors", Scott Brown concluded.

At the same time, in this Late Modern rediscovery of public space the emphasis on 'civic' had become relevant too. Within the public realm itself, a mall, a market place and also for example a beach could be perceived as public, serving our shared but still private or personal needs. It was understand as part of the public sphere, whereas civic spaces were seen more as spaces where we could share place and purpose. More specifically than public space, civic space had to belong or pertain to citizens and cities, as it would be proper to them in a kind of belonging. The civic space would relate to the people who live in city as a member of society. It could be any particular place as long as one was able to feel to have a proper place and was accepted in its position. (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989iii: 254) In Early Modernism, the international call for more free open space to serve the people went hand in hand with a call to make them civic too. It seemed one. The pea of the British planner and architect Inigo Triggs[147] was clearing the way: "…every effort should be made to place the buildings farther apart and to make the open spaces more extensive the father they are removed from the civic centre". (Triggs 1909: 2, 11-12, 274) It looked like a difficult assignment. In a shared problem posing, and different to all 'other spaces', Late Modernists had co-redefined civic space or civil space next to public space. Some spaces had had an 'attested' value attributed to the relationships between the city and civic institutions. These civic spaces were the representation of a continuum which could be barely interrupted. A few of those, interesting enough, described as having the most refined street coverings, were seen as a 'tangible expression of civic solidarity'. Then a large opening, big and monumental, linking the civic interior and the outdoor space seemed appropriate. Simultaneously, the territory inside was seen as part of the public world and civic philanthropy. Any civic space as such, within the network of public space, was associated with the composition of the city. In this, social or cultural meanings immediately became morphological. It was positioned in line with the early American interpretations of Sitte, wherein civic design has to stand out the network of public space. (Hegemann and Peets 1922: 7-27., Venturi 1966: 108, Alexander et al 1977: 313, 583, Rowe and

[147] Harry Inigo Triggs (28 February 1876 – 9 April 1923) was an English architect and urban planner, firstly defining 'civic centres', while elaborating on the past, present and possibilities of town planning. Although he focused on 'civil man', rather than public man, or as he said the 'polished man' in the polis, the public places in Italy were exemplars. He died in there, in Italy.

Koetter 1978: 22, 50; Rossi et al 1982: 92, 116 and 194) Then after, the difference between public space and civic space should become more subtle. “In the first we all share a common good but don’t join together to do so”, as Denise Scott Brown stressed; “In the second we are part of a community”. In her reasoning, public and civic functions might also be served by the interiors of some private and institutional buildings: “Shopping malls are to some extent public today, and Las Vegas simulates the public sector both indoors and out. The combination of public and private has a long and varied history.” By referring to a department store in her hometown, even an interior of a department store, a large atrium inside a private building, could serve as an auspicious example. People arrange to rendezvous there as if it were a public square. Yet also, the interior felt civic especially when it had a role, both retail and ritual, in for example the communal Christmas celebrations of the city. As such, this store in Philadelphia known as Wanamaker’s, was “democratically designed to serve the entire urban population”: Hence the bargain basement was found under the same roof as the deluxe departments.[148] (Scott Brown 1990: 21-29; Scott Brown 1988, November/December; Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 67) These definitions collected again the thoughts on the specificity of the city and its civic culture, within a more common or abstract notion of public and without excluding social ideals. The institutions of the city and the public realm not necessary always come together as a marriage between civic and public spaces. This is what Venturi and Scott Brown have learned in their project in Toulouse.[149] At the time of the assignment, the client saw the proposed diagonal street across the site as highly civic, but in addition to its civic functions it aimed to provide a pedestrian shortcut between two existing commercial areas. Scott Brown had hoped it could contain a street market as did other Toulouse streets. However, the client would not countenance a commercial use and although this street would be the public access to all government offices it was shut off at night for security. The small civic place before the Salle de l’Assemblee that was lined with trees and benches like traditional squares had also been closed to the public, again for reasons of security. Although it was in the designer’s intention to match the two, institutionally

[148] See Book 8.

[149] Venturi and Scott Brown won the international competition to design the Hôtel du Département de la Haute-Garonne in Toulouse in 1992. They designed the project in association with the American architect, Frederic D. Schwartz, called Fred, (born 1 April 1951), a former director of Venturi, Rauch and Scott Brown, and the French local architects Daniel Hermet (15 November 1949 – 2007) and Françoise Blanc (born 6 October 1952). Schwartz had been a fellow at the American Academy in Rome in 1985, when he had met Blanc, a collegue at the Académie de France à Rome, Villa Medici. When in 1990, Hermet, who had an architectural firm in Toulouse, invited Blanc to participate to this competition, the all decided in 1990 to associate. The major street of the project was placed between two wings, internal to the project but outdoors and aligned with surrounding pathways. It could be closed off by gates; therefore it might be perhaps also more private at times. The provincial capital building was built between 1999 and 2000. Covered bridges in glass span the pedestrian street connecting the two wings of the building at two locations.

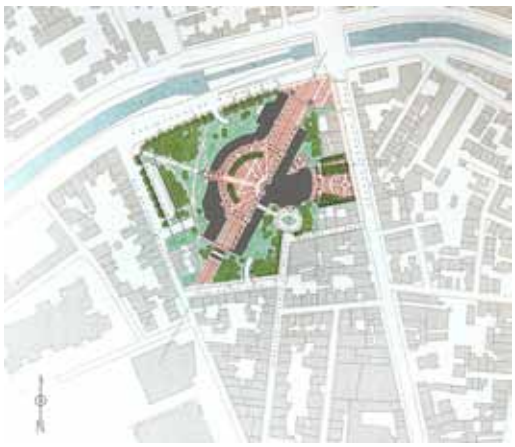


Figure 2.4.6a.
Design for the Hôtel du Département de la Haute-Garonne in Toulouse, 1992

Figure 2.4.6b.
Photo of the Hôtel du Département de la Haute-Garonne in Toulouse by Matt Wargo, 1998

it might illustrate a long departure from the ideas of Alberti. In a similarly alienated manner, the freedom of speech and assembly was provided for in the public outdoor space, at a distance from the assembly hall. Ideology was still there, but times changed. Still children walked to school along the street and the local community gathered there for events. And some internal spaces had developed ancillary uses. The assembly hall complex was used for important public announcements and conferences, and a market for fruit and vegetables had appeared, unofficially, underground in the parking structure along the route to the elevator.

In a way, unions between public and civic work better in the recent campus planning and design of Venturi and Scott Brown.[150] In these cases, the extended network of public space introduces places for the academic community. Complex series of pedestrian paths are connecting academies, research centres, college dormitories, lecture halls and all kinds of supporting facilities by means of public interiors. It has been the follow-up of their precursing theories in practice. Often, these routes are more like medieval streets than a civic plaza. They can take users directly where they need to go, via relatively narrow pathways that, for example, widen to give access to doorways or to allow eddy space in which people can congregate. Encouraging serendipitous meeting between scholars of different disciplines has been a major aim in their planning of academic streets. They therefore locate informal stopping places at points of encounter where important pathways would cross. In the interiors, they have positioned coffee lounges off the main corridor near an elevator or they have joined points longitudinally while providing access to activities and structures bordering it. In the exterior spaces around intensely used buildings, they have provided, for example, informal seating, sometimes café chairs, often just steps, parapets and ledges. In such a case, in good weather students can study or workers eat lunch. These informal opportunities along the way reveal rather than demonstrate their function. People, especially students, discovered and defined uses for themselves. “Give students a bench to sit on and they will lie on it or dance on it, but provide a parapet or ledge and they will treat it as an engaging opportunity”. An entry arcade, patio, skyway

[150] Until 2004, they had been principals of Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, shortened VSBA, in Philadelphia. While being related to the firm, Daniel Kellogg McCoubrey, called Dan, (born 16 November 1951) and Nancy Rogo Trainer (born 20 May 1960) became the new principals, together with James Hamilton Kolker, called Jamie, (born 27 October 1962), who left in 2009. Robert Venturi has retired from practice in 2011, while Denise Scott Brown continues to publish and present her work.

Figure 2.4.7a.
Plan for Frist Campus Center by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 1997

Figure 2.4.7b.
Potential linkages at the campus of the University of Michigan, analyses by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 1999

and other kinds of demarcated entrances on the exterior can draw from the larger crowd of pedestrians, bringing them from several directions into the building. The main entry to the building must be seen in the context of the circulation. Once there, students enter the vast, light spaces, in a Las Vegas-like setting, and move on to student offices, classrooms or a library. Considering entries and access patterns in design make such civic buildings facilities for the whole communities. But 'civic' for undergraduates can be funky and a little, but only a little like Las Vegas, Scott Brown jocularly has added. (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 67)

Although these projects may serve a specific sector of society, they do not introduce a surrogate or sealed realm. In a Late Modern move away from polarising definitions differentiating between urban and architectural design, the building and the street, the public and the private, and the civic and the public, variations to the communal or the collective. They are able to illustrate how the interior is used as a connector and communicator between the domains, linking pathways, interweaving the sectors. Streets can play many roles, at scales that range from the sidewalk access of a row house to the movement networks that serve major facilities and urban areas. For Venturi and Scott Brown, interior public space likewise contributes to urban circulation, thus careful study of its context is required. For this reason, they analyse activity and movement around the project site, they document the quality of nearby public space, exterior and interior, and they consider trends within these systems and demands on them. This gives a framework for the planning of relationships both within the project and beyond it. In design practice, she has found the concept of 'desire lines' to be useful. These lines are drawn directly between where people are and where they want to be, regardless of whether direct routes exist. Thus, who would gather where. Many of the project partis stem from desire lines. The designed interior street seems very much akin to the model of the Parisian arcade. As my research shows, these covered streets are quite similar part of the network of public space, while giving access to shops, theatres, and so on. But more important to this comparison, arcades also function as link on the pedestrian paths.[151] As such, the interior public space can survive. It may be a lesson, which could guide designers of the future. In comparing our researches, Denise Scott Brown has recognised this conclusion. She concluded that my research leads to a broader description of public interiors, where as hers has demonstrated how mapping can support designing such a space in the cross-over of architecture and urbanism. (Scott Brown 2007, 9 November)

> "Yes, it's important that interior streets take people where they want to go and, just as the market place sits at the crossroads in a town, so the more public functions must be located at major access and crossing points, where most people pass. And yes, arcades that run within buildings make an interesting comparison with the street. Your research reminds me of the two-level main street of Chester, England. Here interconnected pedestrian ways are set one above the other. They face the street on one side and are lined by shops on the other. This building section occurs in all the private buildings along the length of the street. It has been maintained by successive builders over hundreds of years, so valuable is it to the retail uses of the city. [...] We also experienced the longevity of shortcuts in Toulouse. The site, when we first saw it, had already been cleared and

[151] See Book 4.

Figure 2.4.8.
"In Vegas, There's No Place Like Rome", a film still of a commercial for The Forum Shops at Caesars, 2010

> we planned our diagonal across it to serve as a shortcut between two nodes in the city. But only when our project was well into construction did we discover from an old map that we had sited our route exactly where a street had once run." (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007 : 69)

Of course the buildings which we discussed are mostly free-standing, while in general Parisian arcades are imbedded within a city block. Still, in both, designs keep or achieve their public meaning without contradicting the objectives of the interior as well as exterior. Through architectural and urban design, they prevent rear areas and anonymous outdoor space from flanking the building. This is what we have seen the suburban shopping mall. Architects who have designed them seem to focus only on the inside. Their designs are introverted; blind outdoor facades form a blank box surrounded by parking lots. It does not always work.[152] Recently there has been development towards a more outdoor-oriented type. Others are being redesigned to introduce outdoor pedestrian spaces, which surround parts of the complex and open up the facades of the buildings. It seems that interior public space needs outdoor space and more importantly it needs to be part of a differentiated and hierarchic system of public space. To avoid conflict between interior and exterior, this means tailoring, as Scott Brown agrees.

> "This is a major finding to both our work. From it, further questions derive. For example, how should the advantages of a lively indoor street be weighed against the need for vitality on the exterior?" (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007 : 69)

Over the years in my conversations with Denise Scott Brown, Las Vegas remained a recurring theme, also in discussing today's challenge. Of course! The interpretations of Venturi and Scott Brown are recognised as iconic for in Late Modern thinking effecting architectural and urban design. (Jencks 1977: 70, 96) The unique Nolli map of the Las Vegas Strip of the 1960s shows that a vast system of public interiors has existed in disconnection to the outside. As explained in Learning from Las Vegas, it has kept patrons disorientated in time and space, so they would lose count of the hours and remain at the gambling tables. "Like the complex architectural accumulations of the Roman Forum, the Strip by day reads as chaos if you perceive only its form and exclude its symbolic content". (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972: 115-117) Nowadays, like ancient Rome or any previous Roman city, along the strip the outdoor space is more established. The strip has become part of a complex network tying a variety of public spaces together, new and old, indoors and outdoors. Piazzas and open areas between buildings and along the boulevard are introduced. So, these interiors have transformed and it may be presumed that it will continue to evolve. Yet, as Scott Brown observes: On Las Vegas Boulevard today hardly anything is pure public. On the one hand, it seems to imitate a public sector. Is this the remainder of Greco-Roman public space? On the other hand, Las Vegas has created a new hybrid private-public sector. The boulevard is completely different from the strip Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour studied in the 1960s. Highly pedestrianised, it seems like an elongated Piazza Navona[153] as Denise has said. To her, the 'public' plazas that lie

[152] See Book 6.

[153] The Piazza Navona in Rome follows the outline of Stadium of Domitian or Circus Agonalis, from around 80 AD.

between the boulevard and the casinos imitate the old public sectors of historic European cities. Where strident signs, a porte-cochère and a reassuring view of parking once beckoned the automobile, now, famous plazas of Europe are jammed together to beguile the pedestrian on the boulevard. Why go to Venice, Italy, when you can experience Venice, Nevada? But the more the casino front yards have been made to resemble old civic places, the more private they've become. There is almost no old-school public sidewalk left. Everything that looks like a civic plaza traditional public pace is private to within half a metre of the street. The cases in Las Vegas, like malls, must think hard-headedly about systems for service and parking, especially customer parking. On the boulevard, parking has graduated to structures behind the casino hotels, leaving the front yards available for a pseudo civic townscape. Las Vegas is changing once again. It worries Scott Brown: Like contemporary architecture she sees the Boulevard moving away from architectural allusion and the aim to communicate and toward architectural abstraction and the projection of luxury and quality service.

> "It is hard to imagine a Las Vegas hotel that no longer romances you off the boulevard but purveys, instead, an air of privacy and high-class exclusiveness. What will be the nature of the public realm in such a complex? I suspect that landscaping will provide the primary image, and that it will be used to shield the view, while disclosing discreet but fascinating hints of the facilities reserved for just a few inside. Perhaps this will work. Perhaps by the laws of contrast, abstract neo-modern architecture will present an irresistible attraction to a public jaded by the old Las Vegas. But how soon will people of the 2010s tire of architectural abstraction, as their grandparents did in the 1960s?" (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007 : 70)

The selective use of a good urban location can make interiors appear more urban. Beside this, public interiors, for a casino, campus centre or church, require high-quality space where urban discomfort is eliminated, attracting its public. This brings me back to Nolli's plan and the interpretations of Venturi and Scott Brown. In its ability to clearly reveal the urbanistic network – the mazes of public space – this map clarifies the urban designer's role forming interior spaces. In this sense, this redefines the division between the city planner and the architect. Urban design and planning not always stops at the entrance of the building. Also the architect has a responsibility which exceeds the build alone, Nolli's map has been influential and relevant in the recent period, because it provides a method of showing physical relations between the public and the private city. The relationship between public and private has always been very important in the work of Venturi and Scott Brown. They rely on the Nolli system adapted for today. Though, there were few grassy areas and no parking lots in Nolli's Rome. They map the variables of Nolli, showing the poché of all public buildings and of major public spaces in private buildings. On these they juxtapose the system of pedestrian pathways that cross the campus. It forms a nervous pattern of movement, resembling macramé, and running continuously between exterior and interior spaces. A Nolli map portrays an overall public system and the relation between its public and private uses. It shows where the capacity of pedestrian ways is not related to the demand on them, and where gaps exist because new buildings were erected but the pathway system was not adapted to them. Nolli has taught Venturi and Scott Brown a

great deal about the character of public architecture, including the architecture of the street through the building. His map is all about the processional, Denise Scott Brown states; Why wouldn't it? It was conceived as an information system for religious pilgrims. Rome's winding and sinuous street pattern stands out in marked contrast to its formal piazzas, like the real Piazza Navona. But the buildings, with their strong black plans, are particularly suggestive of the difference between the public architecture of streets and institutions and the private tissue of the city. The fact that the plans are baroque does not indicate that public space should be baroque. It's another reinterpretation of history. The plans of modern architects lend themselves to a similar analysis. Venturi and Scott Brown have certainly learned from Nolli to think of the street through the building as if it were an exterior street.

Robert Venturi begins one of his last books with Scott Brown with an acknowledgment of their reintroduction of evolution: 'Viva pragmatic/evolutionary over heroic/revolutionary!' (Venturi and Scott Brown 2004: 1) It echoes sentiments they had expressed in Las Vegas in 1968. But given our growing recognition today that interior public space can be a constituent part of the public city, we ought to place their lines of 1968 as revolution. Perhaps the formulations on Las Vegas and Le Piante di Roma were not, in themselves, revolutionary, but bringing them together did cause a revolution. According to Scott Brown, the 1960s was a time of paradox, when revolution stood on its head for good reason, and anti-revolution indeed became the new revolution. The Nolli Map and its application have fitted their critical approach. Although, it is generally known that the couple first travelled to Las Vegas in 1965, it was never revealed when and where exactly they did discover the plan. Venturi believes he came across Nolli's map in Rome at the American Academy in 1954, when he was a fellow there.[154] David Crane had been also in Rome in the same years and Kahn, who visited the city in the past, had an intimate relationship there.[155] As apparent in a 1954 letter to his girlfriend, Kahn admired Venturi's interest in history: "Bob is a very good architect. He looks for the right things and is very well backgrounded historically which helps his judgement". Indeed it did. Scott Brown thinks she first saw the map in the early sixties at the University of Pennsylvania, where it was much in evidence around the school of architecture. Her academic colleague Bacon did include the map in his syllabus: "In the mind of Nolli and his contemporaries the exterior and the interior public spaces were inextricably integrated into a singleness of thought and experience". Perhaps also some faculty member there, possibly Aldo Giurgola, had visited his birth-place Rome and visited the famous Frutaz's exhibition in 1962. Here, all printed maps of Rome were shown, including the rather unique one of Nolli.[156] The early academic maps of Denise Scott Brown resembled Nolli's in that they showed the buildings, open spaces and circulation systems of the public sector differently from those of the private sector, but in making them she doesn't remember using Nolli as a guide. In planning school, she learned to pore over maps and aerial photographs, trying to discern in them what was happening in the city. "It was great to discover in a land-use map or photograph that something you were considering recommending was already happening. Later, when we studied aerial photographs

[154] Robert Venturi stayed in 1954 at the American Academy in Rome, a research and arts institution.

[155] Anne Griswold Tyng (14 July 1920 – 27 December 2011) was a Chinese-born American architect, serving as a professor at the University of Pennsylvania for 27 years. She worked with Louis Kahn from 1945 until his death in 1974. During her year in Italy their daughter was born. (Tyng 1997)

[156] His ichnographic predecessors are few, but Nolli was not the first major map-maker to be followed by a host of imitators. Nolli himself pays tribute to one: Bufalini's plan of 1551, which too shows churches in plan. Only four other maps are known to have published in between; two of them are as interesting because of their similar hybrid nature: The plan of De Rossi (1668) and that of Barbey (1697). These two plans of show also other monumental buildings in the urban fabric. (Ceen 2003: 1)

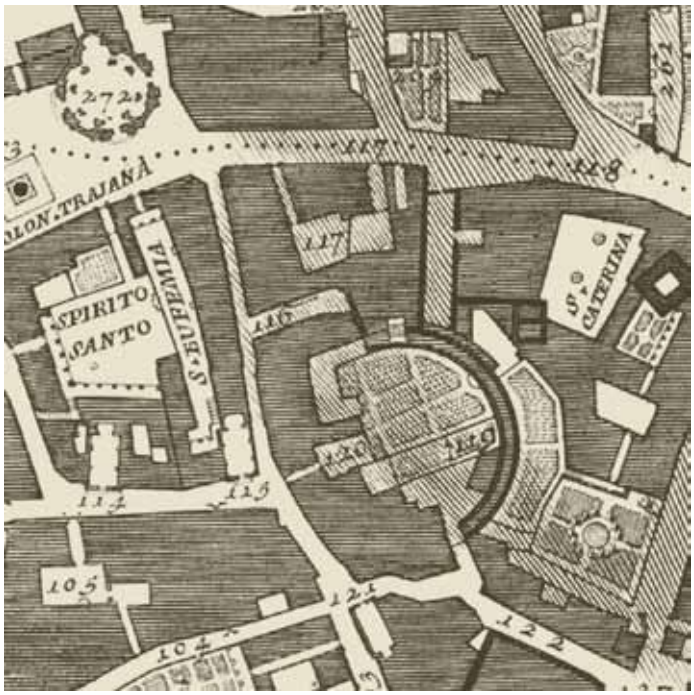


Figure 2.4.9.
Aula and Forum Traiani (no. 119) as drawn in the Le Piante di Roma by Giovanni Battista Nolli, 1748

of the Las Vegas strip, the parallels between it and Nolli's map of Rome were obvious". (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 72; Louis Kahn, 1954, 21 July; Bacon 1967: 147)
Once again an ancient Italian facilitated a fundamental new understanding of an occurring situation. Like Florence, Rome helped to overcome a Modern paradox in urban and architectural design. By rejecting the limitations to the public property, interior space could be perceived as public because of its use. This approach continued in the reasoning in Modern social science defining public realm and public sphere. Of course one could argue whether the churches shown by Nolli were public. They did not contribute to the urban circulation; neither did the interiors of Las Vegas. Streets and plazas were public. Perhaps the churches only represented the private sector that 'feels' public or to some they attrect the public. Still, for those opposing the public nature of these interiors, one detail of the map remains highly interesting: The drawing of the ruins of the Forum Traiani, the large market complex in the centre of the city, clearly reveals the hall space of Aula Traiani.[157] The aula was a forecourt or entrance to the actual market square, while in itself it was an interior public street disposing small shops on the two sides. Here free wheat was once distributed to the People of Rome. The drawing gives a unique example, integrating architectural and urban design for the benefit of public space in the time of Vitruvius. The interior served the people in their circulation as well as it was an anchor, as we may say today. It brings us back to the beginning of these reasoning on 'the public'.

In general if we designers try to identify the public interest, by nature we enter a political debate. It seems only natural, whereas in origin the '*res publica*' is based on '*politica*' and the Western concept of public space is founded on democracy. But the '*res publica*' itself

[157] Aula Traiani was part of Forum Traiani or Mercatus Traiani to be precise. The ancient Roman architect Apollodorus of Damascus (c.65 – 130 AD) designed it between 100 and 110 AD See no. 119 on Nolli's Map. (Nolli 1748)

Figure 2.4.10.
Forum Traiani with people celebrating, depicted on a gold Roman coin, struck 112-113 AD

is part of a republican idea which means representation. It makes the constitution of the public interest ambiguous: On the one hand governmental representation speaks for the public while on the other hand the people speak for themselves. And thus, public space is the space regulated by the public government as well as the space controlled by the people in general. Ownership has become increasingly important in defining public space from out of the governmental viewpoint, while liberty and freedom are doing so for the people. If we design public space we act along the two lines. This is logical and far from problematic because in most cases public space is publicly-used space regulated by the government as well as it is publicly-owned space guarantying freedom for the people. In the first line today many governments are almost solely focussing on the publicly-owned outdoor space, while in the second line nevertheless people have chosen to gather more and more within the premises of the privately-owned interior. Thus we face a confusing dissimilarity. It can be law or use defining public space, and although there sometimes is a mismatch – I would say there's left some work for the juridical experts – the designers have found there ways. In the recent decades from out of an interest in the widely emerging urban phenomenon, the relation between the interior and the exterior, between the public and the private, and between the city and its citizen, society and space, interior public space has been alluring to be studied. The Nolli Map opened ways to see public interiors as a part of a network of public space which reaches further than just outdoor streets. People come together indoors anyway. So, in that perspective just by being there in large numbers, using and influencing the place makes the interior public. Starting from studying their circulation patterns, human behaviour and spatial analysis are combined. The use of the public space determines the composition of the public space and vice versa. The designer follows the people, no matter what. Being civic, part of a community, gathering in a collective or not. As one will learn in most cases studied in this research, also governments have found legal ways to regulate publicly-used interiors. Sometimes the government even stimulates the public benefit by means of incentive agreements with private owners. These regulations and agreements are not generic, nor based on a common consensus, though they are there and they have an effect on interior design. Then; the designer follows the government, no matter what. Following the two lines, which are strongly related with the contemporary connotation of public, the next book will focus on the outcome. From the two points of view it debates and compares the spatial qualities of a variety of public interiors, imbedded in a network of urban public spaces and pathways.

New York, 1994

“It is April 5th, 1994. Two days ago, I arrived and now I was exploring New York by foot. It was amazing. The streets and avenues seemed to continue for ever. My residence was temporary at East 51st Street, where I stayed with relatives. From out of the private garden I could see the impressive high-rise: among them the iconic Lipstick. The noisy sound of the city was always there and the sirens seemed to stop never. Imagine all the people! I had just past a small pocket park. It was the GreenAcre Park, as I would learn, a simple void in the building block. People sit on green chairs and gathered around the tables. Some individuals were just reading the newspaper. The huge waterfall in the back made a pleasant sound masking the noise of traffic. I was heading to the hart of midtown, a few blocks west. Of course I passed Seagram Building. “Less is a bore”, ha-ha, it appeared that many people still enjoyed its plaza. I didn’t stop, as I was on my way to the Trump Tower on Fifth, a must-see. A sign at the entrance declared: “Welcome to the world’s most extraordinary shopping experience”. Indeed extraordinary it was. The ambiance was almost overpowering; the interior design introduced a cornucopia of red, pink, orange and beige swirled marble, of bronze reflective mirrored glass surfaces and gold, lots of ‘gold’. Five sets of shining elevators and a huge water wall contributed to the showiness of the design and they put the eyes of people upwards in an attempt to have them visit all five shopping and dining levels. The space was too crowded for me. When I discovered the corridor in the back of the mall, I decided to follow that route. I entered the spectacular atrium of I B M Building. The serrated glass of the walls and roof permitted the sun to light the interior as if it was outdoors. I took a seat and blended in, while having a short coffee break. Then, I continued shopping and sight-seeing along Fifth Avenue, in the direction of Bryant Park, a great place to have lunch. After this second pit-stop, I entered the southbound street stair of nearest subway station. There would be much more to discover...”

The Space

Postcard of a public interior of Grand Central Terminal, New York, 1920s

Book 3

Chapter 1 Debating Spatial Qualities

When a public interior is seen as space, by matter of course, the role of the designer has to be illuminated. The phenomenon, as delineated in book 1 and theoretically framed in book 2, relates to urban and architectural design. Explicating this makes interior public space understandable for all actors involved in shaping and envisioning it. The extent to three dimensions, maybe four if I would define the inclusion of time as such, make them rooms as we all know them in reality, in daily practice, in the city. Therefore, this book, the last preluding epistle, puts an extra focus on the physical entities of the phenomenon and the actors involved. When it comes to design, interior public space is foremost space, and although space can be defined in many ways, being a room or an area sufficient for some purposes, and being more or less limited, thus marked off in some way, divided and part of a section, may be the most essential for its nature. (e.g. Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989xvi: 87-92 and Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 1039) The network as a whole, including interiors, whole systems maybe, its components and its relation with the exterior, de facto are spatial. Thus, in debating public interiors more or less regulated by the public government and/or controlled by the people in general and/or known by them, the spatial impact and conditions are crucial.

New York City is a great place to illustrate the influence designers and others have in creating spaces, which are both interior *and* public. It is a great place to confront theory with practice. Over time, many actors have put their efforts to enlarge the network of outdoor streets and avenues with public interiors. It seems to have followed public needs. Whereas the public space in the hands of the public government has always been limited to the grid, the amount of people wanting to gather in space has been increased. From time to time, they have searched for alternative places. Especially on the island of Manhattan, the city is spread with arcades, malls, atria,

Figure 3.1.1a.
Left: Entrance to Trump Tower, 2009

Figure 3.1.1b.
Right: Trump Place, 1984. Photo by Seymour Rubin, called Sy (10 February 1931 - 11 February 2002)

plazas, concourses, and subways. Thousands of interiors are used by millions each year. Interior public space is a consistent particle of the network of public space and as such New York played a significant role – both as a symbol and as a reference – in the formation of the current discourse of architecture, urban design and planning focussed on public space.

The former IBM Building on Madison Avenue and the adjoined Trump Tower on Fifth each include a such large public interior.[158] However, they cannot be more different in terms of design. The interior of the Trump Tower is small in its footprint, gloomy in its yellow lightning, and yet glitzy, where the glassed-enclosed atrium on Madison Avenue is dramatically spacious, naturally lit, but overall modest in its architectural expression. On the ground level of the Trump Tower, the space is merely sixty metres long and about ten metres wide. In the midst of the skyscraper's basement a wider six story sky-lit garden space connects a below-street concourse to several landscaped levels above. The tranquil stream of people used to be current. Inside a mix of tourists and office workers used to sit on benches along the entrance corridor, on a ridge close to the water, or on the chairs of the cafeteria upstairs. On the ground floor at the rear end of the Trump Place a passageway connects the interior to the other one. The twenty metres high triangular glass-enclosed atrium on Madison is a world of difference. The white metal tubing and ditto granite floor make the illumination intense and the crystalline effect aesthetically dramatic. Yet, it continues to be a peaceful place. Only a food kiosk serves lunch, snacks and beverages. Other retail is absent. Large bamboo, renowned sculptures[159] and a number of movable chairs make the interior a park like urban space. Across East 56th Street, another public interior reveals itself. In the back of the Sony building, a spacious arcade introduces another public interior.[160] The space is heavily used, but different from the glass-enclosed atrium, here the atmosphere is all but calm. The interior is dominated by people in line for the food counter, or to enter either the Sony Store on Madison or the Sony Wonder Technology Lab annex on the other side. The store is full

[158] The former IBM Building is now simply known as 590 Madison Avenue. Edward Larrabee Barnes (22 April 1915 – 22 September 2004) designed the building, including its atrium between 1973 and 1978 and it was completed in 1982. In 1995, Robert Stern (see Book 1) altered it. Design of The Trump Tower started in 1979 by Der Scutt (17 October 1934 – 14 March 2010) and Richard Seth Hayden (born 20 July 1937). It opened its doors on 725 Fifth Avenue in 1984.

[159] Early sculptures are by hands of the English sculptor Henry Spencer Moore (30 July 1898 – 31 August 1986), (Christiaan), the Dutch artist Karel Appel (25 April 1921 – 3 May 2006), and the American sculptors Alexander Calder (22 July 1898 – 11 November 1976) and Michael Madden Heizer (born 4 November 1944). Now among others, monumental sculptures, called 'Welcome Parade', is displayed at the indoor public sculpture garden. These works are of the French artist Jean Philippe Arthur Dubuffet (31 July 1901 – 12 May 1985).

[160] The Sony Building, on 550 Madison Avenue, was formally known as the AT&T Building. It is designed between 1978 and 1983 by the American architect Philip Cortelyou Johnson (8 July 1906 – 25 January 2005), who also would design The Lipstick Building, opened in 1986.

Figure 3.1.2.
Sony Arcade at its opening, 1993. Photo by Martin Lederhandler, know as Marty (23 November 1917 - 25 March 2010)

Figure 3.1.3.
I.B.M. Atrium, 2004

of the company's latest electronic toys. On the street-level visitors can try the company's latest buzzes in personal audio technology or they can go down one floor to the sofas where they can experience the latest high definition televisions. Also the exhibit aims to show the latest fashion. It is a facility that aims to combine technology and creativity, learning and entertaining. A robotic creature that 'speaks' to you as you queue to the entrance and a huge inflatable Spiderman hanging on the ceiling make the interior into an amusement area. It is a huge difference with the same space in the building, when opened in 1983. This three-story space was not fully enclosed yet. It simply cut though the block and incorporated a modest sitting area. And although also some public facilities such as toilets had been introduced the space was poorly used. The predecessor of the Technology Lab, the AT&T Communications Museum was there to attract the public, but it could not animate the public space. Today the heavy pink granite columned facades and the vaulted glass roofing in-between remind us of how the interior once was nomore than covered outdoor space. In comparison with today's space, the original design was less programmed, but also less used. It was windy and cold. So what serves the public better? When the space is open for all kinds of groups, or; when a lot of people gather? It is a typical kind of question illustrating the most crucial ones in the explorations in the field of the public interest: What serves the people best? Can the space be introverted as the Trump Tower is? Or, should it be visible in a way the atrium on 590 Madison is? Is service, retail or entertainment programme needed, like Sony Plaza? Or, is it irrelevant, replaceable and can we leave it out? Any answer on this, will open doors to an own premiss. It unarguably will underline our supposition on the social and spatial roles, which we think interior public spaces should play in the city and this is not always a common idea. In the case of New York, we can find a strong differentiation of opinions. It can excellently illustrate the differentiation in the Western world. On the one hand the developer, the designer and the government have clear convictions on how to serve the general interest of the population as a whole in the best way. On the other hand the people making use of the spaces or observing them have clear opinions as well. As will be shown in the rest of the research, they are not always agreeing, but the best way to see if intentions indeed serve the public purpose is to shine light on both the professional and the popular debate, more than put the emphasis on the designers thoughts only. The arguments of people supporting or opposing a public quality of the interior influence the general but subjective thoughts on the matter, and their collaborative discussion expresses the public opinion. This can have a huge effect, also on designers. Usually, as soon as there is popular neglect or refute, the interior will close. If there is an enthusiastic support, the interior will get more users and the design will become a precedent for other cases.

At the time of its design and construction the architecture critics of the New York Times lavished great praise on the design of Trump Place. Presenting the building to the public, Ada Louise Huxtable[161] called the tower "a New York blockbuster of superior design". Its public pedestrian passage on ground-level would introduce retail space as well as it would connect the public interiors of the other two buildings. At pedestrian level this would create a spectacular block. Just before the opening, Paul Goldberger[162] predicted

Figure 3.1.4.
Final design of the Trump Tower sketched by Lewis T. Iglehart (born 6 November 1947) and used in an add, 1980

[161] Ada Louise Huxtable, born Landman, (14 March 1921 – 7 January 2013) was an American architecture critic and writer.

[162] Paul Goldberger (born 4 December 1950) is an American architecture critic and writer.

that “the atrium of Trump Tower may well be the most pleasant interior public space to be completed in New York in some years.” (Huxtable 1979, July 1; Goldberger 1983, April 4) Indeed, it became a popular place to be. In two decades however, together with the public opinion, the newspapers’ viewpoint radically changed. The latest architectural critic is most clear in his reflections. Trump Place is a “cheap, miserable contribution to an area of the city already in need of some mending”. The luxury complex is “about as glamorous as a toll plaza”. Today, his advice is to demolish the complex and start all over again. Since the 1990s, the space was qualified more and more as posh, and thus as retail repositioned itself, the vertical mall was left with haemorrhaged tenants. (Deutsch 1994, 24 April, Ouroussoff 2008, 28 September) As the interior is somewhat detached from the outdoors, it needed the catering to the rich. This simply was the icon that made the space an attraction. But the glamorous effect seemed temporal. The interior’s public quality, or at least its validation by the people, decreased. Today the public moves on to the new blockbusters on Fifth. Around the corner and somehow connected to Trump Place, the Niketown emporium invites people to sit and relax while watching a huge multimedia screen showing clips of athletes, baseball players and more. For more entertainment, people could visit the new NikeiD Studio at one of the upper storeys or just go and play one of the interactive displays without being asked to buy sportswear. Abercrombie & Fitch has a similar strategy, but different. Across the street facing the luxurious jewellery store of Tiffany & Co, it is blasting electronic dance music. The store attracts men and women, who once inside will find an interior highlighted with dim ceiling-lights and decorated with spot-lighted lifestyle clothing. This may seem all matter of secondary importance, but the main event is the buzz itself. The crowd of people is moving as if they are in a club; accompanied by dancing acts in front of each stair and leaving with a personal snap shot with one of the shirtless male models. It competes with the wardrobe iconography of nearby stores of The Gap, Armani, Diesel and Tommy Hilfiger. Former luxury brands, once attracting people to the interior space of the Trump Tower, now have become large-scale mass-market entertainment along New York’s most elegant shopping street themselves. It may be a new impulse for the outdoor space, but simultaneously this

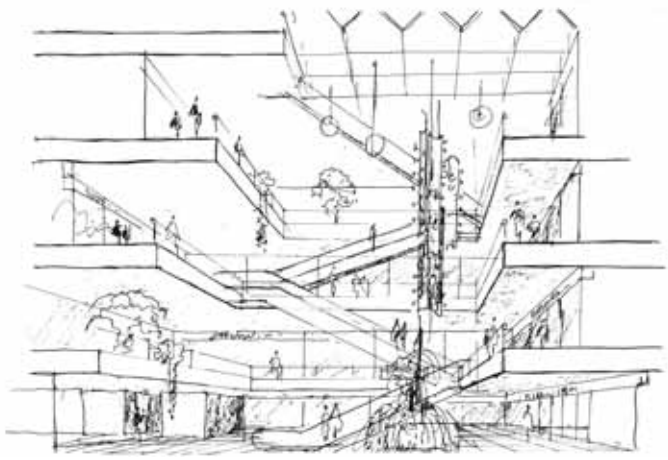


Figure 3.1.5.
Sketch of the public interior of the Trump Tower, 1979

trend creates new kinds of interiors for special lifestyle groups. Like the Trump attraction, this one may not be perpetual. Somewhere in the future, they may follow Disney, has not renewed its lease for the huge themed World of Disney store at Fifth Avenue. The company has moved its Mickey Mouse T-shirts and Goofy dolls, with plans to move to an undetermined smaller store elsewhere in Manhattan. (Tarquinio 2008, 20 August) Public interior spaces are changing continuously. They are changing not only in themselves, but also shifting in senses and people's preferences. While the avenue reshuffles, Trump's doorman dressed as if he is a British royal guard has stopped ushering passers-by in: All exclusive stores have gone by the end of the 2000s. What are left are public bathrooms in the basement, Trump's own cafés, restaurants and shops scattered around the place and a Starbucks at the upper level. Most of the five floors are unused. The public benches are gone, the escalators to empty upper floors are out of order, dusty and barricaded, the upper entry to the Nike Store is closed and the roof garden is blocked by all kinds of huge objects. Gucci has taken over most retail space. The famed Italian fashion house recently opened its largest store on the first three storeys of the tower. Turning his back to the interior, every former shop window is blinded, while on the outside, the blue-glassed and gold-plated facade is replaced by a sheet of transparent glass to fit the flagship's choice to allow views both inside and out. Following the latest fag, some modest video installations, products on rotation and showcased iconic archive pieces aim to be the next magnet for Trump Tower, but although the store's warm polished gold and smoked mirrors match the interior design recalling the elegance and richness of a recent past era, today in synch with Fifth Avenue commerce the mall has become little more than the shared backyard of Nike and Gucci or an oversized food court introducing some Trump goodies. These transformations could be everywhere at any time. As generations move on to the next, the public opinions may change and quondam attractions might fade. What is left would be the common value of the interior related to conventional urban usage and its general contribution to the network of public space, if it has any. The effect of the people, supporting or neglecting the public qualities of an interior, is enormous. Also in other New York cases, and especially in the outspoken ones, socio-spatial patters have changed.

Sony building, the former headquarters of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, gives us a third example. The preamble to the interiorisation of the public space around its base explains why. When a few decades ago AT&T presented its plans to the public, newspaper critics were not enthusiastic at all. They were confused. Instead of the expected less-is-more architecture, profound former High Modernist Philip Johnson had designed a Chippendale roofed skyscraper with an open arcade introducing classical mouldings both imagining the eighteenth-century visionary architecture and recalling the Italian Renaissance at the same view. One of the city's leading practitioners, a man with many of the city's more famous glass boxes, said in the newspaper that Johnson had gone mad. In open letters to the newspaper a whole bunch of architects and academics tended to agree. Johnson was aware of the present issue that the general public might not feel that all-glass high-rise is particularly desirable anymore. "We're not here just trying to please the people", Johnson responded, convinced that

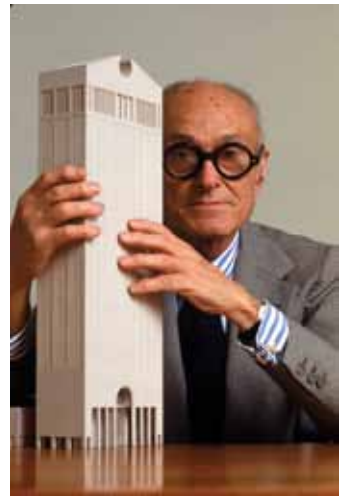


Figure 3.1.6.
Portrait of Philip Johnson with a model of his newly-designed AT&T Building, May 1978. Photo by William Collins Pierce, better known as Bill (born August 1935)

you could not lead the people to a decision. Still, the public and the media seemed to turn in favour of him. Soon after, Johnson faced Time magazine and would become the New Yorker's 'talk of the town'. (Goldberger 1978, 14 May, Huges 1979, 8 January, 52-59, The New Yorker 1986, 10 November) The arcade part, in the back, was however never a true success. Once built, the space turned out to be noisy, windy and dark and while exposed to the weather, it had just too few features to attract pedestrians. So after a decade, and with consultancy of Johnson himself, enclosing the space seemed the best thing to do in order to improve its public quality. Charles Gwathmey, who Johnson had called 'a builder' of which you can not predict what he will do next year, was hired to fix the problem.[163] "One can recreate a 'public' space and make it more usable and accessible, sometimes by enclosing it, sometimes by changing its nature", the new chief designer said. The New York Times agreed and hyperbolically stated: "Their elegance was too self-conscious to offset the cold formality that pervades the building; the grandiose architecture rolls over the space and quashes it. No wonder usage of this public space has been sparse, and most people in this neighborhood with a few moments to spare have ended up in the glass-enclosed atrium of the I.B.M. Building next door instead. Sony, determined both to put its own mark on the building and to fix what was broken". In the end as the newspaper continued, the alteration plan was about "giving the public what it wants". (Goldberger 1992, 24 May; Dunlap 1992, 27 September; Johnson 1975: 138) It is an interesting conclusion, but does anyone know what the public of tomorrow wants?

When the City of New York agreed to enclose the Sony arcade in 1992, they approved under condition to keep the space public. In order to inspect during construction and, in this case more relevant, after completion, the City ought to know what the persisting public

[163] Between 1992 and 1993, when Sony had moved in, the covered outdoor space was enclosed by design of the American architects Charles Gwathmey (19 June 1938 – 3 August 2009) and Robert Harold Siegel (born 28 July 1939). Despite former criticism, they enlisted Johnson as a consultant.

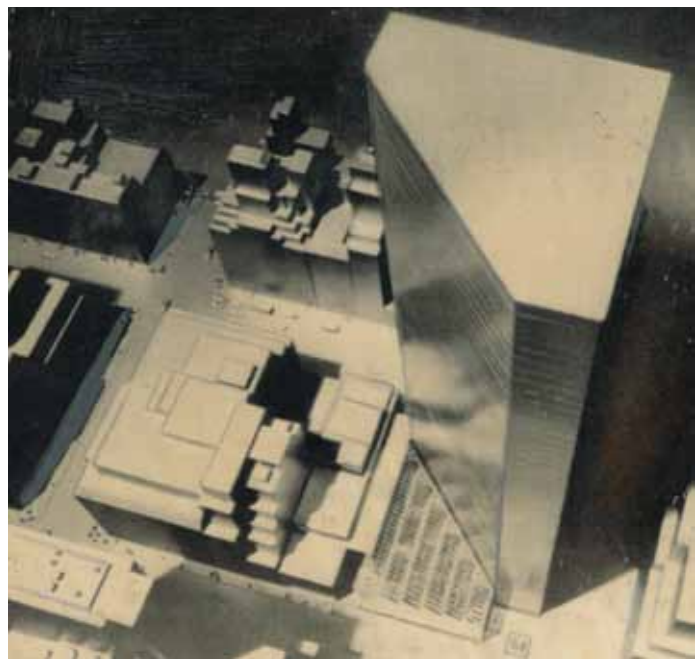


Figure 3.1.7.
Model of the IBM Building, by Edward Larrabee Barnes, 1978

needs were to ensure future compliance with the public benefits. For this purpose, the Department of City Planning created a legal base for the design of these kinds of public interiors. In general, also today, if after alteration the space does not meet the agreement anymore, the City can signify fines and penalties. The requirements diversify along with the nature of space and they can be subject of negotiation. For instance; in general an officially recognised 'covered pedestrian space' must be open to the public between 7:00 a.m. and 12:00 midnight. However, in the past, Sony has arranged to open its public interior from 7:00 in the morning to 11:00 at night, where a decade earlier Trump and IBM have settled the agreement on a schedule from 8:00 to 10:00. Spaces of this nature must also be adequately illuminated and utilizing natural daylight wherever possible. The light supply and size of the skylight of Trump Plaza illustrates the interpretation of the developer's commitment. At present, any new 'covered pedestrian space' shall be suitably maintained and in terms of a basic form it must provide an area of at least 3,000 square feet, a height of at least 30 feet, and a minimum width, at any point, of 20 feet. For spaces longer than 100 and 150 feet, this width requirement increases. For so-called 'arcades', 'trough-block arcades', 'public plazas' and 'wide streets', the requirements are defined differently. Indoors, planting, landscaping, ornamental fountains, statuary, outdoor furniture, kiosks, works of art, light wells and other features may be permitted in a portion of the pedestrian space, but not to the extent of impeding pedestrian movement.

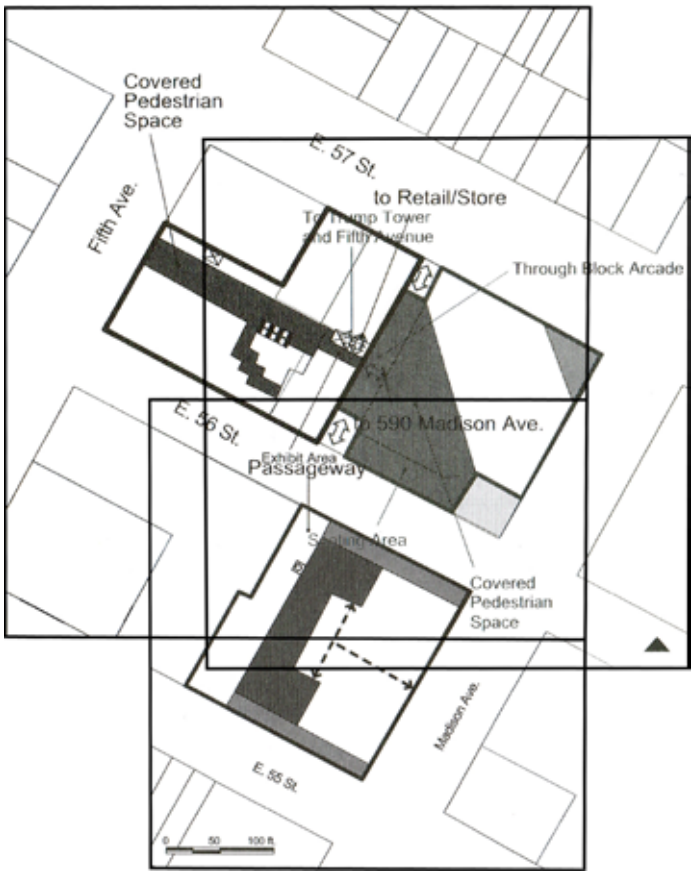


Figure 3.1.8.
An assemblage of three renders representing privately-owned public space at Trump Tower, 590 Madison Avenue and Sony Building, drawn in 2000 by Jerold Kayden (dark grey: covered pedestrian space - medium grey: arcade - light grey: urban plaza)

Where the space is heated or air-conditioned, the standards for heating, ventilating and air-conditioning shall be at least equal to that of the lobby. A 'covered pedestrian space' located at 12 feet or more below the sidewalk level shall provide direct subway or below grade pedestrian concourse access. (Zoning Resolution of the City of New York, Article VII, Chapter 4: Sections 74-87, et. seq., amended 1996, 12 June and 2007, 17 October) The variation in regulation continues: For some publicly-used spaces the City requires the design of extra public benefits, especially those which increase the attractiveness and which contribute to its comfort or convenience. In respect to these new situations it may include a variety of public qualities, including information plaques and signs, climate control, lightning, litter receptacles, seating, tables, artwork, trees, water features, drinking fountains, food services, retail frontage, restrooms, elevators, escalators, if needed bicycle parking and if possible subway access improvements. For some spaces even special programmes, like lecture series, concerts and other public events planned inside, have been part of negotiation. (Kayden 2000: 33-38, 70-71) The designs of the spaces vary to the same extent again. Although some owners just provide these amenities additionally, still these have often been part of a legal compliance between the owner and the public agencies. As such, the interiors of Trump Place, Sony Plaza and 590 Atrium are legally recognised as public spaces by special permits of the City Planning Commission. Like usually, the city authorities have given the owners something in return. Often, New York's Department of City Planning offers them bonuses in the form of extra floor space. These agreements will be achieved always through discussion. Sony's predecessor AT&T negotiated a rate of eleven square feet of bonus floor area for every foot of 'covered pedestrian space'. In total, it generated an extra 4,196 square metres, of floor space to design, making the tower as high as it is. However, when the 1992 redesign reduced the project's public space almost by a quarter, the bonus floors were not demolished. It would have reduced the building with 981 square metres or six storeys. So, legal agreements do influence the design of the public interior but the owners may permit modification. This was also possible for issues in the agreement less drastically adjusting the design, only influencing its use. The entrance requirements or the schedule of opening hours could be changed, as long as the proposed public interior continued to have "a useful role in meeting existing needs for sheltered space for the comfort and convenience of the general public". (Kayden 2000: 170, Zoning Resolution etc., Section 74-873a, amended 1996, 12 June) In this line of reasoning, the City of New York had considered the redevelopment plans and allowed the redesign reducing and enclosing of the original arcade. In size the public space decreased, like the opening hours, yet in use the public space increased and an interior public space was created. Like the original incentives, neither the outcome of the rearrangement nor the effect of redesign would be standard. The more recent redesign of the Trump Tower might give a very different example. In the early 2000s, several shops were combined to one. This allowed Asprey, a British luxury emporium, to move in the lower floors of the building. When the City approved the building permit application, needed for the alteration to the property, the commercial use would not change. The British architect Norman Foster redesigned the corner facade

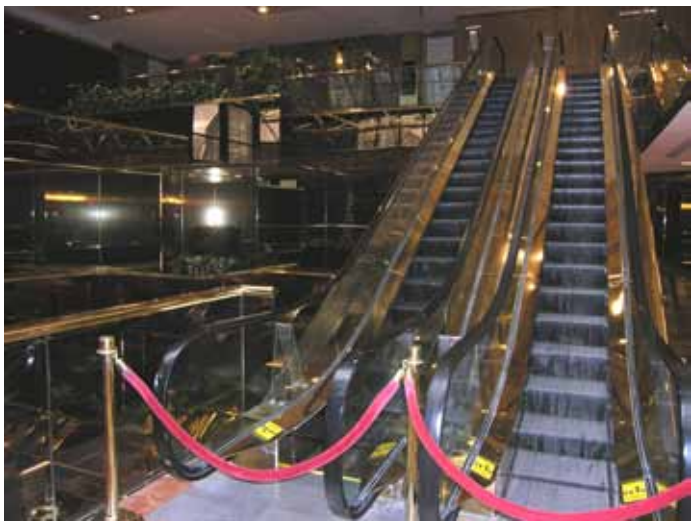


Figure 3.1.9.
Closed upper floors of Trump Place, 2009

in bright white and transparent glass, revealing the interior from the avenue. Also the public space would not change in size or use. The public amenities would stay. Nevertheless the space did more than just in its look or lay-out. Fewer shops upstairs meant less people to go up. When only a few years later another alteration to the premises was designed, the amount of visitors seemed to decrease again. The Italian fashion house of Gucci took over the place and the new facade was replaced again by a ribbed and translucent glass one, now copper-coloured. The store's entrance in Trump Place is altered and of little importance, if not blocked. Now the place is as good as an empty show-box. All shops are gone. At the entrance the sign has been replaced, it announces: "Attention: All bags are subject to search by security personnel", and upstairs other dusty signs may read: "Please pardon our appearance", and "Stop: Do not enter".[164] The outcome after redesigning the edges is a near useless five layered posh box, serving only some people really hungry for a snack and diving in the food court on concourse level or those having an avid desire for an extra-large white chocolate mocha with whipped cream, which Starbucks serves upstairs. The legal system aiming to meet established urban development goals for the public may not always be in favour of the same public.

The Department of City Planning should know when an interior is a public space and when it is not anymore. They have created the legal base for these kinds of public interiors, haven't they? In practice their presumptions might be false. The contract is stiff. It is focused mainly on the interior's accessibility and on a remarkable amount of hardware amenities, some of which people would not find even outdoors. In the case of the Sony Building the permit needed to be changed and the space needed to be redesigned radically to attract people. But then it became questionable if Sony's experience serves the general public. In the case of Trump Tower the binding legal agreement was to be kept. Apart from the obstruction of the roof garden and the upper storey, on paper labelled with maintenance, and the exchange of public benches for chairs in the food court, the officially recognised public space is untouched. But everything else in the interior has; shops and boutiques closed, facades and shop

[164] The British architect Sir Norman Robert Foster (born 1 June 1935) designed Asprey, between 2001 and 2003. The American architect and artist James Fraser Carpenter (born 11 April 1949) redesigned the corner store between 2006 and 2008. The signs mentioned were still there a year after the opening of Gucci and refurbishing of Trump Plaza.

windows are covered, and above all the attraction to visit is gone. Also, the IBM case shows that contracts for covered pedestrian space – which have been developed to protect the public interest – instead severely limit the possibility for these spaces to ever be dynamically public. Ties between these and public spheres that may develop around them are institutionally precluded, as design theorist Kristine Miller[165] puts it. These interior public spaces frame the public as people with physical access but no political. The 590 Atrium has been altered several times. When in the 1990s, IBM consolidated its headquarters, it sold its office. The new owner proposed to transform the atrium in an art exhibition space, by removing all trees. This led to great controversy and a public debate. In the end, a compromise was stuck. Fewer trees were removed and art and more seating were added. Never the users could officially protest or block new proposals. For this reason Miller concludes that the atrium was never public. Decisions were made by the Department of City Planning, not by the public. (Miller 2007: 73-76) Fellow observer of public space, William Whyte[166] would have opposed this. At the time of the drawing boards, he consulted the designers of the IBM atrium. Indeed its design was hedged with all sorts of conditions as to the impact on its surroundings. However, the principal investigation instrument was, and still is, a project data statement; and filling in this form was done by the designer, he stated. In general, the influence of the City was weak. Supported by smart-aleck public interest lawyers, every developer could succeed. The key to success or failure of an interior public space is its design, mainly its connection to the street, he explains. As, according to him, the best-used and best-liked inside public spaces are those having a strong visual tie with the outside; also the IBM atrium is open to its street. (Whyte 1988: 238, 211) White gave full responsibility to the designer and the developer. In the triad of forces, defining the public government as one, all private parties – including us designers – as another and the people in general as the simplified third, we could add an extra view point to those which Miller and Whyte represent. Loyally opposing both, common people had a say in physical and programmatic changes to those spaces too. Admittedly, they did not officially precedential in a juridical sense, but their opinion influenced the future of the interior. In a most literal way; civic complains had helped. In the case of 590 Atrium, informal grumble and accusations in the public media set the base for the alteration plans of the atrium. The Municipal Art Society[167], the city's local Community Board[168] and others objected in many ways. All together it led to the today's alternative redesign. Another form of influence was demonstrated by people simply neglecting the designated public interiors. The case of Sony Plaza's predecessor was an early exemplar. At first, people complained that the space was uninviting. So when Sony took over, it converted much of the atrium. It became an interactive showcase for its products and complain ebbed as the space attracted more crowds. In spite of this however it raised new criticisms of commercialisation. A plan to install a twenty-square-metre wall of thirty television screens drew more fire. After another Community Board opposition, the firm decided to drop the plan. (Municipal Art Society as quoted in Lambert 1995, 19 November, Community Board 5 1995, 14 September and 1998, 12 March) Even individual expressions of displeasure could have effect. Over the years,

[165] Kristine Frances Miller (born 4 October 1968) is landscape architect and urban researcher.

[166] William Hollingsworth Whyte, called William Holly, (1 October 1917 – 12 January 1999) was an American sociologist and journalist. In 1969, he wrote the 'Plan for the City of New York' and received grants to study the street life of New York. Since then he served as a planning consultant for major U.S. cities.

[167] Founded by artists, architects and interested laymen, the Municipal Art Society of New York (MAS NYC) fights for what they call 'intelligent urban design, planning and preservation through education, dialogue and advocacy'. Since 1893, MAS has been working to make New York a more liveable city in variety of ways. The MAS Planning Center has been involved in the community-planning process since the mid-1990s.

[168] Community Board 5 of the Borough of Manhattan (CB5 Manhattan) is a local government unit of the city of New York in Midtown Manhattan. It consists of non-salaried volunteer members, who are considered officials of the City of New York. They are people who either live, work, or have a significant interest in the particular district. Community Planning Councils (the predecessor to CBs) were first created in 1951 in Manhattan. The NYC Charter established 62 community planning councils in 1963. Community boards were established in 1975 through a Charter Revision Commission. Community Board 5 would have been created at the same time as all the others.

many people complained regarding an owner's noncompliance of the contract which recognises the interiors as being public and regulates their public quality. Since the opening of the Trump Tower complains as such pile up. In this case, especially in the first years the opening, the agreed schedule was broken or people were sent away because they sat on a wrong spot or because there was a private party going on. Occasionally still, similar problems might recur when impermissible retail sales activity periodically takes over the space. (Miller 2007: 123-131, Kayden 2000: 59, Dunlap 2000, 15 October) Today, it must be less a grouse, as the large flow of people has left this place already. The three views, in a sense, summarise the state of affairs right now: city-officials condition, investors propose, experts follow and the people react. So if we are involved we follow and that might not be in the best interest of urban design. A few decades ago, Jonathan Barnett[169] has warned us for the strong position the experts have. The design of the city is determined by them, each of them following their own professional logic, but in the majority not considering what is urbanistically most prudent in the city; being aware of the people who live there and being thoughtful about what might happen in the future.

> "The design of the city has been determined by engineers, surveyors, lawyers and investors each making individual rational decisions for rational reasons, but leaving the design of the city to be taken care of later, if at all. Cities are not designed by making pictures of the way they should look twenty years from now. They are created by a decision-making process that goes on continuously, day after day. If people trained as designers are to influence the shape of the city, they must be present when the critical design decisions are being made." (Barnett 1974 : 5)

If public interior spaces emerge, we, designers, must be present in the process. It is what Barnett has advised us or so to say in his revised words; "we need both a strong vision of what ought to happen and the opportunity to be present when the critical decisions are being made". (Barnett 1974: 5, Barnett 1982: 10) His reflections on New York, both being unique and prototypical, mark the relevance of my research in the fields of urban and architectural design. We are some of the experts on public space. We have to understand the spatial relations to the public, involving both the relation to the public government and the relation to the people in general, before we build an own case blindly supporting or refuting opposing expert cases, while circling over all what we already know. By matter of course the impact of the public on the design of the interiors and vice versa must be foreknowledge before designing public space. As the design evolution of several types in this research illustrate, the effects of these two symbiotic relations are especially strong in indoor space. Many urban researchers and bystanders agree, but in a triadic relation between the public representation, the public self and the expert, each chooses an own focus and everybody axiomatically agrees on the notion of public. In reviewing the quality of public space, the public interest seems too self-evident. Perhaps it is not necessary to reason to make it plainer. However, if it comes to the validation of the interior's public degree and the determination of the design, the debates on Trump Place, 590 Atrium and Sony Plaza illustrate that there are several key points. It is a ternary puzzle. The government is to blame, one states. The people should raise their voices, you may

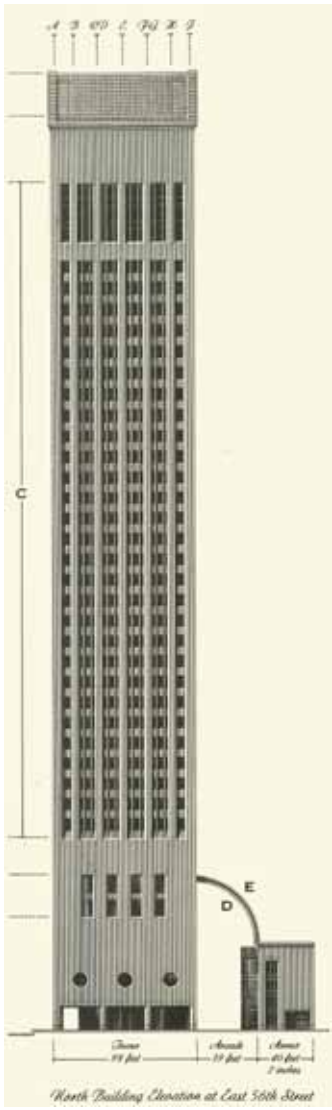


Figure 3.1.10.
The AT&T Arcade, designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee, 1983

[169] Jonathan Barnett (born 6 January 1937) is an architect and planner. He has worked as an urban design consultant for many cities throughout the United States, private investors, and government agencies.

say. The expert should do a better job, perhaps. Is it a political defect? The lawyer's fault? The designer's mistake? This book aims to be affirmative and non-judgemental in this. If we discuss the quality and the design of public space, we can refer a wide variety of different things. Is it exposed to general view, as in open, well-known, prominent or perceptible? Is it of or relating to people in general, democratic, universal, egalitarian, and popular even? Does it relate to community interests? Is the interior devoted to the general or national welfare? Does it relate to, or affect all the people, does it relate to a government or is it relating to, or being in the service of the community or nation? Is the interior accessible to or shared by all members of the community and regulated as such? With public interior space we may mean it is open to general observations or even if people know it at all. In that last perspective anyone has to admit that the interiors of New York, like many of the very different examples in this research, are widely discussed in the media and thus in essence are public.

Despite this remark, perhaps it owes to have all of the above-mentioned qualities, but questionable it is if there is such a place. An indoor space convincingly having one of the above qualities is already public to an extent. For example, the New York interiors are officially recognised as public, because public regulations say so: No one may be excluded and inside public amenities must be presumed to serve the people. On the other hand, to oppose its quality, one could put forward that many of these spaces might be not so public, because often these places are not well-known amongst the people: They are neither prominent in the city's circulation nor perceptible from the streets. Also, few interiors are really devoted to the general welfare. Of course, in each case the balance is differently and criteria to discriminate are innumerous. All together, in reviewing the quality of public space there is a common base. In brief, and anticipating the rest of the reasoning throughout the research, all criteria and confusion can be traced all the way back to our ideas on 'public issues', 'public matters', or 'public affairs' in society. In line with the elaborations in the previous book, public space refers somewhat polychotomously both to the space of the community, nation or state and to the space used by any individual and thus the people in general. One must have discovered this twofold in this debate on the New York interiors. If only it was for the simplification I determine the relation designers have with the government, acting in name of the people, and with the people as a suppletive plural of person, the actual users. It may be a confusing double degree, the more because there are multiple reciprocal relations between these two kinds of publics too, but in any case it is illustrative for the general review of public interiors by anyone. Consequently, studying and debating public interiors as spaces have to signify two things at least: the relationship between the design and the government which is politically empowered to enforce laws, regulations, and rules, – and two: the impact of the design on the people in general, and again, conversely, the effect of the people, their behaviour and their collective opinion, on the design.

Chapter 2 Government's Space vs. People's Space

In New York, the pioneering Building Zone Resolution of 1916 introduced the idea to create public space within the limitations of the outlines demarked sharply by the city's representatives. It had been "regulating and determining the area of yards, courts and other open spaces" by means of controlling the percentage of the lot size to be built as well as the height and bulk of buildings without restricting the total height. This created the famed set-backs and some outer courts and back or side yards. Hugh Ferriss[170], a strong supporter of this zoning law, was popularising the idea that indeed the avenues and streets were "nothing less than its arteries and veins" and people should look forward to "public out-of-door gatherings" in plazas for example. In the mean, he questioned the public qualities or even value of certain interiors, if not purely civic. (City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment 1916, 25 July; and Ferriss 1929: 18, 22, 38, 72, 96) So the focus should be on the outdoor space. Yet, it seemed in a collection of superlatives that public space remained doomed in the decades after. It was a 'solidified chaos', as Lewis Mumford put it in the early days; a 'foreground of noise, dirt, beggars, souvenirs and shrill competitive advertising, of tangled street-car lines and tortuous traffic', as Catherine Bauer stated before and a 'chaotic accident […] the summation of the haphazard, antagonistic whims of many self-centered, ill-advised individuals', as Clarence Stein, advocator of decentralisation completed some years later.[171] (Mumford 1938: 277, Bauer 1934: 5, Stein 1956, July) Although many spaces on the private premises were being designed already, they were not always really places to gather at large nor were they matching the desired public-assessable places. Therefore, half a century ago, the City began to stimulate these spaces to be legally public. The Department of City Planning searched for a governmental encouragement for private owners, investors and developers to include public space in their projects. It developed a special legal system to allow constructing a building larger or different from that otherwise permitted by the zoning itself, if only in return public space on the plot was created. For this, the 1961 Zoning Resolution of the city has introduced the concept of 'incentive zoning', which was placed next to a ratio of the total floor area of buildings on a certain location to the size of the land of that location. Together they convey that the building size on a lot is determined by the maximum floor area ratio, but "in medium and high-density commercial districts, arcades, open plazas, covered pedestrian spaces, subway improvements and other public amenities generate an increase in the maximum floor area ratio".[172] (Department of City Planning 2006: 51) While social scientists were redefining the public notion and urban design theorists got interested in in-between space, the degrees of publicness and their spatial representations, the New York City government was the first to follow the academics, or in essence, to follow urban practice. It institutionalised one of the main foci of the resolution

[170] Hugh Ferriss (12 July 1889 – 28 January 1962) was an American architect, generally known for its writings and drawings.

[171] Catherine Krause Bauer Wurster (11 May 1905 – 23 November 1964) and Clarence Samuel Stein (19 June 1882 – 7 February 1975) were both urban planners, consultants in public housing and writers. Together with Lewis Mumford they represent a generation of New York urban activists.

[172] This so-called FAR differs per district: from 0.5 to 15.

Figure 3.2.1.
Ford Foundation Headquarters, New York, New York, 1968

of 1916. It has always been the result of a case-by-case review, as the idea on incetives was not completely new. A rough version was first implemented in Chicago. When in 1957, by unanimous vote, this City Council enacted the 'Comprehensive Amendment to the Chicago Zoning Ordinance of 1923' they adopted the view of the authors to use the already existing concept of 'planned development' to encourage development that meets established urban development goals[173]. The intent to provide open space development by a reward-based system was used as a vehicle to allow developers greater flexibility in order to stimulate large scale downtown development during a sluggish post World War II period. It opened doors to more innovative site plans. No longer did the developer and the city just check the binding zoning map. Instead, two parties sat down to negotiate. It was a milestone in the evolution of zoning. (City Council Committee on Building and Zoning 1954, January, Schwieterman, Caspall and Heron 2006: 44-45) In the late 1950s, the first study for the rezoning of New York City was presented. It would be a prelude to the governmentally supported public interior spaces. Author and architect Ralph Walker[174] explained the underlying reasons for the legal stimulant. He reinterpreted the 1916 intentions: "In order to bring some light and air into streets surrounded by tall buildings, as well as to create more usable open space, a bonus device has been established to encourage setting back of building from the street line". (Walker 1957: 44, Voorhees, Walker, Smith, Smith & Haines 1958, January, published in August) As a result, within years of the Resolution being adopted, public plazas and arcades began to appear alongside big buildings.

It was not only the result of a search for more space for the public. New York needed stimulants for developers also to invest on Manhattan. In the late fifties, the norm of American aspiration was in suburbia. It was not merely that hundreds of thousands had been moving to suburbia; here they were breeding a whole generation that will never have known the city at all, as Whyte put it. The city's industrial core left the city and there was much talk of decentralizing to campus-like office complexes. A wholesale exodus of businesses to the countryside seemed imminent. Soon, real estate had been more for sale than in any other city. (Whyte 1958: x and 1, Pritchett 1965: 21) The flight out of the city did not improve the situation and in the line with the former generation of New York urbanists, Jane Jacobs[175] observed the city only a few decades later. Her conclusion turned out to be even less positive. In an attack on the current planning and developing practice, she forecasted the severe downfall of the city if nothing would change. The city was to blame. It was neglecting the people, but the common people in turn were neglecting the city too, was the conclusion of Bernard Rudofsky, another prominent New Yorker.[176] Both publics have turned their backs to the city. (Jacobs 1960: 1, 19-21, Rudofsky 1969: 17-19)

The 1960s Ford Foundation Atrium, on the North Side of 42nd Street between First and Second Avenues, could be credited as one of the designs setting a contemporary precedent for a new kind of urban public space attracting the people again as had been recognised in 1968 by the Architectural Record as 'a new kind of urban space'. It could be considered as the first public tree-filled atrium of its kind in Manhattan. This covered space was only a garden without any additional programme. It had been the

[173] Incentive zoning is primary applied in urban areas.

[174] Ralph Thomas Walker (28 November 1889 – 17 January 1973) was an American architect, who became interested in studying the zoning ordinance of the City of New York during the planning years of Rockefeller Center. He worked together with Stephen Francis Voorhees (15 February 1878 – 23 January 1965), Perry Coke Smith (21 April 1899 – 10 November 1975), Benjamin Lane Smith (29 November 1906 – 15 October 1986) and Charles Samuel Haines, II (25 May 1906 – 10 October 1986)

[175] For years Jacobs lived in Greenwich Village observing the mechanisms of city planning and urban renewal, and being associate editor of Architectural Forum. See also Book 2.

[176] See Book 2.

designer's intention to let the building contribute something to the city; or like architect Kevin Roche[177] himself said: "Since its lower level is at 42nd Street it will also be enjoyed by the passer-by. The indoor 'park' or 'atrium' was placed in order to continue and extend the existing public parks in the area." The design would resemble those of the later ones, underlining its role as example. The building's large conservatory was ramped, paved and planted with shrubs and large trees, which in some instances, notably the eucalyptus and cryptomeria, would grow to 100 feet. Kenneth Frampton[178] did agree that it was new. With cynicism, he stated that without question, it was the finest urban work yet produced by the designer. From the two street facades, "the building promises a hierarchy that may only be interpreted as first 'public' and then 'private'," as Frampton subtly pointed out, but, as he continuous; "this promise seems to be momentarily fulfilled on entry-but almost at once it becomes apparent that what promised to be a public space is in essence an anti-agora". (Roche 1968, July, and Frampton 1968, July)

> "On entering this 'patio-conservatory' from 42nd Street, one feels that one has been privileged to enter into the 'private' realm of a large and benevolent family institution. Here one may take a very constricted turn around the 'garden', gape briefly at the greenery, at the vast space above, watch the diligent 'family workers' behind their hermetic glass, and then for other than going up for a 'grant' or a 'guided tour', there is nothing else to do and no point of arrival or rest. [...] There is even less of a public agora here than in the average Park Avenue bank or in the street level foyer of a Wall Street corporation building. Are we conclude from this that in our Western society, the house of private profit is more naturally rendered 'public' than the house of private, non-profit, public benevolence?" (Frampton 1968, July: 307)

Where many critiques on the more recent interior public spaces would focus on the specificity of the programme, which aimed to attract only one group in society, this conclusion introduced another point of view. If there remained nothing for man to do but to leave, was it then public space?

The lurid observations were illustrative for the state of affairs at that moment. New York had to invest in the island's public space, invest in new attractions, and, in imitation of the ordinance of Chicago, the 1961 amendments to the city's old zoning law was a logical next step. It was closely watched by experts and followed by other cities. The legal implications were reviewed and urban planning conferences were held to examine if the new approach would help downtown. The professionals favoured the idea and soon other American cities adopted a variety of incentive zoning programs in a determined attempt to expand their leverage over private land use decisions. (Urban Land Institute et al 1961, Marcus and Groves 1970, and Benson 1970: 895) In 1970, the Resolution was taken a step further. For the first time, the City Planning Commission approved a zoning amendment for what was called 'covered pedestrian space'. This was the first attempt to achieve both circulation and destination goals and to make functional amenities for the public, such as public sitting areas and specified opening hours, obligatory. The Commission described these public interiors as "an efficient pedestrian circulation system and an attractive sheltered public space". (City Planning Commission 1970, 13

[177] The Irish-born American architect Eamonn Kevin Roche (born 14 June 1922) designed the Ford Foundation Building and – Atrium in 1963. The whole was completed in 1968.

[178] Kenneth Brian Frampton (born 15 November 1930), is a British-American architectural critic and historian.

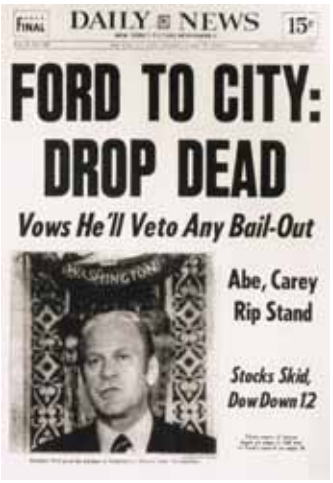


Figure 3.2.2.
Alarming front page of the Daily News, 30 October 1975, re-phrasing the message of U.S. president Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr, challed Jerry (14 July 1913 - 26 December 2006)

April) The governmental stimulant for public space which was not publicly owned was born. Still, especially on this line at some point in the 1970s, regulations made provision for public interior space. The City had to make some concessions, because the city's situation got worse compared to the previous decade. The government was confronted with inflation, unemployment, tax reforms and a lack of credit. New York was plunging into bankruptcy and help of the National Government was not on its way. The Daily News dramatically headed: "Ford to City: Drop Dead". (Mayer 1975, 19 May; Daily News 1975, 30 October) Local administrations had to make regulations more flexible to attract new investors, such as Donald Trump,[179] and while the available outdoor space was not particularly useful or attractive, covered public space, even completely enclosed, was allowed to be a substitute for an outdoor urban plaza.

Today in New York, regulations continue to allow interiors to be officially public. Urban planner and academic lawyer Jerold Kayden[180] has researched the effects of the recent regulations. A large number of interiors are designed to be public in such governmental stimulants.
Their owners are legally required to grant rights of access and use to members of the public. Kayden calls these interiors 'privately-owned public spaces'. In his definition, the notion also includes the publicly-accessible open areas and a variation of ditto plazas. As such, it is a term, which deals with the ambiguity of the public interest by emphasises the public nature in use, while respecting the private ownership. It seems clear. The City Planning Commission has even adopted the notion and in 2007, 'privately-owned public spaces' has been introduced in the zoning law, replacing all kinds of similar notions and descriptions.[181] (Kayden 2000: 170, Zoning Resolution etc., Section 74-873a, amended 1996, 12 June; City Planning Commission 2007, 19 September and 2009, 6 May) In popular speech and on the internet these incentive spaces are called 'pops'![182]
These spaces are part of everyday urban life, and fulfil the need for more (or new) public space, while it has revitalised the city in general. The public amenities of today include arcades, open plazas, covered pedestrian spaces, subway improvements and other public spaces or facilities. (Department of City Planning NYC 2006) In this research of course the interior public spaces are the most interesting. The spaces designed are mostly atria, like in the case of Trump Place, 590 Atrium and Sony Plaza. Sometimes they form a system. As such they may form indeed, as envisioned, short-cuts or analogous pedestrian paths. The Zoning Resolution achieved its goals: Business returned to the city and the network of public space was redesigned and enlarged. Quantitatively the effect was enormous. By the turn of the century, zoning incentives created some 87,000 square metres of new public space. More than five hundred different public spaces were created within the boundaries of building lots; of these, twenty-nine per cent were covered, including arcades along streets, through-block connections and other public interiors[183]. (Kayden, et al 2000: 43-45) As soon as New York's urbanisation took the fast lane, the urban pressure following the increase of high-rises had created a need for such new public space. The increasing numbers of people walking along the streets

[179] Donald John Trump, Sr., popularly known as The Donald, (born 14 June 1946) is a New York business magnate and real estate developer, who moved his residence to Manhattan in 1971, where he became convinced of the economic opportunity in the city.

[180] Jerold Seth Kayden (born 12 September 1953) is an American urban planner and academic lawyer himself.

[181] It concerned the notions arcade, plaza, public plaza, publicly accessible open area, residential plaza, urban plaza, through block arcade, wide street, contiguous block, contiguous lot, development, predominantly residential use, corner public plaza, and through block public plaza. (See Zoning Resolution of the City of New York, Art. I, Ch. 2-3, Art. II, Ch. 3-4, 6, Art. III, Ch. 4-5, 7, Art. IV, Ch. 3, Art. VII, Ch. 4, 7-9, Art. VIII, Ch. 1-2, Art. IX, Ch. 1, 3, 5-6, 8, incl. Appendix D, Art. X, Ch. 1, 7, Art. XI, Ch. 7-8, Art. XII, Ch. 3, and Appendix E.) The introduction of the term changed the special urban design regulations in 2009.

[182] See ice-pops.org, created in 2011 by Interested Critical Explorers of Privately-Owned Public Space, an open collective of researchers, artists, writers, planners, and urban explorers operating across different cities in the United States, and see apops.mas.org/pops created in 2012 by The Municipal Art Society of New York and Jerold Kayden.

[183] Half of the 87,000 square metres is formed by arcades and equivalents along the streets (51.7%). The rest is mainly covered pedestrian spaces (22.9%) through block arcades (13.6%) and equivalents.

and avenues or remaining in one place at busy times of the day, such as lunchtime, quite simply needed more room. Without the Resolution, probably most of these spaces would never have been designed. Presently, some of them contribute to the street network. Some of these public spaces really improve circulation. Others, like the three big interiors, also are aiming to be a destination on their own. People lunch here or just rest. So, the strategy may have worked, hasn't it?
Yes and no: The success of the zoning incentive has to be nuanced. Some examples in Midtown can illustrate why. Just one block south of the Sony arcade and bounded by Fifth Avenue and Lexington Avenue, 55th and 42nd Streets, an extended system of privately-owned public space penetrates through the building blocks. It includes almost every variant of public space as defined in the resolution, but, as it is designed over the years, it brings pre-incentive-zoning privately-owned public spaces into the system too as well as other spaces not part of an incentive. Just only by going through those blocks, one can compare similar types of public space, similarly designed, yet differently governmentally recognised. Some are the result of incentives and others the outcome of none.

First, this exemplary piece in the network shows that the *quantity* of new 'privately-owned public spaces' present in the pops system is much larger than those created with governmental stimulants only. The design of the public space on the premise of 520 Madison

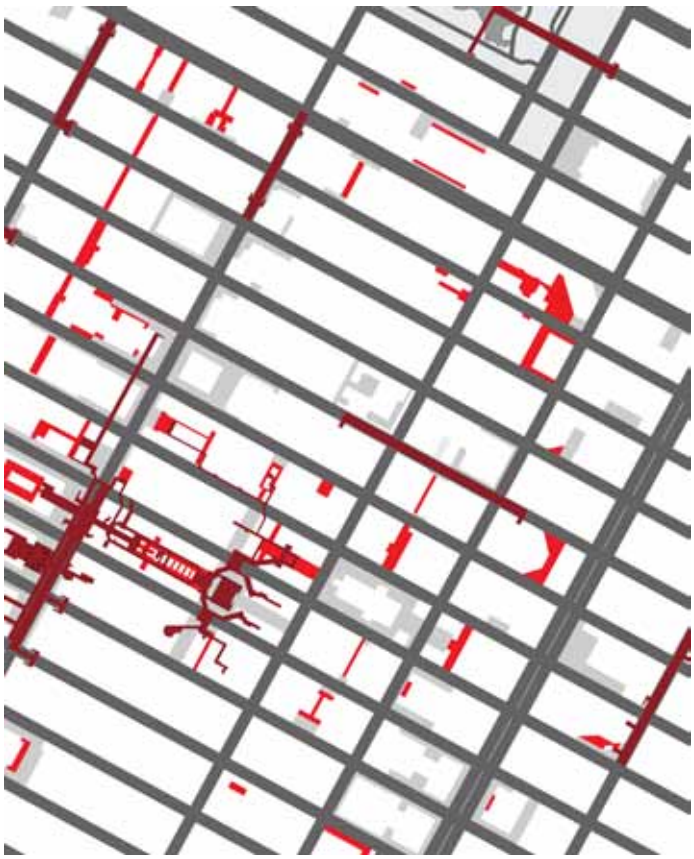


Figure 3.2.3.
Some of the major public interior systems in New York City

Legend
N
street level
underground level
other public spaces on the private premises

Figure 3.2.4.
Photo of Paley Park by Robert Zion, 1969

on East 53rd Street could showcase a very common product of incentive zoning. At the time, the sidewalk was widened on all three front lot lines, which doubled the sidewalk and gave the pedestrian more space. The superb paving reached out to the publicly-owned space. The design improved the quality of the street as well as it redefined the sidewalk as part of the base of the building. Yet, we could see similar set-backs elsewhere too, designed before or after the introduction of incentive zoning. More substantially contributing to the public space was the design of the building's south plaza. It would work on a different level. Designed with moveable chairs and tables, another waterfall and some trees for shading, it was introduced mainly for the people living or working in the neighbourhood.[184] The small outdoor cafe would open during the warmer seasons. Similar in size and position designed was the older Paley Park, only a three lots west in the same street. It also got a small outdoor café and movable chairs. A third waterfall, now positioned in the back, was cascading at more than six thousands litres[185] per minute. There were honey locust trees, planted at vast intervals, an ivy-covered wall, climbing seven metres up the neighbouring side walls, rough-hewn stone pavement, slightly elevated from the sidewalk level and colourful flowers, to finish the unique atmosphere.[186] Designed in 1967, the park was one of the early privately-owned additions to the public space and a welcome one. "Until the park was opened, the only place to sit outside in that East Side area was at busy Rockefeller Center"[187], people said. (Carroll 1967, 20 September) Up to the present, both parks have been popular oases in the urban fabric. While the rush of the waterfall absorbs the noise of the city, shoppers, tourists, and workers from the nearby offices stop by for coffee and a Danish, to read the newspaper or just to sit down and relax. By comparing both, one will only discover a fundamental difference. The Paley Park has been opened to the public on a voluntary base, while the urban plaza south of 520 Madison is part of an incentive. The plaque near the entrance explains why the park is established without stimulants: "This pocket park is set aside in memory of Samuel Paley, 1875-1963, for the enjoyment of the public." It is designed on a former site of a building and without interference by the city's planning department the heirs transformed it into a public

[184] 520 Madison Avenue is designed by Swanke Hayden & Connell Architects. Der Scutt who later independently with its former firm also designed Trump Tower, was the main architect on this project. The building opened in 1982.

[185] 1800 gallons per minute.

[186] The American landscape-architects Robert Lewis Zion (3 March 1921 – 25 April 2000) and Harold Allison Breen, Jr. (4 September 1923 – 19 November 1995) designed Paley Park in 1967. The park on the former site of the Stork Club is donated by broadcasting pioneer William Samuel Paley, called Bill, (28 September 1901– 26 October 1990) in honour of his Ukrainian-born father. Today the William Paley Foundation oversees operation of the park.

[187] The first phase of Rockefeller Center was constructed between 1930 and 1939. Its centre piece is Rockefeller Plaza. The principal architect was Raymond Mathewson Hood (29 March 1881 – 14 August 1934), working with and leading several others. See Book 8.

space. Jerold Kayden has underlined that "Paley Park is a product of a private owner's sense of civic philanthropy, interest in urban design, and understanding of wise stewardship", mainly because the owner "took high-value land that would normally accommodate a revenue-earning building and made way for a park". The plaque near the entrance of the plaza is less memorable. It reads: "This urban plaza is open to the public and accessible to physically disabled. There are 4 trees and 20 movable chairs required." I count ten trees and forty movable chairs and more places to sit on. Vivid colours of a large piece of painted Berlin Wall embellish the space.[188] It symbolises public art pure sang. In these cases the positions in the urban fabric, the connection to the street and the inner compositions are about the same. Design facilitates the public quality in a similar manner. Kayden's remark that zoning incentives and legal requirements are helpful in the creation of extra public space, but not always sufficient for the task of creating excellence in public space, seems more than true. (Kayden 2000: 158) Other Modern outdoor examples, including the famous designs of the earlier plazas of Seagram Building and Lever House,[189] both also not far from Paley Park, underline that. As do the late 1930s plaza at Rockefeller Center and the related GreenAcre Park, which has been designed after Paley Park and 520 Madison Plaza introducing a comparable lot-size while being established by Abby Rockefeller.[190] We could assess interior public spaces, which were established on the privately-owned, with or without governmental stimulant, in a similar way as the plazas and pocket parks. When for example the 590 Atrium would be compared to the former ChemCourt at Park Avenue near 48th Street,[191] we should draw similar conclusions concerning public use. The one was a product of incentive zoning, while the other had come from on the owner's own free will and initiative to serve the public. (Whyte 1980: 31) Although positions and compositions slightly differed, both cases showed that easy accessible glassed covered spaces, designed with seating areas and planting were able to attract people. Both created appreciable additions to the network of public space. They did in such an extent that there was a small boom of the privately-owned public greenhouse structures, just after the realisation of triumphed IBM Atrium and ChemCourt. Glass facades opened up to the exterior public space, attracting people with whatever was behind it. It seemed the new way to design interior public space. Those spaces had been designed for the public without interference of the government. Respectively located along the Downtown and Midtown riverfronts, Cesar Pelli designed Winter Garden built at Battery Park City and I.M. Pei and James Freed designed the centrepiece glass and metal-grid building of the New York City Exposition and Convention Center. These architects relied on a certain nineteenth century common sense and their results vaguely suggested the breathtaking profiles of their precursors. "Essentially", said Freed, "the technology of glasshouse architecture is no further advanced today than in the last century". These projects were opening to the public to enjoy. Where the Winter Garden invited everyone to enjoy "spectacular views of the Hudson River", showcasing performances, exhibitions and events next to shops and restaurants, while becoming an early WiFi hotspot, the Convention Center had put together its amenities mainly to support its schedule of ticket-paid events as in a functionalist High Modern Chrystal Palace kind of way. In two very

Figure 3.2.5.
GreenAcre Park, 1980

[188] This piece is painted by Kiddy Citny (born 26 May 1957), a German artist who moved West-Berlin in 1976. He and the French artist Thierry Noir (born 3 June 1958), who arrived in 1982, became the first wall artists to paint the west side of the Berlin Wall. This piece was one of several auctioned after its fall in 1989, when it was transported to New York.

[189] Maria Ludwig Michael Mies van der Rohe (27 March 1886 – 17 August 1969) designed Seagram Building, located at 375 Park Avenue, between 1954 and 1958. Philip Johnson collaborated. Gordon Bunshaft (9 May 1909 – 6 August 1990) of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill designed Lever House, at 390 Park Avenue in New York City, between 1949 and 1951. It opened in 1952. Seagram's headquarters was set back from Park Avenue by a large, open granite plaza, and the ground floor of Lever features a partly covered open plaza with a garden and some pedestrian walkways.

[190] The local Japanese-American landscape architect Hideo Sasaki (25 November 1919 – 5 September 2000) of Sasaki, Dawson, De May Associates designed Greenacre Park, at 271 East 51st Street between Second and Third Avenues. Abigail Rockefeller Mauzé, called Abby or Babs, (9 November 1903 – 27 May 1976) founded the park. It opened in 1971. Rockefeller Center was developed by her father. See Book 8.

[191] The glass enclosed botanical display of Chemical Bank was named ChemCourt. The bank's addition to its 277 Park Avenue entrance was designed in 1980 by Michael Q. Maas (16 June 1931 – 12 May 2002) and Theodore, or Ted, Steven Hammer (born 9 October 1945), partners at Haines Lundberg Weahler. In April 1994, Chemical Bank was moving out of the building in a legal huff and was taking its street-wise statue with it across the street to 270 Park. That's a building that its merger partner, Manufacturer's Hanover, owns and that Chemical realised would be the best place to situate its own personnel. 277 Park-owner Stanley Stahl (16 June 1924 – 5 August 1999) was insisting the bank remove its spectacular lobby atrium and asbestos that was not removed when a fire retardant was used, claiming the building no longer complies with city building codes. ChemCourt was demolished after this decision. (Weis 1994, April 27)

different ways, commercial and non-commercial public amenities were combined with glass, indented to open up to the outdoors. It worked but each in its own way. Pelli designed a transparent space, which created a pedestrian path to the harbour while Pei and Freed designed a translucent blue-gassed box with little attractive spaces outside. Attractive public programme was combined with the attraction of space itself. Also Chemical Bank had added a free-accessible glass-enclosed public park to the city's history. Standing on Park Avenue for nearly two decades, it enjoyed many visitors with its three-story glass enclosed botanical display, which the New York Botanical Garden seasonally updated.[192] (Goldberger 1980, 17 November, Dietz 1983, 3 March, The World Finance Center 2008, 3 December) It was a non-profit attraction, more in line with the IBM Atrium. The interior was visible from the street, in a crystal-clear way gathering people from the neighbourhoods. It had been a success in that sense that people loved it. Yet, in mid nineties, it was torn down because the landlord insisted the bank to restore the entrance to its original state when their lease expired. "An unusual and sad event", as the architect Ted Hammer recalled; "since the bank paid for all the improvements and increased the value of the property. But they did not renew the lease and moved across the street on Park Ave." The architect believes it was spite. He once confirmed to me that the public's reaction to ChemCourt was universally positive during its brief life. He remembered it as an 'urban oasis', in which one could often saw couples, on a late evening, just holding hands in quiet. "Its demolition was greeting with dismay but little information given to public since it was a privately-owned space and was dismantled as I recall after a long court case."[193] In 1999, the Supreme Court of the State of New York dismissed all claims and defences asserted by the owner relating to alleged work in connection with the building's exit. As the Court's decisions noted the court held that the owner's claim to remove its spectacular lobby atrium was not revived and accordingly the tenant could not be compensated for property. (Supreme Court of the State of New York 1999, 5 February) In this case both publics, so neither the government nor the common people, were involved. No effective opposition could engage the private owner to withdraw its decision. It seemed that everybody had to accept that the atrium was no longer theirs. Glass design not always helps. As the ChemCourt precedent illustrates the demolishing a public interior

[192] The Chinese-American architect Ieoh Ming Pei (born April 26, 1917) and American partner in charge James Ingo Freed (23 June 1930 – 15 December 2005) designed the New York City Exposition and Convention Center, now known as Jacob K. Javits Convention Center. It opened in 1986. Today its leaky black-glass is renovated, and the exhibition space is enlarged. The Winter Garden of César Pelli (born 12 October 1926) is part of The World Financial Center. It was opened in 1988.

[193] I came in contact with Ted Hammer in March 2009. These particular statements are made to me on April 20th, fifteen years after CemCourt's demolishment.

Figure 3.2.6a.
The former ChemCourt, 1980s

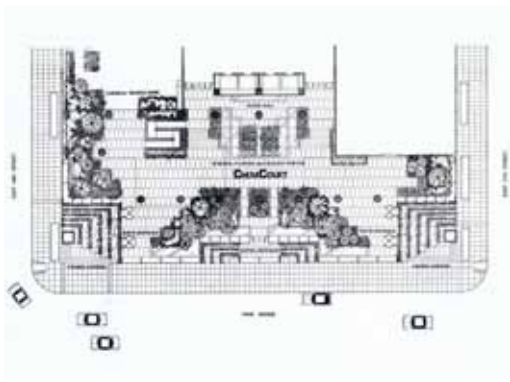


Figure 3.2.6b.
The former ChemCourt, 1980

as such could result in long legal procedures between private parties excluding the public in their squabble. It should not be very difficult for The City to learn from their experiences.

Second, the pops system in Midtown shows that the quality of new 'privately-owned public spaces' is not necessary better than those designed without governmental stimulants. As also shown above, similar types, similarly designed, can be found for the better and the worse in both kinds of cases. The vest-pocket parks in the northern part face the set-back of the HarperCollins building on 10 East 53rd Street.[194] This space was another and very different outcome of incentive zoning: A narrow arcade or, in terms of the zoning resolution; 'a though block arcade'. Together with a much broader arcade in the Olympic Tower on 645 Fifth Avenue,[195] another block south, it was designed as an off-thoroughfare route from Paley Park to St. Patrick's Cathedral.[196] When the first plans were shown to the public the ambition was high. Aimed to be a high-quality retail area the south arcade, or so-called Olympic Place, would link to the richly finished limestone Cartier's flagship boutique.[197] Here, the developer would create a park-like setting inside the arcade at the rare of Cartier's plot. Like the pocket park, the arcade has a south-facing, multi-tiered waterfall, - another -, a flower display, a café and movable chairs and tables, but now indoors. Being subject of the bonus device, in this case the developer asked for a twenty per cent bonus over the indicated maximum allowable interior space, which meant ten-thousands of square metres leasable space in return.[198] (Fowler 1970, 7 October) After realisation, the quality of the space became questionable. Apart from being somewhat uninviting from the outside, from the inside the two public spaces looked somewhat dark, at some points low and rather anonymous. The contribution of the indoor 'park', designed with consultancy of the same landscape architects of Paley Park, merely highlights the interior. It was not used by large crowds, just by some locals and office workers. It could not be rather a garden court set aside for the display, cultivation, and enjoyment of plants, because any arcade space had to be assembled foremost for the purpose of

[194] HarperCollins designed by the firm Emery, Roth and Sons opened doors in 1971.

[195] Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed Olympic Tower or Olympic Airways Building, which opened a few years later in 1974. The American architect John James Tudda (22 March 1924 – 29 January 2003) and the Polish-born American partners Richard Raymond Scherer (14 November 1920 - 18 June 1993), and Walter Benjamin Zborowski (born 1 September 1928) altered the space in 1986. The interior designers involved in the Olympic Place arcade's evolution were Chermayeff, Geismar & Associates, designers, Zion & Breen, landscape architects, Levien, Deliso & White, designers, and Abel & Bainnson, landscape architects. (Willensky and White 1988: 266)

[196] This cathedral replaced the Old St. Patrick's Cathedral. It was designed by James Renwick, Jr. (11 November 1818 – 23 June 1895) in the Gothic Revival style. Work was begun in 1858 but was halted during the American Civil War and resumed in 1865. The cathedral was completed in 1878.

[197] The Renaissance-style palace of Cartier, Inc., at 653 Fifth Avenue, on the corner of 52nd street, had originally been the residence of Morton Freeman Plant (18 August 1852 – 4 November 1918) and his French-born wife and architect Nellie Plant, née Capron, (10 November 1863 – 7 Augustus 1913). The English-American architect Robert Williams Gibson (17 November 1854 – 17 Augustus 1927) designed it between 1903 and 1905, probably with Mrs. Plant.

[198] 675,000 square feet.

Figure 3.2.7.
The Windsor Arcade, 1900s: one of the first arcades of the city

Figure 3.2.8.
A film still of Social Life of Small Urban Spaces by William Whyte and Marlyn Russel, providing observations of Seagam Plaza in New York along with a intuitive critique on public spaces in general, 1979 distributed on VHS tape in 1988

interconnecting other public places in the city.[199] It is the difference between being the attractor or the connector. The designers of HarperCollins building and the Olympic Tower might not have learned from a long history introducing other but very similar examples in the city. I could put forward the Beaux-Arts designs of the Windsor Arcade, the Standard Arcade, and the Marble Arcade, the later which also includes a main entrance to the subway, or I could go back to the Greek Revival New York Arcade, the first arcade in the city.[200] Already since the 1820s, arcades or 'covered pedestrian spaces', as the zoning department now might also say, are designed to contribute to the network of public space in a similar way as a Modern 'pops' does today. Although… Surely some of the more recent officially-recognised arcades, products of governmental stimulants, by far are not as much used, let alone enjoyed, by the public as has been the case with the classic arcades. In the old arcades, the fundamental necessity of circulation, retail and other public facilities had determined the design of the interior space. The Windsor Arcade for example was enthusiastically welcomed as it was considered to be designed in a way that the crows naturally would pass through like in other arcades in the city. "The passage or arcade proper leads past stairways and elevators to the courtyard […]. A formal garden or conservatory will occupy the centre of the courtyard. Carriages coming from either of the two streets can enter this courtyard and deposit people under shelter of the cloisteral arcade". (The New York Times 1901, 5 February) By nature this should work, and if the concept somehow did not, it would be closed.[201] Then, the blame was for the developer, the designer and some other experts. The Modern legally privately-owned but publicly-used arcades should "result in substantial improvement of pedestrian circulation" too. However, the midblock connection, including the Olympia and HarperCollins arcades, give no more than "the almost instinctive human longing for connecting dots". The possibilities according to Kayden would be none. Their quality might be only in what it connects rather than in itself. The proximity of Paley Park, Saint Patrick's and the other highlights would distinguish the arcades from others, little more. (Kayden 2000: 143, 157) Then, today, isn't the blame on the government, the designer or the people? We can go on learning from the past.

[199] See Book 4.

[200] In 1901, Charles Ingraham Berg (25 February 1856 – 14 June 1923) designed the Windsor Arcade, on Fifth Avenue and 46th Street. In 1914, William Van Alen (10 August 1883 – 24 May 1954) and then-partner Harold Craig Severance (1 July 1879 – 2 September 1941) designed Standard Arcade, on 50 Broadway and 45 New Street. In 1907, Napoleon Eugene Charles Henry Le Brun (2 January 1821 – 9 July 1901) designed Marble Arcade as part of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s Home Office Building. It is nearly 100 metres long and runs from Madison to Fourth Avenue (now Park Avenue). New York Arcade is the first arcade in the city, and the second in the United States. It was designed in 1827 by the English-born American architect John Francis Haviland (baptised 22 January 1792 – 28 March 1852).

[201] The three story Windsor Arcade was torn down by halves in May 1911 and replaced by the eight story new commercial building. Claims on the property in times of fast urbanisation took their share.

Neither developer nor government really had investigated the position, composition and connections of the privately-owned public interiors. In the original idea, in such cases, everybody would win, but already in the 1980s "citizen groups complain that some plazas are so poorly designed and maintained that they discourage public use." Shadows got longer, to use Whyte's characterisation of the situation. Indoor street life in many of today's permitted public spaces is poor – "sterile, empty spaces not used for much of anything except walking across". People do not want detours to use these spaces, even if it rains. Classic arcades might be set up as commercial ventures, but they have often an excellent relationship with the street: a high visibility, tightly scaled walkways, and a strong sense of place. (Taylor 1983, 29 August, Whyte 1988: 229, 249-255) Either the interior should be an attraction by itself, or it should be imbedded in the pedestrian paths and urban circulation. When there is no need for an interior public space at the present, other than the bonus profit, the design misses the single main zoning's goal to provide an attractive sheltered public space and/ or an efficient pedestrian circulation system. Without a tendency to attract visitors or a good locality – major conclusions supported by the studies in the other books –, the design of public interiors won't create any usable space: just extra space.

Thirdly, the Midtown site shows also that new 'privately-owned public spaces' designed with governmental stimulants are not always new. Several interiors were anyhow publicly-used before they became part of an incentive and when they came it is questionable if their public quality really changed. The HarperCollins and Olympic arcades, in their turn, spatially form a prelude to a few other public spaces of such dubious character. The pops system officially continues south and east of the cathedral. On the south side, both a potion of the old stately Saks department store and the existing lobby corridor of Tower 49 had been part of a zoning deal. They counted as official 'passageways'. East of the cathedral, the old vestibule of The New York Palace Hotel did so too. In the past, these spaces were already used by many people, but not officially considered as public. In return of transforming these spaces into legal public interiors and designing marginal setbacks, outdoor urban plazas, and opening up an existing courtyard, new next-door high-rise buildings could profit from a next bonus agreement[202]. Now, it is hard to say to what extent these spaces really contribute to the public other that previously. When you enter the neo-Italian Renaissance hotel from the courtyard on Madison, you would expect a hotel, not a public passage. By use of incentive zoning landmark preservation may have triumphed, as the building was endangered, but for the general public an immediate indoor encounter with the grand staircase, giving direct access to the basement lobby while showing of a 'piano nobile', icons of Palazzo luxury and style, might be confusing and may not be recognised as a space for the larger public. The confusion on the ground floor of the department store of Saks Fifth Avenue is equal. When passing the special permit pedestrian circulation space, the present jewellery gallery, standing against a backcloth of accessories, cosmetics and fragrances, will give you the idea of being in a public space. At least, it will not change your mind that this department store is more public than a Macy's, a Bloomingdale's or any other Saks.

[202] The firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed Tower 49 on 12 East 49th Street in 1984. The American architect Ernest Alan van Vleck (1 July 1875 – 8 August 1956) designed Saks Fifth Avenue in 1924 and McKim, Mead & White designed the hotel, opened originally as the Villard Houses in 1884. The two buildings involved in the incentive were: The Saks Tower, or Swiss Bank Tower, on 611 Fifth Avenue / 12 East 50th Street, designed between 1989 and 1990 by Lee Harris Pomeroy (born 19 November 1932), and New York Palace designed by Emery Roth & Sons between 1978 and 1980.

Fourthly, the exemplary Midtown site presents a public transit station, which has been part of negotiation. It is a case, in which a public transit stop has been recognised as a new 'privately-owned public space'. For the first time, the Department of City Planning extended zoning power to control developments around stations on the Second Avenue subway line[203]. The public transit authority developed this line and its stations, with governmental stimulants while it had to be designed to serve the public anyway. With the specific goal to eliminating crowded mid-sidewalk stairways that in the past were the only means of entrance and exit for most lines. Redesign would be stimulated to maximise off-street entrances and keep the side walks clear. (Goldberger, 1974, 3 January; Progressive Architecture 1975, January) Although the Second Avenue was halted soon,[204] little more than a dozen subway stations were reconstructed in other places since, all being qualified as public amenity. What had been the fundamental difference with any other station serving public transit? Currently, after three decades, the subway construction underneath Second Avenue[205] has finally really resumed. Perhaps more stations, concourses or spacious entrances will be designed by ordinance of recognising them as official public interiors. A wide off-street entrance aims to make public life for many people a little easier or even more pleasant, both for the pedestrian on the sidewalk and for the commuter getting in. It may be open to doubts if in the official-recognised public interiors the spatial quality is to the better convenience of the people other than the regular users of the stations. Instead of providing a place mainly for relaxation, shopping and strolling, or simply providing a short-cut, these kinds of interiors are a place were public transit regular stops. By nature they have an extremely vital public use. It is inherent to their function. In relation to the products of incentive zoning, using the bonus device, it is a complicated reference. What's extra to the public benefit? How does it serve the public interest more, then in the design of a convenient stop for the public transit? Again I could put forward some historical examples. Smaller and more pioneering subway stations, such as the old Bowery Station in Downtown,[206] could oppose the extra need for an incentive stimulant. Since the 1900s, people have entered the subway system within the build mass. Its wide entrance was designed off-street, in the exact same way as presently sometimes is aimed for with the bonus device. So, bonus might not be needed. Since the introduction of incentive zoning, entries as such have not been always rewarded. Nevertheless, doing so, would it care? If public benefits currently are large, and public amenities will be introduced or circulation is served, then a bonus may be optional. It may even help, in some cases. This has been true especially in the design of the bigger stations of New York. More then anywhere else in the city, in this site, stations are heavily used and they are part of larger systems which include arcade entrances, below and above ground concourses, and subways. In the Midtown area, Grand Central Terminal[207] showcases another historical example. When it opened, it introduced entrance to some shops, cafes and restaurants, and for some people it provided an interior short-cut perpendicular to the train tracks, while cars crossed over on the elevated level outdoors. Apart from its transit-oriented nature, the public quality of the interior spaces in many ways might approach that of a covered pedestrian space, like 590 Atrium, but with a completely

Figure 3.2.9.
Main concourse of Grand Central Terminal, 2009

[203] The 1974 Second Avenue Study is directed by the Israeli-American architects Ada Karmi-Melamede (born 24 December 1936) and Raquel Ramati (born 13 June 1936), a zoning and planning consultant and former director of the Urban Design Group of the Department of City Planning, in corporation with the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA). For the incentive they have studied Montréal's zoning stimulants. (See Book 8)

[204] Construction, which had began in the end of 1972 at Second Avenue and 113th Street was halted as a result of the fiscal crisis, combined with the massive outflow of city residents to the suburbs, in 1975.

[205] In 2007 construction resumed and in 2012 the first stations opened.

[206] Bowery Station on the Brooklyn loop line is designed to bring trains from the Williamsburg Bridge to lower Manhattan. Its construction begun in August 1907 and was almost complete at the end of 1910. The official opening of the line was in August 1913. The west entrance came up into buildings on the north and south sides of a new street being built, now Kenmare Street. The west mezzanine was closed by the MTA in September 2004.

[207] The Beaux Arts style Grand Central Terminal, was designed by the American architects Charles A. Reed (1858 – 11 November 1911) and Allen Hartzell Stem (28 January 1856 – 19 May 1931) in association with the American architects Whitney Warren (29 January 1864 – 24 January 1943) and Charles Delevan Wetmore (10 June 1866 – 8 May 1941), trained as lawyer. Charles Reed was the brother-in-law of civil engineer William John Wilgus, Sr. (20 November 1865 – 24 October 1949), vice-president in charge of construction, for the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad.

different use and again without governmental stimulants. It was the outcome of a consensus between the designer and the people. A probably forgotten debate on the public quality of the terminal could illustrate this. In 1873, the erection of Grand Central's predecessor, Grand Central Depot[208], led to great opposition of the common people. It would be located on the thoroughfare, and thus with much more impact then the rather miniscule subway kiosks had to the sidewalks, the terminal building of the Depot would close the old Fourth Avenue. The construction had been against general movement of the public on the avenue, but in favour of the public travelling by train. Already at the first years of erection, people questioned the station's openness and common contribution to the city. Could this space still be public, the question was. People were asking if it wouldn't be appropriate to keep this interior space open, as part of a public street, avenue or square: "a public place forever" (The New York Times 1873, 9 September) In this case, the people won. At the present time, certainly the larger part of Grand Central is publicly accessible and open for everybody too. To certain extend all train terminals are freely accessible, for the public at large, and to another they are all serving people having a train ticket. In the demolished Pennsylvania Station,[209] it was about the same. The large space with the frank glass-and-steel roofing and the monumental entrance as well as concourse and arcade were open to all. Opposition rose in the 1960s, when the above ground structures including the huge halls were to be demolished to make way for present-day Madison Square Garden and the public interior was reduced almost entirely to the part behind the tourniquets and mainly undergrounds. Many architects and urban critics demonstrated, among whom Philip Johnson, I.M. Pei, Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs. Nevertheless, in that case, the response of the common people was not so manifest. As if they could not care. So, by-passing professional opposition, the demolishment and redesign took place. (Hailey 1962, 3 August, Burns and Sanders 2008: 510-514) Presently, one might compare the entrance spaces of Penn Station to those of an extra-large subway terminal. It is designed efficiently to serve public transit but without any benefits for the non-travellers. Behind the tourniquets, the underground concourse[210] is filled with shops and restaurants serving only

[208] Grand Central Depot was designed by the English-American architect Jonathan, or John, Butler Snook (16 July 1815 – 1 November 1901). It opened in 1871. The local colleague Bradford Lee Gilbert (24 March 1853 – 1 September 1911) remodeled the station several times between 1892 and 1898. Samuel Huckel, Jr. (14 February 1858 – 18 April 1917) directed further interior renovation in 1900, while in 1899, phased demolishment started. By 1913 the terminal was replaced by Grand Central.

[209] The first New York Pennsylvania Station, was designed by the office McKim, Mead, and White, opened in 1910 and demolished between 1963 and 1966. It made way for present-day Madison Square Garden Center, designed by the American architect and businessman Charles Luckman (16 May 1909 – 26 January 1999) between 1966 and 1968.

[210] Concourse is serving the Long Island Rail Road.

Figure 3.2.10.
The Action Group for Better Architecture in New York protesting the demolition of Pennsylvania Station, from left to right: Ulrich Fronzen, Peter Santon, Aline Saarinen, Philip Johnson and Bliss Parkinson, photo by David Hirsch (data unknown) 2 August 1962

persons travelling by trains. Was it the right decision? The current government thinks not. It is not happy with this space, and while high-speed trains are to be introduced on the island, a new stimulus package – but no incentive – is laid out for making the station come to public life again. Soon a new terminal will be developed, "replacing New York City's gloomy, subterranean Pennsylvania Station with an elegant transit hub". The terminal hall is designed to be located inside the old colossal building of New York's General Post Office, one block west. The design will reintroduce a grand open hall. It is more a renovation of the re-used old post office with a new skylight, than some of the complicated schemes presented in the recent past[211]. There won't be any dramatic cathedral-like glassed roofing. (The New York Times 2009, 8 March) Ideas on the derived quality of terminals changed. Is it a difference in political opinion? Is it a reflection of social transformations? Perhaps both: Like the other public interiors, also these designs are the outcome of a mixture of legal and non-legal forces. On the one hand, in the incentive zoning regulation of New York, usually improvements refer to the access from the streets to the interior. In these cases, street widening and stairs to the subway serve mainly the public transit passenger. It may be just part of the job of the transit authority and the designer, as most station plans have been developed or improved without an incentive zoning bonus. Not the government, but the owner and designer take the responsibility. In New York the transit authority is publicly-governed, so using zoning incentives seems odd. Why transfer public means? On the other hand, the impact of people's protest in the design process influences the design too. In a way, in these cases, the influences have been similar to the force for complaints on the alteration of 590 Atrium. Public protest could help, but the protest organised by collegial experts just before the demolishment of the grand public hall of Penn Station was not enough. Common people were missing. In the later case and after some decades, the government seems to miss the demolished large terminal hall. It now jumps in, not with a zoning incentive, but a financial stimulant. The primary purpose of a station is the provision of passenger services and access to the public transit. Terminals by nature are a facility at which passengers may board and alight from trains, busses or coaches. In general it is used by many, thus interior public space, but in a different way compared to the atria or the arcades. Where atria should attract people like an anchor, and arcades connect peopled places by facilitating convenient urban connections, a station in essence combines both by being a hub. Here pedestrian paths meet and traffic is distributed.

In sum, the variety of all the above designs can serve as requisites in an ongoing and broader debate on the success of incentive zoning in terms of the quality of public spaces. This debate intensifies especially in cases where space is created, or otherwise regulated, to serve the public within the interior. From scratch a substantial segment of the citizenry takes a profound and active interest in this debate. The question was: Will ratios encourage future developers to preserve some of open space to be designed for public usage? (Stern 1960, 13 and 20 March) In the 1960s, many New Yorkers agreed on the need for 'oases in the asphalt desert'. An early newspaper article stated: Londoners could enjoy Russel Square, Parisians Place the Voges, but New Yorkers had to deal with a parking lot on 56th Street,

[211] The Beaux-Arts New York's General Post Office, the so-called historic James A. Farley Building, was designed by McKim, Mead, and White and opened in 1912. Plans for a grander railroad station by using the post office were published from 1999 on. Skidmore Owings & Merrill (SOM), Foster + Partners, and Kohn Pedersen Fox (KPF) have been retained as architects to redevelop New York City's Pennsylvania Station district in 2007. Named after the project's early advocator, senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (16 March 1927 – 26 March 2003), the construction of the new station is facing several setbacks and mounting costs. The delayed scheduled completion of the first phase is now in 2016.

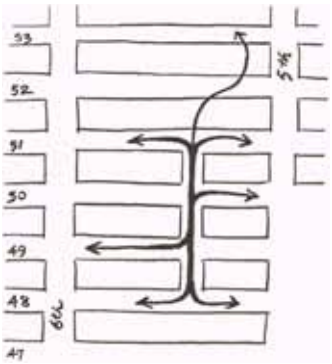


Figure 3.2.11.
Conceptual skech illustrating the idea of short-cuts through the blocks of Manhattan, by Jane Jacobs, 1961

west of Fifth. Jane Jacobs, also a New York journalist, underlined the value of small park-like public spaces. Well-located parks could add great attraction to neighborhoods, but she emphasises that people thereby should enliven and support casual successes. It was a popular opinion. It could make attractive spaces for the people in the city. Of course the Paley Park initiative was embraced and glorified: It was the new public haven to be dazzled, a departure of empty lots and a new public destination. A different proposal of Jacobs was less supported. She suggested to introduce small blocks by the design of a series of new though-the-block-streets. If these streets be places for buying, eating, seeing things, and getting a drink, it would apt to create a more social environment and lively neighborhoods, was the hypothesis. The privately-owned though-the-block system of Rockefeller Plaza was her example. This proposal would serve the circulation of the people in the city[212]. Together with a though-block lobby and an arcade people were able to use an off-street network up to 53rd Street and St. Thomas Church[213]. (Jacobs 1961: 111, 178-185, Kahn 1963; 26 May, Carroll 1967, 20 September)

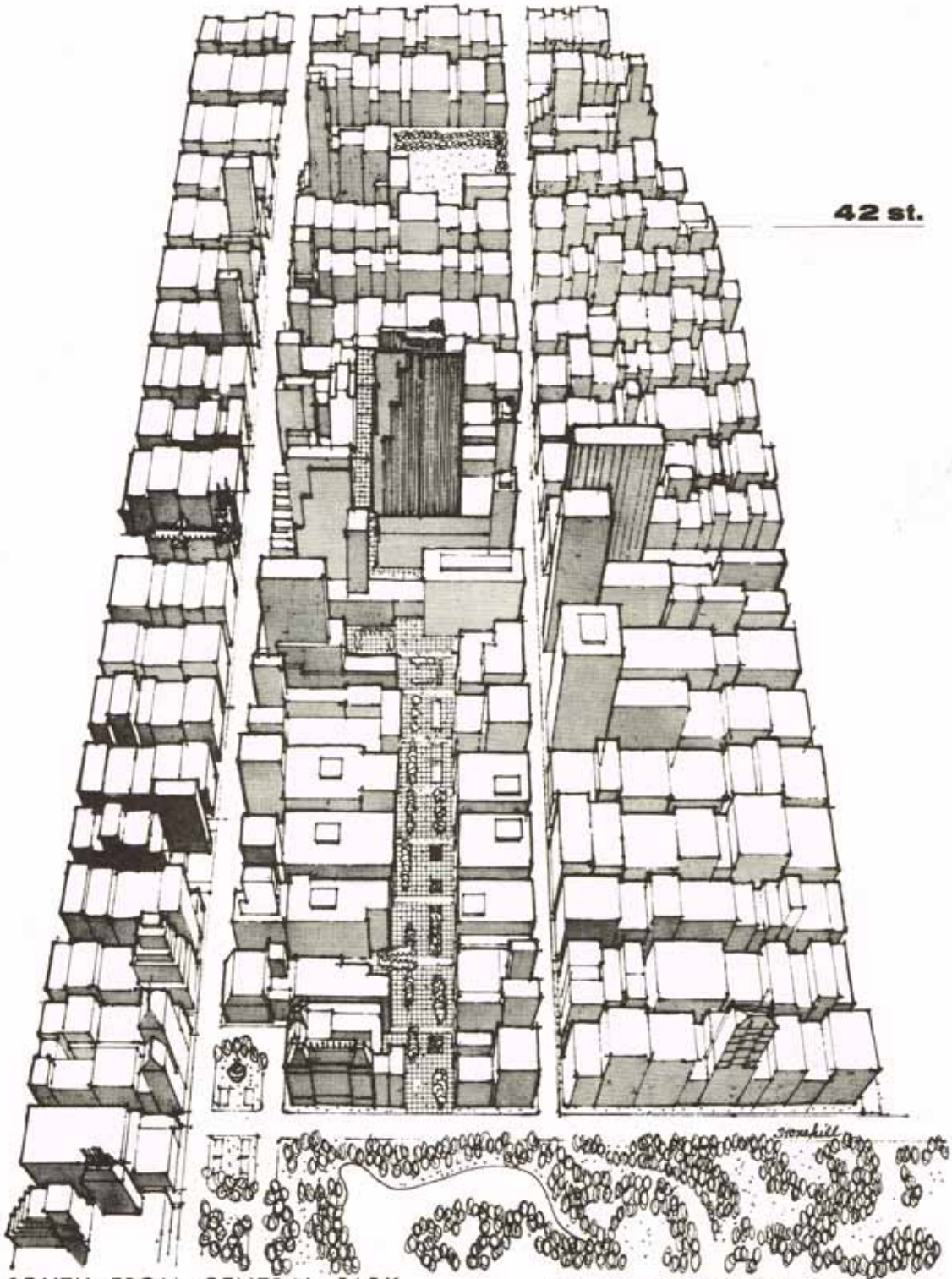
Although Jacobs was more a fan of outdoor space, this proposal innocently announced the emergence of those poor interior routes such as the off-thoroughfare from Paley Park to St. Patrick's Cathedral; as described and all stimulated by the New York Zoning Law. Soon criticism changed. Was it a natural pedestrian path? Especially after the zoning reform, which recognised public spaces within the interior, people started to criticise these spaces. More and more ostensibly public spaces having a special permit were designed indoors. As William Whyte evaluates; "in one word they are lousy". The public opposition was concentrated on their accessibility, lightning, invitingness, attractiveness, usage, regulations, amenities and their relation to the outdoor streets. Few public interiors could successfully qualify on all or at least the majority of these aspects. Many indoor public spaces, like the arcade of the Olympic Tower, almost immediately were called miserable failures and where for example the spaciously designed interior of Citicorp Building[214] three blocks east was seen as a resounding but rare success, other problems appeared. Here, within a few years, tenants complained that people were buying stuff outside where it was cheaper and brought it in to kill time and eat. They wanted to get rid of the non-consumers. In reaction, architectural critics complained that the homeless person carrying bags of personal possession might find it difficult to go past the security posted at entrances. It was the start of the next phase in which on the one hand developers started a debate on the amenities for the public, while on the other hand the bankruptcy of the public space bonuses was announced. (Fowler, 1976, 1 August , The New York Times 1976, 26 January; 1979, 24 May; and 1980, 28 June, Horsley 1978, 24 May, Stephens 1978, December)

Still, most of the official New York interior public spaces have been designed in the seventies and the eighties of the twentieth century. The bulk of initiatives has faded by 1989. (Kayden 2000: 44-45) So, as a fifth nuance, also time-wise, the effect of incentives on the public space is refined. Governmental efforts to enlist private enterprise in programs designed to renew the dense urban areas of Manhattan seem to bring up a lot of hassle. The incentives

[212] In essence this plan resembled an old proposal, outlined in 1929 and submitted to the Board of Estimate by the Fine Arts Federation in 1931, which undertook to reduce Rockefeller Center, then called Radio City, to an element in a larger scheme of general city planning. It alowed new high rise, by introducing a similar new north-south axis, yet then as an avenue on three levels, likewise located between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, extending from 42nd Street to Central Park. (The New York Times 1931, May 8)

[213] The lobby is part of 75 Rockefeller Plaza, also known as Esso Building and 15 West 51st Street. Robert Irose Carson (19 June 1906 – 1 March 1960) and Earl Hugo Lundin (11 January 1902 – 2 March 1976) designed it between 1946 and 1947. The arcade between 51st St & 52nd Streets is part of 640 5th Avenue, a building constructed in 1949 by design of the American architects Arthur Eugene Kohn (born 12 December 1930), William E. Pedersen, Jr. (born 31 May 1938) and Sheldon Fox (28 June 1930 – 16 December 2006). The American architects Ralph Adams Cram (16 December 1863 – 22 September 1942) and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (28 April 1869 – 23 April 1924 designed St. Thomas Church, in 1914.

[214] Hugh Asher Stubbins, Jr. (11 January 1912 – 5 July 2006), also American, designed The Citigroup Center, formerly Citicorp Center, located at 53rd Street between Lexington Avenue and Third Avenue. It opened in 1977.



LOOKING SOUTH FROM CENTRAL PARK

PEDESTRIAN MALL

introduce flexibility in zoning, but after the permit is registered the instrument is stiff and perhaps too precise. If the interior should be open to the public then the city should control. If not, the owners might create different rules like in the cases of Trump Plaza and Citicorp Mall. This will lead to condemn by the people using the place and to a much broader public reaction in general. If owners would like to do to change rules the official way they should go for a new special permit of the City Planning Commission. Otherwise, no public amenity, open or enclosed, for which a floor area bonus has been utilised, shall be eliminated or reduced in size. (Zoning Resolution of the City of New York, Article III, Chapter 4: Section 34-113d, amended 2007, 17 October) If the owner succeeds in the reassembling of people, as an attraction like in the Sony Plaza case, groups who feel they are not part of the gathering oppose. In those cases, some will love the change, others will feel neglected. How will the public be served best? Are gamers and gizmos served in Paley Park? Do they oppose? What is the agreed public amenity? Is it open space in plazas, and seating areas and street furniture? Or sculpture, fountains and plantings? Does this really contribute to the public? Does it concern all? Why not wireless internet? These are just some new ideas.

The above review shows diverse public approaches towards the design of public space. Interior terminals, arcades and atria, as well as outdoor pocket parks, public buildings of any kind, do not always needed a public governmental stimulant, whereas in similar cases it have, to come to the same kind of design. In the cases where incentives have been used, often it seems unclear why these. Nor the government neither the developers of legally-acknowledged and privately-owned public space explain why these projects are selected. Likewise, neither the government nor the developer of a Modern voluntary-accommodated privately-owned public space has explained why these projects did not. Proponents would emphasise the benefit for all parties, while opponents emphasise the fixation of the agreement. To counter the first group, special permits, variances, authorisations, or certifications have not always led to extra spatial quality in public interiors. The debate on governmental failures is often heavy but tempestuous; in a few cases the storm continuous. Simple observations in the city make clear that the designs of many interior spaces resulted in a space just there without much use of the public. They work as public space only if they're able to attract people. Without an overall plan or an urbanistic view, most remain incidents in the city. To counter the second group, with a legal agreement developers of spaces, which by nature or location will be successful anyway, could have been profiting from a zoning bonus. And the space at least is intended to stay publically regulated. Though-the-block arcades are often lined with retail and other programme benefitting from the many passer-bys who use the space as comfortable short-cut. The shops on their turn attract more pedestrians using the space. Legal arrangements keep it that way. Covered atria, or other covered pedestrian spaces situated within the buildings, may add extra space to the network of public space, especially when there's need for a space to stay. This could be for example a place to relax during lunch in a dense office area. Also by itself, apparently without a direct need, a covered court yard could attract visitors to enjoy it just by adding itself to

Figure 3.2.12.
Proposal for a pedestrian mall, looking south from Central Park by Simon Breines, 1969

the network. Often no extra programme other then the garden is needed. The attraction is the atrium or conservatory itself. In all cases, attractive space or circulation space, the contribution to the public could have been rewarded with extra storeys, but not always have. The revenues of the rent or the general exposure of the project might be enough for the owner or developer. It does not need piles of more arguments to agree that spatial qualities of public interiors widely vary, or that in the end incentive zoning does not automatically lead to a better quality. But at least, it stays. Particular interiors, like the illuminated stations, by nature are hubs constructed to serve travellers to transfer from ground transportation to the facilities that allow them to board public transit. Often the larger stations introduce programmes, which may be for the purpose of other people too. Restaurants, cafes, shops, or simple amenities like public toilets, could contribute others too and an incentive or other legal arrangement could uncover it opening the interior to the general public.

In New York City, the policy, which allowed using incentive zoning for the stimulants of creating public space on the private premises and in private property, has led to an increase of the *quantity* of public space, but many other initiatives were paired. Comparing both kinds, there has not been a better option in terms of facilitating public *quality*. In some cases, it is questionable if the privately-owned public spaces really needed to be initiated by the government, because they were already public in nature. Despite criticism, in general and perhaps more important, New York zoning has been a notifiable governmental impulse for the development and urbanisation of Manhattan as aimed at when put into action. Of course it's questionable and highly speculative how the city would have survived in the late nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties without this bonus policy, but it is most likely that it would have been significantly different. Many interiors – 'good' or 'bad' – would not have been there. At this point an elaborated precision of the spatial qualities of all interiors is not the focus, nor are the exact thoughts of the government, the people, the developer, owner or designer. In short, by using the situation of New York as an example, the physical lay-out of public interiors and their embedding in the urban network are more than the outcomes of a process involving investors and experts. Being a public space is before anything else reflecting a mixture of legal and social forces, involving the public government and the public as a whole. In this manner, this book calls attention foremost to the need for appropriate spatial concern and forethought for public interiors, so that such spaces will not be eventually taken from the public, to whom they belong, or that they may not inhibit use by the public because of private profits prevailing on the short term. With the existing incentive zoning, this is not guaranteed more than without: perchance even less. This book lays the first brick, foremost to the re-examination of the role of the designer to actually *succeed* in this, yet without prescriptions of how to do it. That's a case to case situation. In all, the impact of the design on the people in general and conversely the effects of the people, their behaviour and their collective opinion on the design are equally of importance as is the interrelationship between the design and the regulations, stimulants, incentives or what so ever of the government, representing the same people.

Chapter 3 Fear for the Real

Hundreds of privately-owned public spaces have been realised in New York City. About a million square feet is covered, more or less within the interior and recognised by the government as officially public[215]. The people, the "ultimate beneficiaries of the trade of floor area bonuses and other zoning incentives for public spaces have not always enjoyed the full fruit of those trades". (Kayden 2000: vii) Probably millions of feet more have emerged in the city for the public benefit additionally, but by other means. Atria, lobbies, arcades, malls, subways and stations, they all could be added to the interior footage. Even the grand cafés in Barnes & Nobles, the restaurant at Bryant Park and the diners in Bloomingdales play a role.[216] There are no clear borders.

On the eve of the actual boom of the privately-owned public spaces, Richard Sennet opposed. Taking the Lever House as an explicit New York example, he objected to the way these designs absorbed public life. Lever House could make Park Avenue dead, he stated. The street would become a sole place for motion and transportation and "loses any independent experimental meaning of its own". (Sennet 1977: 12-16) He followed early New York criticism, like that of Jane Jacobs. Already in the nineteen-fifties, she had underlined that the design of Lever House introduced a "most commercially astute and urbane collection possible of one- and two-story shops, terraced restaurants, bars fountains, and nooks", which individually could have make Park a genuine promenade[217]. Everyone should use the streets, she later would advocate. While downtown New York at the time was unsafe, she pleaded like Sennet against the creation of public space on private premises: Public and private space should not ooze into each other, creating nothing-at-all space, because first the street should have eyes upon, not blind walls, and people should use it fairly continuously, avoiding empty streets. (Jacobs 1958, April and 1961: 35-36)

[215] By the use of incentive zoning an area of 937.780 square feet interior public space is realised, half of which is comprised of arcades and equivalents along the streets (51.7%). The rest is mainly covered pedestrian spaces (22.9%) through block arcades (13.6%) and equivalents. Remarkable is the large amount of realised subway concourses or accesses and underground spaces, each three percent of the total area. (calculations on the basis of Kayden 2000)

[216] Many bookstores of Barnes & Nobles introduced a coffeehouse of the Starbucks Corporation, like those at Union Square and 86th & 2nd. Bloomingdale's department store on 59th Street gives room to 40 Carrots, Le Train Bleu and B Café. Privately-managed Bryant Park on 42nd between 5th and 6th gives access to Bryant Park Grill and Café.

[217] Jacobs gave a speech on this issue at Harvard in 1956, and Whyte invited her to write a corresponding article in Fortune magazine.

Figure 3.3.1.
Bryant Park, 1999

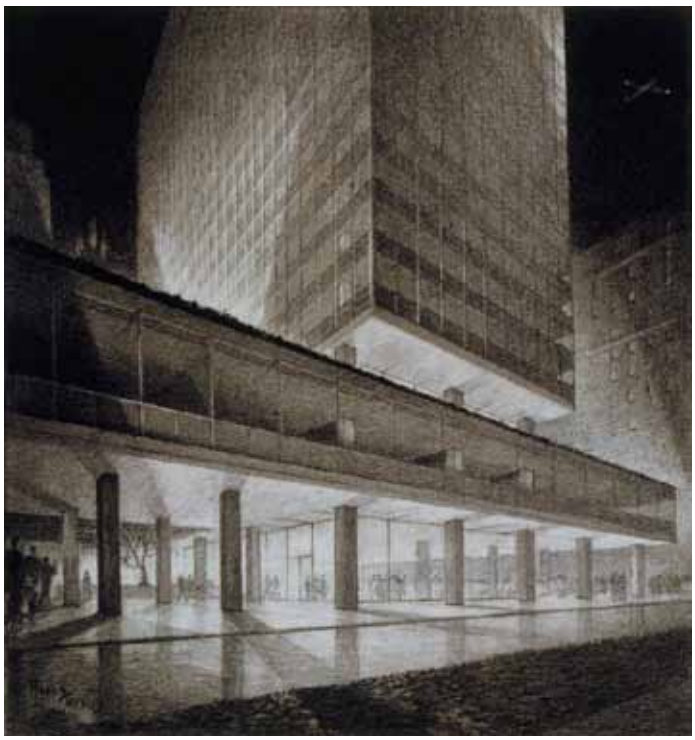


Figure 3.3.2.
Lever House, 1952, as drawn by Hugh Ferriss (12 July 1889 - 28 January 1962)

> "It is futile to try to evade the issue of unsafe city streets by attempting to make some other features of a locality, say interior courtyards, or sheltered play spaces, safe instead. By definition again, the streets of a city must do most of the job of handling strangers for this is where strangers come and go. The streets must not only defend the city against predatory strangers, they must protect the many, many peaceable and well-meaning strangers who use them, insuring their safety too as they pass through. Moreover, no normal person can spend his life in some artificial haven, and this includes children. Everyone must use the streets. On the surface, we seem to have here some simple aims: To try to secure streets where the public space is unequivocally public, physically unmixed with private or with nothing-at-all space, so that the area needing surveillance has clear and practicable limits; and to see that these public street spaces have eyes on them as continuously as possible. (Jacobs 1961: 35-36)

Somehow preparing a way for others to follow, these critics attempted to create awareness of the design of public space. This was an important counterpart to the general planning ideals. The City was used to big scale redevelopments and it was trying to attract new investors to downtown. Nan Ellin[218] is one of the recent prolific reviewers of post-war theories of urban design and public policy. She groups these efforts under the rubric 'postmodern urbanism'. To her the lost world of public space is one of the most recurring themes in the present city and society. Ellin illustrates this with a long list of titles: such as The Lonely Crowd (Riesman et al. 1950), The Quest for Community (Nisbet 1953), The Quest for Identity (Wheelis 1958), The Eclipse of Community (Stein 1960), The End of Ideology (Bell 1960), The Secular City (Cox 1965), The Concept of Community (Minar and Greer 1969), The Pursuit of Loneliness (Slater 1970), The Social Construction of Community (Suttles 1972),

[218] Nan Beth Ellin (born 10 July 1959) is an academic in urban design, planning and public policy.

and The Private Future: Causes and Consequences of Community Collapse in the West (Pawley 1973). At the same time, critiques of the city were bemoaning the loss of a centre. Her sampling of these includes The Heart of the City: Toward the Humanization of Urban Life (Tyrwhitt et al 1952), The Exploding Metropolis (Whyte et al 1957), The Death and Life of Great American Cities (Jacobs 1961), The Death of our Cities (Doxiadis 1960), Megalopolis (Gottmann 1961), The Twilight of Cities (Gutkind 1962), Sick Cities (Mitchell 1963), The Heart of our Cities: The Urban Crisis, Diagnosis and Cure (Gruen 1964), and Le Droit à la Ville (Lefebvre 1967). It is a great selection to frame a transformation in society, changing the nature of public space. In her research, she concludes that given these two trends, everyone has responded to a pervasive sense of 'placelessness'. These critics have been concerned with the quality of space, while dominating the debate on the public space. With a growing interest in architecture and urbanism, – as among others indicated by increased sales of books and magazines –, the podium was extensive at the time. Have we alienated from place and does it still influence the people's participation in public space? Ellin is most clear: "While most of these analyses proposed means for recuperating the lost community and/or center, an acceptance of or resignation to this loss became apparent during the 1970s and 1980s in discussions both of society and of the city (an increasingly blurry distinction)". In this line, she puts forward the next generation of iconic set of books, having titles such as The Uses of Disorder (Sennett 1970), A Nation of Strangers (Packard 1972), Place and Placelessness (Relph 1976), The Fall of Public Man (Sennett 1977), and No Sense of Place (Meyrowitz 1985). (Ellin 1999: 13-15) In more recent reasoning, the focus seems to point continuously towards the significantly negative influence of public spaces which are not owned by the government, interiors in particular, on the extent and flow of outdoor street activity. According to the current generation of designers and researchers these spaces are imaging the outdoor street by referring to nostalgia: a kind of Disneyfication in the line of Rowe. It would have great social effect. They would qualify them as 'merely imitations of urbanity', 'exact copies of non-existent originals', and as such they do not find evidence for a phenomenon as close as possible to the centre of the contemporary world. Internalised spaces are qualified as 'lost spaces', 'surrogate

Figure 3.3.3.
Photo of 1633 Broadway made by Willaim Whyte and used by Roger Trancik to illustrated that urban spaces had been "eroded by sunken plazas, enclosed malls, midblock arcades, and raised plazas", 1986

streets' part of 'simulated' or 'analogous' cities. "They are public but not too public". As such these spaces are seen as surrogate, mixing all sectors of society and replacing the civic domain by the sealed realm of the public interior. For one of the contemporaries the analogous city is "one of the principal modes of postmodern urbanism, linking Jean Baudrillard with Robert Venturi",[219] which could have "enormous implications for all aspects of political life". Among others, as the reasoning goes, because they lack communication and social interaction, and thus, the critics settle the issue as a simulation of the real. (Halley 1985: 135, Trancik 1986: 47, White 1988: 194, 208, 221, Boddy 1992: 125, Soja 1992: 110-113) The last quotes are hyperbolic for these Late Modern ideological thinkers. Although not part of the main categories of this research, the political scientist seems to agree: privatisation undermines opportunities for free speech and enforces the existing patterns of segregation. A 'landscape of gated communities' and 'fortress-like malls policed by private security forces' would represent the architecture of fear. Do we want this? (Kohl 2004: 3, 7, 219) Again the debate on public quality dominates. Architects, geographers, planners, urbanists and others have delved into discussions of public space, the anthropologists too. The overall concluding consensus seems that the private interest takes over the public space and the designers seem to follow the politic of exclusion, and no matter if it concerns gated communities or malls, "in this privatization scheme the public space is often lost" they conclude. Public space and the public realm are eroding and New York City is the stage for paranoia, surveillance and privatisation. Both Kayden and Sorkin give an award to these thoughts. (Low 2006, June, Low and Smith 2006: 5, back cover, Low 2006: 83, 87) All conclusions may fit a collaborate ambition to recreate public space in the line of Jacobs. The fear to lose public space still seems real.

Together any of these conclusions and even the simple observations, reasons or hypothesis might illustrate a contemporaneous idea on the design of interior public space. But then we leave out one detail: They also illustrate a very local idea. Almost every title referred to has been published in the New York scene, and most authors are or were New Yorkers. True, while a large flow of legally recognised public interior space was designed, the Big Apple was a very dominant scene concerning public space. There was a sense of emergency. If not, another city would be more sufficient to be used in this book. Yet, inherently it seems that in this city also 'urban design' was brought under the wider attention as a specific field of expertise. From some perspectives this scene might even lead criticism, but it certainly was not the only one scene in our field responding to the socio-spatial transformations in the Western World. (Sert et al 1956, August, Mumford 2006, Spring/Summer, and Duany 2006, Spring/Summer) Secondly, however very conscientiously composed, these researches, or collaborate manifestos, are foremost a retrospective legitimising an existing Post-Modernity, as represented in many fields, art or science, and reacting *against* spatial interventions of earlier Modernism. So the reactions, the paradigms, and the changes are emphasised. The rhetoric is contemporary, aiming to be more modern than Modernism but still aiming at the "reorganization of everyday life" in a similar Modernistic way. (Sert 1942: 229) In a time when the public sphere

Figure 3.3.4.
Poster by the New York State WPA Art Program displaying the Four Freedoms, which was articulated by United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (30 January 1882 - 12 April 1945) on January 6, 1941 and which became a forceful international thought promoting democratic life

[219] Jean Baudrillard (29 July 1929 – 6 March 2007) was a French philosopher and sociologist. He was a student of Henri Lefebvre.

as defined by Habermas has been transformed indeed, but the crisis in culture as predicted by Hannah Arendt, who had arrived in New York in 1941, has been modest and gone by – even old-school pop culture has become high culture –, some nevertheless are still aiming a social revolution. In the early days the insecurity of the private sphere was thought to approach crisis proportions, at least emotionally, because mass culture would intervene in the private, creating a public sphere inside the house itself. (Arendt 1961: 197-226, Habermas 1962: 7-9, Plessner 1960: 9) Today, in the same line 'the end of public space' is announced by Michael Sorkin[220]. Based on his interpretations of Baudrillard combined with those of Venturi, it surely seemed the right thing to conclude. (Sorkin 1992) Every urban apocalypse seems understandable from the view point of Baudrillard, as he was a student of social revolutionary Henri Lefebvre and as he is reasoning in a similar ideological manner. Knowing this, it does not seem remarkable either that in this vision society has become so reliant on signs of culture creating a perceived reality which loses contact with the real world on which these signs are based. Thus, one victimises the people, who in the vision are 'artificially resurrected under the auspices of the real, in a world of simulation, of the hallucination of truth'. (Baudrillard 1981: 20) Again, Venturi has a completely different approach. He would oppose this statement, or any ideological dominance in these kinds of declarations. Cheerfully and prosaicly. Of course the current context for designers has changed, but for him the idea of design as sign has always been there: "evolutionary pragmatism, rather then revolutionary ideology". He rejects those being 'snobbishly paranoid' when it comes to an arguable vital everyday architecture. (Venturi 2004: 7-18) The present search for tradition and the continuity of Modernism may be too easily neglected among the New York critics. Robert Venturi, often regarded founder of a Post-Modern architecture, has always acknowledged evolution as well as revolution. The creation of new spatial interventions has always been related to using existing types. In this vision, Late Modernism would be more appropriate than Post: In the Sixties the larger part of our discipline continued fully developing the conceptual potentiality of the modernist enterprise, allowing the rejection of some aspects of High Modernism. In the line of the previous books, it was a time of paradox. (Jencks 1977: 87, Venturi and Scott Brown 2004: 1, Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 72)

This brings us back to the intention designers of public space have. They are assigned to design a public space. The rearrangement of AT&T's arcade into an interactive showcase for Sony products raised opposition. Critics asked: Is the interior now meant for new costumers only? What about persons who do not want to be part of this exploitation? Are they excluded? After the transformation of Atrium 590 in an art exhibition space, by removing trees, another great controversy and a new public debate was the result: Will this interior be kept in service for all people? After the recent redesign of Trump Place questions in the public media are again comparable. Critics have the habit to oppose to self-interest and blame the present-day leaders. When the regime is to change, we raise our voice. When a design is changed, we want to have a say. It is what we can see in most cases in this research. When society is changing at large, many times major transformations in the city and its public

[220] Stated in the subtitle of the book 'Variations on a Theme Park', edited by the American urban designer and architecture critic Michael David Sorkin (born 2 August 1948).

space are the result. Among others public interiors appear. When the public issue is at stake, soon these transformations are reconsidered. Is this the right direction? Isn't the new design stimulating spatial and social fragmentation? Should the public interior exist? At moments of great unrest the opposition is often large: On the long run frequently public interior spaces evolve to more mediated types, and stay. Their designs are not an incident anymore. Without getting into it too deep again, both social sciences and law have observed these transformations. Opposing the public nature of these kinds of interiors, in general, interior public spaces are not the democratic spaces, as Sennet defines it. The management is not in hands of the public government and the accessibility is limited. Not every one is welcome and not always. Then, in these spaces, publicness seems a fiction. However, remarkably, more recently in sociology, according to some the complete opposite of absolute public space, private space, is seen as the most important space of freedom. Here, the choice for individuals is formally free, while the outdoor public space is equated with scrutiny and control. (Nagel 1995, April: 104) In the wake of 9/11 this alternative reasoning has become more serious.[221] The social-critical debaters, who are advocating zero tolerance, see public space actually as being the domain of militarisation. (See also remarks Low and Smith 2006: 12-14 and Miller 2007: 40) Is interior public space more democratic and liberal than outdoor space? Although, most researchers have stayed put and continue to question the transformation of the public sphere by criticising the design of public interiors, there is a popular rising assumption that there are no alternatives. And, although these critics continue to advocate the idea that owners of privatised public space have disconnected power from issues of equity, social justice, and civic responsibility, they acknowledge that people appear to be willing to retreat into these 'safe privatised enclaves'. Their defence of the public good continues and so do their ambition to eliminate somehow ambivalent public spaces and realise 'true' public space. They call on politicians and experts in the field. (Giroux 2003: xi-xiii, 29-54) Hand in hand with the public government the designers should counteract?

Of course, the easy answer would be to enforce old-school governmental power to guard the public issue, break down every public interior and turn the tide. The premise would be that only in the publicly-owned public space the public quality could be controlled. Here people are presumed to have a sense of community, place and order. To reach this ideal, we have to 'find' space again,

[221] A devastating series of coordinated suicide attacks with hijacked airliners on September 11, 2001 hit New York City, Arlington in Virginia and Shanksville in Pennsylvania.

Figure 3.3.5.
Rockefeller Plaza was the place of a Four Freedoms exhibit by OWI: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of want, freedom of fear! Photo by Marjory Collins (15 March 1912 - 5 May 1985), March 1943.

Figure 3.3.6.
Photo of the Triumph of Law designed by Charles Niehaus, dominated the entrance portico of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York at E 25th Str. Photo by Wallace J. Gobetz (born 17 July 1977), called Wally, 2008.

substitute the 'surrogate' and discourage the 'analogous'. But what if the public interior does not vanish? It never did before. It did not in Tokyo, not in Florence, and not in New York. Like in the many cities studied around the globe, the people always have used public interiors to gather at large. Then, we have to accept that designers not simply act for one public, nor one representation and neither in one way. Enforcing governmental power is diverse and laws, ordinances and regulations applying to the public interior through history are too. Most of the larger Western cities dealing with public interiors have introduced some sort of building regulations and rules for use to control the public quality of the interior. In some places, there may be special police forces operating indoors with similar jurisdiction as they would have outdoors. In the case of some stations, the defence of the public interest could be formalised in a railway or transit police, or in general any kind of police. It could also be arranged by means of local political agreements allowing other officers to control the interiors and guard its public space.[222] An inventory of the variety of legal ways to control the public quality of interiors would be highly interesting. Although this is outside the main content of this research, only a brief introduction, may release some of the fears and, maybe more important, it helps to untie the strict relation the design of public space seem to have with the power the government. Therefore just to withspeak a presumed political ideal, based on the supreme power of the government, and redirect the focus on the design, a short elaboration on the developments in law is beneficial. In brief, there are major differences between most European and Anglo-Saxon law systems, let alone, those in the surrounding territories. In most of Europe's cities public issues are dealt with by means of civil law. Here, the government is able to control interiors by means of laws and ordinances. Chiefly hypothetically, it could also establishing public ownership within the interior, either from scratch or after expropriation to control the space, but changing laws by means of amendments or establishing local ordinances generally is the legal answer to introduce new rules and standards in interior public space. In England, United States and Canada, systems are based on common law. In these systems too, ordinances and ownership are both fundaments to control the public quality of public space, but as common law introduces cases, the law system is dynamic in a different way. Many laws are created by unique cases and refined by subsequent judges. Decisions in pending cases are based on decisions in previous ones, while affecting law to be applied in future cases. As such, in this system, debating interior public space opens the discussion to democratic rights regulating liberty and the public issue. In short for example, in some cases, the fundamental American right of privacy and private property does not always outweighs their right to free speech and public assembly indoors. Two U.S. Supreme Court cases illustrate a rather embryonic development in case law, which will affect interior public spaces in the future. In the first case, decided in 1972, the court rejected covered malls to be treated like public places. It was the outcome of a case, in which an owner of a shopping centre had brought people to court, because they sought to distribute handbills in the interior mall area, even though there was a strict no-handbilling rule. The people stressed that the centre was "open to the general public" and thus they claimed that the owner's action violated their First Amendment rights stating that Congress

[222] For example, in 1933, the New York State Railway Police replaced local station supervisors. Twenty years later, when the New York City Transit Authority came into being, the New York City Transit Police was formed. In 1995, the transit police was consolidated with the New York City Police Department. Similar examples could be found in other cities and countries too.

shall make no law abridging their freedom of speech.[223] Although they were affirmed to the first, the court judged that there had been no dedication of the owner's privately-owned and -operated shopping centre to public use and that thus the owner's property did not lose its private character and its right to protection[224]. In the second case, decided in 1980, the same court in a similar case involving people distributing leaflets in privately-owned public space recognised that a shopping mall, *unlike* a home or private club, issues an invitation to the general public and therefore opens itself to certain general regulations. This could mean that public speech in publicly accessible but privately-owned places, like many public interiors, although not protected directly by the Constitution, could be protected by state statutes. (Supreme Court of the United States 1972, 22 June, and 1980, 9 June, and Koln 2004: 1-4, 20) Since the latter case, owners of a public accommodation or public venue may not exclude individuals on the basis of race or religious considerations and they may have to allow certain types of activities to occur within its property, even if they object to such activities. (Berger 1991: 633) In American society, this marked the first step towards a more equal relationship between public interior space and public exterior space. At least it could be a legal basis for regulating the public quality of many interior public spaces in New York, if present and not fixed by the arrangements made by means of incentive zoning. It might be illustrative for a change in the lawyers' awareness of the nature of these spaces, anticipating on today's reality.

Given the above legal framework and its developments as well as general transformations in society, it has to be acknowledged that some interiors might be considered as public as outdoor space, or even more public from some perspectives, but hardy have public quality. New York is spread with poor examples. There are several neglected arcades, gloomy covered food-courts, and dark alley-like corridors. Some interiors are used by many only in the early morning, during lunch, or at the end of business hours, but during the rest of the day, they are avoided by the majority. Then there are several interior public spaces which are used by crowds of people. For us designers, the location in the network of public space largely determines the public quality of the interior.

[223] See Book 2.

[224] The Fourteenth Amendment of the Bill of Rights was applied.

Figure 3.3.7.
Cartoon by Kevin Kallaugher (born 23 March 1955), May 2013

So does the lay-out and programme of the interior space and its accessibility and connectivity. Standing outside on the street, facing transparent revolving doors, stairs or gated entrances could make a major difference. The one anchorperson in the debate, the late Hannah Arendt did presume that these spatial boundaries separated the public and private realms.[225] It would be the most visible manifestation of this division and determine it accordingly. We could design them appropriately. From her point of view, the boundary between the exterior and interior would be the embodiment of the divide; the signifier of a social organisation. The relation between individual and society would be regulated by the designation of public and private spheres and by the construction of boundaries between them. Yet, as public and private spaces might be more a continuum, where many shades can be identified, the two realms meet through these slight variations of privacy and publicity, rather than a clear cut separation.[226] It could also change the designers' awareness of the nature of these spaces. Recently, the other anchorperson in the debate, Richard Sennett[227] explicitly puts the emphasis on these boundaries. By doing so, he aims to pin-point at the contemporary problem of social isolation and spatial fragmentation. He does without fearing it and by systematically analysing it. He is appealing us, urban designers and architects, to restrain from such needless complexity. In the eyes of the sociologist, this often zeroes value. In his view, boundaries anyhow define no-go areas. It is what we design. Architectural designers use plate glass window walls, permitting sight, but excluding smell and sound. Some urban planners create gated communities sealed with walls, policed by surveillance cameras. Others enclose and define spaces differently. In those cases the boundary is absolute, fending off human interaction. It could also be a border zone. In that case, boundaries are sites of both exchange and separation. These borders are able to be active edges, where people become more interactive. He follows the urbanist's impulse to work *with* resistance in borderline conditions. While some times the designer is bringing places to life by introducing "what may seem unnecessary elements, such as direct approaches to the front entrances or bollards to mark out territory, or, as Mies van der Rohe did with Seagram Building in New York, by contriving complicated side entrances to his elegant simple tower". According to him these additions of complexity can prompt people to engage more their surroundings. It is "the rationale for making the judgement about a public space that it's too simple, it's too easy". For Sennett it is the difference between designing a wall or a membrane. In extreme, the boundary could be a live edge, as seen in the pocket parks, where people are invited for a rest or quick drink. In these examples the designer often uses the ambiguity of a boundary. The placement of benches and bollards, the height of stepping stones, the ill-defined separation of sand, grass, and even water are put forward by him as tools that learning an education in ambiguity.[228] (Sennet 2008: 225-235) Back in New York, the academic philosophers Thomas Nagel[229] has defined the differences in the variation in boundaries simply by means of what we reveal and what we do not. It is again a positive approach. For him it is among the most important attributes of our humanity, and by matter of course continuously some (try to) control over that boundary. (Nagel 1998, January) Nevertheless, I would add, when the place for public assembly, gathering and freedom of speech

[225] See again Book 2.

[226] These remarks are introduced by Ali Madanipour (born 4 January 1955), the Iranian academic urban designer positioned in the United Kingdom. (see Madanipour 2003: 70, 239)

[227] See Book 2.

[228] Extensively he explains his approach by means of the designs of the Dutch architect and urban designer Aldo van Eyck (16 March 1918 – 14 January 1999).

[229] Thomas Nagel (born 4 July 4 1937) is an American academic philosopher affiliated to the New York University.

shifts or blurs, the boundaries shifts or blurs too. The interior public space *is* publicly used. Law tries to follow. Controlling the *public* seems still possible. Safeguarding public interests is too. Naturally we can wait for the legal experts to take away our fear, but as put forward earlier by following Jonathan Barnett we could also act. We are aware of the public life and thoughtful about what might happen in the future, but where today designers are worried with the course of society and occupying themselves with the transformations in the public sphere, Sennett advice is clear. Just put also the emphasis on the design of the boundaries.

Figure 3.3.8.
BMT Fourteenth Street, 1932, painted by Reginald Marsh (14 March 1898 - 3 July 1954)

As concluded before, if interiors somehow are public and most importantly they are used by the people at large, they should not be perceived as independent entities but by matter of course as being part of a network of public space transforming in time. They simply cannot be independent entities, they are connected. Indoor spaces which serve the public are somehow related to the rest of the public network, and although perhaps not always ideally accessible, analyses focussed on the whole network, the interior system, its components and, before anything else, the relation between interior and exterior, the boundary or border zone, will reveal the public space as used by the people in reality. Thus opposing a panic-provoking fear of spatial fragmentation and social dispersion, from the 'public' point of view, spaces of public gathering are or have to relate to the patterns and behaviour of the people. It is favourable to the work of Venturi and Scott Brown. Not ideology in itself is a matter of study but more so its translation in design and its introduction in reality. A focus on interior public spaces being part of specific social-spatial context is the logical consequence. In this way the understanding of these spaces brings along real treats and opportunities, not impractical or unrealistic visionary ones. Even if the interior public space may be a substitute for democratic space, as Sorkin in the line of the other critics states, than I could agree that the effort to reclaim the city is the struggle for democracy itself. Indeed in his words the city has the power simply not only to bypass the traditional scenes of urbanity but to co-opt them. However, his suggestion to regulate them to mere intersections on a global grid for which time and space are obsolete, would not do justice to the ordinary city. (Sorkin 1992: xiv-xv) It witnesses an old ideology funded in a now transformed society. On the one hand the proposal follows the French school of Baudrillard and Lefevre and on the other that of the Germans Arendt and Habermas. It leaves out the American scholarly input of Sennet. People determine public sphere themselves. According to Margaret Crawford[230] the critical position that emerged in the discourse is surprising: Even though she has contributed to Sorkin's book, for her the subtitle 'the end of public space' summarises again fear and pessimism. It dissatisfies her as it is more an echo of the early theorist critical towards the status quo of public space, than it is a true understanding of the current city in reality. According to her, the outcome of this way of working to the ground can be expected. The presumed implications that follow the overwhelming negative assessment of the narrative are equally negative. If historical determinism is combined with social idealism, the definitions of 'public' seem to be narrowed down to normative definitions. Again and again we refer to the Roman Forum and the 'res publica' or to the ideal of the Greek Polis. We ask ourselves who

[230] Margaret Lee Crawford (born 9 March 1948) is an American academic in urban design and planning theory and history.


14TH ST.

has been really involved. Thus, we continue to be concerned about the excluded groups and we try to get rid of the idea of the bourgeois public sphere. But middle class is growing and diversifying and non-bourgeois groups have become manifest in the public realm. Maybe we should revise our concept of public space as long as the public continues to transforms, like Crawford proposes. She recommends us to widen the Modern conception of 'public' and work with the concept of 'everyday space'. "Broadening the definition of public to encompass these 'counterpublics' produces a very different picture of the public sphere", she states; it could be "one founded on contestation rather than unity and created through competing interest and violent demands as much as reasoned debate". In line with today's populism, it could validate differentiation in society. This does not necessary mean isolation; There is still a "connective tissue that binds our lives together". This is what she calls 'everyday space'. It bears the possibility of new meanings, activated through social action and social imagination[231]. Thus, in practice this could be anything; the suburban driveway during a garage sale, the city's marginal urban sites used by street vendors, but it could also be the indoor mall. Even though these kinds of interior public spaces are characterised by urban entertainment and thus according to the critics dangerous to the real city, they are preferred by numerous people around the world. Crawford concludes that populism has disappeared from the architectural discourse. It is replaced by urban criticism attacking the mall's imaginary created collectively as part of a larger culture of spectacle and simulation. (Crawford 1999a: 22-29, Crawford 1999b: 44, 54) In that sense, Crawford's perspicacious critique could meet the urban and architectural approach of Venturi and Scott Brown. (Crawford 1992: 6, Von Moos 1999: 69 n31) Others are following, each in their own way, but all agree on the importance of interior public spaces. These spaces are popular destinations for the public and if the quality of these everyday public spaces is poor their advice is: We could design them better. Around the Western world opposition to the dominant phobia is established trying to understand the phenomenon by different reasoning. These experts choose to follow a different direction in urban design. Instead of neglecting interior public space, fearing all privately-owned public spaces, they are finding ways to include them. The device is: If we do, then we are able to design for user needs. For this group of contemporary urban theorists "whether public life actually takes place in a private or public space does not seem to matter". (e.g. Kayden 2000: 55, 316 n75, Banerjee 2001, March: 12-15, Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 48-49, Madanipour 2003: 1-2, 164-166, Francis 2003: 1-8, Grahame Shane 2005: 13-15, Carmona, De Magalhães and Hammond 2008: 3-9) Public space is the space of the '*populus*': pop space! No matter if it is a pops. If one would like to understand today's interior public spaces, the de-scription of these "everyday spaces" seems the only logical next step. The Modernist pre-scription aiming for the "reorganization of everyday life", calling for revolution, would only bring more misunderstandings, feelings of fear and perception of chaos. Thus, this research continues to not focus on ideology, predicting the end of times. Instead the research focuses on real spaces: public spaces. It is there, and how to continue?

[231] By referring to Edward Soja's definition of 'thirdspace' she abridges Lefevre. For him even internalised spaces, like malls, are part of reality. They may be spaces of imagination, but they are part of everyday urban life. (Soja 1996: 115-117) In line with Baudrillard he talks about a hyperreality.

Chapter 4 Interior Urbanism

The New York case introduces ways to understand interior public spaces as physical entities. It illustrates what the effects of the public government en the people are on the design. Illuminated by Trump Place, IBM Atrium and Sony Plaza, it shows that intentions in creating such a space can be very different for different actors. De facto, each case is always different. The government has had different perspectives than the clients and the people using those spaces. When the designers create public space, understanding all is essential in the explication of or the contribution to the public quality of the design. It explains and frames the *design* of public space, no matter if it is established or planned within the interior, thus often on the private premises, or not. As illustrated by the design comparison between Paley Park and 520 Madison Plaza, designs may not fundamentally differ, if similar kinds of spaces are created within the framework of incentives or not. The design of GreenAcre Park may be put on the same line. What does care is how the design facilitates the public use and anticipates on the public interest. Its position in the network, composition of the interior and connection to the other spaces matter. As illustrated by among others Olympia and HarperCollins arcades, the nature of the space does too. Those design examples fit the governmental frame, but not the public use. One can learn from typological precedents, while understanding differences in context and time again. Similar types of spaces have similar characteristics making them public (or not). Designers contribute to this with their plan. It may all not immediately take away fears for the design of interior public space of the critical New York School and anyone who feels the same. Yet, as illustrated by the Zoning Resolution and State Law in this case, practice shows that there are multiple ways to safeguard the public interest from a juridical point of view,

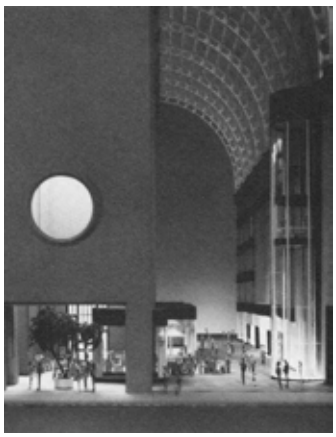


Figure 3.4.1a.
In a model of 1982, the arcade of AT&T Building showed a lot of miniature people

Figure 3.4.1b.
In 1986 in practice, the arcade had a lot of chairs, but often a few people

Figure 3.4.1c.
After redesign, the arcade of now Sony Building was able to attract many people, despite the fact that the accessible space was reduced. Photo of 2004

other than ownership, while designers are not always capable in facilitating public quality in their design.

Answers to the question 'how to proceed' starts with reviewing. Before we design we have to question where the people are and which spaces they use. Again: How are these spaces positioned in the urban network, how are they composed, and how are they interconnected to the outdoor world? Firstly, it seems that observing and describing is generally the single most important element in understanding interior public space from a designer's point of view. Mapping often comes next. Started as land surveying, it has been always crucial in our profession and, since the Late Modern reuse of the Nolli map, we are able to apply it to public interiors. It helps to depict the interiors as a segment of a pedestrian path system and part of a larger network of public space. Yet someone like Sennett is clearly critical of maps. Either they are mental maps or they deliberately mislead, because the real issues are missing. (Sennett 2008: 230) He is factually correct, especially when I argue that interiors contribute to the city if they have a public use. In deciding what kinds of analysis and analytic mapping to do, we face a dilemma like also Denise Scott Brown stated: The range of possible investigations is vast and the tasks could go on forever but funds are limited. So we have to consider how to focus from the start, trying to avoid what one of her professors called the 'whale method' of urban research. "The whale opens its mouth as it swims, and whatever flows in is what it eats. This may not be effective. […] As urban researchers, we must devise techniques to discover, early, the most relevant research variables for a given topic". Often like her, designers have learned from their experience and introduce first observations and conclusions in their design

Figure 3.4.2.
Two blocks in Manhattan drawn as Nolli map, 1989, by Michael John Bednar (born 19 March 1942)

process deliberately too early to help structure the next rounds of research. They use design as a research tool as well as vice versa. And these designs have a heuristic value for further research. "But generally we must examine patterns of activities and movement, and differentiate these by type and intensity, preferably over time. We must also consider natural patterns and systems and those of built structures; and we must distinguish between activities and the structures that hold them." (Harteveld and Scott Brown 2007: 70) So, observing and describing is much more than simply creating visual representations. In the case of understanding interior public spaces, it needs explications of the design, the intentions behind it, its location, its connections and its composition, and the actual use by the people over time.

Secondly, we can continue to learn from the past or from other places. This gives us past performances and track records of many types of interior public spaces. Again, these analyses, which are focussed on the network of public space, the interior system, its components and its relation with the exterior, have to embed designs also in a set of crucial characteristics of the specific city and its culture. As concluded and explained more extensively in Book 1: Also by analysing these cross-cultural relations, we are able to designate a group of related design solutions as well as we are able to clarify the adaptation to an environment, the mutation caused by copying errors and the specialisation process as a whole. It is the crucial fundament in the understanding the nature of types. A classification along the lines of typology helps to distinguish spaces from each other by elementary differences based on cultural meaning and evolutionary relations in stead of either simply form or function. In a research on interior public space we can differentiate many types. The following five books reveal only a few examples. In difference to the New York study, each of the following books is focussed on only one type. Also in every book, there is a strong emphasis on one case city. This city has been important for the becoming of the researched type and designs in this city have developed in several directions, forming extensive spatial systems.

Thirdly and most naturally, being public space, the emphasis must be on the identification of the public interest. Apart from the scientific works, professional books and governmental papers, public media reveal more than anything the role these types have played, and still are playing, in public life. This is tricky, because

Figure 3.4.3.
Pedestrian paths and public use as seen at Grand Central Terminal in the 1910s

as concluded in Book 2, then we always enter a political debate in which on the one hand the governmental representation speaks for the public while on the other hand the people speak for themselves, and every expert has probably an own political view too. But all of this is part of the deal. By studying circulation patterns and use of public spaces, thus the people come first. It determines the composition of the public space and vice versa. Legitimisation to put this focus first is illustrated by the New York case. It shows that the government is not always successful in creating public space within the interior, explicitly because people choose different spaces to gather. The interiors of the flagship stores have not been part of a bonus system, nor have the classic churches or cathedrals, the early arcades, the glass-enclosed public parks, and many atria or malls which are everyday spaces. If we understand the public usage in the city and we relate it to the spatial composition of the locations, we might be able to understand what works and what not. And of course we then are able to redesign parts of the urban network of public space to the convenience of the people; including interiors. Along with this, it also seems a matter of course that the design and planning of public space should continue to involve the influence of the government. And thus, when a disciplinary premise is based on public ownership while public use is elsewhere too, fundamental reconsideration is needed. Instead of fearing a transgression of the public, we could also accept the shifting boundaries between the public and the private – they have been shifting continuously through history – and find new ways to define public space. In close proximity to the connotation of public space, this includes not only the acceptance of the behaviour of the people in general, the design of public space no matter where, but also a reconsideration of the way the government accommodates the public issue, more than just ownership.
In the side line, and only when relevant for the typological evolution, a variety of cases shows that it seems possible for lawyers and governments to set up a '*res extra commercium*'. If public space needs agreements, regulations and laws to arrange its democratic, republican and liberal nature, it's up to judicial experts and politicians to organise this. Through time, regulations and ordinances have been formulated to defend the public issue in privately-owned space. Some solutions have been an instant success, some only after a series of trials and errors. Yet as reasoned before, designers have found their ways in this. We have to be able to design the network of public space, by interlinking interior public space to the outdoor world, aiming to make interaction possible.

In the next five books, I use the examples of the arcade, the mall, the bazaar, the skyway, and the subway to combine fundamental knowledge bases in urban and architectural design. With these studies I have aimed to disclose the riptide of urban theories, plans and designs concerning interior public spaces within the Western context, and foremost the use and appreciation of these spaces by the people. The underlying research, which could be qualified as epistemological, has not attempted to answer the question what constitutes the interior public space nor what it should be, but by the systematic analysis of different types of interior public spaces it modestly contributes to our knowledge of urban and architectural design. "Because", as the founder of scientific epistemology put it:

"we are scarcely in a position to say what is, unless we have at least attempted to *know* what is; and we are certainly not in a position to know what is, until we have thoroughly examined and resolved the question". (Ferrier 1854: 49)

> "It is clear that we cannot declare what is - in other words, cannot get a footing on ontology until we have ascertained what is known - in other words, until we have exhausted all the details of a thorough and systematic epistemology. It may be doubtful whether we can get a footing on ontology even then. But, at any rate, we cannot pass to the problem of absolute existence, except through the portals of the solution to the problem of knowledge. Because we are scarcely in a position to say what is, unless we have at least attempted to know what is; and we are certainly not in a position to know what is, until we have thoroughly examined and resolved the question - What is the meaning of to know ? What is knowledge ? What is knowing and the known ? Until these questions be answered, it is vain and futile to say that absolute existence is that which is known." (Ferrier 1854 : 49)

And to continue with Ferrier[232], even after all the laws of knowledge have been explored and laid out, it is still questionable if we are in a whit better position to take up and answer the question: *What is interior public space*? But we are in a somewhat better position. (see Ferrier 1854: 50) It is for designers and researchers, including me, to continue on this. Typological evolution does not stop now, neither does our knowledge. Consequently this research on interior public space is not fixed or absolute. It is the first step, comprehensively creating an understandable insight in the social and spatial roles of interior public spaces in the contemporary city and their transformations through history. We will see what comes next.

[232] James Frederick Ferrier (16 June 1808 – 11 June 1864), is a Scottish philosopher.

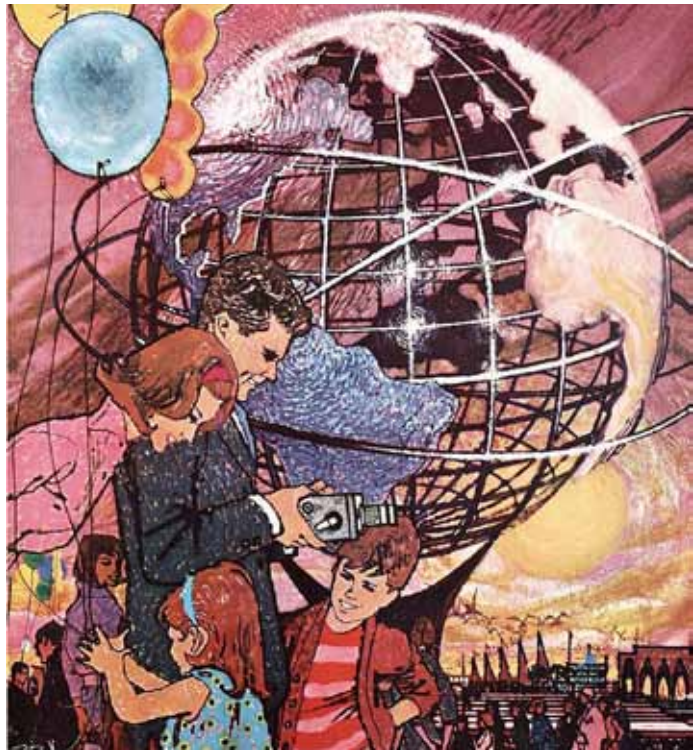


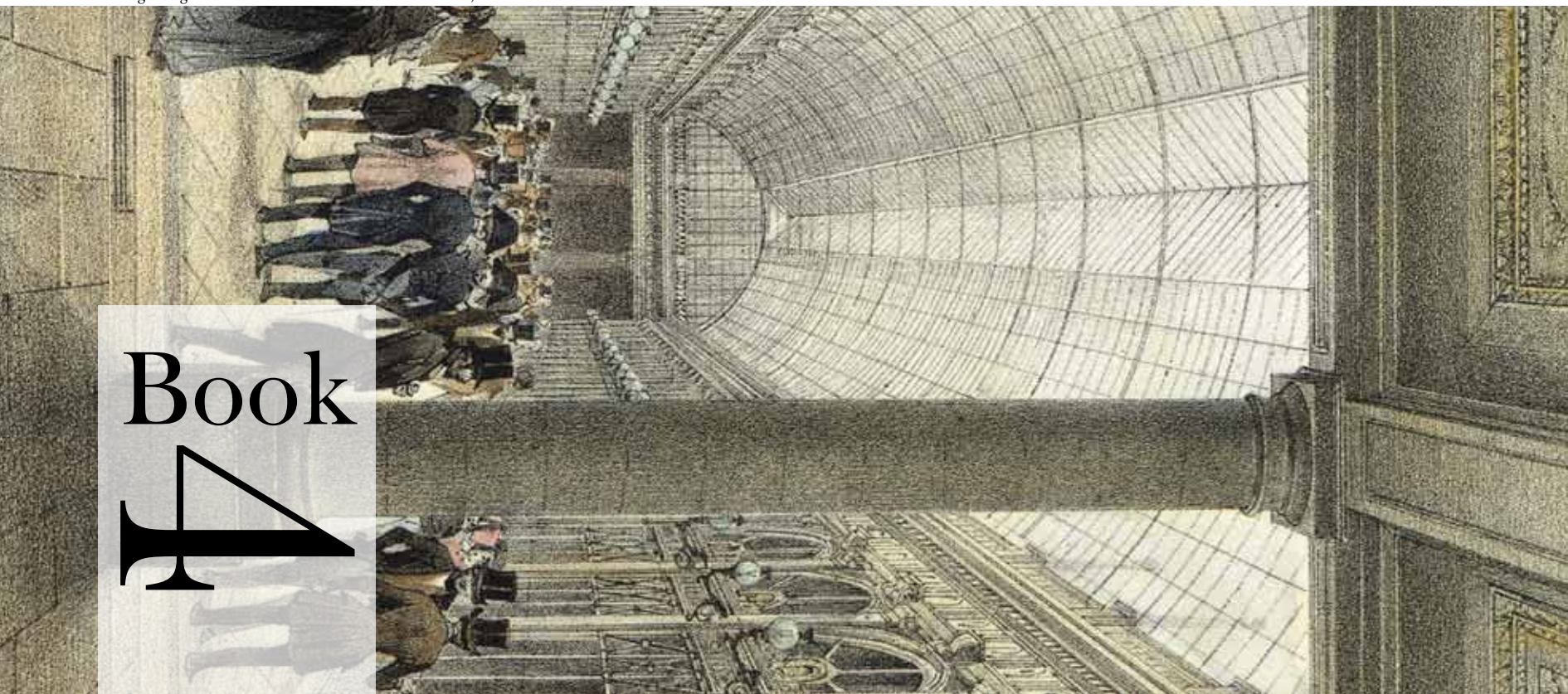
Figure 3.4.4.
Explorations at the 1964 New York World´s Fair, showng the western hemisphere of the so-called Unisphere at Flushing Meadows, New York. Poster by Robert Matthew Peak, Jr, called Bob, (30 May 1927 - 1 August 1992), c.1962

Paris, 2005

“Today it is Saturday February 12th 2005. I am walking along the Champs-Élysées. At the last day of my fieldtrip to Paris, I am strolling in the direction of the Arc de Triomph. I'm tired of work. I guess I have visited every arcade in the city. At least, this morning I believed so. I was wrong. A day of relaxation turns into a day of confusion. One arcade after the other seems to pop up behind the building-lines. With just a few hours before taking the high speed train home, I discover that another dozen of arcades are lined up at the grand avenue. It is not that they reveal themselves in a traditional way. No arced gates or grand entrances... I even think that I perhaps only may be discovering them, because I am so focused on signs saying ‘passage’, ‘galerie’ or ‘arcade’. Apart from the sign, indeed strictly they have to be defined as arcades. Most of them are linking Rue de Ponthieu, the extension of Rue Rivoli and a street full of parking facilities. It may not be strange that also here arcades connect two important long lines. They seem to do so almost everywhere in the city. The arcades are also unlocking the small businesses at Rue de Ponthieu to the specialty shops and flag stores at the Champs-Élysées and vice versa. It is a kind of logic, which after a week seems simple. Nevertheless, these arcades are different from the others. The arcade of Galerie Elysées Rond-Point - the first in a row - is exemplary. From the outside it does not seem to be an arcade. It looks more like a modernised shop, but by entering the sliding doors a two-story arcade reveals. It is not a nineteen-century glass-and-steel arcaded passage. Instead inside it is dark: The travertine floors, brown smoke glass and cherry wood panelling can not brighten the poor lightened fluorescent ceiling. Above all, the arcade is quiet. Quit similar it is for the arcade next doors and a few others along the line. Most arcades are however more crowded. They are interconnecting two outdoor streets by an interior passage, but still their appearance does not recall an archetypical arcade. So, do I have to redefine my connotation of the type now? Or is something else puzzling me?”

The Arcade

Engraving of the arcade of Galerie d'Orleans in Paris, 1880s



Book 4

Chapter 1

Early Passageways

Most arcades can be described as long arched constructions or galleries. They are named after its most characteristic part; the arch.[233] It seems simple. In urban and architectural design we can name numerous examples. We can determine them by a series of arches, either open, or closed with masonry or other structures, and supported by columns or piers. No matters if we find them on the outside of the building and on the inside, most of them are used by the common people in everyday life. The previous books have introduced a variety of examples already. The Arcone along the Piazza della Repubblica in Florence is iconic. But, the arch isn't always the standard. Where are they in the design of the Seagram arcade in New York? And where are those of the Olympic Tower arcade? If only one recognises the modifications, in essence both arcades may fit a general and most fundamental description. The Seagram arcade is closed at the back, forming a covered space along the facade, and the Olympic arcade is cutting though the building, forming a similar linear covered space. In the same line arcades can be also completely open, serving as an entrance. Still an arcade along the facade is neither a passageway nor an entrance. Similarities, if only in name, are based on form. From another perspective they are fundamentally different. Of course this research is focused on interior arcades. These arcades are enclosed and roofed. They make new connections by cutting through the block and linking two separated places in the city. They usually form true new passageways in the existing network of public space. The others do not. This seems reasonable, because the interior arcades have a different typological origin; Paris. In this city the type emerged, first outdoors then also indoors, and in this city it was called '*passage*' to its nature as passageways used as short-cut.[234] It could be seen as a secondary way; a 'voie secondaire'. (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989i: 605-606 and 1989xi: 300-302, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 12, 19, 48 and 761; Hallairet and Payen-Appenzeller 1972: 146-147) In most European cities this type of interior public space would be also named '*passage*' or at least something closely familiar.[235] From scratch only in the Anglo-Saxon part of the globe the type was named '*arcade*'.

When we want to create insight in the social and spatial roles of interior public spaces in the contemporary city, more than just what the dictionary gives us, what we can see in the city or what we can learn from history books, at least we should know how present urban researchers have approached this type of interior public space. Seldom forerunners in the Modern debate have been actually involved in the design of arcades. However, with a kind of melancholy the Late Modernists – I met a few – would immediately refer to two famous German reference works. Consistently they refer to Walter Benjamin's '*Passagen-Werk*' or to '*Passagen, Ein Bautyp des 19. Jahrhunderts*' of Johann Friederich Geist.[236] This is not surprising. Both books include hundreds of pages on arcades, and both have been translated in among others French and English and as such they

[233] In 1731, '*arcade*' was borrowed from the French '*arcade*', an arch or half a circle; originally derived from Italian '*arcata*', meaning arch of a bridge; from Medieval Latin '*arcata*', an arch, and from Latin '*arcus*'. The French '*arc*' or arch suffixed by '*-ade*', denotes the product of arches, an arched space. (Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 12, 48)

[234] The Old-French '*passage*' derived from '*passer*' suffixed by '*-age*', expressing the action '*to pass*'; to go by or to move past. The later comes from the Latin '*passus*' or step. (Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 19, 761)

[235] In most French, German, Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourgish cities the through-the-block arcade is named '*passage*'. In other cities we see similar terms used, which are borrowed from '*passage*', but linguistically changed: In Spanish and Portuguese cities the type is often called '*pasaje*', in Catalan it is '*pasatge*', in Romania '*pasajul*', in many Czech, Slovak and Polish cities the type is called '*pasaz*' or '*pasaż*', in the Baltic cities one may find '*passaaž*', in Norway '*passasje*' and in Russia '*passazh*' or '*пассаж*'.

[236] Walter Bendix Schönflies Benjamin (15 July 1892 – 26 September 1940) was a German philosopher and essayist. His only aunt was Friederike Joseephi or Friederice Josephy, née Benjamin, (6 April 1854 – abt.April 1916). She was also the grandmother of the German-Austrian philosopher and journalist Günther Anders, born Günther Siegmund Stern, (12 July 1902 – 17 December 1992), with whom Hannah Arendt was married between 1929 and 1937. (See Book 2) Joseephi had a great intellectual influence on Benjamin. She committed suicide on an unknown date. Johann Friedrich Geist, called Jonas, (4 June 1936 – 6 January 2009) was a German architect and architectural historian.

are widely spread. The urbanists interpret what they have read and tell me what they have learned. With legitimate reasons, one could consider the two works as the Modern treatises on arcades. The first is written in the 1930s and the second in the 1960s and thus together they span several decades of the twentieth century. So being written in different times, it is highly relevant to know what was actually intended to be taught. What were in general the Modern views on the arcade? It is a hard question to answer on the basis of these bulky books, but is gives us an idea. Although Geist gave us loads of precise and precious historical information, only modestly a final conclusion is drawn and Benjamin could never finish his work. So, how would they clarify the social and spatial roles arcades could have? Benjamin's brief exposé of 1935, which he had rewritten in French four years later, revealed an embryonic idea of where he was heading. According to him arcades were corresponding to new ways of production, new ways of social organisation. In his vision, mainly their emergence was conditioned by the boom in the textile trade and the beginning of the iron industry. The arcades were able to collect people in a civilisation which was funded in the marketplace and gathered in the interior. This interpretation divulged Benjamin's hope for a classless society and a revival of the arcade. But, as he continuous critically, somehow the image of the arcade in the collective consciousness was permeated with old. True, one could say that Neo-classicists had designed the arcades as if they were part of a royal palace, and across Europe they saw in the new technology a perfect godsend contributing to the new impulse of classic architecture. Benjamin hoped for a new fashion, new reproduction and new forms. "Get rid of that arch", he could have said. His ideals reflected a burgeoning sense of 'revolutionary' modernity to many different levels of society. Still personally, in his daily life, apparently he developed a love for the grandeur of the Parisian arcades, its emergence, tradition and evolution. What he started to call provokingly 'a dialectical fairyland' was changed to be called 'a city, world in miniature', which was mirroring his matured ideals. Apparently in time, he could overcome the presumed contradiction between the present architectural Neoclassicism and

Figure 4.1.1.
Galeries des Champs, 2009

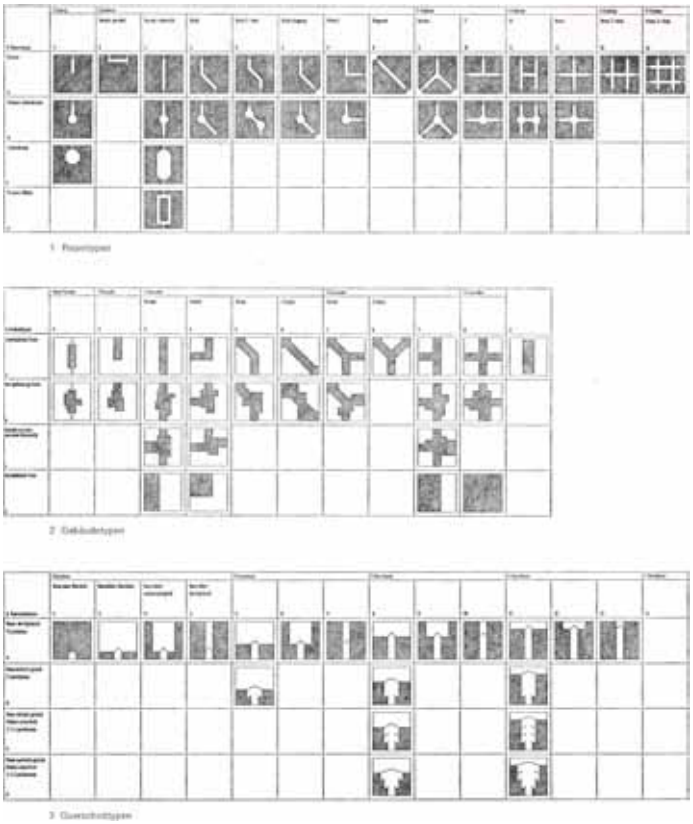


Figure 4.1.2.
Arcade phenotypes according to Johann Friederich Geist, 1969

social Idealism. By learning from historical developments he could underline his vision on the future. Explicitly he seemed able to do so by studying the work of French philosopher Charles Fourier.[237] According to Fourier arcades were the architectural canon of what he called '*the phalanstery*'. It was the space representing the beginning of a major transformation, while at the same time it housed a community representing the first association responsible for the change.[238] (Benjamin 1928, 30 January, 1935 and 1939, Fourier 1841: 284) It was the evolved revolution, what he put first. Clearly Benjamin had a socialist approach, but in a cultural-historical way. Geist approached the subject in a different way. It may be logically, if only because he published his work a few decades later; but above all Geist was a historian. Thus one could say that he would reason mostly in line with a culturalist, the more because specifically he was searching explicitly for 'the heritage of the arcade's architectural form and its relation to other structures in that era'. And indeed, Geist did found what he was looking for: Above all he reconstructed the history of the arcade type: its invention, its fashion, its expansion, its monumental phase, and its euphoric gigantism. But as cities throughout Europe had been reconstructed on a larger scale and building regulations were brought into force, both strongly supported by urban theorist like Baumeister and Stübben,[239] the spatial idea of the arcade soon declined. In time the arcade had become "no longer part of speculation but it was integrated into the larger interest of urban life", Geist explained. He focussed mainly on the architectural object, and doing so he relates

[237] François Marie Charles Fourier (7 April 1772 – 10 October 1837) was a French socialist and philosopher.

[238] 'Passagen-Werk' began as a planned collaboration for a newspaper article on arcades. It was an essay he had in mind in 1928, entitled "Pariser Passagen: Eine Dialektische Feerie", or Parisian Arcades: A Dialectical Fairyland. "Dieser Untertitel deutet den rhapsodischen Charakter der Darstellung an" Then in 1935 and 1939, it burgeoned to an idea for a book: Paris, Die Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhundert. Although he did publish several books he never was able to finish this one. In 1940, Benjamin part of a group of Jewish refugees eluding the Gestapo was intercepted by the Spanish police on the French border where he apparently committed suicide. The unfinished project was not published until 1982.

[239] See Book 2.

Figure 4.1.3.
Walter Benjamin in the archives of Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, April 1937, photograph by Gisèle Freund, born Gisela (19 November 1908 - 31 March 2000)

a decline to a change in design, production and form, all issues Benjamin was putting forward. "The new material was concrete, which is not appropriate for the problems of the arcade", he stated; "It produces a heavy cover for the arcade space". The arcade should be light and airy like the always had been. "Get that glass-and-iron arch back", he could have said. Still in the tail of his introduction, his culturalist approach – it may be an easy one – has the flavour of a social futurist. Especially when he concluded his epistle with the statement: "In its fate are revealed both the external virtuosity and inner abyss of the century's still unsolved social conditions". In the vision of Geist, the arcade was once again entering the consciousness of those discussing the future of the city as a form of life. For this, he briefly referred to a socio-political characterisation of the arcade's early days of coeval Habermas, succinctly criticising contemporary designers and their Modern arcades. (Geist 1969: 9-10, 87, 92-109, Saintenoy 1944: 125-126, Habermas 1962: 84) It was the revolt in evolution, what he put first. Geist questioned the means of Modernism by referring to a long tradition. However, he does not reveal any solution for the Modern times. Also, he did not clearly underline his critics or his vision, other then just dittoing what the 1960s was about. Being a historian, he did not reflect on the developments proceeded after let's-say 1930. Given the title of his book, he most likely was not indented to do so in the first place. So by referring to Benjamin and/or Geist, our colleagues can go either way, whatever fits their opinion. We might learn that the arcade should be the new socio-spatial ideal, or we could be allowed to say that it ought to be embedded in the age-old culture of the city? And thus perhaps the least what we can learn is that the socialist and culturalist approaches were not as delineated as I suggested before. In this case, both of Benjamin and Geist gathered a tremendous amount of cultural-civic information, trying to systemise every detail and in the end hoping for a spatial-social transformation fitting their decade.

Despite their differences, there is a strong rhetoric connection between the two. Geist had read Benjamin's exposé before he enriched the Modern discourse of arcades with his work. According to him, it contained all the elements needed in the beginning of his typological study. He even quoted Benjamin's introduction quote and by doing so Geist started his catalogue about same: … arcades are a city, a world in miniature, a multipurpose building, a city quarter, a city within a city and the physical is intermingling of all social strata. (Illustrierte Pariser Führer: 1852, as quoted in Benjamin 1935, 1999: 31 and in Geist 1985: 117, 258-259)

> "Diese Passagen, eine neuere Erfindung des industriellen Luxus, sind glasgedeckte, marmorgetäfelte Gänge durch ganze Häusermassen, deren Besitzer sich zu solchen Spekulationen vereinigt haben. Zu beiden Seiten dieser Gänge, die ihr Licht von oben erhalten, laufen die elegantesten Warenläden hin, so daz eine solche Passage eine Stast, ja eine Welt im kleinen is."
> (Illustrierte Pariser Führer: 1852, as quoted in Benjamin 1935)

The arcades might be cities within cities. Their interiors are urban, civic and public in most ways. Still advocating this idea, both Benjamin and Geist present the arcade as an objective architectural model, physically independently reviewed, but ideally able to

merge formerly separate virtual communities. From out of the view point of public space, the connection of the arcade to the rest of the network is fundamental, in particular for this type. The arcade exists due to its passage, its short-cut or off-street walkway. Even if the arcade is a little city, having multiple uses and bringing all people of society together, it should be said that the arcade is at the same time a part of a bigger system, the city as a whole. This leitmotiv is critically opposing any approach in which the arcade type is urbanistically analysed or designed isolated from its surrounding environment. Observing is again the first step.

Parisian arcades, like elsewhere, often connect the old arteries of the city or other urban spaces of intense public gathering. In this way, many passages are providing shortcuts between Rue Saint Denis and Rue Saint Martin.[240] Often they introduce often small stores, workshops and storages. Thereby it does not matter if the passage is indoors or outdoors. Both parts of Passage Brady, for one, give access to shops and restaurants.[241] Outdoors may be the best place to eat tandori, while the indoor section across the streets may be a fine place to buy handcrafted Indian terracotta, embroidered raw silk, hand block printed cotton. In fact if there is a specialisation here, then these passages are mainly the common domain of 'La Route du Kashmir' and 'New Delhi'. Yet, not all passages introduce commercial activities. Even the nature of the short-cut is questionable. The neighbouring Passage du Désir and Passage Reilhac, for instance, do not have shops and they are often closed.[242] Gates and even doors mark the privately-owned space. They are less a public space. If they are it is only temporary. This contrasts with other arcades like the Passage des Petites Ecuries facing one of them.[243] This passage could have been an ordinary street. It is even car accessible. Only an archway with housing on top marks the difference in ownership. There is not much commerce along this passageway. There's a café, a hotel and some shops. Next-door Passage de l'Industrie is not very different.[244] It is also a one-way outdoor alley with arches on the edges and some shops,

[240] In the north Rue Saint Denis and Rue Saint Martin are named respectively Rue du Faubourg Saint Denis and Rue du Faubourg Saint Martin. The faubourg is the outlying part of the old city, beyond the former walls of Paris.

[241] Passage Brady was constructed in 1828 by some person named Mr. Brady. In 1982 it was sanitised, thus cleaned and removed from obstacles particularly to the preservation of public health and interest.

[242] Passage du Désir, the former Passage du Puits, was named as such by the residents in 1789. Passage Reilhac is named after its first owner; the further unknown Mr. Reilhac.

[243] Passage des Petites Ecuries was officially called a passage only recently, in 2001. It used to be called Cour des Petites Ecuries, which is now only part of the system. Together, they are located on the site of the small royal stables, which were established in the end of the 18th century.

[244] Passage de l'Industrie opened in 1827.

Figure 4.1.4a.
Passage Ste. Foy, Rue Denis, 1900s

Figure 4.1.4b.
Passage du Commerce, Rue de Buci, 1900s

Figure 4.1.4c.
Passage de Postes, Rue Mouftetard, 1900s

among them a hairdresser, on the sides. Most of these short-cuts are still frequently used, but now and then a passage has stopped blooming. An unfortunate example is the indoor Passage du Prado, which is in extreme decay.[245] Most of the retail space is empty, only close to Saint Denis a few shabby second-hand booksellers use the interior for display. They still try to attract pedestrians walking by, but it does not seem to really work. Further inside a bearded man with a turbaned is roaming around, expelling every person that walks past. It is not exactly inviting. Then also, the L-shape does not offer a shorter way than to go around the corner of the block. It is only diversionary. Without any anchor, it is a matter of course, nothing will happen inside. Notwithstanding the lack of present public use, architecturally the arcade is an interesting one. The interior is relatively wide, only one storey high and glass-roofed in a traditional way and with unique Empire cast-iron beams. In difference the quiet Passage Lemoine, which is straight, is still used by pedestrians cutting off the common path; even though it has hardly any store anymore.[246] Apparently stores along an easy accessible straight route are not necessarily needed to be publicly-used space, because it is a short-cut. On the opposite when the short-cut is narrow, less accessible and even on several levels, for example in the case of Passage Sainte-Foy, people have justified qualms to use the passage.[247]

Gloomy passages without a clear sightline probably will be used only by a few locals who are familiar with the route. So, just by observing we may learn that the presence of commerce is not necessary related with either the type or its contribution to the urban circulation, but more the way the passage is designed between two points. On the one hand if it is poorly positioned, the passageways can still be a publicly-used space if it introduces attractions or anchors. On the other hand, if it is faster than the commonly used paths, but lacks good accessibility cannot invite the public by large. This is what we can see in many other cases, also if we follow Saint Denis - Saint Martin and approach the city centre. Here most passages have a brighter future in terms of-street trade. The narrow but lively Passage du Ponceau has been rehabilitated most recently.[248] The glassing of the roof has been done in a minimal way, without iron beams or obtrusive ornamentation. The facades are eclectic, from Neo to Modern. Today, it is the place for fashion stores which are unable to get a spot in the old Passage du Caire across the street.[249] Both interiors are lively and used by pedestrians to cross the building block, but it is also, perhaps mainly, the spot for vogue designers and trendy customers. The centre is more a mixed neighbourhood. Here most passages give room to shops of craftsmen, artists, designers and decorators. Some of those passageways obviously remember us to ancient alleys in Paris; others are true representatives of the new era, combining Neoclassicism and Cast-Iron. The narrow outdoor Passage Basfour, Passage de la Trinité and Passage de l'Ancre are meandrous, recalling images of medieval times, where the hip Passage de Grand-Cerf and Passage Bourg l'Abbé would remind us to bourgeois times.[250] Still about all of passages throughout the city are constructed in the same period. They are part of a wave of private interventions which started not before the eighteenth-century. It is unclear in which year exactly the first so-called *passage* actually appeared. In some cases, close to the ventre, fragments go back in the High or Late Middle Ages.

[245] Originally named Passage du Bois de Boulogne, the passage was created in 1785. In the 1830s, the name Passage du Prado turned up. The passage was roofed by an unknown engineer probably in 1925. The Early Modern or streamlined Neoclassic style of the cast-iron beams is what was shown in Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, inaugurated 28 April in Paris and open to the end of October 1925. In 1930, it was renamed officially Passage du Prado. Renovation started in 2012.

[246] Passage Lemoine was named after someone who was called Mr. Lemoine, one of its former owners. In the past the passage was named Rue du Houssaie, before also Passage Sourdis, and on a plan of 1913, it was named Passage de la Longue Allée. In 1987 also this passage was sanitised.

[247] Passage Sainte-Foy was constructed as Passage Sainte-Marguerite, afterwards also named Passage Aubert, by a Mr. Aubert in 1813. Its staircase, three metres high, was positioned on the slope of the city's fortifications built in the 14th century.

[248] Passage du Ponceau opened in 1826. It was sanitised and changed in 1970. After a fire that occurred in 2003, its then plastic roofing had been entirely destroyed. The French architect and urban designer Olivier Jacques Thin (born 29 June 1966) rebuilt the original glass roof in 2005. Although assumed that the original was constructed in a timber structure, he decided to choose metal instead.

[249] An architect either named Berthier or Prétrelle designed Passage du Caire. It was opened in 1799 and sanitised in 1938. This arcade included the Galerie Saint-Denis, Galerie Cairo and Galerie Sainte-Foy. According to the research of Geist (1969: 261), in 1793 originally two parallel streets were proposed.

[250] Passage Basfour was named Ruelle Sans-Chef in the 14th Century and Ruelle des Bas-Fours until 1881. Passage de la Trinité, the cul-de-sac of the medieval Hôpital de la Trinité is established in the 12th century. The original alleys, formerly entirely occupied by factories, were transformed into passages which officially opened in 1827. Passage de l'Ancre, successively also named Passage de l'Ancre-Royale and from 1792 to 1805 renamed to l'Ancre-Nationale, was always bordered with shops. Passage de Grand-Cerf was designed as one project by 'monsieur Devaux' in 1824 or 1825. The French architect Auguste Lusson (data unknown) built Passage du Bourg-l'Abbé in 1828 between Passage de Grand-Cerf and Passage de l'Ancre. In 1854, the arcade lost its eastern end to make way for Boulevard Sébastopol, planned by Haussmann (see Book 2). The French architect Jean-Henry Blondel, known as Henri, (20 January 1821 – 15 September 1897) designed the new entrance on Rue Palestro in 1863.

For example, Passage de la Trinité was initially constructed as an old 'clos' or cul-de-sac in the 12th century. It led to the entrance of Hôpital de la Trinité and, at that time, it wasn't yet a passage, more a dead-end.[251] Nearby Passage Basfour was known since the 14th Century. Similarly it started under the name of Cul-de-Sac Sans-Chef. When it was enlarged to a passageway, it was known as '*ruelle*', French for small '*rue*', before it was renamed '*passage*'. These kinds of back-alleys had often been places of merchants, artisans, and the trade of goods. So, it could have been that in the popular speech some of these spaces were called passage already for decades, but it might be more likely that the name-giving started with the emergence of passageways in the city.

In 1693, four commissioners were assigned to control alterations or displacements of the roads. These commissioners would have all the rights, relevant to the roadworks, in all "*rués, ponts, passages, quays, halles, marchez & autres lieux publics*" of the city and its suburbs.[252] As such, passage came to the vernacular officially. With the increase of their importance and the desire to regulate public space, passageways became part of the scope of City officials as well as others. In the 1779, one could find the notion 'passage' for the first roughly defined as a space which was present in a great variety and which 'run of-roads behind the streets of Paris'.[253] (Felibien and Lobineau 1725: 427; Hurtaut 1779a: 779 and 1779b: 488) Yet, years before the design of the interior passages along Rue Saint Denis and Rue Saint Martin, an interior variant was established in the gardens of the Palais-Royal.[254] Clarifying its early days to greater extend helps to understand the fundamental basis of the interior type. It does the more because these were the years of Enlightenment, just on the eve of the French Revolution, which, as set forth in Book 2, were crucial moments in the transformation of public space.

Figure 4.1.5.
Passage Vendôme, Passage du Desir, Passage Brandy, Passage Prado, Passage du Caire, Passage de l'Ancre, Passage Bourg l'Abbe, Passage du Grand Cerf, 2005

[251] The hospital was removed in 1790. Its neighbouring church was demolished in 1817.

[252] Enlightened historians referred to a document of 15 June 1693. (Felibien and Lobineau 1725: 427)

[253] "Passages (les différens) voy[er] après les rues de Paris" (Hurtaut 1779a: 779)

[254] The French architect Jacques Lemercier (c.1585 – 13 January 1654) designed Palais-Royal from 1622 on. It was completed in 1629. Originally, the palace was the home of Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal-Duke of Richelieu and Duke of Fronsac (9 September 1585 – 4 December 1642). Therefore it used to be called the Palais-Cardinal.

Chapter 2 Galerie de Bois: Transforming Public Space

While in many Western cities the upcoming middle class gained power, size and influence on the streets by the expansion of commerce, trade and the market economy, in the political arena the class of the nobility was upholding the royal interest. Also in the French capital of the 1780s, the nobility, especially the court, continue to dominate the range of action and the knowledge affecting the nation as a whole. It can be considered as a remainder of the medieval times. In general at that time, the aristocrats were not willing to share their political and social influence with the bourgeoisie.[255] – This is generally known. – An exemplary exception was Louis Philippe II, the duke of Orléans.[256] Against the current, he favoured the bourgeoisie. He invited them as his companions. This was rather unique, because with his attitude he broke down walls in the public, socially; bridging to the new middle class, and physically; opening up his palace. Unquestionably, he was part of the Parisian nobles. Already for generations his family, the House of Bourbon, had a prominent place amongst royalty: some of his ancestors were kings, his grant-father was regent during the minority of Louis XV, and he was the grant nephew of the present king. Nevertheless, Louis Philippe acted differently. He was popular amongst the rising class, who caressing called him Philippe Égalité. Typically for artists and intellectuals in the Age of Enlightenment, he too favoured a more liberal course. For example, he supported recalling the parliament to plans to uphold the royal interest, he connected with the riots of 1775 and in 1789 he circulated in every area of jurisdiction the famous pamphlets of political protest advocating popular sovereignty.[257] He advocated a broader social participation in advantage, profit, and responsibility. The actions of Louis Philippe lacked in family support. It put him aside of the family and rarely anymore he was part of the sphere of royal representation (Alison 1847-48). His personal background was an amplifier to his actions. He preferred small, almost bourgeois-like, social gatherings. Perhaps he had to. Although his life style was not one of bourgeois prospect, it was also not one of noble wealth anymore: His financial situation was suffering from unlucky speculations and gambling dept. Thus to improve his own unfortunate situation and in a favour to the bourgeoisie, Louis Philippe planned a remarkable redevelopment on the premises of his palace. His political preferences, his personal background and his financial situation; it all gained momentum in a transformation affecting the public space also physically. The duke of Orleans opened up the royal premises for the bourgeoisie! Not for a feast or a party, but by developing new middle class apartments and shops around his garden, he transformed his private space from a place of noble parties to a place of bourgeois gathering. (Geist 1970: 452) Of course the trade profits of this transformation would pay off his debts, but still it can be seen as the first beacon in the process of losing the royal court's central position of the public

[255] The French word bourgeois evolved from the Old French word '*burgeis*', meaning an inhabitant of a town (cf. Middle English '*burgeis*', Middle Dutch '*burgher*' and German '*Bürger*'). The Old French word '*burgeis*' is derived from '*bourg*', meaning a market town or medieval village, itself derived from Late Latin '*burgus*', meaning fortress. (Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 110)

[256] Louis Philippe II Joseph d'Orléans (13 April 1747 – 6 November 1793) was Duke of Chartres, later Duke of Orléans. He was popularly called Philippe Égalité, yet eventually executed.

[257] The French abbey Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (3 May 1748 – 20 June 1836) had written the pamphlet 'Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?' in January 1789 at the request of Louis Philippe II.

sphere. Something, Habermas imputes to the son of the other Louis Philippe[258], the later King of the French. (Habermas 1962: 44) - Of course, both members of the family play a role on a scale of gradually.

In 1786, the duke contracted the architect Victor Louise to make design proposals for this plan.[259] Close to the life-style of the bourgeoisie, the architect designed shops under the apartments. These shops would be located along an open arcaded space with fashionable peristyles along the facade surrounding the palace garden. Additionally, he designed a bazaar in the middle of the garden connecting both sides and completing a circular route. It would be the Walhalla for the bourgeoisie. Most likely, the idea to design also a bazaar here was inspired by numerous travel reports of Europeans, who had gone on a journey to the Ottoman and Persian Empires, to Arabia, Levant, Egypt and for example the Barbary Coast. Several of them had close ties with the French court. Jean Thévenot, for example, who had compared the bazaars of Constantinople with the grandeur of the Palace in Paris, was familiar the French court from the inside, because his nephew was a librarian of the Royal Library. Most likely, he introduced the travel report to the collection. Laurent d'Arvieux, who years later travelled through the orient too, became influential to the court due to his journeys. After his return, the King appointed him Consul in Algiers, followed by a similar position in Aleppo. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a larger flow of common tradesmen would return from the French neighbourhood in Tunis. Probably they added to the descriptions of the many present bazaars.[260] Especially during the rise of the traders' class, knowledge on the bazaars became common. Jacques Savary, the French Royal Inspector General of the Manufactures at the Paris Customs, included descriptions of bazaars in his universal dictionary on commerce and

[258] Louis-Philippe III d'Orléans (6 October 1773 – 26 August 1850) ruled as Louis-Philippe I King of the French from 1830 to 1848. During Revolution he was also known as Citoyen Chartres or Égalité fils. He died two years after his escape to England.

[259] Victor-Nicolas Louis (10 May 1731 – 2 July 1800) was a French architect.

[260] See Book 5: Jean de Thévenot (16 June 1633 – 28 November 1667) was a pioneering French traveller, who wrote extensively about his journeys. He was a nephew of naturalist and cartographer Melchisédech, or Melchisédec, Thévenot (1621 – 29 October 1692), the Royal Librarian to King Louis XIV (5 September 1638 – 1 September 1715). Laurent, Chevalier d'Arvieux (21 June 1635 – 3 October 1702) was a French traveller, trader and so-called orientalist. As advisor on the manners of the Ottomans, he was also involved in the development of 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme', a play by the French playwright and actor Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, better known by his stage name Molière, (baptised 15 January 1622 – 17 February 1673) and his partner, the Italian-born French composer Giovanni Battista Lulli, better known as Jean-Baptiste de Lully (28 November 1632 – 22 March 1687). This play premiered on 14 October 1670 before the French court.

[261] Jacques Savary des Brûlons (1657 – 22 April 1716) was the French Royal Inspector General of the Manufactures at the Paris Customs. His brother Louis-Philémon Savary (1654 – 20 September 1727) a French abbot published the work posthumous. The larger part of the work had been translated into English for the first time in 1751 and into German a year later.

Figure 4.2.1.
The construction of Galeries de Bois in the gardens of Palais Royale, 1784-1786

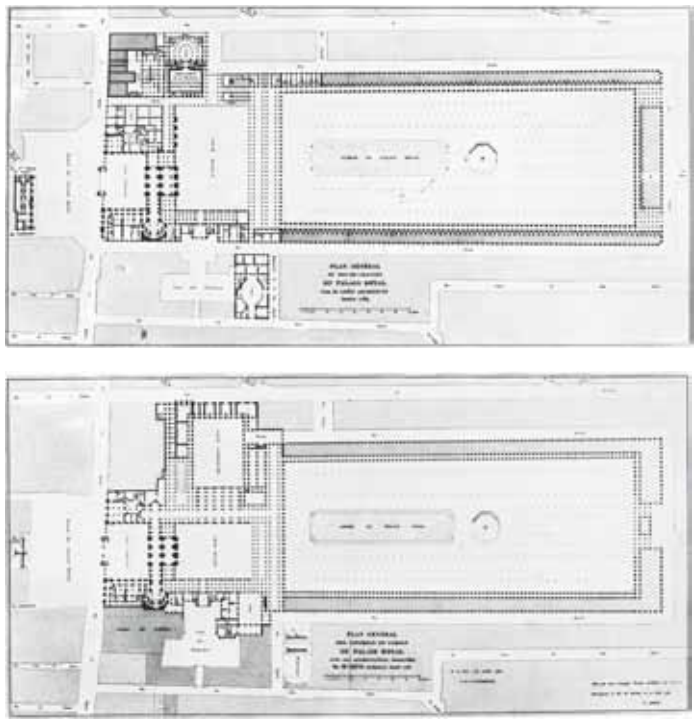


Figure 4.2.2.
Design for Galerie du Bois in 1781 as redrawn by Pierre Fontaine, 1837

foreign trade.[261] He described a bazaar as a "place for trade among the Orientals, particularly among the Persians". Some were covered with high vaults, pierced by kinds of domes, giving daylight. It would be in the latter, where dealers would have their boutiques, selling the most expensive goods, like jewellery, rich fabrics, silverware, and other similar things. New travel reports in the same line, confirming this, were made by people close to the Orléans family. The most exemplary one was the work of Constantin François Volney,[262] who was a contemporary and eminent orientalist and again well known at court. In 1789, he would join Louis Philippe in the Estates-General. A few years before, he had written elaborately about the '*bazar ou marché couvert*', which he had seen them in several cities on his trip. (Savary and Savary 1723i: 313; 1723ii: 815, 995; Volney 1787i: 230 and 1787ii: 209 and 247) Typically for the early years of Orientalism - with a sense of curiosity - the text fragments give detailed descriptions of the Arabic bazaar. It therefore might not be remarkable that the designs of Victor Louis would aim to resemble the bazaar in many ways. Especially, his first drawings presented a true European simulacrum. The small boots and long interior could resemble the descriptions of the bazaar abroad. Yet, the architectural style would have been far from an exact replica of one of them. Thus most surely, without seeing one of them ever, the design only glimpsed the idea of the originals. It could have been interesting in the development of the bazaar type. However, these first design sketches never were realised, because part of the palace had burned down before ground works could have been started. While the design process was continuing, the assignment was expanded. In a new design, the complex should include a new theatre, as the old Salle d'Opera was destroyed; and, perhaps more significantly, it had to reconstruct large parts of the palace. Louise

[262] Constantin François de Chassebœuf de La Giraudais, Comte de Volney, called Volney (3 February 1757 – 25 April 1820) was a French philosopher, historian, orientalist, and politician. He had created the name of Volney as a contraction of Voltaire and Ferney. Volney embarked on his journey to the East in late 1782 and reached Ottoman Egypt were he spent nearly seven months. Thereafter, he lived for nearly two years in Greater Syria in what is today Lebanon and Israel/Palestine in order to learn Arabic. He returned to France in 1785 where he spent the following two years compiling his notes and writing his Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, which was published in 1787, and Considérations sur la guerre des Turcs et de la Russie in 1788. After the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, he became a member of the Estates-General, where he became colleague of Louis Philippe II. Later he continued his membership as representative in the National Constituent Assembly.

lengthened the bazaar, in such a way that it could connect streets on both sides of the royal premises. This was the real breakthrough in the typological evolution, both figurative and literal. By means of a '*bazaar*', the designer established an important short-cut through the city block. As such, it became an indoor *passage* through the large palace. In the urban context, the pseudo-bazaar would function like the existing outdoor passageways in Paris, but then covered. Yet differently, in its design, it would have more grandeur; 'palace like' Thévenot could have said, aiming to be 'a monument of pure vanity' Volney could have added. (Thévenot 1665: 50, Volney 1783-85: 247) In juxtaposing concepts a new type of interior public space was born: a covered passageway though the building block.

The design was part of a prestigious plan: redeveloping the gardens, adding a bazaar and rebuilding the west wing. It was perhaps too prestigious for a man in financial need. Soon the realisation of parts of the plan was postponed. The bazaar-like structure was included, but "thanks to the greed and speculation of a wasteful prince", this soon was replaced by a poor wooden structure. Thus, "the history of the arcade began with a provisional structure, a building without an architectural plan, without any direct model." (Geist 1969: 257) In light of the same oriental travel reports describing bazaars also as places of lively and successful trade; what better solution could be given to Louis Philippe? He did not have to realise the rich and monumental gallery which the architect envisioned as the Parisian variant of the bazaar. Instead on the proposed spot, he could erect plain wooden galleries, a structure mainly serving as trade place. This structure was called ironically Galeries de Bois, just like it was. No Galerie des Glaces[263] for Philippe Égalité. Instead, an auquatint of Philibert-Louis Debucourt and related painting of Jean François Bosio reveal that it was a plain wooden gallery with simple open boots on the side.[264] The only embellishment, according to Bosio, seems to be the pseudo Papyriform capitals on the wooden columns. They

[263] The Galerie des Glaces or Grande Galerie, was also known as Hall of Mirrors. It was part of the third building campaign of Louis XIV, who ruled as the flamboyant King of France. It was designed as the central gallery of the Palais de Versailles by the French Baroque architect Jules Hardouin-Mansart (16 April 1646 – 11May 1708).

[264] The French painter and engraver Philibert-Louis Debucourt (13 February 1755 – 22 September 1832) made the aquatint 'The Palais Royal-Gallery's Walk, Promenade de la Gallerie du Palais Royale' in 1787. Coloured copies are in possession of several museums, among which Musée Carnavalet in Paris. The referred painting of 1798, is made by Monegasque-French painter Jean François Bosio (17 June 1764 – 6 July 1827) and is currently in position of the Musée Marmottan Monet in Paris.

Figure 4.2.3.
Galerie du Bois 1786, reprint of the 1900s

Figure 4.2.4.
Painting called Promenade de la Galerie du Palais-Royal, 1798, by Philibert-Louis Debucourt (13 February 1755 - 22 September 1852

include a simplified variant of the wand of the Greco-Egyptian god Hermanubis, which might symbolise commerce and travelling.[265] The columns divided the shops. Written sources reveal that the project was composed by a triple range of those boots forming two galleries, each about twelve feet high. The interior presented shops of any kind, despite the budget-cuts and simplified design. From a distance, the space did give the idea of Egypt and Persia, as at the time the architect Jacques-Guillaume Legrand and critic Charles-Paul Landon put it.[266] (Debucourt 1787, Bosio 1798, Legrand and Landon 1806: 36)

Nevertheless, within a few years the oriental experience faded. The trade kept being present, but the public would not keep glorifying the interior space. More, they rather would describe the passage galleries in terms of dirty, small and far from luxurious. In an understatement, Honoré de Balzac, a popular novelist and playwright, portrayed these wooden galleries, as one of the outstanding curiosities of Paris.[267] He talked about a kind of hot-house void of flowers, which had appeared in the palace garden. "Shanties, or more exactly wood huts, poorly roofed, small, dimly lit on the court and garden side by lights of sufferance which passed for windows but which in fact were mote like the dirtiest kind of aperture found in taverns beyond the city gates". Some decades later, Théodore Muret wrote also that the inside was dirty, while the structure was of poor technical quality and the exterior was falling apart.[268] "The shops drawing their light from the garden and court were hedged round with little fences of green trellis-work, perhaps in order to prevent the mob from rubbing against and demolishing the walls of crumbling plaster and rubble with which the shops were backed", as he put on paper. Nevertheless, the space was ongoing popular and crowded; "Shops sited in the centre looked out on to the two galleries, from which they borrowed their pestilential atmosphere and whose roofing allowed only a little light to filter through invariably dirty window-panes. These bee-hive cells had acquired so high a price thanks to the crowds which came there that, in spite of the pinched proportions of some of them – scarcely six feet wide and eight to ten feet long – they commanded a rent of three thousand francs a year." Despite the poor spatial qualities, the commercial intentions of Louis Philippe worked somehow. The bourgeois came along and enjoyed shopping. People came from all over to crowd into this place, also Muret underlines that the arcade was "nothing short of magnificent". The bourgeois public strolled between the rows of shops that would seem like "mere booths compared to those that have come after them". (De Balzac 1839: 133-152, Muret 1865: 225-226):

> "... A cette époque, les Galeries de Bois constituaient une des curiosités parisiennes les plus illustres. Il n'est pas inutile de peindre ce bazar ignoble; car, pendant trente-six ans, il a joué dans la vie parisienne un si grand rôle, qu'il est peu d'hommes âgés de quarante ans a qui cette description incroyable pour les jeunes gens, ne fasse encore plaisir. En place de la froide, haute et large Galerie d'Orléans, espèce de serre sans fleurs, se trouvaient des baraques, assez mal couvertes, petites, mal éclairées sur la cour et sur le jardin par des jours de souffrance appelés croisées, mais qui ressemblaient aux plus sales ouvertures des guinguettes hors barrière. Une triple rangée de boutiques y formait deux galeries, hautes d'environ douze pieds. Les boutiques sises au milieu donnaient sur les deux galeries dont l'atmosphère leur livrait un air méphitique, et dont la toiture

[265] It could be identified as an Egyptian symbol, because in the pseudo-oriental design the symbol is combined with a column baring a somewhat abstract Egyptian capital variation. In fact, the most recognizable form is a simplified variant of the sacred 'caduceus' of the Roman god Mercury, being the patron of commerce. He was identified with the Olympian god Hermes, who held in his left hand a similar '*kerykeion*' (κηρύκειον). Hermes shared his role as a divine messengers and traveller with the god Iris, who carried the same staff. In the late period of Ancient Egypt, mythological images of the god Hermanubis combined symbols of Hermes, like the herald's staff, with those of the jackal head of god Anubis.

[266] Jacques-Guillaume Legrand (9 May 1768 – 10 November 1808) was local French architect and historian and Charles Paul Landon (12 October 1760 – 5 March 1826) was a French painter and popular writer on art and artists.

[267] Honoré de Balzac (20 May 1799 – 18 August 1850), born Honoré Balzac, was a nineteenth-century French novelist and playwright.

[268] Théodore César Muret (24 January 1808 – 23 July 1866) was a French playwright, historian and essay writer.

laissait passer peu de jour a travers des vitres toujours sales. Ces alvéoles avaient acquis un tel prix par suite de l'affluence du monde, que malgré l'étroitesse de certaines, à peine larges de six pieds et longues de huit à dix, leur location coûtait mille écus. Les boutiques éclairées sur le jardin et sur la cour étaient protégées par de petits treillages verts, peut-être pour empêcher la foule de démolir, par son contact, les murs en mauvais plâtras qui formaient le derrière des magasins." (De Balzac 1839 : 133-134)

"... les Galeries de Bois. Ces galeries, qui ont disparu de 1828 à 1829 pour faire place à la galerie d'Orléans, étaient formées par une triple ligne de boutiques peu luxueuses, et consistaient .en deux allées parallèles, couvertes en toile et en-planches, avec quelques vitrages pour donner du jour. On y marchait tout simplement sur la terre battue, que les fortes averses transformaient quelquefois en boue. Eh bien ! on venait de toutes parts se presser dans cet endroit qui n'était rien moins que magnifique, entre ces rangées de boutiques qui sembleraient des échoppes en comparaison de celles qui leur ont succédé. Ces boutiques étaient occupées principalement par deux industries, ayant chacune leur genre d'attrait. Il y avait force modistes, qui travaillaient sur de grands tabourets tournés vers le dehors, sans qu'aucune glace les en séparât, et leur mine fort éveillée n'était pas, pour certains promeneurs, le moindre appât du lieu. Puis, les. Galeries de Bois étaient le centre de la librairie nouvelle. Les étalages à découvert permettaient aux amateurs d'ouvrir et de parcourir les livres exposés, et si quelques mains indélicates trompaient la surveillance des commis, ces petits impôts étaient bien compensés par l'attraction et par la vente." (Muret 1865 : 225-226)

Figure 4.2.5.
"La Maison de Jeu", 1815, a watercolour from Georg Emanuel Opiz (4 April 1775 - 12 July 1841)

The attraction was present, especially at first, and by cutting through the block circulation from the west of the city to the east was improved. This was its major asset. In its west wing a new theatre had opened and in the east the Galeries de Bois linked the city's central marketplace, both major bourgeois centres.[269] From the viewpoint of public space its design was as revolutionary as the time period in which it was created. The ten years after Louis Philippe spread the question '*Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*', the installation of the National Assembly and the storming of the Bastille, urban life had changed radically. In ten years, all over Paris arcades would appear. They imitated the success of the wooden predecessor. The new born arcade type was adopted *en mass* by the group who got in power after the French Revolution of 1789. The bourgeoisie could enjoy and exploit their freedom in these arcades. After assassination of the owners and by the deprivation of former exclusive ownership, noble real estates in the inner city became available for the bourgeoisie to develop. Generally, bankers and businessmen, who had become wealthy through stock speculation and trade, built on these grounds. Noblemen, who were not persecuted, tried to keep up with the life style of the new era. Similar to the duke, elsewhere in the inner city, they exploited their gardens and inner courtyards and built arcades too. In this way, they could require considerable sums by leasing the shops and apartments, more than the steady revenues from their estates, and compensate the gaps in their income. Although there had been a private interest, these projects should be seen also as contributions of the private sector to the expansion of public space.[270] (Geist 1969: 87-90, 256)

[269] The renowned massive glass and iron buildings of Les Halles were built after this date, in the 1854 and by design of the French architect Victor Baltard (9 June 1805 – 13 January 1874).

[270] Some historians today, see these transformations even as first fruits of a governmental speculation on private property, followed by the numerous urban transformations in de nineteenth century. (e.g. Lambert 2002: 8) Although perhaps understandable from out of the economic phenomenology, the conclusion cannot be so straightforward because the 'public' as well as the 'public space' have changed.

Chapter 3 A Need for Public Space

Just after the revolution in 1791, the city's second arcade opened only a few blocks north of Palais-Royale. It was named Galerie Feydeau. Not every public testimonial on the Galeries de Bois described was exalted at that time, but Martin Habert-Thibierge designed this public interior passageway again as '*galerie*'.[271] It was a somewhat more formal label than '*passage*'. (Geist 1969: 278) Commonly nevertheless it was called Passage Feydeau. The design resembled Galeries de Bois in three ways. Firstly, again this arcade was used in the redevelopment of the land owned by nobility. It was part of a design comprising the reconstruction of the premise of Palais du Grand Conseil.[272] Secondly, the first design-drawing showed an arcade unilaterally open to a garden and two courtyards, which is comparable to the peristyles surrounding the palace garden and courtyard, only in miniature. In his second and realised design the shops are placed on both sides of the passage, partly turning their back to the garden and the only left court, more like the galleries in the middle of the palace garden. Thirdly, like its precedent this arcade would link a theatre, which was joined in the back.[273] And that was also its difference. The covered passage was ended dead on the entrance of the theatre. Another passage was running parallel. The so-called Passage des Colonnes, designed by the supervising Neo-Classical architect Nicolas Vestier, did introduce a through-the-block connection, but outdoors.[274] (Geist 1969: 256, 260-261, Lemoine 1989: 109-113) The colonnades in themselves were composed familiar to the old peristyles, created around the palace garden, but by using them along a passageway, they introduced a rudimentary principle for later arcade designs. Also Passage Fedeau did but only for a short time, as it did not last long. With the construction of

[271] Martin Alexandre Habert, also known as Thibierge, (1756 – 17 April 1836) was a French architect. Two of his designs were known, those of 1790 and 1791. The arcade was demolished in 1824.

[272] Palais du Grand Conseil was located on the former Rue des Filles Saint-Thomas. Here was also the entrance of the arcade.

[273] Theatre Feydeau housed Opéra Comique National.

[274] Most probably, the French architect Nicolas Jacques Antoine Vestier (25 May 1765 – 4 April 1816) supervised Habert-Thibierge. He designed Passage des Colonnes between 1793 and 1795. By an ordinance of 4 May 1826, known as 'Arrêté pris l'Administration centrale du Département par le 26 Vendémiaire an VI', the passageway was renamed as street, but by remaining private propriety: "Les galeries qui la bordent feront dorénavant partie intégrante de la rue, au moyen de quoi les règlements de voirie seront applicables à ces galeries de même qu'aux autres murs de face sur rue." (Administration Centrale du Département, 1826, 4 May, art. II)

Figure 4.3.1.
Passage du Caire, 2005

Emplacement du Palais de la Bourse the arcade was demolished shortly after its opening.[275]

Different this was for Passage du Caire, the third covered passageway opened in 1798 and the oldest arcade still standing today.[276] Named, with a sense of imperialism, this arcade was designed together with Rue d'Alexandie and Rue du Caire to open up an area housed by printers to the adjoining street dominated by fashion shops. The project was the effectuation of the earliest republican urban plan, reconstituted two years before.[277] A provisional commission of artists, commissioned by the Assemblée Nationale Constituante, had drawn this plan in preparation to reconstruct of the Pariasian road network. Five classes of streets were established, ranging from '*grandes routes*' to '*petites communications*'. The development of each class was strictly regulated.[278] (Commission des Artistes 1797, Geist 1969: 261-262, Pinon and Le Boudec 2004: 82-83) So, in the contrary of the two former arcades, Passage de Caire was the first arcade known as planned from an urbanistic point of view. It was designed to 'change the lines of communication', as a later prospectus on the development of this arcade explained. At this location 'covered passages' would achieve significant new connections, since it was 'impossible to construct new streets in this area' (n.a. 1847, October 20)

Figure 4.3.2.
Le Passage des Panoramas, crayon drawing, early 19th century

> "Projet de deux passages couverts allant de la place du Caire à la rue Beauregard, aboutissant juste en face de la rue Sainte-Barbe, et faisant communiquer la rue Bourbon- Villeneuve avec la rue Hauteville: Messieurs, Depuis longtemps nous nous préoccupons de l'avenir de ce quartier, nous souffrons de voir des propriétés si près du boulevard être bien loin de la valeur qu'elles devraient avoir; cet état de choses changerait si l'on ouvrait des voies de communication, et comme il est impossible de faire des rues en cet endroit, à cause de la trop grande différence du niveau du sol, et que le seul projet pratiquable est celui que nous avons l'honneur de vous soumettre, nous espérons, Messieurs, qu'en qualité de propriétaires ... vous voudrez bien nous honorer de votre concours et de votre adhésion ... Chaque adhérent sera tenu à un versement de 5 francs par chaque action de 250 fr. qu'il voudra avoir dans la société définitive. Aussitôt la réalisation d'un capital de 3000 francs cette souscription provisoire sera fermée, la dite somme étant dès à présent jugée suffisante." (n.a. 1847, October 20)

Like many of the older outdoor passageways, Passage Feydeau, outdoor Passage des Colonnes and Passage du Caire had been designed in the old medieval urban fabric, the 'ville spontanée' still characteristic for the larger part of Paris today. (see E.G. Kostof 1991: 43) These public interiors as well as the older outdoor passageways were moulded on this original organic-grown pattern, an extremely irregular pattern of roads filled with loaded wagons, carriages, small carts, horses and people at the end of the eighteenth century. The passages or arcades, constructed on the private premises, both exterior and interior, were able to provide pedestrians a different path. Whereas Passage Feydeau was designed more or less in imitation of the first arcade, without clearly providing a short-cut, Passage de Caire was. It intentionally created a small communication route, aimed to improve urban circulation especially for the pedestrian. Of course the contribution to the network was on modest scale – it introduced only a small connection –, but the design transformed the public space of a centuries-old unplanned city. In that way, it provided improvements in the network of

[275] Emplacement du Palais de la Bourse was constructed in 1809 and reconstructed in 1824, demolishing part of Le Colonnes, and 1934. It is now named Place de la Bourse.

[276] Each covered passageway is called 'galerie', but officially the whole project was named 'passage'.

[277] Officially the plan was reconstituted on 23 March and 10 September 1796 by the joint assembly of the Councils of the Civil Building and of Bridges and Road Construction. The map referred to the dates of '3 Germinal' and '24 Fructidor' in the year 'IV', which were of the French Republican Calendar, used by the government from 1793 to 1805.

[278] The city plan was known under name 'Plan indiquant les Rues Projétées par la Commission des Artistes, en Circulation de Loi du 4 Avril 1793, pour la Division des Grandes Propriétés Nationales, l'Embellissement et d'Arrondissement de la Commune de Paris'. The local French architect Charles De Wailly (9 November 1730 – 2 November 1798) was among the committee members Several times this plan had been redrawn, for example in 1797, on the 'Atlas du Plan Général de la Ville de Paris, Levé Géométriquement', drawn by the French architect architect Edme Verniquet de Châtillon (10 October 1727 – 24 November 1804).

public space decennia before the grand plan of Georges Eugène Haussmann, the prefect of Paris.[279] Of course in a time where the ideals of the Enlightenment slowly were rationalised, it helped that these projects also housed successful bourgeois commerce. Or, as an early travel guide of that time recommended; they deserved 'the public attention', just because of the beauty of shops. (Villiers 1809: 270) In a need for new public space and more urban connections, and to fulfil a demand for extra trade space, the concept was soon copied again and again. Most arcades constructed after Passage du Caire shared the same purposes and although they have been constructed without any form of governmental stimulant, within a few decades the bourgeoisie had embraced the concept of an arcaded passageway.

One would find many more arcades in Paris. They appeared near the redesigned Boulevard Montmartre or other new or renewed streets and squares.[280] Often they linked the old main arteries and the grand boulevards and avenues with old places of trade and exchange. The newer passageways, now in the form of an arcade, were created mainly in the neighbourhoods of the Grand Boulevards and Palais-Royale, west of Saint Denis and Saint Martin. They were designed in series forming a system and they were always 'arched' and roofed with glass, thus interior. Their designs were more monumental, longer and higher than the previous generation of arcades and they would create a larger system. This system starts in the north with the Passage Jouffroy and Passage Verdeau, designed by respectively François Destailleur with Jean-Louis de Bourge and Prosper Deschamps.[281] These arcades led the pedestrian from the ancient Rue du Faubourg Montmartre,[282] one of the other older northern arteries, directly to the one of the main boulevards running in east-west direction. The interior system continued on the other side of the boulevard, where it faced the somewhat older – but later extended – Passage des Panoramas. In fact, it gave entrance to a maze of arcades within the larger building block. Next to the main arcade, one could continue a walk through a second Galerie Feydeau, as well as Galerie des Variétés, Galerie Montmartre and Galerie Saint-Marc formed. All designed under supervision of the American entrepreneur William Thayer, with help of country fellowman Robert Fulton, and the locals Louis Daguerre and Jean-Louis Grisart.[283] Here, arcade system interconnected Boulevard Montmartre to Rue du Faubourg Montmartre and Rue Vivienne, leading to the exchange. Also these arcades had been developed on the premises of an aristocrat, to be precise the Duc of Montmorency.[284] Although the maze-like addition to the arcade system was composed out of smaller covered passageways, their appearances continued a kind of gallery-like sphere. Among others being lit by gas in 1816 before any other street in Paris, these arcades were usually crowded with people too.[285] Bookstores, wineries, jewelleries and many boutiques kept the people occupied. Bistros, restaurants and a hotel were urban hides-away. They were oases of calmness in one of the most animated districts of Paris. To a certain degree the previous Passage Feydeau had formed a prelude to this much larger system of arcades as it used to be located close by, in the same Bourgeois quarter. (Galignani 1827: 302) It was another example of a redevelopment of noble property in a neighbourhood filled with traders.

[279] See Book 2.

[280] They cross Boulevard Montmartre, which was part of the ancient fortifications and bastions and which was opened already in July 1676. In 1826, it was redesigned. Haussmann started his work in 1852. He extended the boulevard after with the present Boulevard Haussmann, between 1857 and 1862.

[281] The French architects and brother-in-laws François Hippolyte Destailleur (23 March 1787 – 15 February 1852) and Holland-born Jean-Louis Romain de Bourge, or Debourge, (1810 – 1846) designed Passage Jouffroy and the architect Jacques Prosper Marie Deschamps (12 August 1790 – 1881) designed Passage Verdeau, in respectively 1845-1846 and 1846. In both, the construction firm was Letuc, Travers and Roussel.

[282] Rue du Faubourg Montmartre was the main road from this 'faubourg' to the abbey of Montmartre. Its origin went way back, as it was generally known that 'Mons Martis' was used to be the place of a temple dedicated to Mars in the Roman era.

[283] The Passage des Panoramas was developed between 1799 and 1800 under supervision of the American-French builder, and entrepreneur James William Thayer (1765 – 10 May 1835). He financed the project with compensation paid by the French government after the loss of his ship in 1798. The American marine technologist Robert 'Steamboat' Fulton (14 November 1765 - 24 February 1815) was employed to create the panoramas, which gave the arcade its name. Fulton had arrived in Paris in 1794 after a long stay in London. He would stay for ten years in France and he returned to the United States in 1806, after another stay in London and a sojourn in Holland. The French artist and decorator Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (18 November 1787 – 10 July 1851), famed for his dioramas, had also been accredited to the panorama. In 1834, still under supervision of Thayer, the local French architect Jean-Louis Victor Grisart (28 June 1797 – 14 may 1877) designed the additional arcades. He also renovated the old arcade. In 2007 all arcades have been renovated again.

[284] Louis Joseph of Bourbon-Condé, also known as Louis V, Prince of Condé (9 August 1736 – 13 May 1818) fled from France with his son and grandson following the fall of the Bastille in 1789. He owned property along the Boulevard Montmartre, or boulevard Montmarat, constructed in 1676, but as a thoroughfare opened in 1826. Nearby Rue Vivienne had opened in 1784 and was extended to the exchange in 1809 and to the boulevard in 1824. The exchange or Bourse de Paris was designed in 1808 by Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart (15 February 1739 – 6 June 1813) as part of the larger reconstruction.

[285] See also Book 6.

Down the road, half a block south of the exchange, a second part of the arcade system continued. Two L-shaped arcades reconnected the Rue Vivienne, with their entrances facing the national library, to the former royal palace. Bourgeois replaced the nobility and royalty in both places. They were crowded by the merchant classes, which were dominating the public sphere and being the new elite. François-Jacques Delannoy designed Galerie Vivienne and adjoined Passage des Petites Pères on the former site of the stables of the duke of Orleans.[286] Jean Billaud designed the next-door Galerie Colbert on the premises of a former hotel, with a small ruined chapel in its courtyard. This worn-out building used to be owned by the nobility too.[287] Both designs faced a 'monumental popularity' as soon as they had been realised, as said at the time. They competed with each other for 'superiority': Galerie Colbert with his 'admirable series of crystal spheres' was called 'majestic', 'aristocratic to his paces' even in the medium of a district of workers. Galerie Vivienne with the 'good taste of simple ornamentation' was in one word: 'grandiose'. They were perhaps rivals; both arcades again were extremely popular. (Pain and Costa de Beauregard 1828: 36, Kermel 1833: 39)

Figure 4.3.3.
Passage Jouffroy viewed from Passage des Panoramas, 2005

> "En suivant l'ordre de la popularité monumentale, les passages Vivienne et Colbert doivent trouver ici leur place. Ce sont deux frères jaloux, rivaux, envieux, se donnant la main pour se la déchirer, les traîtres! Uniformes par leur parallélisme, ils rejettent tout antre rapport de confraternité; avides l'un et l'antre d'une supériorité qu'ils se contestent réciproquement. Voyez-vous bien! Le passage Vivienne reproche à son confrère l'aristocratie de ses allures au milieu d'un quartier de travailleurs, et celui-ci retorque l'argument, en lui jetant au nez la vulgarité de son goût pour les bas étages de l'industrie. J'aime assez ce dernier reproche. N'allez pas en conclure que je m'établisse juge d'une grave question de préséance, la prétention serait par trop imprudente. Mais j'ai un faible pour le passage Colbert; j'adore le passage Colbert. Je m'extasie devant les élégantes proportions île son architecture composite, devant la majesté de son maintien. J'admire la série régulière de ces globes en cristal, d'où émane une clarté vive et douce en même temps. Ne dirait-on pas autant de comètes en ordre de bataille, attendant le signal du départ pour aller vagabonder dans l'espace? [...] Le passage Vivienne est, sans contredit, le plus fréquenté de tons les passages de la capitale, y compris peut-être celui des Panoramas. C'est en effet le chaînon qui joint aux boulevarts un des quartiers les plus industrieux de la ville. Aucun autre ne se trouve donc mieux placé que lui pour être un foyer brûlant de circulation et d'activité. L'aspect général de l'édifice semble se ressentir de cette destination, car tout y est sévère et positif." (Kermel 1833: 39-40)

Few streets, most having no or open pavement, could compete with Rue Vivienne and its arcades; Passage des Panoramas, where 'people of all the regions of France smoked and strolled', Galerie Colbert, Galerie Vivienne, and Passage du Perron, the next in the series, 'less shining but at least most useful', all could. Together, they were 'like a pretty woman', local journalist Louis Lurine[288] romanticised; but, as Rue Vivienne had been allowing all the whims, it was not certain if they would always obey? It took his imagination: the indoor wood-block paving had been tested; would it last? The arcades were having carpets, but would they have them tomorrow? (Lurine 1844: 117) His rhetoric questions were not common, but retrospectively important, because indeed although at the time the arcades were beloved by the people and used by many,

[286] The former royal property was bought in 1824 by a speculation-company called 'MM. Adam et Cie'. They developed Galerie Vivienne and Passage des Petites Pères on three adjoined parcels. The premises was located on Rue Vivienne, Rue (Neuve) des Petits Pères and Passage de Petits Pères, now Rue de la Banque. The two arcades were designed by the French architect François-Jacques Delannoy (24 October 1755 – 27 July 1835) in 1825. The former outdoor Passage de Petits Pères was constructed in 1777, like many other passages, probably the old entrance building was of the same date.

[287] Hôtel Bautru de Serrant was designed by Louis Le Vau (1612 – 11 October 1670), a French architect. It was constructed between 1634 and 1637 by Guillaumme Bautru de Serrant (1588 – 7 March 1665). He was a diplomatic agent of his neighbour cardinal Richelieu. In 1665 the hotel came into the hands of the Colbert family and thus it was renamed Hôtel Colbert. (Brice 1725: 408-410) It served as office space for several official administrative units since the Revolution. In 1823 Marchoux, president of the Chambre des Notaires, purchased the hotel where he was living and developed Galerie Colbert. This arcade is designed by the French architect engineer Jean Billaud (data unknown) in 1828. Today Galerie Colbert houses Institut National du Patrimoine, Institut National d'Histoire de Art, Ecole Practique des Hautes Études and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

[288] Louis Lurine (1810 – 30 November 1860) was a Spanish-born French journalist, novelist and historian.

on the long run Lurine was right. In the early twentieth century these arcades would come in disgrace and their interiors would turn in a rather quiet mode. The public did not love them any more as they used to do and the arcades were associated with ignominy. (Montorgueil 1926, 22 April)

Nowadays, the monumental arcades are being preserved and renovated, but in difference to its past they are far from crowded. The present owners and restaurateurs have secured their future. The arcades are brilliantly sky-lit as the Neo-Classicist designers intended. Nevertheless, it seems not a much needed public passage anymore. Especially, Galerie Vivienne and the adjoined arcade give access to a small variety of luxury shops for the exclusive visitor, tourist and travelling designer only. It isn't that popular anymore. The L-shape does not help, the more because the two places which have been connected are changed. The main library has moved out of the centre and the palace is not *the* gathering place any more. Consequently, neighbouring Galerie Colbert has even lost its entire commercial function. It has been redesigned as an educational centre. The interior, still publicly accessible, is now being dominated by scholarly activities and presentations behind

Figure 4.3.4.
Arcade Systems in Paris

Figure 4.3.5.
Galeries d'Orléans and Jardin de Palais Royale, 1893, drawn by A. Karl (data unknown)

the glassed facades. Perhaps now they are just pleasantly calm. The ambiance is rather comparable with those arcades laid-out around the palace garden and located directly south of Galerie Vivienne and Galerie Colbert.[289] Usually there are only a few people walking along the specially shops here too. One can buy antiques, collectors items, luxury toys, tobacco, watches, et cetera; goodies for the new cosmopolitan palate. The atmosphere is serene. Only a few people are passing. One may meet some people who are learning Tai Chi Chu or a few others who are jogging silently in circles. As said, in the midst of the garden, one can not find the first arcade anymore.

Already in the 1810s, Galeries de Bois was planned to be demolished and replaced. It was part of large-scale renovation plans made at the time.[290] At that time the Orléans family had been taken over the palace again, after almost two decades of expulsion despite the liberal politics of Louis Philippe. The chief family-member of the family was already guillotined before the forced transfer. Philippe's son and namesake became the new landlord of the poor wooden arcade. Because Victor Louis could never complete his work and because the palace had suffered some damage during the French Revolution, a new architect had to be assigned. Almost as soon as the family had moved back into the palace, architect Pierre Fontaine was taken into employment.[291] He began altering and finishing the original plans. Under the allspices of the next duke of Orléans, the later popular monarch and last king, Fontaine began the restoration of the Palais-Royal. He joined the old peristyles around the garden by means of a new peristyle and he built a stone arcade to substitute the Galeries de Bois. In 1828, the work had progressed far enough so that the old wooden structures could be torn down, thereby making room for the new, elegant, and spacious structure of the Galerie d'Orléans. As soon as the Peristyle de Valois was finished, the construction began. A year later, the arcade was completed. It was attached to the rest of the palatial system of galleries by the Peristyle de Montpensier. The design varied from the pioneering concepts to build arcades. It introduced a tall lateral building guided by colonnades as used in Passage des Colonnes. The client did not want to put the garden in shadow however and he wished to maintain the visual relationship

[289] Passage du Perron, Galerie de Beaujolais, Galerie de Montpensier and Péristyle de Montpensier, Galerie de Valois, Galerie Joinville and Péristyle de Joinville, the remainders of Galerie d'Orléans, Galerie de Chartres, Galerie de la Cour d'Honneur, Galerie des Proues, Galerie du Théâtre Français, and Galerie de Nemours were all designed as part of the Palais Royale, in 1786 by Victor Louis. Jacques Lemercier (c 1585 – 13 January 1654) had designed the courtyard and the original palace garden, which had opened in 1629 and 1648. The French sculptor Daniel Buren (born 25 March 1938) embellished the site in 1986 with his 'Colonnes'.

[290] During the restoration of the monarchy, re-establishing the Bourbon Dynasty to the French throne in 1814, the Orléans family could return to France.

[291] The French architect and interior decorator Pierre François Léonard Fontaine (20 September 1762 – 10 October 1853) designed the plan, which was finished in 1848. He had worked together with his French partner and colleague Charles Percier (22 August 1764 – 5 September 1838).

Figure 4.3.6.
Galerie d'Orleans, 1820s

between the garden and the old palace. It could be discordant to the aimed grandeur, but the roof of the arcade was designed as a continuous glass terrace, a garden on a higher level, accessible only to the Duke. In that way the designer was able to evolve the type in line with the changes introduced in among others Galerie Vivienne and Galerie Colbert. In many ways the new arcade contrasted with its predecessor. This arcade was broad and elegant. Mirrors and marble replaced the wood and piaster and a low valuated glass roof replaced the simple boarded roof frames. The interior was festive and have the entourage of a palace hall such as the descriptions of the bazaar in the travel report of yore. (Geist 1969: 285-287) The public was enthusiast. Ludwig Börne, a German writer who lived in Paris close by, was one of them.[292] He described this arcade in his Pariser Briefer: "The splendour and magnificence of the new Galerie d'Orléans in the Palais-Royal cannot be described in words. I saw it yesterday evening for the first time with gas illumination like sunlight, and I was astonished as one rarely is. The glass alleys which we have seen in the past years, as much as they impressed us, are gloomy cellars or poor attic rooms compared to this. It is a large enchanted chamber, completely worthy of this enchanting people".[293] (Börne 1830, 17 and 28 September)

> "- Die Pracht und Herrlichkeit der neuen Gallerie d'Orléans im Palais-Royal kann ich Ihnen nicht beschrieben. Ich sah sie gestern Abend zum ersten Male in sonnenheller Gasbelichtung, und war überrascht wie selten von etwas. Sie ist breit und von einem Glashimmel bedeckt. Die Glas-Gassen, die wir in früheren Jahre gesehen, so sehr sie uns damals gefielen, sind düstere Keller oder schlechte Dachkammern dagegen. Es ist ein großen Zaubersaal, ganz dieses Volks von Zauberern würdig." (Börne, 1830, 17 September)

On the west the arcade introduced a way to the theatre, on the south it linked the old royal entrance court and on the east of the garden a last part would lengthen the system. Here, Passage Vérité opened to Galerie Véro-Dodat.[294] It was another monumental Neoclassic arcade, which in essence was designed according to the 1793 reconstruction plan, thus aiming to improve the urban circulation. In former days, this arcade led to the city's central marketplace. In

[292] The German political writer and satirist Karl Ludwig Börne, born Loeb Baruch, (6 May 1786 - 12 February 1837) came to Paris, because he was attracted by the new constitutional monarchy created after the French Revolution of 1830 or July Revolution. While enjoying the new freedom, he met the new King of the French several times in the palace during his stay.

[293] It was not only a favourite place for the common people; also the king himself was enjoying the arcade. Börne, critically on the newly established monarchy, saw him appearing on the arcade, where he was welcomed with true cordialness.

[294] A decree of the Executive Power made the Passage Vérité public accessible at 9 March 1799. (19 Ventôse, year VII of the French Republican Calendar) Galerie Véro-Dodat created by the fortuned French butchers Benoït Véro and François Dodat (data unkown), who came from neighbouring ancient marketplace. They bought a mansion on this place in 1819. The arcade opened in 1826 and it was renovated in 1997.

the end, passer-bys could enjoy a clean covered connection, while traders exhibited their goods all along. The majority of the arcades in this system opened between 1822 and 1834. They grouped in an area roughly bounded by Rue Saint-Honoré to the south, Rue du Faubourg Montmartre to the north, Rue du Louvre to the east, and Rue de Richelieu to the west. (cf. Poëte 1925: 373-374) A century of arcades in Paris made perceptible a certain spatial coherence between the arcades. Chains had been formed.
Fundamentally these arcades differed to in their design and in their lay-out to the generally older passageways between and near Rue Saint Denis and Rue Saint Martin. From Passage Jouffroy in the north to those located near Palais-Royale, eventually all had been designed in a grand manner. Most arcades in this system were designed in series, while the arcades in the system along Saint Denis and Saint Martin heterologously were developed parallel to each other. It might be a remarkable difference, but the underlying logics for both kinds of spatial lay-out were quit similar. Both systems interconnected bourgeois centres or routes. In the one case, the important commercial streets Rue Saint Denis and Rue Saint Martin run parallel from the country to the inner-city. All passageways and arcades more or less linked these two. In the other case, the arcades connected the trade area around the exchange building in the north with Boulevard Montmartre and Rue du Faubourg Montmartre, important commercial arteries too, and in the south the royal palace and the marketplace. Both systems seemed to have grown through several city blocks to connect the contemporary hot-beds of the bourgeois. Looking back, consequently it should not be remarkable that the need for high quality public space arose especially in those areas, which were characterised by trade. For the bourgeois society, the markets simply were 'the vast whole of public utility companies', as Alexandre Baudrimont put it.[295] (Baudrimont 1833-41: 14) These areas formed the meeting places of the rising middle class as well as their place of exchange. It was *their* domain.

Figure 4.3.7.
Plans of Passage Colbert (left) and Passage Vivienne, 1969

Looking back, from the view point of public space, the boom of arcades in Paris could only be understood within the context of the French Revolution. Yet, the long term success of the new arcades was related to the imbedding of the arcades within the existing urban network and their supply of publicly accessible space, both fundamentally transforming the network of public space in Paris. Arcades formed clean, paved, luxurious and modern public passageways to shop and to stroll in an unhygienic city. The streets of Paris had been obstructed by heaps of rubbish, dung, and ordure, collecting for years against the walls of some of the houses.[296] (Galignani 1827: iv) If we would look closer, all evidence showed that the state of the outdoor public space in Paris was terrible. While for example Passage du Caire was paved and clean, the surrounding streets were offensive and dirty, as in the early nineteenth century reported: 'People had to jump from stone to stone in the hope to keep their feet dry and they had a continuous fear to be clashed by carts, wagons and carriages'. (Girard 1801: 184, Trollope 1836: 288) Thus, the popularity of the arcades had to be seen as a sign of the sad state of the normal Parisian streets too, as also Spiro Kostof pointed out. In his comparison to Vienna, where shopping streets were pleasant and clean, only one arcade eventually appeared.[297] (Kostof 1992: 230) The interiors of the arcades were relatively quiet

[295] Practicing as a French chemist and physiologist Alexandre Édouard Baudrimont (7 May 1806 – 24 January 1880) had a broad range of scientific interests. He also published works on music theory, geometry, philosophy of science and contemporary industry and commerce.

[296] "The streets of Paris were first paved under Philip Augustus, but until the reign of Louis XIV they were obstructed…" Since that period, they have gradually improved, but still were very dirty during the greater part of the year. The old streets in general were narrow and crooked, but those of modern date were wide and 'handsome'. (Galignani 1827: iv) Philippe Auguste or Philip II Augustus (21 August 1165 – 14 July 1223) was the last King of the Franks from 1180 to 1190.

[297] Between 1856 and 1860, here, the Austrian architect Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel (7 July 1828 - 14 July 1883) designed Freyung Passage, as part of Palais Ferstel, housing also the exchange, the national bank and later the famous Café Central. The German-Austrian sculptor Anton Dominik Ritter von Fernkorn (17 March 1813 – 16 November 1878) added the fountain 'Donaunixenbrunnen' to the interior. It was placed in the hexagonal atrium of the arcade in 1861.

spaces. The old streets were crowded by vehicular traffic. The dirty unpaved roads became easily muddy during the rain, while the arcades stayed clean. These series of interior spaces were a shelter, offering walkers a refuge against the rains and bypassing detours. In each arcade there was at least one cleaning establishment: "In a salon that is elegantly furnished as its intended use permits, gentlemen sit upon high stools and comfortably peruse a newspaper while someone busily brushes the dirt off their clothing and boots." (Von Gall 1845: 22-23) In particular when it rained, they were appreciated. "Here and there they are constructed with great elegance, and in bad weather or after dark, when they are lit up bright as day, they offer promenades – and very popular they are – past rows of glittering shops." (Devrient 1840: 34) Still, from out of the sanitation point of view alone, the rising popularity of the type was not quite obvious. The city struggled already for some ages with its dirt. By the late middle ages human excreta and garbage dominated the streets in overcrowded Paris, then the biggest metropolis of Europe. (Mumford 1961: 549) So, why this type of interior public space did not appear earlier? Again, the need for clean public space in the beginning of the nineteenth century was related to the social context in which this need have risen. Bourgeois literature reflected on the street prowler and the wanderer, and glorified the new phenomenon widely. It took place in the arcades, as some of the fragments above showed, because they were suited to the 'sweet flânerie'. According to Edmond Beaurepaire[298], before, that fashion 'was impossible except in the arcades'. Especially in the monumental arcades, designers had widened the interior space to provide space to stroll along shops next to merely being a utilitarian

[298] Edmond-Claude Lebigre Beaurepaire (23 July 1854 - 12 August 1917) was a French historian and librarian of the City of Paris.

Figure 4.3.8.
Rotonde of Passage Colbert, 1829, steel engraving by Thomas Talbot Bury (17 December 1809 - 19 December 1878) and Joseph Nash (26 November 1809 - 23 February 1877)

pedestrian short-cut. Of all, Galerie d'Orléans was the place to ramble. (Beaurepaire 1900: 67, Smith 1839: 308):

> "There exists in Paris a class of men that their compatriots have denominated "flâneurs." They are persons possessing a certain fixed income, which is of that unfortunate medium, that whilst it just enables them to subsist without working in any way for their livelihood, it gives them ideas above trade, and those engaged it. In fine weather, they turn out for the day, from their lodgings on the sixième, in some street that nobody ever heard the name of, except the man who engraved the map of Paris, and walk about on the boulevards, to look at the shops and the passengers; on wet days, they loiter in up and down in the covered Galerie d'Orleans..." (Smith 1839: 308)

The monumental arcades did not suffer from the problems of the first narrow passages, covered as 'sombre corridors' though the city block and looking like 'shanties' or 'wood huts, poorly roofed, small, dimly lit' and above all in time also 'dirty', 'sad' and 'gloomy'. (Muret 1865: 225-226, Pigeory 1849: 654, Berthet 1854: 362) Monumental arcades could provide an attractive passage which was more than just a short-cut.

Figure 4.3.9.
Passage Vivienne, 2005

Chapter 4 Shifts of Focus

Figure 4.4.1.
Passage du Caire, photo by Eugène Atget (2 February 1857 - 4 August 1927), unknown date

The less attractive pioneering arcades, not offering a strategic short-cut or being part of a system, were gradually changing into inferior spaces and lost the attraction to the larger public. For some arcades this competition was devastating, for the reason that while public life was receding, thievery, gambling, prostitution and robbery was established. Wherever it was possible to access, the royal police force, established after the Restoration, continued to uphold the public order, now also in the arcades. They responded to any public provocation made in the arcades. For instance, they eliminated emerged prostitution in Passage du Caire. Some bourgeois citizens did not accept such interference, especially not from a royal police. In among others Passage du Grand-Cerf, they challenged the police with their republican barricades. (Froment 1829: 60, 225, 265) The later was part of a series of actions proved to be successful: The Restoration fell within a year. However, by reducing royal power, problems in the public sphere were not solved and public life in the arcades was still suffering from crime. Eventually, it appeared also in some of the grand arcades; despite their new aura of imperial coolness. This was unacceptable for the local Bourgeoisie. In the new society, the prevention and detection of crime and the enforcement of laws ought to preserve the good order. Bourgeois values had to be imposed on the city. The merchants were concerned with upholding their reputation specifically in and around the palace gardens. Therefore in 1830 just after the July revolution, giving way to a new constitutionl monarchy, they established a police force to evict the prostitutes and other crime. A few years later they were also able to close the gambling rooms. (Champier and Sandoz 1900: 61, 136) It seemed to work, with a little help. Also respectable women, willingly doing their shopping in the arcade, had come in action too. When, for example, the Palais-Royal was invaded by a 'swarm of practically nude prostitutes', the gaze of the female crowd was turned toward them. (Béraud and Montemont 1839: 207-209) So, if their police was not able to act, the people did so themselves, directly. This approach gave friction in society. It was a time when new public opposition to these kinds of actions rose and popular criticism on the current elite became manifest. The so-called Orléanists and their royal representation had come once again under heavy public attack. "I grant that business at Palais-Royale has had its day; but I believe that this should be attributed not to the absence of streetwalkers but to the erection of new arcades", a historian pleated. (Béraud and Montemont 1839: 205) Indeed, even Galerie d'Orléans could decline as some of the new arcades became more and more popular, like the Passage Jouffroy and Passage Vendeau. The actual problem did not vanish and general social criticism intensified. Again the regime changed radically. Now led by radical republicans and Paris workers, a new government got power in the February Revolution of 1848.[299] During this revolt the palace was once more one mass of barricades. Now guarded with red flags flying, revolutionaries were drinking to the health of the Republic while putting the area in fire.

[299] The revival of the monarchy lasted only eighteen years. The campaign of the February Revolution of 1848 began in July 1847 and broke out in February 1848, when King Louis Philippe abdicated.

During these days, the arcades in this area were taken over. The whole length of Galerie d'Orléans was turned into a hospital for the wounded, and a refuge for the dead. A provisional government formed by the opposition was established nearby, just around the corner outside Passage Vero-Dodat. (St. John 1848: 182) This revolt led to the resignation of the king, with the result that the parliament ended the Orléans monarchy. Ways to control the public order and govern the public space started to alter as soon as Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, the first French president after the Restoration, was elected.[300] Law and order really changed especially when above all, Napoleon III staged a coup d'état and seized absolute powers. Again a replacement of government effected the regulation of the public space. A pragmatic and utilitarian, but authoritarian approach was dominating. In 1853, the emperor commissioned Baron Haussmann to instigate the renowned program of urban planning reforms in Paris. According to Haussmann, Napoleon III was inspired by "what he had seen a good and beautiful during his visits to foreign cities, especially in London". This street pattern of this city had been reorganised some years earlier. Also the focus of Haussmann was on the public way, or '*voie publique*'. Like his client, he admired the new London streets, squares and parks which are for the public use; '*utilité publique*'. (Haussmann 1890iii iv, 133-171, 240-241) With the reconstruction of the city,[301] he also introduced the new official regulations concerning public space. This impacted the public interiors of the arcades and all passageways, courts or cul-de-sacs on private property. On the one hand, he had to govern the arcades similar to other privately-owned real as it was a remainder of bourgeois desires. On the other hand, finally he was able to promulgate egalitarian regulations to control the public order in the publicly-used interior.

To understand this paradoxical approach, I could refer to the general transformations in the Western definitions of public space in the Age of Enlightenment,[302] but doing more just to the case, also the twofold could be explained simply by the use of the local examples and thus the explanation stays rather condense. Since the Revolution of 1789, the city was clearly divided by ownership. The public government was controlling mainly the public property. As a result of this legal demarcation, publicly-used but privately-owned space – if at all in this definition present – became isolated from what was defined as public space. This situation was the direct result of a more fundamental transition in maintaining Parisian law and order during the Enlightenment. Before the French Revolution, the treaty of the police force mentioned twelve fields of intervention, which gather in fact the whole of the action of the State: "religion, morality, health, provisioning, roads and bridges and highways, public buildings, public safety, liberal arts, trade, factories, servants, and the poor". (La Mare 1719: NP) De facto, echoing the broadness of the Roman '*res publica*', the police was empowered to enforce the law and to ensure *public* order, even within the interior. This treaty reintroduced the ancient differentiation between the police force, as an institution, and the department of justice responsible for enforcing federal laws. In difference, the ancestors of this police had the exorbitant capacity to judge 'at once'. By the separation of law keepers and law makers, the police force was no longer judge. They had to maintain the order, even through the legitimised use of force, but they were not allowed to pass sentences on any offender. It was

[300] Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (20 April 1808 – 9 January 1873) was the first President of the new French Republic. After the December coup of 1851 he became emperor Napoléon III, until 1870.

[301] He worked with the French engineers Jean-Charles Adolphe Alphand (26 October 1817 – 6 December 1891), responsible for bridges and roads, and François Eugène Belgrand (23 April 1810 – 8 April 1878), responsible for the construction of water and sewer systems. Jean-Pierre Barillet Deschamps (7 June 1824 – 12 September 1873), also French was responsible for landscape architecture.

[302] See Book 2.

a differentiation related to the ongoing consolidation of the political power in Western Europe. When the political power shifted to the bourgeoisie, the jurisdiction of the police force was limited further. Within the new society, a 'police force' was intended to ensure the protection of the people and goods. The competence of the newborn gendarmerie was exemplary. In 1795,[303] the 'Code des Délits et des Peines' retained a new restrictive definition of the police force: "the police force is instituted to maintain the law and order, freedom, the property, individual safety".[304] (Convention Nationale 1795, 25 October) In their first steps towards constitutional freedom, the bourgeois society focussed on their liberty, their safety *and* their property. These given fields emerged to cover their past problems with noble law and order. Nevertheless, in the new law, the public building was not mentioned explicitly anymore. The governmental focus shifted from the public to the individual wherever it was needed to preserve the right of ownership. If there was a violent attack on the arcade, there was a reason to act if the owner reports this, but if there were criminal activities in the arcade and the owner allows, the range of action was minimal. This reformulation of law created a dilemma, which in its fundament is still present today: Is maintaining the public order, or even the individual safety, in an interior by the police a violation of the owner's right of freedom of

[303] 25 October 1795 corresponded with Brumaire 3th year IV of the Revolutionary Calendar, the date of the law.

[304] Art. 16 literally stated: "La police est instituée pour maintenir l'ordre public, la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté individuelle." (Convention Nationale 1795, 25 October)

Figure 4.4.2.
Passages des Panoramas, 1916, photo by Charles Lansiaux (9 March 1855 - 1922)

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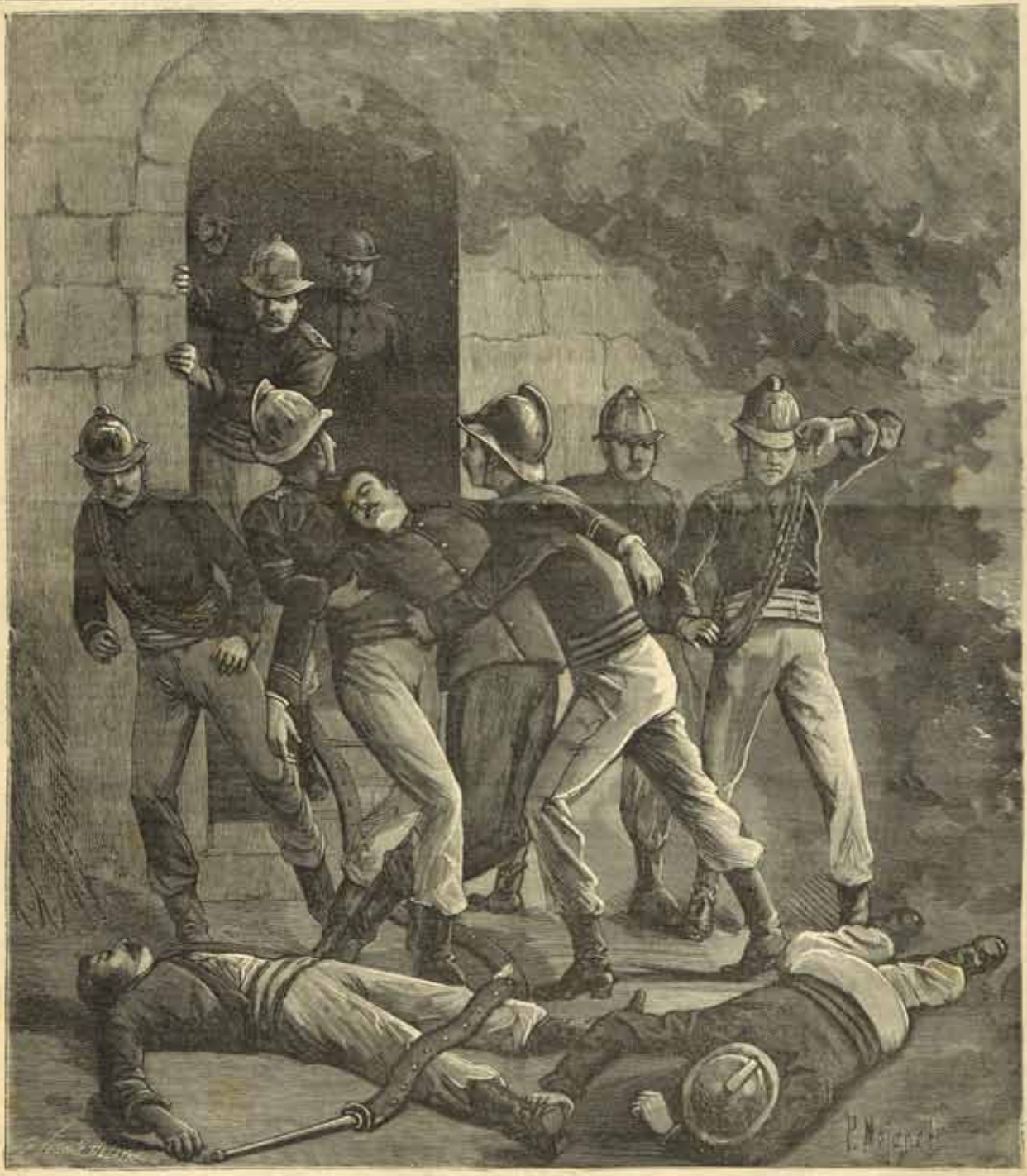


TERRIBLE INCENDIE, PASSAGE DES PRINCES, A PARIS

15 Pompiers blessés

Figure 4.4.3.
Accident at the Passage de Princes, 17 August 1892

action?

In the 1810s under the imperial regime of Napoleon I,[305] the galleries and arcades open to the Parisian public were subject to orders of the police again. Interestingly, the newly established Prefect of Police shifted the focus to the circulation of the public. The police ensured the comfort and safety of the public circulation, given the numerous stalls, storefronts and commercial signs that had been put up by the consent of owners. (e.g. Préfet de Police, 1811, 20 August and 2 March, - 1819, 10 August). Also Haussmann was aware of the juristic limitations in the republic. Being the planner of new public space, his latitude moved to the space in governmental property, which was commonly the outdoor space. He did so because in the public owned space unambiguously the police force was able to take care of the public order. His entire civil project, including new wide boulevards, water supply and sewers, were publicly-owned. The primitives, comprising apartments, shops and the monumental civic or cultural buildings were privately-owned. Yet, then again Haussmann was aware of the role of the Parisian arcades played in the network of public spaces. For him public control by the police service was even so crucial in the management of the public space that he would put his plan for the great roadway system in second, as he stated. (Haussmann 1890ii: 5) As a result of this position, he promulgated legal restriction regulating the public order in the interior of the arcade. In the broader view, it was a modest alteration, but crucial in today's light in which fear for private-ownership dominates the debate on interior public space: the police was allowed to control the arcades. This regulation was statutory for most of the existing cases, rather than for any new. The need for arcades providing clean public space gradually decreased. More and more side-walks were constructed in the existing streets of Paris, while the newly constructed boulevards and avenues introduced spacious walkways and on the long distance also new short-cuts. In a time when strolling was an ongoing popular leisure activity, part of the '*flanerie*' moved from the smaller more sombre or dirty arcades to these clean '*trottoirs*'[306]. (Hurtaut 1779b: 184, Mercier 1781: 44, Trollope 1836: 187-188) During the prefecture of Georges Eugène Haussmann, only one arcade was designed: Passage des Princes[307]. In line with the ordinances of 1810s, the developers of this arcade were authorised to open a transportation route by way of a passage to public, only and explicitly under the condition to subject it to the ordinance and payments within the competence of the administration of the police force. This demand was formulated from the point of view of general circulation as well as safety again.[308] (Haussmann 1860, 3 September)

The popularity, superiority maybe, of the new leisure spaces raised new questions asking if the arcades would still have a future in the city. It is the same doubt raised in the cases of for example Galerie d'Orléans, Galerie Colbert and Galerie Vivienne, even although now public order was established in the arcades. At the Early-Modern time, the rational urbanists and critics seemed to concentrate on the decreasing attraction for the public. Arcades, especially those small in whit and heights, became subject of discussion. For example, should the Passage du Caire be demolished in order to put a circus on the site? (Léautaud 1927, 15 October) But, mostly, if arcades really would be demolished, it was

[305] See Book 4.

[306] These side-walks were constructed firstly to stroll near the river and the fields of Champs-Elysées. In 1673 a '*trottoir*' was constructed of six feet wide along the Quai Pelletier or Quai Neuf, now Quai de Gesvres. (Hurtaut 1779b: 184) From 1770 on, the side-walks were constructed and lanterns were put down to prevent accidents in the overloaded streets of Paris. (Mercier 1781: 44)

[307] Passage des Princes opened in 1860 as Passage Mirès was developed by the French banker Jules Isaac Mathieu Mirès (9 December 1809 – 6 June 1871) in partnership with Napoléon d'Albufera, Count of Suchet (23 May 1813 – 22 July 1877). It was damaged in 1985, and rebuilt with modifications by the French interior architects André Georgel (data unknown) and Polish-born Andrzej or André Mrowiec (born 1940) between 1992 and 1994.

[308] See Art. 1 and 2 of the ordinance.

because of street-widening. Interiors were replaced by exteriors. Passage Saucède, Passage Montesquieu, Passage Lafitte and Passage de l'Opéra[309], all had been direct 'victims' of the new great thoroughfares. The demolished arcades did contribute hardly to the network of public space in terms of short-cut. Thus, it seems natural, that urban professionals and critics at the time emphasised on the most fundamental function of an arcade, namely its contribution to the urban circulation. In this line, even a design like the one of the Passage des Panoramas was seen as strategic, because it was positioned in an extreme hearth of circulation and activity. It was perceived as an important "link which jointed the boulevards with one of the most industrial districts of the city". (Kermel 1833: 40) When Passage des Princes changed from owner just less than a year after its opening, a journalist supporter underlines the great importance of the communication between the arcade and the street, especially in an area of many activities. Like Passage des Panoramas, Passage de Princes should be kept open for everyone. The appeal to attract the pedestrians taking a short-cut was caused by its roofing. In his view, the arcade could be a part of a continues series of passages, which made the walk sheltered, offering to the pedestrian a refuge against the rains while at the same time it could attract people by all splendours of their Parisian shops. 'Each one knows the role arcades play in today's Parisian life', he stated; 'these broad splendid glazed streets, gas and lights decorated and with two rows of shops, spread out seductions of luxury and elegance…' (Vernoll 1861, November) It was a concluding recommendation without following. Passage des Princes was the last covered arcade designed and opened in the nineteenth century. As a result of the large-scale reconstruction and modernisation of Paris some arcades lost their connectivity or attractiveness and they got in decay. New ones wouldn't be necessary for years urban circulation was improved by other means and new commercial activities settled on the avenues and boulevards. For decades no new arcades would be designed in Paris. Planners, which in time had been introduced to the governmental expropriation of private grounds and to the development of public space on the newly publicly-owned space, avoided the privately-owned public space. In the publicly-owned exterior the public order could be controlled by the city government without any extra local political agreements allowing police officers to control there. Thus, as said before in an era of countless unregulated and uncoordinated public and private developments, the best option seemed to be to concentrate on the publicly-owned space to control urbanisation, and in leading internationally pioneering urban theorist would not disagree.[310]

Despite the shift of focus of the Early Modern urbanists to the publicly-owned outdoor space, in the end, thus in the contemporary city, arcades did not become extended. Instead, the Parisian concept had spread around the French cities. Arcades appeared in Amiens, Reims, Nantes, Bordeaux, Lyon, Toulouse, Marseille and many smaller towns across the country. Most of them were built in the time when the monumental arcades in Paris were opening their interiors. So, their dimensions were likewise quit large. (e.g. Lemoine 1989: 197-235) Yet, sooner the concept had moved to Great Britain. In fact, the first arcade outside Paris was designed in London between 1816 and 1818. This so-called Royal Arcade or

[309] The French architect and archeologist Charles François Mazois (12 October 1783 – 31 December 1826) designed Passage Saucède, or Passage de la Croix Blanche, in 1825. He had also been responsible for Passage Choiseul in that year. After his death, Antoine Tavernier (See Book 4) took over the projects and finished them in 1827, and already in 1857 it was partially demolished. In 1847, the French architect Léon Benoit Lehmann (21 March 1828 – 26 April 1898) redesigned the Théatre Comte in Passage Choiseul as the Bouffes-Parisiens. A banker called Lafitte and built Passage Lafitte, originally named Passage d'Artois, in 1824. Passage Montesquieu opened in 1812 and the parallel arcades of Passage de l'Opéra were designed between 1822 and 1823 by François Debret (21 June 1777 – 13 February 1850).

[310] See Book 2.

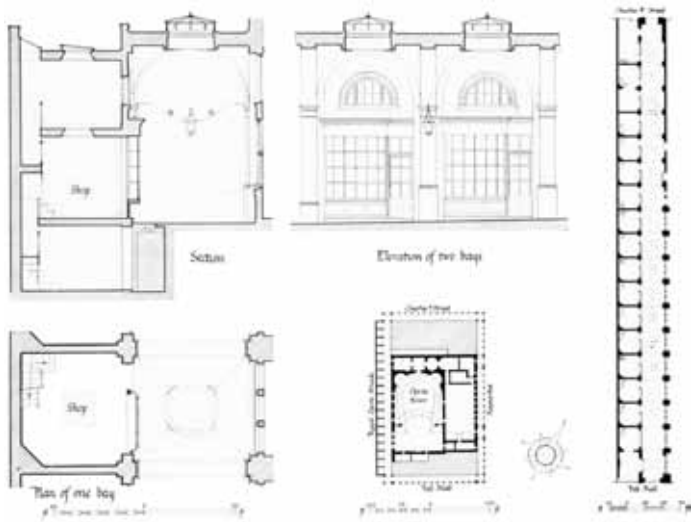


Figure 4.4.4.
Royal Opera Arcade, design drawing by John Nash and George Repton, 1816

Royal Opera Arcade was an interesting narrow arcade. John Nash and George Repton[311] designed it as part of a series of open arcades surrounding the opera: Whereas three arcades ran along the street facades, thus were closed only at the back, one arcade ran through the city block, thus completely indoors. In a Neo-Classical way, together the arcades were surrounding the building as well as, very fashionably, one of them was providing a passageway through the block. Although, the interior arcade was in line with the old Saint Alban's Street, by itself it did not really improve the connectivity, because a detour was short and the route was not very crowded. The design had some resemblance with the early Passage Feydeau and Passage des Colonnes. The British arcaded passageway was also combined with a theatre, its street arcades introduced colonnades too, and stylistically they paired. Yet, urbanistically, it was more interesting, because the design was made under the control of the new street commissioners and thus according to previous designs and arrangements made by Nash. "This was granted on the express condition that the building should be finished so as to form an imposing feature in the metropolis, and that the public should be accommodated to the utmost extend in the new arrangements, and should be convenienced by a covered way round the whole building." To effect these so-called 'improvements', the arcade was part of a larger renovation of the block and a reorganisation of street pattern. (Allen and Wright 1839: 295-296) It was an off-spin of the great Metropolitan Improvements planned in 1806 for the George IV, Prince of Wales[312]. The master plan for the area, including among others Regent Street, was put into action in the same time as the arcade was established. (see Shepherd and Elmes 1827) The arcade in itself was as less a success as those of the Feydeau Theatre. It had no real function in the traffic pattern and it was difficult to find tenants for the shops. In addition, it struggled with travelers, which were not able to rent a lodge for the night and which found a place in the arcades instead, where the police or the owners let them sleep undisturbed.[313] (Bohn 1854: 264, Engels 1845: 46)
In general, the London situation was different than the one in Paris. On the one hand, the British capital was already subject to urban

[311] For the British architect and urban designer John Nash; see Book 4, under James Pennethorne. The British architect George Stanley Repton (30 January 1786 – 29 June 1858) was working in the office of Nash. He was a son of Humphry Repton (21 April 1752 – 24 March 1818), the English landscape designer who had often worked with Nash too.

[312] From 1811, George Augustus Frederick or George IV (12 August 1762 – 26 June 1830) served as Prince Regent during his father's relapse into insanity. Seven years later, he became the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the king of Hanover.

[313] In 1892 the entire complex, but the arcade, was demolished. Royal Arcade was renovated in 1966.

designers and planners improving circulations and in origin the pattern was less cluttered. Partly because of that, the arcades in London remain small in size and more an addition to the urban network of public space than a valuable short-cut. On the other hand, descriptions of the Parisian 'passage' had become subject of a fashion fad in London. When arcades had "proved advantageous" in in the French capital, why not in the British? (Galignani 1827: 337-338) Combining urban reality with fashion, it was more the novelty of the phenomenon that was causing a boom of arcade projects than actually similar fundamental socio-spatial transformations. Arcades did not contribute to major improvements in the urban circulation and pedestrian path systems: another shift of focus.

Burlington Arcade was the city's second arcade.[314] It was one which survived over time. It was again small and narrow, designed in alignment of another street and combined with a civic design project; the Burlington House, which included the Royal Academy of Arts and a variety of scientific societies. Together with the futher Piccadilly Arcade, built hundred years later across the street, it could provide a passageway across two blocks.[315] Many smaller, more autonomous arcades did not survive. The New Exeter Arcade for example had been torn down already within twenty years after opening, and a (second) Royal Arcade had been proved to be a failure probably because of "its obscure position and devious course", as a newspaper explained. Also the long gone South-Eastern Arcade at London Bridge was far from successful. It was called: "remarkable only for its absolute baldness and poverty of appearance".[316] A third so-called Royal Arcade was proposed a few years later, in 1864. It would run through from Regent-street to Bond-street and an Act of Parliament was applied for, but a growing opposition was able to defeat the scheme. According to the professional press, the drawing

[314] Burlington Arcade was initiated already in 1815. The British architect Samuel Ware (batised 23 February 1781 – buried 18 December 1860) designed it between 1818 and 1819. It was destroyed by bombing in 1940 and rebuilt in 1952.

[315] The British Architect Georges Thrale Jell (1892 – 1926), from Scotland, designed Piccadilly Arcade between 1909 and 1910. The arcade was also bombed, in 1941, and reinstated in 1957.

[316] The British architect Sidney or Sydney Smirke, Sr (baptised 14 January 1798 – 8 December 1877) designed (New) Exeter Arcade, built between 1842 and 1843, and torn down in 1863. The British architect-planner Sir James Pennethorne (4 June 1801 – 1 September 1871) designed the Royal Arcade, or New Oxford-street Arcade, in c.1852. The project was annopunced in 1845. It is closed. South-Eastern Arcade or London Bridge Arcade was built between 1850 and 1851 by the South-Eastern Railway Company, but gave way for the new train line to Charing Cross in 1863.

Figure 4.4.5.
Burlinton Arcade, 1827, steel engraving by William Tombleson (1795 - c. 1846)

Figure 4.4.6.
A wooden model of the Galerie d'Orléans, made by order of the King of the French, 1845

showed "a very common-place iron and glass roof, over a thirty feet way, between buildings of three stories, only uniform in their details". The proposal had not been revived since.[317] (The Builder 1864, 16 April; The Illustrated London News 1880, 17 April) In the Victorian era, a few more arcades were developed, none of which were supported by the government like in a way the first Royal Arcade was. A wooden model of the popular Parisian Galerie d'Orléans, which the King of the French had sent as gift in 1845 to his new colleague Queen Victoria, had not helped. The government stayed out.[318] Naming arcades royally, only symbolised a popular period of liberal constitutional monarchy. In the end, the London arcade was mainly creating a place to be for the middle-class. Also a fourth Royal Arcade was more a destination. Hardly strategically embedded, it was very popular, especially amongst the rich. It was developed in the neighbourhood of the successful Burlington and Piccadilly Arcades and according to the newspaper its ornamental interior, designed in French Renaissance, imposed the people. (The Illustrated London News 1880, 17 April)

Despite critism and unlike Paris, arcades were built continuously in London until at least the 1930s. The arcades continued to be built on the Parisian imitation, still providing a welcome shelter in winter and summer and accommodating shopping space, as an illustrated weekly magazine for the architect stated. While, as they continued; the Modernist design introduced series of stained-glass panels of heraldic design, decorative lunettes, metalwork shop fronts, plaster panels and doors of ironwork. (The Builder 1915, 16 April and idem 1930, 17 January) The Prince's Arcade and the Grand Arcade[319] in London could be put forward as representatives, because their architecture could be put on both a line from Late Neoclassicism to Modernism. The Prince Arcade introduced a simple two-thee story Neo-Georgian facades with details which could represent the new English Arts and Crafts style, unifying industial prosperity with tradition. The interior design demonstrated a similar ambivalence heralding Art Deco while being the same intermediary between the Traditionalists and the Modernists as the outdoor design. The Grand Arcade was designed with a three story outdoor facade of common brick-work, whereas the interior was stuccoed, lacking ornamentation. The design also showcased Early-Modern stained glass, metal window frames and tiled embellishment. Architecturally the two arcades marked an era of stylistic transition.

The London arcade did sprout a new and different kind of type. It introduced an attractor, a novelty, echoing the fad of Paris. Nevertheless, they formed stepping stones to similar arcade developments elsewhere. In the nineteenth century, the type was spread around the Empire. Many small-sized arcades appeared across Great Brittan: in Abertillery, Accrington, Aldershot, Ashton under Lyne, Ayr, et cetera. Similar to those in London, they were often only modestly contributing to the urban circulation, and with the remarkable exceptions in Cardiff, Birmingham and Leeds, which are laid-out in series, most were appealing just by being an attractive little arcade. (e.g. MacKeith 1985: 3-139)

In the nineteenth century too, the arcade type was introduced in among others the United States, where it could evolve further. Generally, these arcades embedded in typical American grid patterns. These urban patterns were characterised by their

[317] The third Royal Arcade was designed by an architect or builder named E. B. Richards.

[318] Alexandrina Victoria (24 May 1819 – 22 January 1901) was the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from the age of 18. She was crowned the first Empress of India later. The model of Galerie d'Orléans can be found in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris under inventory number P.M.40. It was acquired in 1881.

[319] The Prince's Arcade was inserted between 1929 and 1933 into an 1881 building probably of the British architect Edward Robert Robson (2 March 1836 – 19 January 1917). The architect of the arcade itself is unknown. The arcade is renovated in 1983. An architect called T. Spencer Rutter designed the Grand Arcade in 1937.

homogeneous subdivision of the city and provision of an easy access to every block. Improving circulations was not the first priority. So the arcades, which were firstly introduced in Philadelphia, New York and Providence,[320] were more attractive and additional walkways providing clean modern public spaces, without any necessities of short-cuts. The first pioneer across the ocean set the trend. In one way, the designer of Philadelphia Arcade imitated the widely published Royal Opera and Burlington Arcades, using similar arched and columned entrances as well as simple glass roofing and booth windows. In another way, he also seemed to follow the lay-out of the Galeries de Bois. To wit, the designer presented two wide passages, "running longitudinally through the building, with four rows of stores facing each other". Then completely different, a second storey was added. This contributed to the attraction. A double flight of marble steps at each end would bring them up. "This additional promenade will command a view of the avenues below, in connexion with the open space and glass roof, in beautiful perspective". Its interior combined "solidity, beauty, and safety, in an eminent degree; ventilation, light, air, water and every other convenience". (The Boston News-Letter and City Record 1826, 13 May) The arcade became more an addition to the existing network of public space. It was an off-street walkway: the next shift.

[320] Like the New York Arcade (see Book 3), the Philadelphia Arcade was designed by the American architect John Haviland (15 December 1792 – 28 March 1852) between 1825 and 1827. It was demolished in 1863. The Westminster Arcade or Providence Arcade was the first arcade in the U.S. It was designed by the American architect Russell Warren (22 July 1782 – 16 November 1860) and opened in 1828. In 1980, the building was substantially remodelled and rehabilitated the American architect and painter Irving Bogle Haynes (14 January 1927 – 27 August 2005).

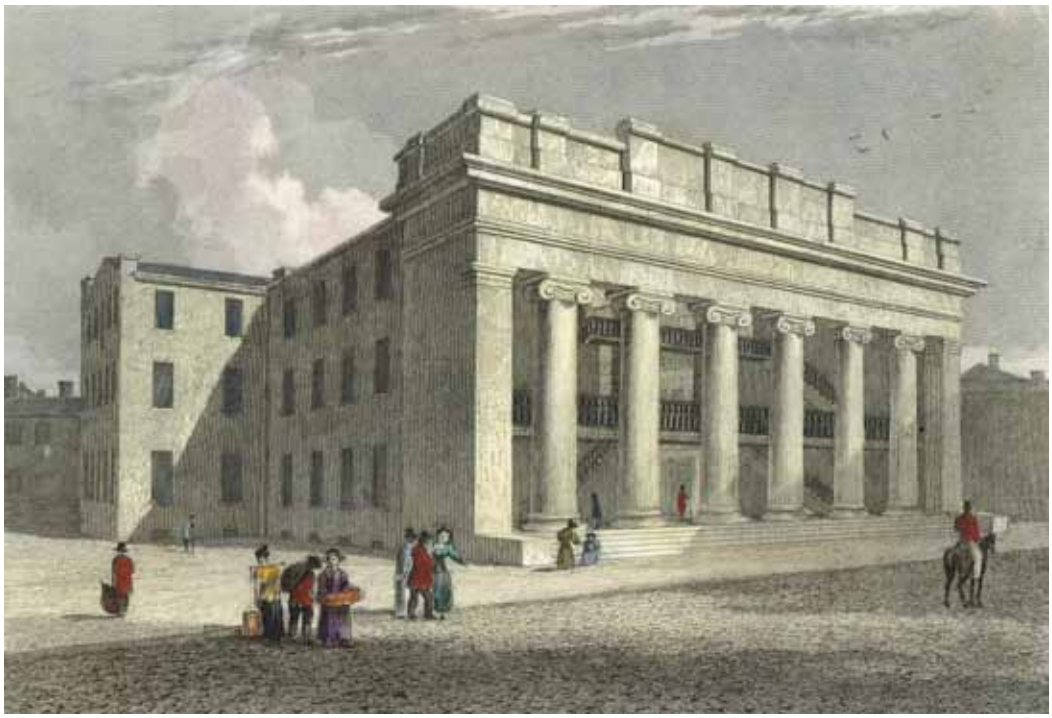


Figure 4.4.7.
The Westminster Arcade or Providence Arcade

Chapter 5 Covered Streets and Civic Symbolism

In the mean on the European continent, the arcade migrated to Brussels in 1820 and to Milan in 1832. The arcade in Brussels was designed just after an international treaty was signed, overruling French annexation of the Dutch Republic and ousting Napoleon I. It had not been a clear break with France though. The establishment of the Kingdom of the United Netherlands not only followed the model of the French monarchical restoration, but also the public orientation to France remained present, especially in the French-speaking establishment of Brussels. At the time of governmental transition, Jean-Baptiste Vifquain[321] was the head-engineer of Brussels. In the Napoleonic period, he had transformed city walls to boulevards similar to those around Paris. After the independence, he aimed a reconstruction of the inner city, especially the area now known as the Mint square, again inspired by the French city. For this he assigned the Parisian architect Louis Damesme,[322] who designed a square fringed with peristyles in an architectural scheme like Palais Royale. The architect also included an arcade in his designs. This arcade would be known as Passage de la Monnaie, named after the nearby exchange.[323] (Henne and Wauters 1845: 196-204, 593-595) It interconnected the new square with one of the main commercial streets in the city, but it was short and small, and again like most London arcades its contribution to the pedestrian routes was minor. The Milanese arcade continued this approach. The so-called Galleria de Christoforis[324] resembled the Passage de la Monnaie in Brussels in many ways. First, the governmental context was the similar. In the same wave, also the annexation of the Cisalpine Republic was nullified and the north-eastern territories of present Italy, including portions of the Republic of Venice, became part of the new Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia. Second, although it was a client state to Austria, the focus on Paris stayed. Perhaps out of a competitive idea, this arcade was designed in the new capital, for

[321] Jean Baptiste Joseph Vifquain (24 June 1789 – 31 August 1854) was a born in Batavian Republic, client of the French Republic, but died in France. He was the head engineer of the Public Works and Water Management.

[322] Louis-Emmanuel Aimé Damesme (abt.6 February 1747 – 3 April 1822) was a French governmental architect.

[323] Within the masterplan, the architect and developer P.-V.Piau designed Passage de la Monnaie, Muntgalerij or Muntdoorgang in 1820. Probably, it concerned the French-born developer Pierre-Vincent Piau, most probably from Paris (data unkown). The arcade connected the La Monnaie or De Munt with Rue de l'Ecuyer or Schildknaapstraat untill it was destroyed in 1967.

[324] The Italian architect Andrea Pizzala (1798 – 5 November 1862) designed Galleria de Christoforis between 1831 and 1832 by. It is demolished in the 1930s for the construction of Piazza San Babila.

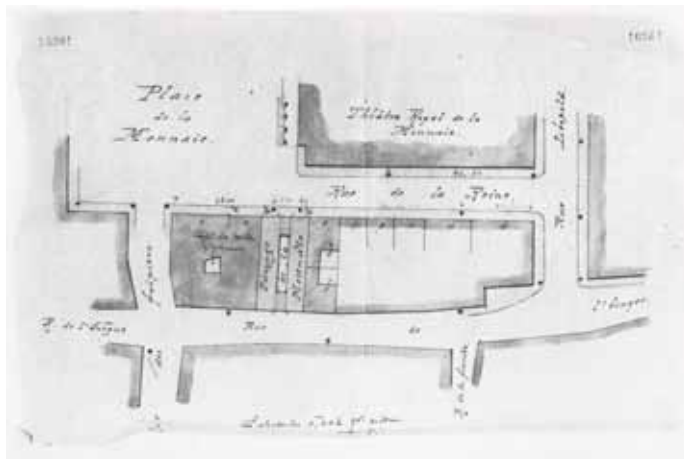


Figure 4.5.1.
Sketch of Passage de la Monnaie in Brussel, not signed, c.1820

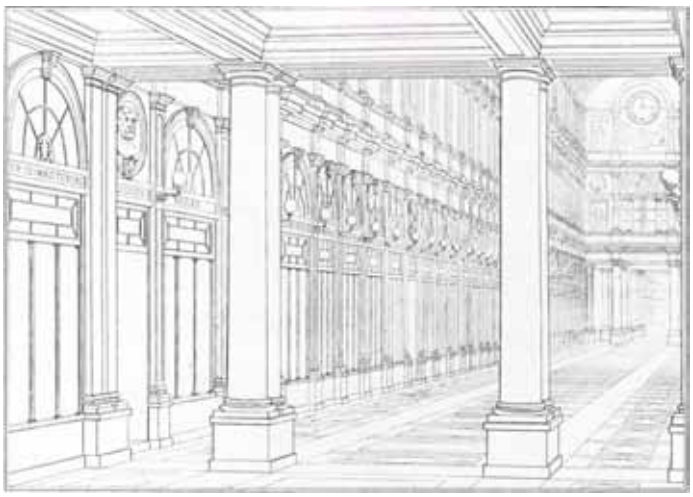


Figure 4.5.2.
Galeries Saint Huberts in Brussels, design drawing by Jean Pierre Cluysenaar, 1840

the "public use and for the gloss of Milan". (Von Simonyi 1844: 185-188) Third, its Neo-Classical design did resemble the Brussels' one in its essence. The five-story outdoor facades included a similar two story rustic-work at the basement, with arched openings and a balcony in the nave above the entry. Also the interior designs of the facades and pitched glassed roofs were quit familiar. All despite the fact that the proportions of the Milanese arcade were larger. (cf. Willaumez 1983, May: 21-24 and Geist 1985: 366-371) And fourth, again being a diversionary arcade, without an anchor, it contributed merely to the pedestrian network. Foremost both arcades were introducing Parisian phenomenon once and again abroad. Nevertheless, for the reconstruction of the epistle on the evolution of the arcade, these two designs and their cities had been most important. They were so, because within a few years the idea of an arcade would be applied in designs which could be qualified more as covered *streets* than pseudo-bazaars, covered passageways or monumental gallery-like short-cuts. The concept was adjusted to a new context and intention.

As such, it was Galeries Saint Huberts in Brussels,[325] which paved ways for a next generation of arcades. It was designed and planned to open up the heart of the city strategically. In 1839, the king himself signed a royal decree stating that the construction was in the public interest and that the necessary expropriations would be authorised. Appended to this decree was a set of building regulations which varied from alignments to sewage and from building materials to fire regulations (King Leopold I 1839, 6 February). In contrast to the projects in Paris, such regulations underlined a new intertwining relation between utilitarian urban design and the use of an interior in the creation of public space. The arcade was designed larger, wider and much higher thatn those realised in the past. Also the gate-like entrances were designed much bigger than any arcade in the French capital. Still we could recognise a Neo-Classical nave with two aisles, each with series of three openings, and a balcony again above the entrance. It was composed in the same manner as the first Brussels arcade, only enlarged. The expansion was related to stylistic development. The designer, Jean Pierre Cluysenaar, was educated in Italian-oriented Neoclassicism by Tilman Suys.[326] As

[325] The arcades of Galeries Saint Hubert or Sint-Hubertusgalerijen are designed between 1838 and 1847. The complex comprised three arcades: Galerie du Roi or Koningsgalerij, Galerie de la Reine or Koninginnegalerij, and Galerie du Prince or Prinsegalerij. It was named after the old Sint-Huybrechtsstraet, or Ruelle Saint Hubert.

[326] Jan Pieter or Jean Pierre Cluysenaar (28 March 1811 – 16 February 1880) was a Dutch-Belgian architect. His original family name was Klausener. The Dutch-Belgium architect Tieleman Franciscus, Tilman François or Tilman Frans, Suys (1 July 1783 –11 July 1861) won the Prix de Rome in 1812 and spent five years (1813-1818) in Italy studying architecture at expense of the Dutch king.

Figure 4.5.3.
Gallerie Cristoforis in Milan, 1840, steel engraving by Johann Scheible (1809 - 6 August 1866)

we could discover in the arcade, his personal interpretation of Late Neoclassicism moved to reviving Renaissance as well as dawning Eclecticism. The high ground floor as support for the upper floors, the friezes in between, the embedded columns on pedestals, the frontons above the large windows, the small windows in the mezzanines and the statues in niches, all resembled Renaissance design, but in combination of Cluysenaar, they were loosely applied. Whereas theoretically stylistic appearance ought not to be influencing typological evolution, in this case it did. The design had to be inspired on those of the Uffizi in Florence, because in the Vasari design we could find resembling proportions, elevations, rhythms, gates and even ornamentations. With this the designer obviously introduced the notion of a street in the arcade type. "With improvements, the only thing that Brussels will lack to be one of the most attractive capitals will be an interior worthy of its exterior", Cluysenaar stated. According to him the government was too busy constructing boulevards around the city, but inside the city, in the centre of the city, there was nothing done. For his argument, he had studied the quality and amount of connections in the centre and his conclusion was that they are scantiness and that while pedestrians are constantly in danger of their lives in the streets. Thus, "what the public interest demands is easy access to the principal market". (Cluysenaar 1840: 1-12)

> "Tel est le projet auquel l'autorité communale et le pouvoir supérieur ont donné leur assentiment. Il reste une autre considération à faire valoir dans l'ordre des considérations générales, c'est l'avantage que retirera de l'exécution du projet, comme capitale, la ville de Bruxelles qu'il faut rendre, par tous les moyens, agréable aux nationaux et aux étrangers, afin de l'intérieur comme du dehors on y vienne avec empressement, on s'y fixe avec plaisir. Dans ce but, beaucoup a déjà été fait,

Figure 4.5.4.
Panorama inner city of Brussels, 1920s

il faut le reconnaitre. Les boulevards, ouvrage magnifique qui promet de devenir au milieu de Bruxelles une promenade rivale, dans quelques-unes de ses parties, des boulevards de Paris, ont été poursuivis et achevés au milieu d'embarras financiers de tout genre, qui entravent encore en ce moment la marche de l'administration communale. [...] Au point ou en sont arrivées les améliorations, il ne manquera bientôt plus à Bruxelles, pour être l'une des plus séduisantes capitales, que d'avoir un intérieur digne de son extérieur. Tout ce qui a été fait jusqu'ici, boulevards, quartiers neufs, stations de chemin de fer, concernent, nous ne dirons pas l'extérieur de la ville, car nous admettons sans hésiter la réunion des faubourgs comme un fait inévitable, mais les parties les plus excentriques de la capitale. A l'intérieur rein, au centre rein ; Bruxelles, à l'inverse de plus grand nombre des capitales, pèche par le centre."
(Cluysenaar 1840 : 4)

Figure 4.5.5.
Galeries Saint Huberts, 1910s

By combining the arcade type with a strategic intervention similar to the one used for the design of the Uffizi in Florence, next step in the evolution of the arcade could be defined. With this typological change, the accessibility and public use would increase. This combined with the governmental assignment, made the arcade more public. Of course, also before in the London and Parisian arcades, no one was excluded, but similar to the time of the ancient noble regime public representation had been dependent on the presence of people before whom it was displayed. And exactly this changed. The public interest was reflected in the design of the Brussels arcade and vice versa the arcade reflected an aim for social equality. It turned out to be a popular interior. When the project was christened many people, city officials and the entire court all made their appearance. Thus, one could say that it was validating the slogan on the entrance facade of Saint Huberts: '*Omnibus Omnia*', which could be translated as 'everything for everyone'. (Dumont 1961, September: 84-86, Habermas 1962: 22, Alewyn 1959: 43) It was inspiration for cities in the rest of Belgium and The Netherlands[327].

The project in Brussels also inspired the second Milanese arcade. In this project the public quality as present in Galeries Saint Huberts was extended further. The governmental involvement wasn't kept in the background; neither was it merely providing endorsement. Much more than in Brussels the state was involved. In Milan, the City was the initiator of the design. The local public government organised a design competition to the realisation of this new arcade. The *Consiglio Comunale*, or city commission formulated, an assignment for the design of an arcade in the centre of the city, near the cathedral. Already in the time of the Galleria de Christoforis people raised ideas to establish a new arcade in the heart of the city and since 1838 a variety of plans were made to for this area. However after another Italian war of independence and a transfer of Lombardy's protectorate from Austria to France, the capital finally chose to celebrate the embryonic Italian state by means of a reconstruction of the city centre. In February 1860, Antonio Beretta, the mayor of Milan[328] actively lobbied for this reconstruction and accompanying competition and within four months two-hundred-twenty projects had been submitted. The results ranged from an arcaded '*Nouovo Strata Vittorio Emanuelle*' to a bazaar bearing the new kings name. The committee decided to invite eighteen designers to make a next proposal. Inspired by a recurring theme in the designs

[327] See Book 9.

[328] The Italian businessman Antonio Beretta (17 April 1808 - 14 November 1891) was mayor of Milan from 1860 to 1867. He then was appointed senator for life.

handed in, the next design should include either a '*via cielo coperto portico*' or a '*via coperta a verti*'. So either they had to include a 'heavenly way covered with a portico' or a 'glass-covered way'. Like Brussels, the City aimed to develop a grand arcade. Again variety of plans was submitted, of which the plan of Giuseppe Mengoni won. [329] (Barigazzi 1967: 27-44) Again a design of a new arcade differed from its predecessors in its dimensions as well as in its scale of restructuring the inner-city. The government of Milan signed an agreement with the 'City of Milan Improvement Company Ltd., which would divert private equity for the development. (Ricci 1928, November: 32) The project comprised cruciform ground plan, with two interior streets and over the centre is a huge octagonal cupola. The indoor streets were more explicitly new 'streets'. They cut the old big building block in four. With their spacious design, the interior public spaces connected the two most important squares of the city: the Piazza della Scala and the Piazza del Duomo. Simple observations would underline the resemblance with the project in Brussels in its position between two squares, in its urban and architectural composition and in some of its components. This should not be surprisingly, because the architect Mengoni travelled to Brussels, Paris and London in 1865 and it may be that during this trip he had consulted Cluysenaar. (Mengoni 1865, 29 January and 11 February, Ricci 1928, November: 41, Dumont 1961, September: 88, Barigazzi 1967: 28) From typological point of view, we might also see the influence of the Tergesteo, the new exchange in the centre of Trieste.[330] In this complex the traditional cruciform lay-out was combined with an arcaded glass-and-steel public interior. But apart from this, and similarities in the rusticated bases or some window shapes, more a matter of current style, the Milanese arcade was designed to provide a new connection in the city. Indeed carefully embedded the arcade was instantly extremely popular and well used. Nothing was more active and extending the needs of people than this new arcade. After its opening the arcade was named Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II to the king, who in the meanwhile had unified whole Italy.[331] So, once again this arcade became a

[329] The Italian architect Giuseppe Mengoni (See Book 2) was killed during an attendance of his arcade project, by a fall of the scaffold of the triumphal arch.

[330] The Italien architect Antonio Buttazoni (25 April 1800 –10 August 1848) designed Tergesteo in Trieste between 1836 and 1840. The project was taken over by the Southern Netherlands-born Italien architect Francesco Bruyn (1794 – 1859), who finished it in 1842. It served as market and for a while as stock exchange. In 1957, it was modernised by the Greek-Italian architect Alessandro Psacaropulo (1915 – 24 August 2000).

[331] Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II was originally designed in 1856. The winning and final plan was designed from 1863 on, and constructed between 1865 and 1867. The triumphal arch was not completed before 1878.

Figure 4.5.6a.
Foundation stone of the new building in the Piazza del Duomo, Milan, 25 March 1865

Figure 4.5.6b.
Inauguration of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, drawing by A Deroy, 1878

NUOVA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO ed Adiacenze

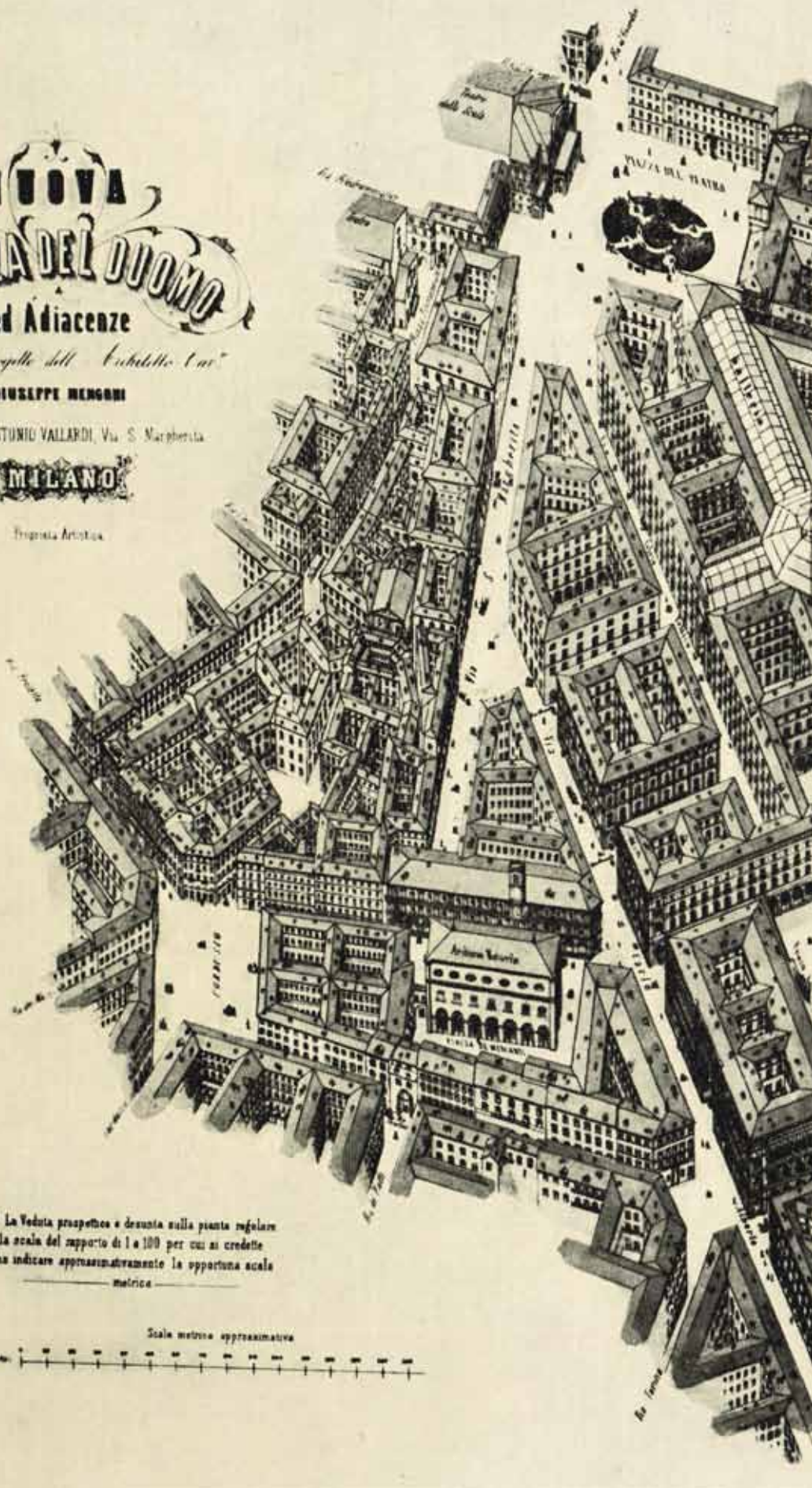
secondo il progetto dell'Architetto Cav.re

GIUSEPPE MENGONI

Dall'Editore ANTONIO VALLARDI, Via S. Margherita

MILANO

Proprietà Artistica



N.B. La Veduta prospettica è desunta sulla pianta regolare nella scala del rapporto di 1 a 100 per cui si credette bene indicare approssimativamente la opportuna scala metrica

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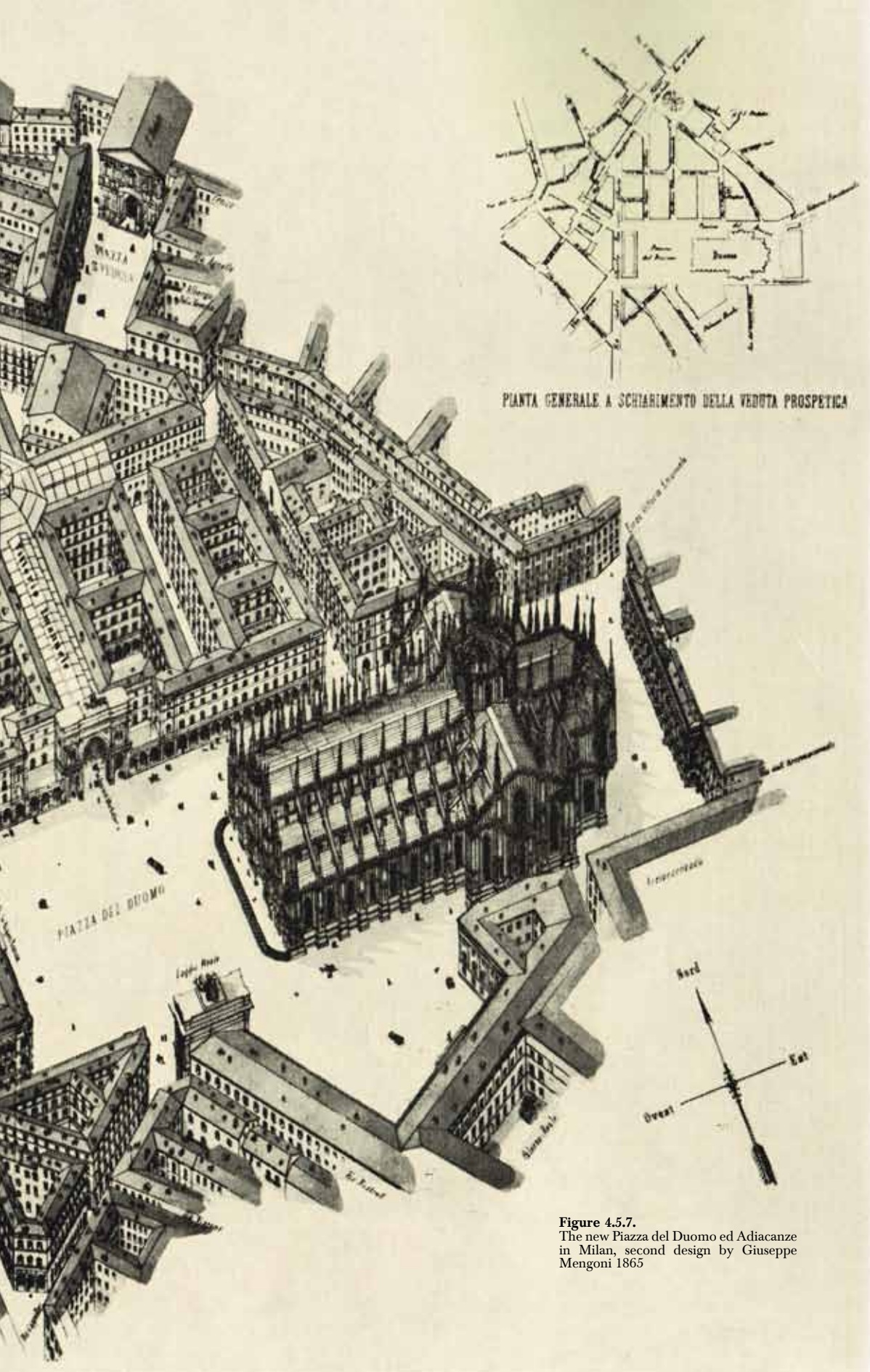


Figure 4.5.7.
The new Piazza del Duomo ed Adiacanze in Milan, second design by Giuseppe Mengoni 1865

national symbol. Above the triumphal arch we could even read: "*A Vittorio Emanuelle II. I Milanesi*" or to Vittorio Emanuelle II, from the Milanese. Perhaps it could be considered as a gift from the Milanese people to Vittorio Emanuelle II, but then chiefly because it was a gift from the city council representing those people. Foremost, the Galleria was mainly the result of intense reform, launched by the government. Therefore its design could be seen as "the more faithful expression of the society", as the architectural critic Celeste Clericetti stated just after the opening.[332] Its design shelled the most cardinal principles of the early Italian idea of modern civilization, like the necessity of having a job, and the importance of stimulating economy. Or, as Clericetti introduced a description of the design: "No matter how much this monumental building tries to be the vigorous initiative, the vitality and the spirit of reform boosted by our very notable town councils are the ones truly animating. It is done in spite of the sad economic conditions in which this pours the country, partially because our own malevolence, partially because of our dislike of much of Europe. That it is enough to scream the extravagance, to waste city money, at the inappropriateness of this and other works. When a spirit animates the people, its given light is precious, too precious from being able to extinguish it with impunity and to presume it will relight later." (Clericetti 1868: 649-654)

> "Nulla quanto questo monumentale edificio prova la vigorosa iniziativa, la vitalità e lo spirito di riforma che animano i nostri più cospicui municipi, a dispetto delle tristi condizioni economiche in cui versa il paese, in parte per colpa propria, in parte pel malvolere di tanta parte d'Europa. S'è gridato abbastanza allo scialo, allo spreco del danaro cittadino, alla inopportunità di questa e di altre opere edilizie ; quando uno spirito di progresso anima un popolo, la sua luce è preziosa, troppo preziosa da poterla spegnere impunemente e presumere di riaccenderla poi a volontà. Chi non sa che i miglioramenti edilizi non sono che l'espressione più esterna d'un complesso lavorio di riforma, il quale aspira al miglioramento morale delle masse colla leva del loro benessere ? Fu già asserito che se lo stile caratterizza l'uomo, l'architettura è l'espressione più fedele della società : e infatti dietro i simboli materiali dell' edilizia sbucciano e prosperano i principi cardinali della civiltà moderna, come l'importanza e la necessità del lavoro, la coscienza del valore e dei doveri personali, l'attività individuale" (Clericetti 1868 : 649)

In this wave of optimism and national reform, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II set standards for a whole new generation of arcades. All over young Italy, arcades were used in urban restructuring. Galleria dell'Industria Subalpina, Galleria Nazionale and Galleria Umberto I in Turin, as well as Galleria Principe di Napoli and Galleria Umberto I in Napoli and Galleria Colonna in Rome[333] all have familiar positions in the city. They follow familiar societal patterns. These arcades were prominently sited in the inner city and they would interconnect the city's main squares. Like Milan, the interior public spaces were almost always cross shaped, with arcades intersecting at right angles. If not, for example in the case of Rome, than at least another geometric monumental lay-out is used. Milan was also was considered to be an exemplar worth imitation also abroad, for example in Russia and Germany again.

Two years after the opening of the Milanese arcade, the governor-

[332] Celeste, or Clemente, Clericetti (20 Novermber 1835 - 29 May 1887) was an English-born Italian academic architect, tauching at Politecnico di Milano.

[333] The Italian architect-engineer Pietro Carrera (1835 – 1887) designed Galleria dell'Industria Subalpina in Turin between 1872 and 1874 by. Galleria Nazionale and Galleria Umberto I, both also in Turin, were built soon after: respectively before and in 1890. The first was designed by the Italian architects Camilo Ricci and Constantino Gilodi (data unknown) and demolished in 1930s, the second by a further unknown Mr. Margsaglia. The Italian architect engineer Giovanni Argenti, from the city of Pontedecimo, designed Galleria Giuseppe Mazzini in Genova in 1875. The Italian architects Nicola Breglia (6 December 1834 – 9 January 1912) and Giovanni de Novellis (data unknown) designed Galleria Principe di Napoli in Napoli designed between 1876 and 1882. The Italian architect engineer Emanuele Rocco (1852 – 1922) designed Galleria Umberto I, also in Napoli, between 1887 and 1891 by the. The first proposal had been made in 1881 by Alfredo Cottrau (26 September 1839 – 23 May 1898). The local Italian architect Fernando Mazzanti (n.d. – 1895) first projected Galleria Colonna in Rome, now renamed to Galleria Alberto Sordi, in 1881. Several designes have past the revue. The Italian architect architect Dario Carbone (1858 – 27 March 1934) designed the present arcade between 1910 and 1912. The Galleria underwent important restoration and adjustment works under the Lamaro Group in 2003.

general of Moscow asked the national government for the renewal of the commercial area northeast of the Red Square. Again the arcade could reconstruct the inner city of a capital by initiative of the state. The area was characterised by a chaotic jumble of booths, decrepit granaries, and courtyards haphazardly organised into alleys. The governor's attempt was not successful. The traders and owners were united in a 'commission' opposing this initiative and exposing conditions for a possible redevelopment of the area, foreknowing, that they are impracticable. The national government susceptible to any argument to keep every opposition down – it would be fire for the present revolutionary forces – did not follow the ideas of the governor. Nevertheless in 1888 under a new autocratic regime and with the support of the city government, a competition was organised. Designers were asked to provide proposals to reorganise this market section. Alexander Pomerantsev[334] won. (Ру́сская Мысль 1886, April, Размадзе 1894) He proposed the so-called Upper Trading Halls[335], a system of six arcades. Three longitudinal ones were running parallel to the square and three shorter ones perpendicular to it. Each arcade introduced three layers of pedestrian walks along a void, which were connected by some bridges on the upper floors. Again the design of an arcade was huger. The outline of the plot was ninety to two-hundred-fifty metres, and the glassed roofing was at least as high as in Milan. This gigantic complex hardly would serve a traffic function within the city plan, but are rather a network of internal access, orientation, and circulation. "Just like the Palais Royal was the proto type of the arcade, the Upper Trading Halls were the model at the end of the century example for multi-levelled public systems of access". (Geist 1985: 403, 413) The connectivity was not entirely lost. The system of arcades did link the Middle Trading Halls[336] in the south, which included more a traditional courtyard for market activities. Still its autonomy is clear. In this context the designer had crossed the idea of the old roofed market alleys, present in this area, with the concept of the Milanese arcade. It would be a new hybrid which like the others would be opened by the son of Emperor Alexander II of Russia[337]. (Размадзе 1894)

[334] The Russian architect Alexander Nikanorovich Pomerantsev, or Александр Никанорович Померанцев, (11 November 1849 – 27 October 1918) won the design competition in 1888. Vladimir Grigoryevich Shukhov or Владимир Григорьевич Шухов (28 August 1853 – 2 February 1939), a Russian engineer, joined for the construction works between 1890 and 1893.

[335] Upper Trading Halls or Верхние Торговые Ряды were confiscated in 1914, and renamed three years later after the Russian Revolution: They became the State Department Store (Gosudarstvennyj Universalnym Magazinom (GUM) or Государственным Универсальным Магазином (ГУМ)). The system closed in 1928 and reopened in 1953. After the demise of communism in 1993, GUM was privatised and renamed as the 'Main' Department Store (Glavnyi Universalnyi Magazin or Главный Универсальный Магазин).

[336] The Middle Trading Halls (Средние Торговые Ряды) were designed between 1890 and 1891 by the Russian architect Roman Iwanowitsch Klein, or Рома́н Ива́нович Клейн, (31 March 1858 – 3 May 1924), also known as Robert Yulius Klein or Роберт Юлиус Клейн. He was the second prize winner of the competition. The halls were closed probably in the 1950s to, but they are being restored since 2009.

[337] Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich of Russia or Сергей Александрович (11 May 1857 – 17 February 1905) and his wife Elizabeth Feodorovna Romanova or Елизавета Фёдоровна Романова (1 November 1864 – 18 July 1918) were the prime guests of honour.

Figure 4.5.8a.
Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, 1910s

Figure 4.5.8b.
Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, 1910s

Figure 4.5.9.
Upper Trading Halls in Moscow, 1899

In Germany, on its turn, arcades would introduce a Milanese grandeur combined with a kind of Brussels approach. The state involvement was less absolute, the intervention was more a cut-through-the-block, but the interior was at least as impressive, if only by size. Also, in difference to the Russian case, first the public media became enthusiastic for an arcade, then the officials. The popularity started with the publication on the Milanese arcade in many popular German magazines and newspapers. Also Baedeker, one of the leading national travel guides concluded that of all European arcades, this was "by far the most beautiful and greatest, leaving also the famous Brussels ones far behind", referring to Galeries Saint Huberts. German professional magazines agreed. The improvements in the city earned public attention because of their greatness and the design was critically appreciated because of its "distinguished splendour". (Baedeker 1868: 130-131, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst 1867, 11 October) Then, when in 1871 Germany unified just like Italy, the new government followed the public opinion and became explicitly interested in arcades. In official reports the arcade was noticeable because of its spatial relations. From the view point of architectural and civil engineering, the Milanese arcade had "succeeded excellently". (Centralcommission des Deutschen Reiches für die Wiener Weltausstellung 1874: 299) In the same wave, cities across the empire started to introduce arcades in geometric grand designs and following the concept of a street interconnecting the main spots in the city. Where in Milan the arcade was honouring their king, three of these covered streets were named Kaisergaleries[338] dedicated to the new emperor. In the line of the tradition, the first Kaisergalerie was opened in the presence of Wilhelm I.[339] (Vossische Zeitung 1873, 20 March) The king was now more or less only symbolising the governmental support. This Kaisergalerie established a new connection between Friedrichstraße

[338] For example, the German architects Walter Kyllmann (16 May 1837 – 10 July 1913) and Adolf Heyden (15 July 1838 – 11 June 1902) designed the Kaisergalerie in Berlin between 1871 and 1873 by. In 1933, this arcade was modernised and in 1943 destroyed. The idea of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Passage or Kaiserpassage in Karlsruhe was considered in 1870, but realised only in 1887. The local German architect Gustav Ziegler (17 December 1847 – 19 February 1908) designed it. Since 1987 a new arcade bears the name. Lastly, the Kaiser Wilhelm Passage in Frankfurt am Main was built directly after the Berlin model by the local businessman Gottfried Leonhard Daube (1842 – 1917) in about 1901. This arcade is destroyed in 1944 too.

[339] Wilhelm I, or Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig von Hohenzollern (22 March 1797 – 9 March 1888) was the King of Prussia and the first German Emperor (Kaiser), inaugurated in 1871.

Figure 4.5.10.
Kaisergalerie in Friedrichstraße, Berlin, 1874, wood engraving by drawing of Carl Emil Doepler Sr. (8 March 1824 - 20 August 1905)

and Unter der Linden, at the junction of two main thoroughfares. Yet differently, it provided a diversion, rather then a real short-cut. Thus, although, imitating the idea of a wide covered street was very popular amongst fashionable people in the early years, it soon lost its attraction in the late 1920s, despite a remodelling.[340] (Hessel 1929: 264)

The grand arcades were initiated by the public government explicitly for the benefit of the people. At the same time they had become national symbols, dedicated to the Modern monarchs. In the past, this would be contradicting the ideals of the bourgeoisie, let alone the freedom of the common people. But the vision on monarchs changed. An exemplary and anti-paradoxically explanation for the new ideal was given by a paraphrase in the speech of the mayor Beretta addressed to the king at the day of the opening of the arcade; "Sire, the city of Milan is confident that this great building, the result of successfully combining Italian art and foreign capital, and an opportunity of great benefit to the working class, to whose well-being our thoughts constantly turn as if they were our own cares, will owe its success to Your Majesty". (Beretta 15 September 1867, as quoted by Barigazzi 1967: 73) It echoed the ideas of the Galerie d'Orleans, the Orleanists vision and the French Restoration. In general, the arcades were true public spaces, publicly-used and initiated by the people for the people. The reigns merely symbolised this unity and their presence underlined the importance of the arcade projects for the civic society and the capital city. Besides, the governmental strategy in these cases did resemble those focussed on outdoor interventions. Often they were part of outdoor urban reconstruction: Regent Street, Place de la Monnaie, Piazza del Duomo and the Red Square. The adjoined arcades were designed as if the were streets. On a smaller scale, they open-up the inner city, like avenues and boulevards did elsewhere. In difference, they are often privately-owned, roofed and determined for the pedestrian only, as Stübben once explained. (Stübben 1890: 66) Where in the nineteenth century both kinds of urban improvements came close to a utilitarian and egalitarian approach, of-course the size and grandeur of the conveniently roofed interior stood for the optimism in society and the ambition of the Modern nation. Thus indeed, they might be above all vigorous, like the Milanese critic accurately said, and witnessing positivism of a new social ideal.

Having the Parisian, London, Milanese, Muscovite and Berlin arcades in minds, Benjamin and Geist assumed that the arcade type was in decay in the next decades. At least, in their view arcades were not present at the days of High Modernism.
Obviously, Geist reflected on the course of the typological development from his own perspective. Being a Berliner, he concluded that the Friedrichstraßenpassage, of which the ruins remained in his city, was "the last great arcade ever built".[341] This is an interesting statement, which implicitly underlines the presumed typological fall. It is true, that this arcade was twice as wide as the admired Kaisergalerie, nearly the width of the Milanese arcade[342], and that these kinds of dimension would not return for decades. But a temporal spatial decline wasn't the end of the type neither the end of 'great' designs. – In the Western world, the arcade type was never death. – Nevertheless hyperbolically for Geist, the

[340] Also the Great Depression started.

[341] The Friedrichstraßenpassage was designed between 1906 and 1907 under supervision of the German 'kaiserlicher Baurat', or the imperial building councillor, Franz Ahrens (31 October 1858 – 8 December 1937). It opened in 1909. In the 1930s, the adjoined buildings were increasingly used by Nazi party members and in 1941 it became the central office for the SS to be bombed in 1944. Although the arcade was only moderately damaged, it was never reconstructed and even largely demolished in 1980. Since 1990, when the remaining parts were scheduled to be razed, a self-organized collective of artists called 'Künstlerinitative Tacheles' occupied the former arcaded space and its left constructions along Oranienburger Straße.

[342] The width of Friedrichstraßenpassage was 14m, in comparison: Galerie d'Orleans was 8,50m, the first Royal Arcade only 3m., Galeries St. Huberts 5,75m, Galleria Vittorio Emanuelle 14,50m, the first Kaisergalerie 7,85m, and the arcades of Moscow 7,2m.

Friedrichstraßenpassage symbolised a fall of a public matter. While being devastated and neglected in his city for years, the arcade foremost bore witness a disinvestment of "enormous amount of private capital which was available to realise a new concept in the public well-being", for which he blames the designer. The arcade was different. The stained glass saddle roof was flat, possessing "a horizontally suspended, box-like dust cover", which as a result of this "seems to bear little relation to the facades or to the cupola". The rest of the arcade was built entirely of reinforced concrete. The design even introduced a ribbed concrete copula, the first ever engineered for an arcade. Additionally the interior was artificially lighted. These solutions he simply disliked. (Berliner Terrain und Bau Aktiengesellschaft 1908, 20 August, Geist 1969: 108-109,142-145) Like many of his coevals, the preferences of Geist were illustrative for an aim to re-find tradition. In fact, the arcade was simply designed with the use of masonry, arches and sculptures, yet abstracter than the Late Neo-Classical arcades, as well as using new materials and constructions. In this manner, the design of the arcade was proposing a new alliance between classic arts and new industry, which was typical for the styles spread by the members of the state-supported Deutscher Werkbund, its Austrian sister, as well as the current Anglo-Saxon Arts and Crafts movements.[343] In their basis these 'associations of craftsmen' underline that scientific discoveries and technical inventions may destroy old forms of art, but that they also will lead to new forms of art. Gottfried Semper[344] provided the groundwork for this thought, stating that if designers and artists abridge the gap between highly developed techniques and ancient artistic skills, they would be able to re-establish the old balance. (Semper 1852) The current Werkbund style even influenced a redesign of the Kaisergalerie[345] in the 1930s. Yet, from the viewpoint of Geist, modernising tradition would be the opposite of what to do.

The design of the Friedrichstraßenpassage might not have pleased Benjamin too, but of course from a different perspective. Without specifically talking about this arcade, he clearly stated that for him the new style wasn't the answer to the new social ideals. The 'National-Werkstäten' of the Werkbund represented a German regime, which according to him was "the nullity of the ancient regime exhibited for all the worlds to see". He was not a fan of the engineers directing them, because according to him, their designs represent a change in fashion to an eternally up-to-date style which escapes historical consideration. For him glass architecture could be better a form of production, explicitly as opposed to art forms, which ought to represent the transparency of their social content. (Benjamin 1982: 581-583, 674-675, 855) His statements could be considered as an announcement of Early Modernism. Benjamin marks the transition from idealism to twentieth century modernity, questioning the previous, and Geist marks the continuation of modernism to late modernity, now questioning modernity itself. The unpopularity of the Friedrichstraßenpassage could stand for negligence by a public waiting for an ideal yet to come. It could also represent a public victimised by those who felt new forms of architecture should be introduced. But most likely its lack of popularity was more a combination of among others changing fashion, mismanagement and commercial competition elsewhere, while being only a short L-shaped arcade. It was not improving urban circulation nor was it

Figure 4.5.11.
Friedrichstraßepassage at night, 1910s

[343] The Deutscher Werkbund dated from 1907. The Österreichische Werkbund was founded in 1912; it could be considered as a branch of the German Association of Craftsmen, because it was originated in the Wiener Werkstätten, a former member organisation. Arts and Crafts movements appeared all over Europe in the midst of the nineteenth century, in Germany laying the base for the Werkbund.

[344] The German architect and art critic Gottfried Semper (29 November 1803 – 15 May 1879) presented his work at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in London, 1851.

[345] The Swedish-German architect Alfred Frederik Elias Grenander (26 June 1863 – 14 July 1931) redesigned the Kaisergalerie between 1930 and 1931.


PASSAGE
THEATER
CABARET
U. D. LINDEN
22
Panoptikum
PANOPTICUM
Passage-Panoptikum

able to attract people.

Whereas the Benjamin was regretting its decay during Early Modernist, and Geist was yearning for a revival during Late Modern time seems more an account of what was happening in the profession and society in those days. For the Early Modernist the arcade could represent the ideal '*rue intérieur*' allowing a spontaneous formation of social centres. For the Late Modernist its degrees of publicness by means of in-between space, its relation between outdoors-indoors, inside-outside, introverted and extroverted would support their search to revive old forms contrasting the Modern styles prevalent at the past decades[346]. However factually, typological developments did not come to a standstill. At the dawn of Modernism, the development of new arcades in certain cities might be on a downturn, but that process was not current in all cities. In some cities the arcade type was introduced simply later. For example following Berlin, arcades were introduced in cities like Leipzig, Dortmund and other German cities not before the 1910s, and similarly the Italian cities of Messina and Palermo imitated Milan not even before the 1930s. But of all cities, especially Prague in the midst, would be soil for a boom of Modern arcades.
Between 1909 and 1939, more then sixty arcades were realised in Prague. This local expansion should not be indentified merely as a late upraise caused by the slow migration of the type. It would not be followed soon by a normal downturn, but in stead it would illustrate a crucial part in evolution. First, this development continues on the line where others had stopped and second, it resulted in a large amount of arcades, more than ever built in such a time span in Paris. The architect and developer Matěj Blecha[347] played an important role in the introduction of the arcade type. He brought the arcade to Prague and he was responsible for the realisation of a few others. Pasáž Zlatá Husa[348] was the first. Again, it would be "a new element of the large city", which was based "on the model of the bazaar to improve public circulation, to open up the building block and to give an impulse to trade". (Klenka 1911, March) The designer seemed to follow the German Arts and Crafts style, but he did not design it as grand as the last German arcade. On the contrary, only two small arched entrances linked the interior to the rest of the public space. Inside the arcade was nevertheless wide and thus consequently the interior was more a covered oblong inner court. Apart from the classic iron-and-glass roofing, courts were very common in the city. The roof not high and due to the small exits it consequently was somewhat detached from the outside. It would be typically for the arcades of Prague. The neighbouring Pasáž Koruna[349] was also built by Blecha. It was designed by Antonín Pfeiffer, who was born in Pilsen. Probably because of its German background he imitated the Friedrichstraßenpassage more closely both stylistically and in lay-out. For this arcade, he used also reinforced concrete, ornamented with austere sculptures. He covered the arcade with flat ribbed concrete and Modern stained glass too and again the interior had to have some additional lamps. Yet like the first arcade in the city, the window frames were brass plated, the facades embellished with dim-grey marble and the section was narrowing down at the entrances. In the wake of growing nationalism these differences became part of a local style, delineated by the designers of the newly established Svaz Českého Díla, the so-to-say Czech Werkbund.[350] In

Figure 4.5.12.
Pasáž Zlatá Husa, 1911

Figure 4.5.13.
Pasáží Černá Růže, 1933

[346] See Book 2.

[347] Matěj Blecha (16 July 1861 – 18 December 1919) was a Bohemian/Czech developer and architect himself.

[348] The local Bohemian/Czech architect Emil Králíček (11 October 1877 – 1930) designed Pasáž (Hotelu) Zlatá Husa between 1909 and 1912.

[349] The Bohemian/Czech architect Antonín Pfeiffer (1 June 1879 – 27 September 1938) designed Pasáž Koruna between 1911 and 1914 by. His family was German originated.

the designs of arcades twenty-century modernity was represented by shiny surfaces, neutral grey or brownish marble, flat roofs with translucent glass. The later either allowed daylight to come in or just distributed the artificial light. The idea of the arcade caught on in Prague and many more were built, especially when World War I ended with the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the first republic of Czechoslovakian was created. As Prague was chosen as its capital and population had risen in a great pace, new arcades could create more pedestrian space needed. During this boom, arcades became more functionalistic; in that sense that they would offer more shop frontage but not really valuable short-cuts. Especially the work of Ludvík Kysela could illustrate the modernisation of the arcade design. In his Pasáž Lindt and his next-door Pasáž Bata he reduced the ornamentation. The inner facades were dominated by simple large shop windows. In his Pasáž Alfa he also simplified construction. He substituted stained glass by slightly curved industrial glass bricks[351]. As side effect, roofs constructed by those glass elements reduced day-lighting further. So soon, a number of lanterns and later fluorescent tubes would compensate this loss. Together with the introduction of new mass-produced materials, the dimensions of the interior were stretched both in width and in height just like the former days. Yet in the new age the emphasis was put on horizontality and not on the classic verticality and the exits stayed small and functional. The designs of the Pasáží Černá Růže[352] would be exemplary. The interior had three storeys, expressively layered, giving optimal room and vision to many stores. The Pasáž Národní Banky, the Pasáž Broadway and the Václavska Pasáž[353] were opened just before the German invasions and occupation during the Second World War. The wide horizontal clear compositions was continued but without the upper floors. The remained use of some old materials, like marble, was replaced by tiled skirting. Shop fronts were chromed and surfaces pale white stuccoed. The designs of these arcades could be considered as deliberate attempts at expressing surface textures of ordinary materials. (e.g. Nový 1946, May, Brožová, Hebler and Scaler 1993: 48-153) Architecturally the arcade pioneered with new materials and forms and urbanistically the idea of creating short-cuts was put in the shade of the idea of providing just extra public space. But like old times the arcades would form clean, paved, luxurious and modern public passageways in the large network of public space. Here one still could shop and stroll in a crowded city. The last President of Czechoslovakia, also the first of the Czech Republic, Václav Havel[354], has ascribed an important role to arcades in giving a new national capital identity. According to him, they represent "a particular face of Prague, whose features are made of poetry, magic, spirituality and metaphysical direction. It gives to see the labyrinths of our hearts, the atmosphere of Prague and of Central Europe". For him being the traditional and metaphysical topic of this city, the arcades are microcosms carrying a macrocosm. (Havel 1993)

[350] In the winter of 1913/14, one year after the establishment of the Österreichische Werkbund, the Svaz Českého Díla, or Association of Czech Work was founded in Prague. The Czechoslovak 'Werkbund' wasn't established until 1920, under the newly established state.

[351] The Bohemian/Czech architect Ludvík Kysela (25 April 1883 – 10 February 1960) designed Pasáž Lindt in 1927, Pasáž Bata between 1928 and 1930, and Pasáž Alfa between 1927 and 1929. The later was designed in collaboration with The Bohemian/Czech architect Jan Jarolím (data unknown).

[352] Oldřich Tyl (12 April 1884 – 4 April 1939), also Bohemian/Czech architect, designed Pasáží Černá Růže, which would connect Příkopy-Panská, between 1928 and 1932.

[353] The Bohemian/Czech architect František Roith (16 July 1876 – 5 September 1942) designed Pasáž Národní Banky between 1935 and 1938. Architects Antonín Černý (15 April 1896 – 31 July 1976) and Bohumír Kozák (4 December 188 – 1 April 1978), both Bohemian/Czech too, designed Pasáž Broadway between 1936 and 1938. Václavská Pasáž or Wenceslas Passage opened in 1938 by the design of Karel Schmeisser or Richard Karl Schmeißer (data unknown), former pupil of the Austian-German architect Josef Olbrich (22 December 1867 – 8 August 1908), part of the Wiener Secession. He had opened his own practice in Oberhausen in 1926.

[354] The Czech playwright, essayist and politician Václav Havel (5 October 1936 – 18 December 2011) was President of Czechoslovakia from 1989 to the federation's breakup in 1992. In 1993 he was elected to be the first President of the Czech Republic, until 2003.

Chapter 6 (Re-)Planning Urban Cores

Simultaneously, since the 1820s the arcade was spreading across the United States. In short, over the years, the East Coast variant diversified between two directions. Most American arcades stayed small like the early Anglo-Saxon precedents. Other American arcades introduced the larger scale. The smaller ones opened in the towns of New England, south of The Lakes and later throughout the continent. The glass roof was always there and entrances were often demarcated by three-story structures at most. The larger arcades were envisioned for the metropolitan environments of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland and Seattle. Here the arcade evolved to proposals for huge interior public spaces, which would be part of big building complexes. In size related to the European monumental arcades, but in essence different. Some of the arcades had shaken off the skylight to allow dwellings, hotels or offices on top. On this line of development, the American arcade arrived in the Modern era not only by changing its architectural style, but more so by changing its composition and contribution to the urban fabric. As said earlier, in general, American arcades were providing mainly off-street walkways, rather than fundamentally improving circulation in the urban grid, and thus offering shorter paths. The idea of an arcade was nonetheless alluring for city, developer and user as long as the arcade was able to attract the public like it did in Philadelphia. With a different position in the city, they got a different role in the public space. In some cases, arcade projects comprehend a whole city block at once including several facilities enticing a wide variety of people. About hundred years later, the Plankinton Arcade in Milwaukee, the Peachtree Arcade in Atlanta and the Grove's Arcade Building in Asheville could be illustrative.[355] They were representatives of the block-size projects in the US. Again the Arts and Crafts movement had changed Neoclassicism. The white structures of the arcades were based on geometric shapes, industrial constructions and plain materials and they allowed ornamentation and decoration only in a few occasions. The entrances were all embellished with some classic motives, but on the facades, both exterior and interior, the new modern approach introduced simplified moulding. The rectangular cartouches with decoration patterns carved in relief were even announcing Art Deco. Stylistically the resemblance with

[355] The firm of the American architects William Holabird (11 September 1854 – 19 July 1923) and Martin Roche (1 August 1853 – 5 June 1927) designed the Plankinton Arcade in Milwaukee in 1916. Probably the arcade was designed by son John Augur Holabird (4 May 1886 – 4 May 1945). In 1924, five floors were added on a design surrounding the central skylight. The American architect of the Rouse Company, Laurin Barker Askew, Jr. (born 29 May 1942) modified the arcade between 1980 and 1982 to be incorporated in skyway system of The Shops of Grand Avenue, covering four building blocks. This transformation was part of the Milwaukee redevelopment initiated in 1977. The American architect Albert Anthony Ten Eyck Brown (19 April 1878 – 9 June 1940), a prominent local architect, designed the Peachtree Arcade in Atlanta. It opened in 1917. Charles Newton Parker (29 October 1885 – 30 July 1961) designed the Grove's Arcade Building in Asheville, which opened in 1929.

Figure 4.6.1a.
Plankinton Arcade in Milwaukee, 1920s

Figure 4.6.1b.
Peachtree Arcade in Atlanta, 1920s

Figure 4.6.1c.
Grove's Arcade Building in Asheville, 1920s

Figure 4.6.2.
Interior of the Plankinton Arcade in Milwaukee, 1920s

arcades across the ocean could be made, but in the urban pattern and urbanisation process the role was a different one than that of the European arcade. Whereas arcades often played a central role in European efforts toward revitalisation, in America they typically did not. They could be understood as urban catalysts. Many American cities had hardly matured city-centres. The new arcades would be filled with shops, offices and living spaces. By mixing these activities and creating public space, the multi-story multi-purpose arcades would aim to speed new urban growth by creating a heart for the city. This heart was besides a commercial also was used as a civic centre. The Early Modern American arcades called for both old idealism and new pragmatism. Idealism about the specialness of the place and pragmatism about making that place work in relation to contemporary traffic needs and local culture and values. (Attoe and Logan 1989: 44-74)

Also in small town USA the catalysing effect could become true. Specifically in the build-up to the Florida Land Boom[356] of the 1920s, many arcades had been developed as the spine of elementary two-story city-blocks facilitating the citizens while again preparing a way for other downtown developments to follow. When Saint Petersburg extreme rapidly urbanised, quickly city-developers introduced larger building complexes to facilitate the new-comers. Just like in the older American metropolises in many cases these developments include spaces for arcades. The design and size of the projects was comparable with that in Atlanta, but the arcades themselves were less monumental. The first arcade[357] in the city was announced in the newspaper with a large ad: "The Englewood Arcade, 516 Central Avenue: An Exclusive business location, where are gathered some of the representative activities of the Sunshine City. You are invited not only to visit the arcade but make it your Headquarters". New ones were built within a few years. The Alhambra Arcade[358] "follows new idea in grouping smart shops", the newspaper stated. It would be designed with a court and a fountain in Spanish Architecture. Only a few moths later the Green-Richmond Arcade[359] opened; "another new arcade". Again it was Spanish design with austere stucco with only little ornamentation. Most arcades would adopt this style, a modern reinterpretation of Mudéjar, Spanish Baroque and everything in between. In only eight years twelve arcades appeared in the city forming again an irregular pattern. (The Evening Independent 1921, 17 January, idem 1923, 5 May and 30 November, Whitney, Elizabeth 1974, 16 June) Although the speed of their development was amazing and the architectural style clearly differed from others, in the bigger picture the development wasn't something new. It was the off-spin which was.

While the arcades in St. Pete were booming, pre-war suburbia was in need for a centre. All around the Tampa Bay communities were built and soon several independent towns around Saint Petersburg emerged. Within a few years, smaller arcades were developed for the new towns Tarpon Springs, Clearwater, Lakeland, Winter Haven, Lake Wales, in the north and east, and old Manatee, Bradenton, Sarasota, Arcadia, Fort Myres, in the south. These arcades would combine shopping with a local post office to stay in touch with family up north and a hotel for new immigrants and guests. Programmatically, the arcades were significant; all basic needs were there. Formally, the arcade was part of an urban block

[356] The pre-war increase of the population in Florida already was enormous: from 528,542 inhabitants in 1900 to 2,771,305 inhabitants in 1950 (+366.9%). In terms of U.S. state population, Florida rose from thirtieth to twentieth in ranking. Whereas in the same period the amount of Californians rose twice as fast, from 1,485,053 to 10,586,223 (+612.9%), surpassing Florida from the twenty-first place to the second biggest state in the U.S. (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993, 27 August)

[357] The Englewood Arcade, also to be called Plaza Arcade, opened in 1921.

[358] Alhambra Arcade was designed in 1923 by the local firm of the American architects Hal Fitzgerald Hentz, (15 May 1883 – 16 February 1972), Joseph Neel Reid (15 October 1885 – 14 February 1926), and the German-born Rudolph Sartorius Adler (4 February 1889 – 21 May 1945). The arcade is demolished in 1963.

[359] The British-American architect George Feltham (1874 – 8 May 1927) designed Green-Richmond Arcade in 1923 on assignment of two developers named John B. Green and William Richman. In 1927, it was renamed Parsley-Stone Arcade to his new owner, named W.R. Parsley.

again; now less big, only two stories and with car parking in front. The spread of these arcade centres was relatively wide especially if one considers the shortness of the boom. In the end of the 1920 the real estate bubble had burst. Severe hurricanes and the Wall Street Crash of 1929 put the trend downward, and the Florida land boom was definitive over as the Great Depression began. In a few short years, the modern urban paradise in the idyllic subtropics had been transformed into a desolate, humid remote area with few economic prospects. Nevertheless the evolutionary step towards an arcade as easy accessible of-street suburban centre would be most important. The new mutation was a major source for evolving other types and new variants. Repeated back north, the suburban arcade would come in the development of the mall type and influence the idea of shopping malls.[360]

The long pause in the development of Parisian arcades ended in the roaring days of the late twenties. In an ultimate wave of positivism and idealism, a few new arcades opened their gates along Avenue des Champs Elysées. The American dynamics and would be an inspiration to the French capitol. With Arcades des Champs-Elysées,[361] the Russian-born developer Léonard Rosenthal[362] would reintroduce the arcade in Paris. The projects could be considered as one of the most illuminating examples of new public space for the nouveau riche. Rosenthal was one of the many persons who built a fortune by the trade in luxury goods, particularly in France and to The United States. He inspired his project on old and new bourgeois life style and probably he was influenced by contemporary fashion in Eastern Europe. The assigned architects and interior designers combined the idea of old Parisian arcades with a new fashionable Anglo-Saxon oriented style, which represented the newfound wealth. To be exact, the arcade was

[360] See Book 6.

[361] The French architect Charles Lefebvre (1867 - 1924) designed Arcades des Champs Elysées. He died during construction. His employees the French architects Marcel Julien (data unknown) and Louis Duhayon (17 May 1884 – 16 October 1963) continued the work from 1924 to the opening in 1926. The French ironworker and artist René Gobert (data unknown) designed the wrought iron decoration. The Italian-born French engineer Fernand Jacopozzi (12 July 1877 – 6 February 1932) was responsible for the illumination of the arcade. The French master-glassmakers René Jules Lalique (6 April 1860 – 1 May 1945) designed the fountains of glass. The basement of the arcade housed the Lido, a fashionable swimming pool designed by the French architect René-Félix Berger (22 June 1878 - 16 March 1954). This was inaugurated in 1928. Rene Shepherd (data unknown) transformed it into a theatre for cabaret in 1946, and it closed in 1976. During this time, the arcade was also known as Arcades du Lido.

[362] Léonard Rosenthal, called LéoRo, (19 December 1874 – 16 July 1955) was a Russian-born French jeweller, pearl-farm pioneer, and one of the many persons who built a fortune by the trade with the United States. Died in Beverly Hills where he spent the summer vacation. His daughter, the French-born American artist Rachel Rosenthal (born 9 November 1926) once told me that he never came to the States before 1941, when he came as refugee.

Figure 4.6.3.
Arcades in St. Petersburg, Tarpon Springs, Clearwater, Lakeland, Winter Haven, Lake Wales, Manatee, Bradenton, Sarasota, Arcadia, and Fort Myres, 1920s

designed in an Edwardian manner, thus combining the British and French classicist approaches with new Early-Modern styles of Europe and The States. The interior was lavishly decorated by a mixture of styles. Some of the marble columns come from the old hotel, which had to be demolished to make place for the arcade, the glass-and-steel roofing is almost Empire, other details are more Art-Nouveau and the lamps are pure Art Deco. According to the developer the arcades with their elegant interiors and their curious shops would be an important contribution in prosperity of this part of Paris. It would be the first manifestation of the completion of the Avenue's new orientation as a place of high commerce and luxury. (Rosenthal and Détrez 1927: 10) In an early typescript, Walter Benjamin illuminated the recently opened Parisian arcade too. According to him, at its inauguration people piled up moaning about the thresholds of plate-glass windows along sandstone, they were amazed by the artificial rain falling on the copper elements of the newest cars, their wheels swinging in oil to proof the quality of the machinery, they read the prices of the rhinestones, the leather, embroidered kimonos and the gramophone records. (Benjamin 1927)[363]

"In der Avenue des Champs-Elysées zwischen neuen Hotels mit angelsächsischen Namen wurden vor kurzem Arkaden eröffnet und die neueste Pariser Passage tat sich auf. Zu ihrer Einweihung blies ein Monstereorchester in Uniform vor Blumenpaterres und Springbrunnen. Man staute sich stöhnend über Sandsteinschwellen an Spiegelscheiben entlang, sah künstlichen Regen auf kupferne Eingeweide neuester Autos fallen, zum beweis der Güte des Materials, sah Räder in Öl sich schwingen, las auf schwarzen Plättchen in Straßchiffren Preise der Lederwaren und Grammophonplatten und gestickten Kimonos." (Benjamin 1927)

[363] Date indication according to the Walter Benjamin Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.


Lauro.

Figure 4.6.4.
Les Arcade des Champs-Elysées or Nouveau Passage, 1927, by Maurice Lauro (born 1878, further data unknown)

The interior offered a permanent exhibition of everything related to modern automotive and aviation. Elsewhere, similar oases would be devoted exclusively to high fashion. Charleston. The newspapers glorified the new arcade. Le Temps concluded that the architecture was admirable, the stores refined and the interior with fountains and flower beds delicate. L'Illustration wrote for what Rosenthal had done for Arcades des Champs- Elysées, he would plan to do so in three other locations along the same avenue. The newspaper suggested discussing the legacy of Baron Haussmann at the day of the opening, because like him, Rosenthal had a clear vision for the future of Paris. (Beauplan 1926, 26 September, Le Temps 1926, 3 October)

Indeed soon new arcades had opened along the avenue. The architecture of the one of the neighbouring arcades, 34 Champs-Elysées[364], was designed in an almost pure Early-Modern architecture. That means leaving out much of the ornamentation as well as the glass roofing. The arcade was designed with narrow corridors and a large two-storey centre court in its axil. Only this court was skylight. Although most of the arcade was designed in a plain style, this central space did express luxury in an avant-gardistic manner similar to its neighbour. Especially the roof's composition of small glass-blocks clearly represented the new days of industrial prosperity while the use of bright-colours reminded art deco. In general, its lay-out hardly contributed to the urban circulation because the arcade was designed in an L-shape. Also the illumination of the entrance corridors leading to the court was quite poor, so it had to attract the people mainly by its own appealing shops or its spectacular centre piece. Also in the next-doors Galeries Elysées la Bortie[365] connectivity was reduced due to its L-shape and general composition. Imbued with the spirit of the age the natural lightning was completely left out and replaced by artificial lightning through opaline glass. The dim-grey marble might make the interior quit dark, but also fashionable, just like the shops present. Exactly this should take over the public attention. The arcade would perhaps not be used to pass to the other side. Mainly it was an attraction by itself. Would it last? Just a few months before Arcades des Champs-Elysées opened, newspaper Le Temps announced that the Galerie Vivienne had been in disgrace. The novelty had been gone. The newspaper blames the owner. At the time also the older arcades along Saint Denis were in decay, others had been engulfed by the breakthroughs of Haussmann. Benjamin blames the people: "One does not believe it any more". (Montorgueil 1926, 22 April, Benjamin 1927) When time was passing and public taste and preferences changed, even these Modern arcades could go out of vogue. Benjamin returned to the city in 1933 and stayed there for several years. In that period he must have written that the arcade on the Champs-Elysées, 'built by an American pearl king', was no longer in business. For him it was an omen of decline. (Benjamin 1982: 86) Society might have lost its ideals, but foremost the second typological freeze was the result of a declining belief in endless property. Like the bubble burst in Florida, it was the result of a global economic crisis, which due to the strong French economy two years later than elsewhere, simply would affect the city and thus all its commercial enterprises. In 1931, when the Galeries Elysées la Bortie opened, the steady deterioration in general economic situation definitively ended the

[364] 34 Champs Elysées is a rebuilt arcade, originally known as Galerie Champs Elysées in 1930.

[365] André-Louis Arfvidson (3 May 1870 – 14 August 1935) designed Galeries Elysées la Bortie, at 52 Champs Elysées, between 1928 and 1931.

Années Folles or the French Roaring Twenties. (e.g. Jenny 1930, 18 August) Many economies would not recover until World War II. So would the French.

After the Second World War the Modern spheres of influence more then before continued to affect the post-war design of interior public space. The urban approach shifted in the direction of most transformations in society facilitating the new changes in the city. Like, or inasmuch as, for example the arcades in the plan of the provisional commission of artists in Paris represented a utilitarian approach instituting the ideas of The Enlightenment and those in the 'Nouovo Strata Vittorio Emanuelle' approved by the Milanese city commission represented Late Neoclassical positivism and social idealism, during High Modernism the arcade was be used to 'modernise' the old inner city in time's characteristic systematic and functionalistic way.

Exemplary in Europe, were the developments from the 1950s on, when again new arcades opened in Brussels and Milan. The Centrumgalerij and Galerie Ravenstein[366] in the Belgium capital recall images of the arcades of Prague. The interiors were horizontally composed with materials like white stucco, tiles, chrome, glass-blocks et cetera. The Galleria de Cristoforis 2 in Milan could represent later designs. It is a tiny mere functional passage providing some extra commercial space at the entrance of a huge single screen cinema[367]. Its space was built up with simple and austere shop windows, a marble floor and a plain ceiling. Neon lighting seemed the only ornamentation. Urbanistically these arcades weren't new, but as in time architecture had changed, also the approach in urban design and planning did. In the United States, the arcade became one of the explicit answers on the

366 The Belgium architect and politician Jean-Florian Collin (28 August 1904 – 7 September 1985) designed Centrumgalerij, also known as Galerie du Centre. It opened in 1953. The Belgium architects Alexis Dumont (28 January 1877 – 12 January 1962) and nephew Philippe Dumont (29 November 1914 – 3 February 1988) designed Galerie Ravenstein between 1954 and 1958. Many more arcades had been designed in the city since.

367 The Galleria De Cristoforis 2 is designed in 1954 and it opened in 1959, to be followed again by a few other arcades.

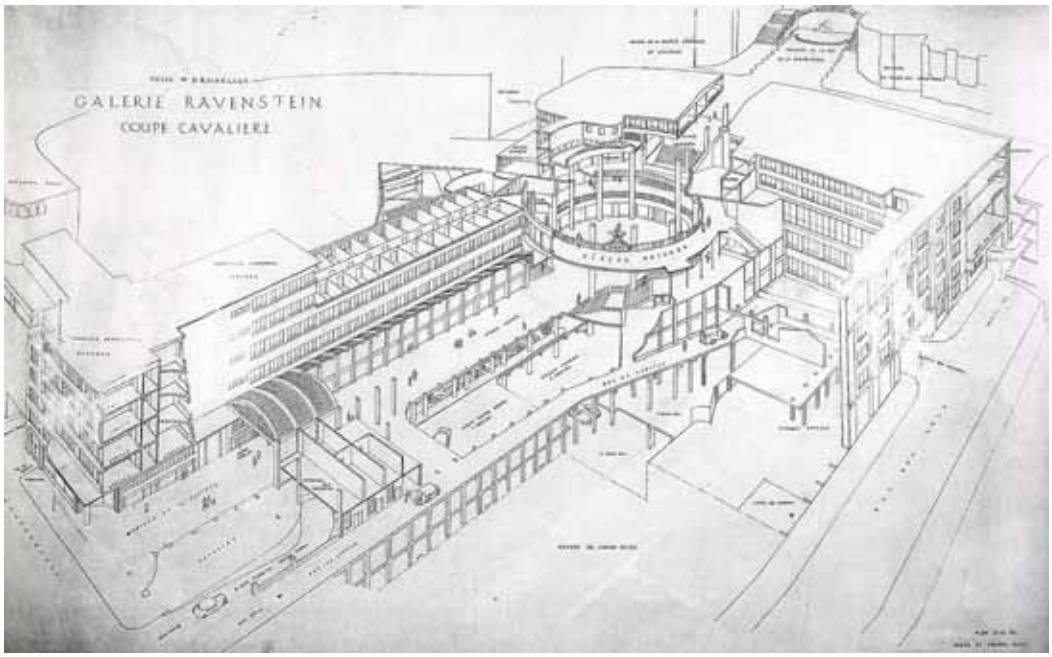


Figure 4.6.5.
Design for the Galerie Ravenstein by Philippe Dumont, 1954

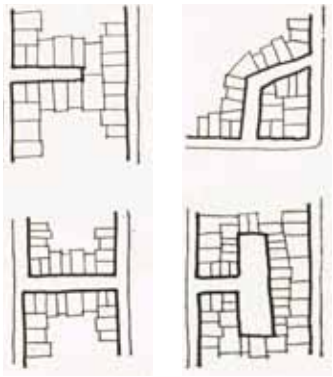


Figure 4.6.6.
The deep-end arcade, the cut-trough arcade, the divisionary arcade and the pedestrian arcade as presented by Architectural Forum, 1955

increase of conflicts between car and pedestrian traffic. In Chicago, city planners and architects used this type of interior public space to bring "downtown some of the advantages of the modern shopping center", to relieve "traffic congestion by giving today's sidewalks to the cars and putting new sidewalks behind today's building line, thus yielding an added lane for vehicular traffic", and to restore "comfortable shade to walk in". The strategy was learned from private owners in New York. In Modern times, an arcade system could be built at once. In this wave, the 'Architectural Forum', a worldwide magazine on building, announces in 1955 the arcade's post-war comeback. In an organised manner, they define different arcade designs. The so-called recessed arcade was forming a covered space along the facade. It would be ideal for the aimed strategy on traffic. The dead-end arcade would additionally increase "the value of buildings by offering more shop frontage". It would capitalise on the fact that one merchant could sell to another's customer when given the opportunity and as such this solution was able to recover reconstruction costs. The so-called cut-through arcade would do so too. It was another possibility to enlarge commercial facades, but in essence it was the classic passageway providing an easy short-cut, thus improving pedestrian traffic by other means. According to the planners a fourth option, a diversionary or L-shaped arcade might not offer a shorter way, only more shop windows. In the overall strategy however it could help to reconstruct old streets and to redevelop commercial area. It should compete with the outdoor street on better light, shelter et cetera. A last concept was called a pedestrian island, a court-like arcade like in Prague, but without true passage. It was seen as the ideal for shopping centre designers and the summit of the Modern redevelopment projects. According to the magazine, it excluded traffic while it offered new opportunities to merchants in the inner city. (Gutheim 1955, January)
On both sides of the ocean the development of arcades fitted the tendency to combine rational design of urban architecture with the locus of the city. In bringing the concepts of the Modern city, including those on the separation of spaces by function through zoning, to the existing city, urban networks were revaluated. Arcades could be ideal for pedestrians and shops. With the regularity of clockwork, articles on arcades were published in both popular and professional architectural magazines. Architects, urban designers and planners put forward the concept of an arcade as the answer on urban problems deriving from traffic congestion or commercial needs to the separation between ideology and the society's reality[368]. (e.g. Bauer 1964, November, Colby 1964, 19 November, Blake 1966, January/February, Reed 1966, November) Also the work of Geist had to be seen in this trend. Imbedded in a new historic conscience, the Neoclassic arcade was soon broadly rediscovered by the field.

The dominant American urban approach as illuminated in the Architectural Forum was adopted by many European cities, at first and especially by the German ones. (Hantschk 1968, 23 December, idem 1970, December / 1971 January) Here, the arcade entered a true renaissance. Most likely more arcades had been built in the time of Late Modernism than ever before. During the resurrection of this type since the late 1970s, one after the other appeared. Immediately catching the eye, the glass roof was the standard again. It was a

[368] See Book 2.

symbol of the past as well as a reaction to the poor lightening of some of the former Modern arcades. The new arcade should be as clear as outdoor space, while ventilation and climate would be better then ever before. From different urban perspectives these new 'streets of glass' would be able to improve the quality of life in the inner-cities without losing the atmosphere of the metropolis. Accordingly, the arcade was able to give new life to the idea of city blocks, something which was considered to be neglected for years. In its popular follow-up the arcade was used in a strategy to recover downtown by a reorganisation of the city plan and a beautification of the city image. In the city modern revitalisation and historic preservation were combined. Even in the new towns and suburbs the arcade was used in an urbanisation strategy. Just like the Floridian examples often arcades were planned as the spine of new centres. Many main cities followed the idea, chronologically in among others: Stuttgart, Bonn, Hamburg, Brunswick, Köln, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Düsseldorf, but also many Dutch,

Figure 4.6.7.
The redesign of the western inner-city of Hamburg by Landesplanungsbehörde Hamburg, 1973

Figure 4.6.8.
Galeria, Hamburg, 2012

Belgium, French and British cities. (Krewinkel 1979, January, Sack 1980, 28 November, and 1983, Garbrecht et al 1983, June, Kief-Niederwöhrmeier and Niederwöhrmeier 1986: 7-20) Again and again whole new systems were constructed. The large Hamburg system is a great example to illustrate this trend. In a short period Gänsemarkt Passage, Hanseviertel and Galleria[369] opened. Soon they grew out to a system of more than a kilometre. Just like in Paris the arcades were designed in series, just like in Brussels or Milan the type was used for a fundamental reorganisation of the city, and just like in Prague new commercial space was added to the city as well as the pedestrian was given a clear path day and night. But above all in the second half of the twentieth century, constructing the whole had become part of Modern governmental planning. (Marg 1981, 30 October and Illies 1981, 30 October) The redesign of the western inner-city was the outcome of the goals which the '*Kommission der Frage der Belebung der Innenstadt*' had defined. They called the city centre a symbol of the political community; with which citizens identified their city. The aim of the commission was to preserve the city as a social centre. More so, in their vision it needed to be strengthened. A bit like Manhattan in the Sixties, downtown Hamburg needed an impulse to re-attract the people, who had been driven out of the city. According to the commission this could happen by the promotion of the city's urban life. This would apply to those factors which dominate the image and the atmosphere of the city and thus the emotional relationship of the citizen to his city determine. In any case, this involves the addition of functions related to consumption to make the inner-city attractive for 'leisure' as well as a general priority for pedestrians in the public space. Strongly influenced by the opposition of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, pleading for a car-accessible inner-city, the Planning Agency smoothly steered a course for the planned arcade system. It would become their solution for a "*zusammenhängendes System publikumsintensiver Zonen werden, das die typischen und attraktivsten Innenstadtbereiche miteinander verbindet*". (Landesplanungsbehörde Hamburg 1973a and 1973b, Handelskammer Hamburg 1973, 25 June) It would be symbolic for the Late-Modern city. Architecturally the era allowed diversification of a now multiple-interpretable notion of modernity. The Gänsemarkt Passage represented the Modern era in a classic manner. Its high-tech white steel constructions, industrial cable-stay roofing, and ditto ducts for climate control exhibit social and industrial prosperity. The people loved it. The Hanseviertel was Modern in a different way. Its humanistic design was predominantly portrayed by the use of uniform brickwork and efficient barrel-formed but bright glass roofs. The choice for formal restraint and the use of natural materials in the public interior fitted the ambition to condition human diversity and indeed again also this interior was always populated. Galleria embraced modernity in a third way. Its pop-art interior challenged the traditional arcade by the reference of mass-produced visual commodities of popular culture. In a cartoonesque way, it introduced free-standing inner facades creating the illusion of being faces without buildings and opal glassing removed from any actual roof construction and skylights. Again the interior was crowed, but mainly by a trendy people. (Bauwelt 1981, 30 October, Lauter 1984: 44-49, Kief-Niederwöhrmeier and Niederwöhrmeier 1986: 41-55) The regeneration of the inner-city had worked: "*Die*

[369] Gänsemarkt Passage is designed under supervision of the local German architect Heinz Graaf (14 January 1910 – 6 July 1980). It is built between 1977 and 1979. The German architect Volkwin Marg (born 15 October 1936) designed Hanseviertel in 1978. In 1980 it opened. The Swiss architects couple Trix or Trixi Haussmann-Högl (born 6 November 1933) and Robert Haussmann (born 23 October 1931) designed Galleria in 1977 and 1978. It is opened in 1983.

city ist tod – es lebe die City", as the president-director of the building department gloriously characterised the urban strategy. The success was acknowledged widely and quickly more new plans for the east side of the city were made. An international selection of designers envisioned all kinds of new arcades intending to be the next quality impulse for the network of public space. (Kossak and Marković 1989: 124, 127, 133-158) The five stories Europa Passage[370] is one of the latest arcades which could be considered as a result of this workshop. In the arcade designs like those of Hamburg, the comfort was optimised. Thus in a need for controlling the climate and a better management, the entrance door is introduced. This seems in contradiction to the original goals which the commission had. The investments in the arcades may well have enlivened the city, but the entrance doors created new barriers in public life. Some would say they isolate activities within the building from the life of the street (Sennet 1977: 12, 13). Nonetheless, still today at day time the arcades do increase liveability and attractiveness of the city, thereby enhancing the urban structure and improving pedestrian circulation. Thus although becoming a more private space in a social sense, the arcades are part of the network of public space, even though for only part of the day.

Today also the Parisian arcade is living its next renaissance. Google the internet and one will find numerous blogs of people recommending a visit to the 'secretly hidden' and 'charming' passages. Most tourist guides and recent newspapers supplement would do the same. The arcades are hip again. Visitors should make 'a pilgrimage to cathedrals of commerce'. They should see the 'glass-covered structures', being 'visionary pieces of industrial-age technology', the 'whoop-de-dos in their day'. (Woodward 2007, 11 March) The increase of popularity could also be illustrated by a growing list of popular scientific books on the topic. Today, according to their authors the arcades 'represent fashion, luxury goods and innovation' and they 'present an immense advantage' in a city which in essence is not constructed to give way to the car. The reconstructed Passage Le Havre[371] is illustrating the transposition of the type into the present by giving 'a contemporary answer to the search for of marginal place in a city that has mutated overwhelming for pedestrians'. (De Moncan 2009: 79, Delhorme and Dubois 2002:

[370] The Iranian-German architect Hadi Teherani (born 2 February 1954) designed Europa Passage, which opened in 2006.

[371] Passage Le Havre was originally designed by an unknown designer between 1845 and 1846. Exactly 150 years later, it was reconstructed by design of Michel Macary (born 27 June 1936) and reopened in 1997.

Figure 4.6.9.
Hanseviertel, 2012

back cover, Lambert 2002: 33; and also Delvaille 1981, Benjamin 1989, De Moncan and Mahout 1991, De Moncan 1996, Association Paris-Musées 2002, Goudot 2007, Grive and Sylvain 2009) While in the last decades old arcades are being renovated and up-graded, my colleagues have been designing new ones. The renewed interest in designing arcades in Paris can be understood from out of two perspectives. Firstly, Late-Modern nostalgia for the Neoclassical predecessor and its international precedential effect on urban designers and architects went hand in hand creating a new focus in the arcade's archetypical place of birth. Secondly, the revival can be explained by the successes of multi-purpose European strategies to plan series of arcades for the better interest of the city; a strategy which unavoidably also reached the French capital.

From a social point of view, it fits a larger cultural shift towards spectacle and simulation, and combines urban entertainment with authentic public spaces. Also in Paris interiors are increasingly popular destinations for the public[372]. From a juridical view point, the contemporary resurgence of designing these new arcades would not stumble upon any presumed difficulties keeping the arcade public. It is not a 'substitute' for public space. Regulating public order and accessible in the Parisian arcade hardly has changed since the nineteenth century. Also under contemporary French law, police law and order still applies to all public places, whether publicly or privately-owned. This includes the Parisian arcade. In the 1970s, the State Council has held that police may take any steps to ensure the ease of passage through the "streets and roads delivered to the public without distinguishing between those within the municipal area and those properties private, were open to the public with the consent of their owners" (Conseil d'État 1975, 3 December). Moreover today, the so-called 'Code de la Route' applies to all routes of public traffic. They include private roads freely accessed by users of the road. (Code de la Route, Article R110-1)

> "...rues et voies livrées au public sans distinguer entre celles qui font partie du domaine communal et celles qui, propriétés privées, ont été ouvertes à l'usage du public avec le consentement de leurs propriétaires." (Conseil d'État 1975, 3 December)

> "L'usage des voies ouvertes à la circulation publique est régi par les dispositions du présent code. Il en est de même de l'usage des voies non ouvertes à la circulation publique, lorsqu'une disposition du présent code le prévoit." (Code de la Route, Article R110-1, in force since June 1, 2001)

So, without roadblocks the new strategy was put into operation also in Paris. Again new arcades were designed along the popular and often crowded Avenue des Champs-Elysées. All arcades were designed in strong contrast to the former ones. Architecturally they differ from the arcades of Hamburg. Up to today for example the reintroduction of the glass roof has passed by Paris. The projects never are block size and often embedded in older constructions. As Galerie Elysées Rond-Point[373] is recently closed, next-doors Galerie Elysées 26 is now the first in the row.[374] It is one of the larger projects. The entrances of 26 are composed by rounded aluminium rectangles in a surface of smooth concrete panelling. They are as wide as the facades themselves and likewise stripped down to their

[372] See Book 3.

[373] Galerie Elysées Rond-Point, at 22 Champs-Élysées, was probably opened in the late 1970s. In 2004 the owner decided to close the arcade and redesign it as two flagships. In 2006 only an Adidas "Mi Innovation Center" opened here. Parking Franklin Roosevelt is still there.

[374] Galerie Elysées 26 is opened in the late 1980s, probably 1987. It is renewed in 2005 by DGLa Architecture Urbanisme Design. Arkhitekton, Societe d'Architecture was responsible for the superstructure.

Figure 4.6.10a.
Galerie Elysée 26, 2005

most fundamental features. Indoors design serves the same visual and functional purposes. Shop windows have become facades and the facades have become shop windows. The plain white ceiling is layered allowing both indirect and spot lightning. The floor is of white and dimgray marble. Fluorescent tubes just above both sides slowly change colours; blue, purple, red, orange. They guide the pedestrian to a small lowered outdoor courtyard, embellished with folded surfaces, curved walls and minimal planting. It also leads the people to the rest of the arcade meandering to the other side. It seems that arcades are popular again. But not all arcades are. The corridors of the neighbouring Early-Modern 34 Champs-Elysées are still cheerless. The new wood panelling and marble floors, probably part of a refurbishing only a decade ago, do not help to overcome its weakness. Without a clear anchor an L is simply unable to attract people. Many shop windows are empty, for rent, blinded or filled with low-priced services. Next-door contemporary Galeries Elysées la Bortie is also a divisionary arcade, but it has a brighter future. Today, its two-story Virgin Mega Store serves as the main attractor and thus the of-street route is used by people. Part of its vitality may be in the fact that this route also continues across the side street. Here the arcade of the so-called Le 66 brings the pedestrian back on Champs-Elysées.[375] Although the brand new arcade is only a moderate improvement in urban circulation it does attract people by itself. Its two layers of pedestrian ways are filled with wannahaves shops which especially attracts people following the latest hype. Its high-tech interior introducing structural-glassing is extremely transparent and light: clear and convenient but not uncluttered. The lay-out of the passage is even somewhat convoluted. Probably the designer has aimed to show the public all shops to entice passer-bys to buy some of the present hip goodies, books and fashion-ware. This arcade has reopened only recently. It has replaced an arcade designed in the nineteen-seventies, which like the many L's did not survive. Will this one? One could state that hip contemporary interior architecture can have a share in the popularity of an arcade. When it is out-dated it might lose its public. On the contrary the unchanged Galeries du Claridge[376] of

[375] Le 66, Concept Store Soixante-Six-Champs-Elysées, opened in 2005. It was a redesign of Galerie Point-Show, which had opened in 1970. The underground public parking Point Show is integrated. Designers are unkown.

[376] Galeries du Claridge opened in 1979 or 1980. It links the public Parking Claridge. In 1986, the arcade was damaged by a bombing attack.

Figure 4.6.10b.
Galerie Elysée 26, 2009

the eighties is still quit popular. Its beige and black marble, its white walls, uniform signs and classy clothing shops introduces almost the same neutrality as the contemporary interior of Galerie Elysées 26. Of course the FNAC, an entertainment retail shop near the avenue entrance, is attracting a lot of people, but the arcade is more than some others part of a larger network of public spaces. It is a though-the-block arcade which faces a car-park facility in the back street, Rue de Ponthieu. As said in the introduction, this street is in line with Rue de Rivoli and runs parallel to the Champs-Elysées, so reasonably accessible. Parking places are of high importance in today's urban circulation plan. By storing vehicles in here a wide attractive gathering space, without too much parking lots, could be created along the avenue and in the arcades. The Arcades des Champs-Elysées follows the same concept. It links a small parking garage too.[377] So, different to other Early-Modern arcades, the first of them has been reactivated by a multi-storey car park rather than an attractor like Virgin. It fits its role as short-cut though the block. Still, also here the use of the interior is slightly changed and perhaps not for the better. In time, the original shrubberies in the centre of the interior allowing a strait view on the entrances have been replaced by kiosks. Since a year or so, a huge Starbucks is blocking dominantly the sight line. It is not yet clear how this will affect the arcade's use as connection to the garage. That interior design could have an influence on it use might be shown in the next arcade. The two-story interior of this one again is facing a parking structure. It is the third in a row doing so. But as this Galeries des Champs[378] is L-shaped it does not offer a shorter way to the park facility, because the garage is easily reachable by using the side street directly from the Champs-Elysées. There is also no anchor pulling the public in. Then what has been left is a dark interior, clad in white and pink veined marble. Brass, chrome and mirrors have been used everywhere. Together with a cheap Tobacco shop, an Astrology Service, Photo Express and a Mc Donald's in the basement, this arcade definitively one of the less sumptuous one. In 2010, it will be renovated. Again: will it work? Near the parking across the side streets, Galerie Berri-Washington[379] provides a last

[377] Parking Berri Ponthieu.

[378] Galeries des Champs opened in 1970.

[379] Galerie Berri-Washington, next to Parking Berri Washington, is probably opened in the 1980s. The club of Carré BW also includes lounge areas, bars and rooms for among others conferences and small parties.

short-cut. It continues on the same line as the Galeries des Champs, thus running parallel to the avenue. This time the interior is again neutral. One may say: functional and white. There is hardly any shop. The arcade mainly gives access to restaurants which are very popular for lunch or snacks after work. However, the most catching programme lays at the end of the arcade. Here a nightclub called Carré-BW is located. At night, in a laser lighting display of charging atmospheres, clubbers come to be succumbed by a multiple sensations of intergalactic sounds, an electro-groove scene of jam sessions or an avant-garde mix of R'n'B, disco funk and hiphouse which is created by a changing team of VJ's and DJ's. Pop culture has entered the arcade; the public is a specific one.

The arcade's adjoined programme has been evolved in many directions. Now, we may go clubbing in the arcade in stead of a night at its opera. Shops with prêt-à-porter and hip goodies may have substituted the ancient silk carpet stores. Burger King and Japanese takeout may have out-fashioned the Duc's boots with oriental spices. Glass-and-steel is substituted by structural glazing; skylights by fluorescent tubes. The sliding-door is introduced and never will it be what it was before… Conclusions based on this could be simply phenomenological, thus little more than interpreting merely observations and readings. Although significant by themselves, these changes represent larger social transformations and continuous cross cultural relations. While the mass has substituted the bourgeois, there has been evolving a wide variety of arcades. Each variant is originated in different a place and time and thus in a different society and culture, space and city. Each typological alteration has made it possible to use the design of arcades to create new public space in the cotemporary city, to condition society and to build upon the local culture. This is valid up to today. Continuously arcades are used to improve urban circulation or to create appealing amenities by themselves. Often their effect is bigger. An arcade design is able to reconstruct public space in many ways: Passageways simply offer the public a short-cut. The gallery passageways introduced the roofing, which with the paved surface created clean public space a place to gather. Shops and other facilities along the passage could profit from passer-by's. Differently the pseudo-bazaar, recalling an exotic market, is able to attract the public by its own unique programme and environment, the passage often come second. Arcades designed as covered streets are often determined for pedestrians only. The concepts of short-cut and attractor are harmoniously combined by the provision of a wider space. These spacious arcades are often easy accessible and strategically positioned in the urban fabric and thus used by more people. Also they allow a variety of public uses. They give for example way to terraces and exhibitions, which allow various forms of public interaction. As a result of this in some cities these arcades, then often called galleries, are designed as symbols of civic society. Based in the same tradition, but not necessary with the same grandeur, arcades are also designed as off-street walkways. They do not interlink the existing network of public outdoor space or improve pedestrian traffic strategically. But, in another way, they provide foremost extra public space generally in combination with extra commerce and new public facilities. Some of these arcades are a mere product of fashion and imitation. They are only inviting

to the public on the long run as long as they able to take care of the continuity of their appeal. Thus in general, they are proved to be fragile. When they additionally also form the spin of a civic and commercial centre, the same seems true. Especially this is valid as soon as other public spaces in the nearness - interior or not - adopt similar functions and activities.

Today's connotation of the arcade as interior public space is funded on the above, often layered, cultural and social meanings, on design successes but also on its failures. In the end each arcade has its own socio-spatial role or symbolic value. Each design will be part of that public validation. Architecturally the arcade can have many forms influencing this process. Generally it is not a major syntactic criterion in the arcade's meaning as public space. On the one hand history does learn that a high-fashioned design is often soon considered as less trendy, and by matter of course obscure arcades will be avoided, but more important; on the other hand being 'all the vogue or not' becomes less relevant if again the arcades is part of a bigger publicly used system being part of a pedestrian pattern. Thus in a wider context, an interior system of arcades has often a greater change on surviving as public space in the city than one single arcade. Most of singles in Paris are privatised or demolished. Systems are of greater complexity than those manifested by one; hence, a whole of adjoined interior public spaces can be seen as a functional unity which is harder to extinguish. It is what we see today at the series of arcades at Palais-Royale and those crossing Boulevard Haussmann. They are arranged in a rational dependence or connection. It is also what we can see in the planned system in Hamburg. The assemblage of arcades is essential to the performance of its function as public space in the city. The arcades along for example Avenue des Champs-Elysées are different. They resemble more those of the early system at Saint Denis and Saint Martin. Compositional both systems consist out of parallel arcades. They survive because of the connected arteries are crucial in the larger urban system, parking facilities and other transit points included. Systems can also be as irregular as the old urban fabric wherein it is embedded. Often then the arcades have been designed to rescale the network. Think of Prague and Munich. In the parallel and irregular cases the individual interiors are fragile; unless one, they clearly interconnect two or more vital public spaces, like busy main streets or squares or two, if outdoor public space is not able to facilitate the pedestrian. The sustainability of single arcades is also very much related to this principle. It is what can be illustrated in for example the strategic intervened arcades in Brussels and Milan. If the arcade is not stretched between vital places but only is opened in the nearness of one, it helps when the arcade will give access to a new anchor. However if in any sense the arcade is not designed as a crucial part of the whole network of public space it will lose the public as soon as it is out of the public attention. Rarely architecture does it by itself.

Isfahan, 2007

“As soon as I had entered today's premises of ancient Persia, I had to change some money. Large amounts of Rials were not available outside Iran and A T M machines within the country were not connected to the global network. So, I imported enough Euros to be able to finance everything during my stay. In a first exchange I got piles of blue banknotes, each worth twenty thousand Rials. These notes show the rectangular Naqsh-i Jahan Square of Isfahan with its surrounding bazaars. I was immediately aware of the importance of this place. – On July 9th 2007, after a day of travelling, I saw the place in real. Understandably, the square itself was near empty; surely the sky was clear, but the temperature was close to 40° C and the sun was burning. The image of the square contrasted with the one of the covered bazaars. In here it was cool, shaded and rather animated. Beside a small group of Iraqi tourists and a few Saudis, foreigners were exceptional. Most people present were locals. Men were greeting me; “Sir, how are you?” Women wearing headscarves or black chadors. Merchants were either negotiating or busy in their workshops. Trade seems modest and most public facilities along the route closed. Most people seemed to use the space mainly for traffic purpose. It contrasted to the activity in the older bazaars in the north. There the bazaars were crowded, if not congested. Each in their own manner from north to south, the ancient bazaars seemed to be a vibrant and essential part of the city. – While frequently the resonant sound of a motorcycle reinforced the vivacious life of the bazaars, I asked myself: Has anything changed really?”

The Bazaar

Watercolour of a bazaar in the Kapalı Çar ı in Constantinople, 1900s

Book 5

Chapter 1 Early Market Places

The bazaar system of Isfahan stretches roughly from north of the Friday Mosque to south of the Imam Mosque[380] over a length of five kilometres. It is an integral part of the network of public space, as the bazaars give access to the commercial heart of the inner city and they interconnect many of the inner city streets. More so, without the bazaars many adjoined streets and alleys simply would not be accessible. Although nowadays most traffic runs around the bazaars and many people are shopping elsewhere, the bazaars still supply a variation of essential goods and services. Their market function is continuing. Where for example along the boulevards cars, consumer electronics and suits are sold, in the bazaar trade is still dominated by agricultural and home manufactured products. Small shops sell fruit, vegetables and spices; fine cloths and embroidered fabrics; brass work, silverware and jewellery; carpets and handicrafts[381]. In the northern bazaars, the public starts to crow at the break of dawn. In the southern bazaars near the city's central square, called Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, activity stars a bit later. In the central bazaars, retail is less dominant. There, most bazaars give access to storehouses and small workplaces for handcrafts, manufacturing or moped repair. Throughout the system one could access mosques, schools, and a few banks and offices. At sunset, when the shops are closing, people move slowly from indoors to outdoors. Public life continues at the huge square. The evening starts with family picnics, gatherings with friends and strolls with beloved ones, while kids run around and play. One could say that the square, enclosed by bazaars is as much part of the system as the bazaars themselves. The same goes for the many courtyards along the bazaar too. Dialectical one also could say that the bazaars of Isfahan are as much part of the public space as any place in the network.

Historical-geographic research, done by Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth[382] in the late 1970s, showed that what now could be considered as the main bazaar route of the system used to be an ancient path through the city. In the eleventh century, two paths ran from the north, slightly curving west while approaching a neighbouring braided river. Here they converged in the former centre of the city. The plain between the two paths used to be the

[380] Since 771, many often unknown people had been involved in the design and redesign of the Friday Mosque of Isfahan, or Masjid-i Jāmeh Isfahān. The merchant and architect Ali Akbar Isfahani or Alī Akbar Iṣfahānī designed the Shah Mosque, probaly between 1590 and 1598. After 1979, it was renamed Imam Mosque, or Masjid-i Imam.

[381] Each of these different kinds of shops forms a cluster or specialised zone in the bazaar system. From the north to the south, they have roughly the same order as in the text.

[382] Heinz Gaube (born 8 September 1940) is a German art historian and archeologist. Eugen Wirth (12 May 1925 - 15 May 2012) was a German geographer and archeologist.

Figure 5.1.1.
A banknote of 20000 Rials, showing the Naqsh-i Jahan Square, in circulation since 2003

former central bazaar square or old Maidan. Similar to many other cities, this joint near the river was the place of exchange. This is the current place of the northern bazaars. The path continued to the west along the water, where somewhere, probably in line with the current bazaars, one could cross the river to go south. On the south shore the route would be extended along a new Maidan, today's Naqsh-i Jahan square. (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 31-49) Such patterns could be reconstructed for most if not all big cities in the region, such as Tabriz, Shiraz, Mashhad, Kerman, Herat and Kabul. Like in Isfahan, it appears that most ancient Persian bazaars have evolved within their major city walls. As an exception, the bazaars in Yazd began to evolve outside one of the gates of a new city wall built in the mid-fourteenth century. (Bonne 1989: 21) Yet, in general, bazaars evolved on the main routes in the city.

The epistle on the evolution of the bazaar does not have a clear beginning. To position or place the exact origin of the bazaar type among others future archeology could help. For now, it may be assumable that the early bazaars started without any permanent construction in the area of Iran. The notion of bazaar most probably derived in this region. At least, it is generally acknowledged that, the word *bāzār* got (بـــازار) its meaning as 'the place of prices' here.[383] Today, centuries later, its meaning does not differ much. It only diversified. To define a type of public space, foremost it is a market-place or a permanent market, usually consisting of a range of shops or stalls, but bazaar could also refer to a whole shopping quarter or to only one store, selling many kinds of goods. (Yarshater 1989: 20, Simpson and Weiner 1989i: 1019 and Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 82) The word bazaar spread widely around the globe and eventually became commonly used in a variety of languages[384]. The use of bazaar might be confusing sometimes. For example, Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville is one of the grant department stores in Paris, not exactly a bazaar, and a chain called Bagel Bazaar in New York is one of those countless small businesses around the world named bazaar, but in fact only offering a choice in toppings. Still, as this book will illuminate, even these examples refer to fancy fairs once imitating Eastern bazaars. They are current displays of

[383] To be precise, the etymology of *bāzār* possibly goes back to the word **uahā-čārana-*[ā] pronounced as baha-charana (بهاچار) Compare also **ues-* in Proto-Indo-European languages, *vasnám* in Old Indic, *vecum* in Latin and *vendre* in French.

[384] Alternative English forms of bazaar were: *bazar*, *bazare*, *bazarro*, *bussar*, *buzzar(r)*, *bazarr*, *-are*, and *basar*, *-aard*. Also in Dutch and a few other languages one writes '*bazaar*'. In Germany and Danmark one writes '*basar*' and in Norway and Sweden it is '*basaren*'. Others, using Romance or Slavonic languages, write '*bazar*', '*bazár*' or '*базар*'. So do people in Hungary. In Finland it is '*basaari*' and in Latvia one uses '*bazārs*'. In Greek, it is '*παζάρι*'. In most Turkic languages one uses '*pazar*', in Hindi it is बाजार or '*baazaar*' and in Indonesia '*pasar*'.

Figure 5.1.2a.
Shah Bazaar, main spine of the bazaar system near the Friday Mosque, 2007

Figure 5.1.2b.
Dar Bāg-Qalandarān Bazaar in the central part of the system, 2007

Figure 5.1.2c.
Mohles Bazaar running to the Naqsh-i Jahan Square, 2007

attractive goods of any kind and thus, they echo ancient bazaars, though strongly reduced and deformed. Given present means and within the framework of this research focussed on a general re-understanding on interior public space, it is close to impossible to descibe all branches in the evolution of the type. To map the full variety of a type is almost equally difficult in any case. It might also not be a necessity.

This epistle starts with the bazaar of Isfahan, because the works of geographers and poets of the Buyid Empire of the tenth and eleventh centuries give us just enough for an assumption that the bazaar of Isfahan might be among the oldest to be known covered.[385] The first evidence of a bazaar of any kind in this city is based on the work of a local geographer named Hamze.[386] Around 950, he had written in his book on Isfahan that the bazaar of the city was close to the settlement of the Jewish.[387] Now only known through quotations, he seemed to have said that some squares created a special space for businessmen, craftsmen and workers. (Hamze c. 950, quoted by Gottwaldt 1844) This might be the old Maidan. In the same era, three decades later, foreign geographer Muqaddasi[388] had described the bazaar as being a long street with some roofed and some non-roofed quarters. So, he revealed that some of the bazaars leading to the square were already covered in the tenth century, though he does report no more than anyhow to be assumed. (Muqaddasi 985, quoted by De Goeje 1877) Probably much like today, these bazaars were main streets covered with rugs, netting or planks. Likewise, the following descriptions of the local geographer Mufaddal Mafarrukhi[389] were going out far over indicating alone. In his work of 1030, he did mention the existence of doors from the bazaar to a '*riwāk*', which denoted something like a colonnade or portico. (Mafarrukhi 1030, quoted by Godard 1936: 213-216) These doors could give access to a colonnaded court near a mosque or a porticoed compound allotted to certain sleeping-quarters. So probably they took place in ancient lodges for the caravans and other traders and travellers, called serais, but little might be sure. A fouth geographer Abu Nu'aym[390], again from Isfahan, added some years later, a very schematic picture of the expansion of the city. His descriptions explained the position and role the bazaar had in organising the city. (Abu Nu'aym 1038 quoted by Dedering 1931 and Golombek 1974: 19) It underlines the theorem that the bazaars were forming the ancient path through the city, its main street. Lastly, the renowned northern Buyid traveller and writer Nasir Khusraw[391] had described Isfahan most extensively of all. He had reached Isfahan on the 9th of June, 1052. At that time, everything inside the fortified city was in a flourishing state. One could find courses for running water, fine tall buildings, and a beautiful and large Friday mosque. He mentioned also the presence of many bazaars. They seemed specialised in certain goods. One of them for example was only for money changers and contained two hundred stalls. Every bazaar had doors and gates, as do all quarters and lanes. (Khusraw 1052, 9 June, quoted in Godard 1936: 217)
According to these texts, we could presume that indeed, the old arteries, which gave access to the central square, adapted its commercial use in early stage. With the construction of lodging facilities doors and porticoes came and thus some sort of permanent roofing of the public space was introduced. Supposedly, goods

[385] There might be resemblance in use and compositon with the hall space of Aula Traiani (See Book 2), but origins are different.

[386] Hamze Isfahani or Hamzah ibn Hasan al-Iṣfahānī (893 – 970) was a local Buyid geographer and writer In Europe, he was also known as Hamzae Ispahanensis. The description of Isfahan is attributed to him.

[387] This settlement, known as Judea, Yahoudiye(h) or Yahudiye(h), was located north of the old Maidān.

[388] Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Muqaddasi or al-Maqdisi (c.946 – the end of 10th C.) was a geographer and writer from the Fatimid Caliphate. He was also know as Shamseddin abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn abu Bakr Bana'a Shami Muqaddasi, or Moghaddasi. His book, called 'The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions' (احسن التقاسيم في معرفه الاقاليم), was published in 985.

[389] The local Buyid geographer and writer Mufaddal Mafarrukhi Isfahani, or Mufaḍḍal ibn Sa'd ibn Ḥusayn al-Māfarrūkhī al-Iṣfahānī, (lived 11th Century) lived his whole live in Isfahan. His 'Book of Isfahan' (تاريخ اصبهان, اصفهان), was written in c.1030.

[390] Abu Nu'aym Isfahani, or Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, (948 – 1038) was also a local Buyid geographer and writer, who lived whole his live in Isfahan. Presumably, he wrote 'The Histoy of Isfahan' (تاريخ اصبهان).

[391] Nāsir Khusraw Qubādiyānī, or Abu Mo'in Hamid ad-Din Nasir ibn Khusraw al-Qubadiani (1004 – 1088) was a Buyid traveler, philosopher and writer from the village of Qubadyan. He may be known under the names Nasir Khusrow, Naser Khosrow, Naṣer Hosrou or Nāṣir-i Khusraw. According to his 'Book of Travels', or 'Safarnāma', (سفرنامه), he reached Isfahan on the 8th of Safar 444 A.H., which is 9 June 1052 A.D.

were traded from out of these places. At least, this would justify the described variation of bazaars, all being closable. If, in addition, certain doors and gates also segmented the city, it might as well delineate the bazaar area. In this line, we could state that since the tenth century these market streets would begin to transform in more or less interior bazaars. Main Street interiorised. Unfortunately, little more usable information can be pulled from history to get a clear picture on the design of the bazaars at the dawn of the type. Though, perhaps, one could recall an image, which in its nature is not very different to the present.

Writers like Hamze, Muqaddasi, Mafarrukhi and Abu Nu'aym, and an unknown amount of traders and travellers, had to have contributed to the earliest migration of the bazaar. For this of course also, the long term economical relations across Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and North Africa were most important. In very general terms, this kind of long distance relations occured especially

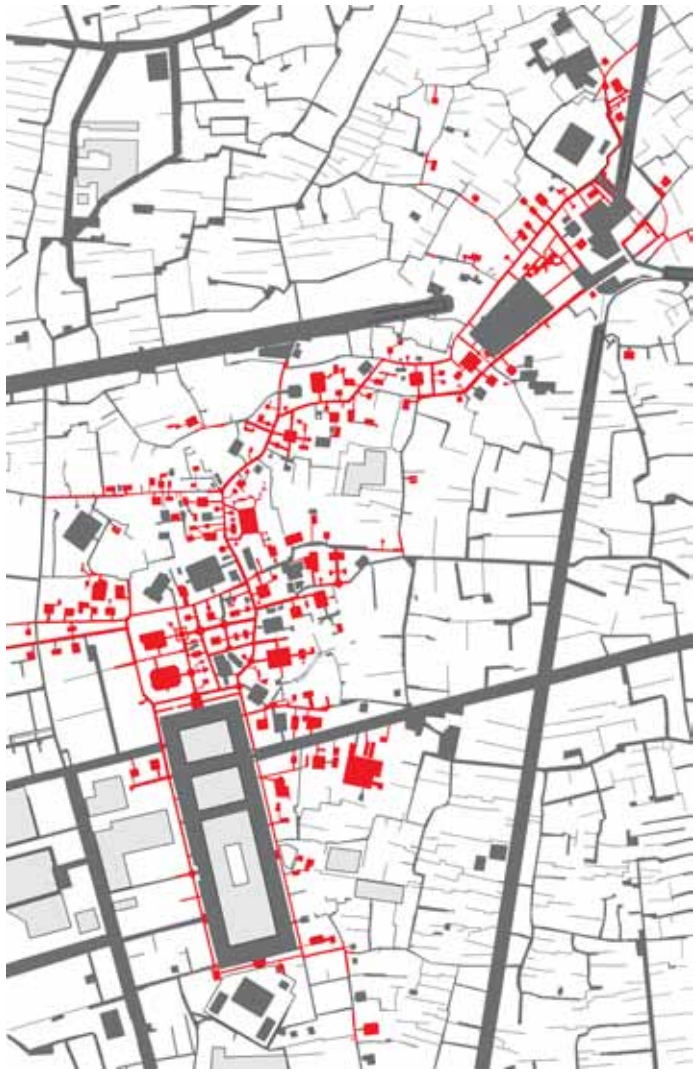


Figure 5.1.3.
Bazaar System in Isfahan

Legend
N bazaars and familiar spaces

in the early fourteenth century, when the political conditions in the lands surrounding Persia were relatively stable and unusually favourable for continental travel and thus trade. At the time Persia, and Iraq, acknowledged the rule of the Mongol il-Khans, but these were destined soon to disappear. In the east, in India, the sultan of Delhi[392] was imposing his overlordship on the greater part of the sub-continent. In the north and north-east, the other Mongol khanates were on friendly terms, and especially in the west, danger and unrest had gone. Here, the crusaders gone and from the city of Aswan to the frontier of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, the word of the sultan of Egypt[393] was undisputed. His relations with the Mongols, though not cordial, had not led to warfare since his last great victory in 1303. Also on the fringes of these great empires, and in such outlying parts as Anatolia, Afghanistan, and the shores of the Indian Ocean, there existed small sultanates and emirates, which acknowledged no master and maintained a precarious throne on the proceeds of trade or freebooting. Travellers from western North Africa could easily pass to the Arabian Peninsula, Asia Minor and India and vice versa.

Ibn Battuta was one of them. He was a Berber traveller from Tangiers and visited most cities in these dominions. Uniquely, he reported on their characteristics in an extensive manner and to a higher degree than his predecessors elsewhere.[394] According to his witness, bazaars were present in most cities in these regions. According to his report, there was an almost uninterrupted chain of cities with bazaars from Athrâbolos to Alkâhirah, so from current Tripoli to Cairo, and down south along the Nile. Bazaars were also located in Zeila on the shore and in Mecca, across the Red Sea. The latter was relatively large and mostly depending on pilgrims. The first was qualified as the dirtiest city out there, the most abominable and most stinking of all. Clearly, this one was contrasting to those in, for example, Aleppo and Damascus. Battuta described Aleppo as a great and beautiful city, thanks to its bazaars and their symmetry. They were covered with a wooden roof to give the people some shadows.[395] Called '*kaïçâ-riyali*', they surround the central mosque and each of its galleries was placed in front of its doors. Also the bazaars of Damascus were covered permanently. Their interior was more beautiful than anything, because of its narrowness. The market place included a large hall, in which among others fabrics were sold and colonnades near the mosque, under which the shops of the cloth merchants, jewellers, booksellers and manufacturers of glass vases could be admired. To the north, in Anatolia, bazaars were established too. In contrast to the most other cities, in Constantinople, markets and streets were wide and paved with flagstones. People with similar professions occupied the same distinct place, and most craftsmen and merchants were women. Each market place was equipped with doors, which would close at night. Like Isfahan, these could be a serai for caravans, or simply 'caravanserai'.[396] These places were closeable. Of course, in the realm of fading il-Khanate itself, such bazaars had been established in many more places. Battuta found them in among others Basrah, Bagdad, Kashan, Tabriz, Shiraz and Mashhad. He was especially impressed by those of the city of Tabriz. When he crossed the jewellers' bazaar here, his eyes were 'dazzled by all kinds of precious stones'. They were in the hands of 'beautiful slaves', wearing rich garments with a waist-sash of silk. They stood

Figure 5.1.4.
An Arab traveller from an manuscript of the Maqamat al-Hariri, 1237, illustrated by al-Wāsitī, Yahyā ibn Mahmūd (data unknown)

[392] Muhammad bin Tughluq, also known as Fakhr Malik and Jauna or Ulugh Khan, (c.1300 – 20 March 1351) was sultan of Delhi from 1325 to 1351.

[393] Al-Nasir Muhammad (1285 – 1341) was sultan of Egypt from 1293 to 1294, from 1299 to 1309 and from 1309 till his death.

[394] The Berber explorer Ibn Battuta (25 February 1304 – 1369) was also known as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Lawātī al-Tanjī ibn Batūtah. He started his first journey in 1325 in the Marinid or Benemerine Empire and ended his last in 1354. His travel reports were first brought into prominence by the translation of an abridged text by the British orientalist or Arabist linguist Samuel Lee (14 May 1783 – 16 December1852). A few years later the complete text was fountd in Algeria, which was translated by French collegues Charles François Defrémery (8 December 1822 – 18 August 1883) and Beniamino Raffaelo Sanguinetti, also known as Benjamin Raphael, (8 April 1811 – 22 June 1883) between 1848 and 1858.

[395] The bazaar systems of both Damascus and Aleppo have been extensively expanded and changed in the centuries after the visit of Battuta. A recent blaze in the end of 2012, caused by an attack launched during the Syrian Civil War, destroyed major parts of the system in Aleppo.

[396] Caravansarai derived from the Persian word 'kārwānsarā' (کاروانسرا) which combines 'kārwān', or caravan, with 'sarāy' meaning dwelling, palace, or enclosed courts.

before the merchants, their bosses, and offered the jewels to women of the Turks, who apparently bought a lot and tried to outdo each other in that expense. (Battuta c 1325-1354, partially tranlated by Lee 1829 and fully by Defrémery and Sanguinetti 1853-1858) With the migration to Egypt, The Levant, Anatolia and Byzantium in the first two decades of the fourteenth century, soon the bazaar would be introduced in the European vernacular.

Around 1340, the Mongol khanate had fallen apart definitively. Travels and interactions between the region with its new emerging empires and the post Roman city-republics, like Florence and Venice, took over the lead. About six to eight years after Battuta travelled in the area, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti[397] was started to travel east of Byzantium. He explored new options for trade with the area after the regime change. He was quite successful and he made his findings public in a book on 'merchandise and other things merchants needed to know'. His recordings would be part of a series made by of pioneering European travellers, giving account of the commercial places in cities like Constantinople and Tabriz, and which would be reproduced several times. (Pegolotti 1472, 19 March; and 1766: xxi) In the next century, a new generation of more settled explorers began to use the word '*bazari*' to portray the type. The Venetian nobleman Ambrogio Contarini[398] was the first actually describing them as such, and he did introduce '*bazaro*' as plural. (Contarini 1486: NP ~ 16-18, 20, 27) By then bazaars clearly had been established in other areas too. While Contarini was sent on a diplomatic mission, among others to restore trading with the Delhi-based Tughlaq Sultanate in today's north India, he made account of several bazaars. They were present in the larger cities on

[397] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, also known as Francesco di Balduccio or Balduch, (abt.1280s – c.1347) was a Florentine merchant, traveler and diplomat. It remains unknown if Pegolotti actually introduced the notion 'bazarra' to the language, as no autograph of 1340 survived. Most likely not, as this notion was used in the introduction of the first printed version was distributed in 1766. This version was based on a copy of the original manuscript, which was completed on 19 March 1472 by a certain Filippo di Niccolaio Frescobaldi, Filippo the son of Niccolaio Frescobaldi, a member of an important Florentine banking-trading family. A copy is present in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi in Florence. Yet, it seemed that the copyist changed the original document. He might have made some errors and he added several passages, introducing inaccuracies, like refeering to current times.

[398] Next to commercial motives, the Venetian Ambrogio Contarini (1429 – 1499) went in 1474 in a diplomatic mission to Persia, which was under Timurid rulership, in order to close an alliance there against the Ottoman Turks.

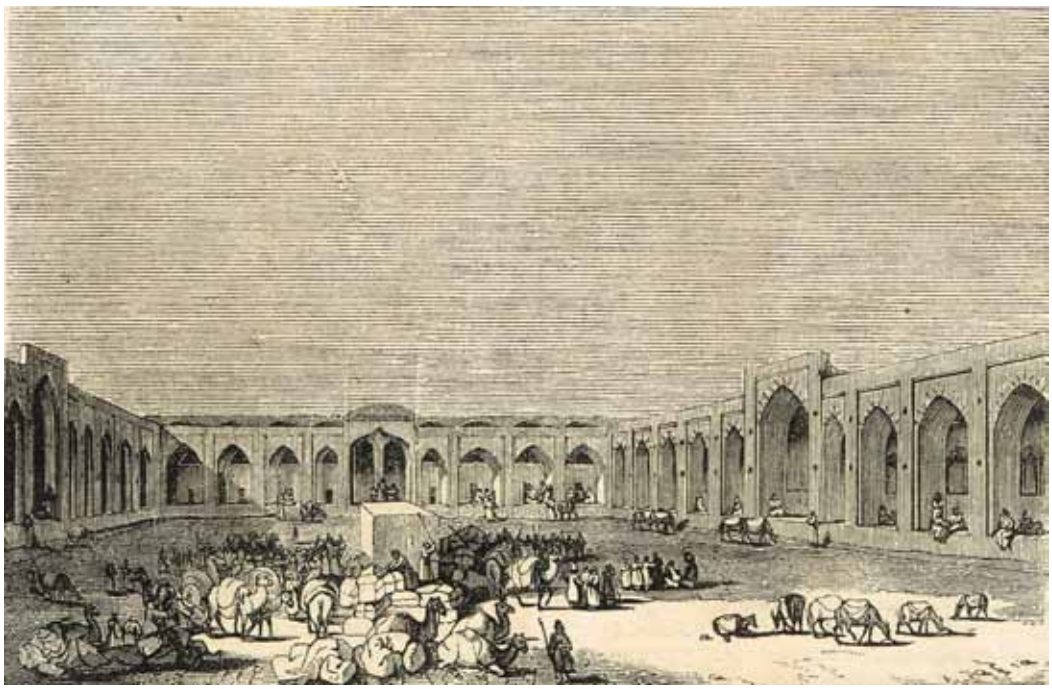


Figure 5.1.5.
Inside a caravanserai in Persia,1835, by Édouard Thomas Charton (11 May 1807 - 27 February 1890)

his route. Roughly on the basis of his descriptions, he differentiated the bazaar type in two. There were permanent market areas within the cities, and temporary markets often found outside their walls. The first kind he found in the cities like Kashan and Qum. Within its mud wall, Qum had an abundance of everything, with good 'bazari' for its manufactures and fustians. Kashan had similar walls and bazaars, but according to his descriptions, it somehow was finer. The second kind he had found for example near Isfahan. On October 30th 1474, he also entered the city. Here, he met Shah Ussuncassan and his Giosafat Barbaro[399], a Venetian ambassador who had been sent on a similar mission the year before. Although Contarini visited in the city for almost a month, he never seemed to have visited the town's bazaar as described in earlier age. He stayed close to the royal palace and its premises, where the shah had invited him to the frequent royal banquets. In the end of the month, when Contarini left with the shah, his court and his family to the north, he travelled as nearly as possible though the same places by which he had come. Yet now he was lodging under tents, and wherever he settled, temporal bazaars were established by those who are deputed to follow the camp with provisions and corn of every kind. These bazaars had everything the caravan needed, but at a high price, he added at the time. (Barbaro and Contarini 1873: 129-130, 132, 134)

> "A Di. xxv. Novembrio, come ditto, sua Signoria parti de ditto lo co de Spaan con la sua corte, & tutti con le lor fameglie, retournã do a invernare in Como; & mi con sua Signoria, caminãdo quasi per li lochi eramo andati alozando alla campagna sotto paveglioni, & in ogni loco doue alozavemo, sisaua bazari di ogni cosa, pche hãno deputati qi seguitano il cãpo, & portão vittuarie, & biave de ogni oditiõ." (Contarini 1486 : N P, on the 18th page)

The more merchants would follow the trails of people like Pegolotti, Barbaro and Contarini, the more bazaars were discovered. In the century thereafter, Venetian travellers, like particularly Cesare

[399] Shah Ussuncassan or Ūzūn Hassan, which can be translated as Tall Hassan, (1423 – 6 January 1478) was Sultan of the tribal federation Ak Koyunlu or the White Sheep Turkmen. Hassan ruled in parts of Persia and Turkey between 1453 and 1478. Giosafat Barbaro, called also Giosaphat, Josaphat or Josafa, (1413 – 1494) was a Venetian ambassador, merchant, explorer and travel writer.

Figure 5.1.6a.
The Beautiful Bazaar in Beirut, 1890s

Figure 5.1.6b.
The Gold Smith Bazaar in Jerusalem, 1890s

Federici[400], would use '*bazarro*' and '*bazarri*' for all oriental markets, including those in India. Bazaars were locations where goods could be exchanged and trade flourished no matter if the were permanent constructions or temporal ones. Undoubtedly, with the dispersion of Renaissance, the news on the bazaars was spreading and explorers and merchants of other nations would follow the pioneers. Eager for new information, it took less than a year to translate the particular report of Federici in English. In this translation, '*bazaar*' would be introduced in the English language and thus the notion needed to be explanatory. In a subsentential addition, one could read that "a place of Bazar" was a place of market with shops. (Federici 1587: 6, 60, 91, 146; Frederick 1588, 18 June) This emphasis was an illustration of what could be considered to be the essence of that what was alluring at the time: The trade with new parts of the globe.

[400] The Venetian trader, traveler and jeweler Cesare Federici (c.1530 – 1600/1603) was mainly known for his Asian journey.

Figure 5.1.6c.
The Leather Bazaar in Cairo, 1890s

Chapter 2

Ottoman Outposts on Byzantine Bases

In the about same era, as said, midway Constantinople introduced a variety of bazaars. According to several current European descriptions, one of the main bazaars of the city was outdoors and located at the ancient Forum Tauri on the city's central artery. This ancient and spacious Byzantine marketplace had been rebuilt more than a millennium ago by the Roman emperor Theodosius I after the model of Forum Traiani in Rome.[401] Its design used to include surrounding porticoes and civic buildings, all part of the public space. Although almost every construction was completely destroyed long before the Ottomans took the city in 1453, the Roman triumphal column was still standing and the market was persisting. Now completely in the international fashion, the temporal market held on the square got company by more permanent ones. So-called bazaars had been established inside 'certain structures' immediately north of the forum. (Gylii 1561: 159-167, Levnclavii, 1591: 848) On the one hand, apparently the atmosphere of the local temporary market, by then called bazaar too, might resemble those from the east more than those from the west. Yet, as already noticed by Battuta, its place was nature very different as in origin it was a forum. On the other hand, the area transformed and its public space expanded to new buildings. These interior bazaars were located north of the old forum and disposed in a Byzantine manner that seems almost random. One could say that on the threshold of the Convocation in Florence and the theoretical rediscovery and redefinition of the concept of public space[402], public space in Constantinople was not withdrawing to the outdoor space only. The bazaar adapted to the city. It continued the Byzantine temporal market on the ancient gathering place, while it diverged also in an Ottoman variety of permanent bazaars by following old Byzantine urban principles, seeming to have an apparent lack of plan. The construction of interior bazaars fitted the policy of the Ottomans. According to researchers over time, in every capitol city, the new rulers were investing in public spaces and public facilities of all kinds. The establishment for bazaars could be seen in this line. They would be very different in comparison to those abroad. Their design comprised an independent square structure, like the caravanserais in the hinterland, but stylistically more in line with domed Byzantine structures as present in this region and as such they were located away from the main street. The Ottoman permanent bazaar was not a main street itself, nor a real '*sarai*' for caravans. It was not a traditional building with an outdoor courtyard surrounded by rooms or offices. Instead, its structure covered the central place and it was intended to be used for market purposes only. These bazaars were called '*bazzāzistān*' and '*bazistān*'. This literally meant '*place of the bazaar*', respectively '*place of the fabric*'. Safeguarded in its interior, one of the most exclusive goods of that time was traded in shops: rare and precious silk and other fabrics. The latter notion transformed over time into the Ottoman-Turkish notion '*bedesten*'.[403] (Meninski 1680: 1038-1039, entry on Mercatus,

Figure 5.2.1.
A miniature depicting an outdoor bazaar in Constantinople, c.1580

[401] Flavius Theodosius Augustus, known as Theodosius I or Theodosius the Great, (11 January 347 – 17 January 395) inaugurated Forum Tauri, forum of the bulls, in 393 A.D. It was part of the refounding of the city of Byzantium. Originally the city bared names like Nova Roma or second Rome. Later it became known as Constantinopolis, Constantinople (Κωνσταντινούπολις and قسطنطنيه). The Ottomans and other groups in the region simply called it Stanbul, or 'The City', as in Istanbul (استانبول) and several other variant forms. In time also Forum Tauri was renamed, first to Forum Theodosius and later, what was left of the place, to Ser'asker Maidān, after the grand vizier of the Sultan, head of the Ottoman army. Now it is known as Beyazıt Meydanı, stil remembering the outdoor bazaar, as 'beyaz et' means white meat in Turkish. For Forum Traiani see Book 2.

[402] See Book 2.

[403] In the Farsi 'bazzāzistān' or 'bazistān' (بزازستان or بزستان), which literally meant 'place of the bazaar' or 'place of the fabric', respectively, 'bazaar and the Arabic word for fabric 'bazz' (بزّ) is combined with the Farsi word for place of "i-stān" (ستان). Old transcriptions also were 'bezistān' or 'bedestān'. (Nişanyan 2011: 85)

and Nişanyan 2011: 85)

The bedesten of Constantinople was not the first. In the past century, the Ottomans had built similar bazaar places in Edirne and in Bursa. The one was located along the main transit route known as The Silk Route, similar to those in Constantinople, and the other was located along a southern bypass.[404] The Ottomans had built the Edirne Bedesten between 1414 and 1421, during its early days as the capital city of the empire. Also this one had been influenced heavily by Late Byzantine architecture. It had been constructed in an Early Classical style, using a regular dome-based structure, with two naves and seven bays. The grey masonry structures included massive walls, jackets and arches and the lay-out was symmetrical and axial too. Although the Bursa Bedesten was much older, it had been designed very much alike. Built already just after 1389, it also had introduced two naves and seven bays. In its size, it was somewhat smaller.[405] Although at the time of construction, Bursa had lost its status as the sole Ottoman capital, apparently it had remained the most important trade centre. From a phenomenological point of view, one could state that the pioneering Ottoman bazaars were more than a local post-Byzantine variation on the type. One could relate their design also to earlier constructions, which had been used to facilitate bazaars, like the caravanserai, locally known as a '*han*'. Especially, the Bezzarlar Hanı, or Bazaar Han, arisen between 1297 and 1299 in the then rising city of Beyşehir, had been often mentioned in relation to the early Ottoman bazaars. This pseudo-bazaar lodging facility had been a vast place for trade in the new capital of a then autonomous territory south of the Ottoman lands, located near the centre of the Sultanate of Rum, towards the end of

[404] Bursa, poetically also named Hüdavendigâr, meaning 'God's gift', became the first capital city of the Ottoman Empire following its capture from the Byzantines in 1326. It used to be named Brusa or Prusa (Προῦσα). Edirne (ادرنه), former Adrianople or Hadrianopolis (Ἀδριανούπολις), took over this role between 1365 and 1453.

[405] Sultan Bayezid I (c.1360 – 8 or 9 March 1403), nicknamed Yıldırım, was the the local 'bey' or 'lord ruler' of the so-called Beylik of the Osman or Othman. He built the bedesten in Bursa. His son Sultan Mehmed I or Mehmed Çelebi (c.1390 – 26 May 1421) built the bedesten, in Edrine, or Adrianople.

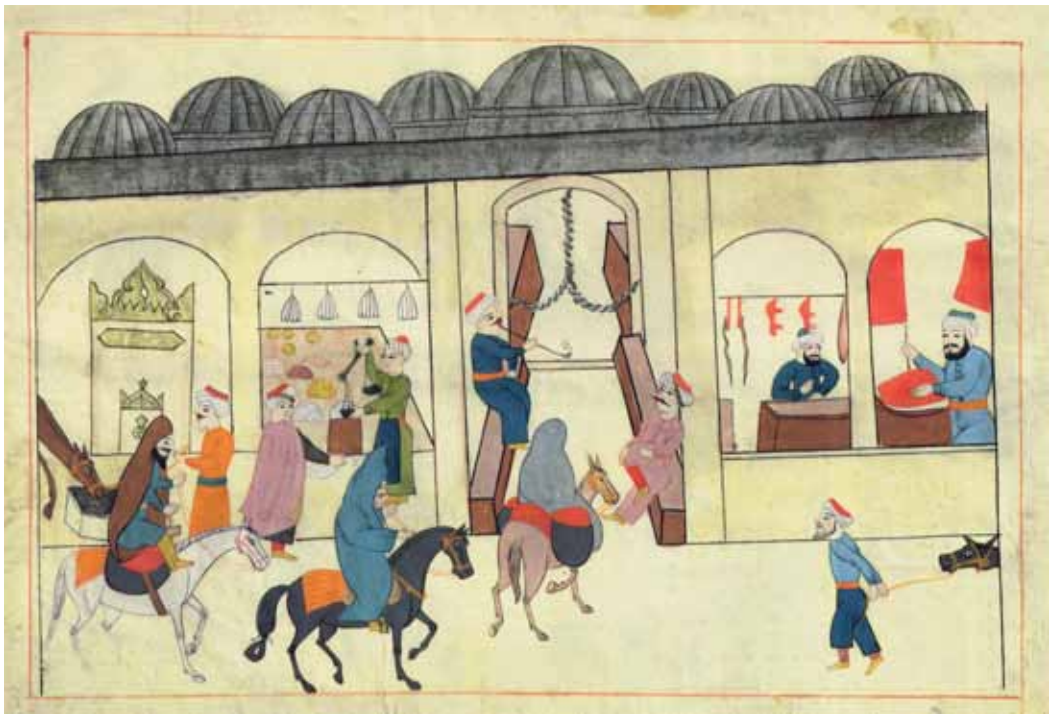
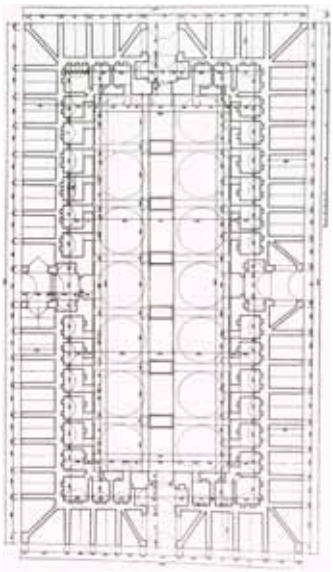


Figure 5.2.2.
An indoor bazaar in in Constantinople, c.1580



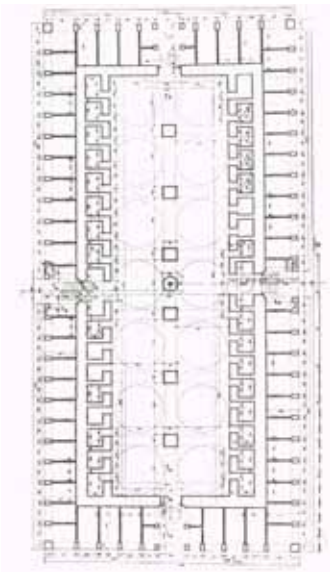


Figure 5.2.3a.
Left: Plan of the Edirne Bedesten, drawn in 1983

Figure 5.2.3b.
Right: Plan of the Bursa Bedesten, drawn in 1983

Figure 5.2.3c.
Above: The Bursa Bedesten during restauration in 1958

Figure 5.2.4.
A scene inside the bazaar, coloured steel engraving, 1838, by Henry Griffiths (death 1849), after William Henry Bartlett (26 March 1809 - 13 September 1854)

its power.[406] (e.g. Özdeş 1953: 10-24, Eyice 1965: 113-117, Kreiser 1979: 367-400, Scharabi 1985: 159-160, Cezar 1983: 162-163, 174-185) Like caravanserais or hans elsewhere, these kinds of sleeping accommodations had also possessed commercial potential, as the merchants used them for small trade, while they had to stay over.

The construction of the indoor bazaar places in Constantinople began only two year after the capture of the city, when the city became the third Ottoman capital, after Bursa and Edrine. Its bazaar would become known as İç Bedesten, literally translated as the 'interior place of the bazaar'. It was designed in the same style as the past two, using similar domes, masonry and symmetry. The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II[407] ordered its construction and most likely his unknown court architect designed it. Built mainly in granite, the interior decoration was subtle, with very restrained use of patches of coloured paint and flower patterns. This bazaar place had three naves and five bays, surrounded by a double row of shops. One row of shops opened outdoors and one opened to the inside. Indoors, merchants would sell more precious items next to fabric, among which jewellery. Without question very popular, and a booming trade, soon it was joined by a second interior bazaar. It was located on its east side, a bit to the south. This bazaar was named Yeni Bedesten or 'new place of the bazaar'. It was meant especially for the increasing amount of merchants specialised in the trade of valuable fabrics, such as silk and velvet, but it also housed turban-makers. This bazaar opened in 1461.[408] Its design was very much like the other bedesten, which soon became known as old bedesten. Only in size, with four naves and five bays, the new bazaar was somewhat larger and it did not have shop establishments. The French traveller Jean Thévenot[409] would compare both bazaars with the grandeur of the Palace in Paris. According to Thévenot, the people abroad needed to see them, because even though most streets in the area were said to be extremely unpleasant, the shops inside had the entourage of a palace hall. He described one of them as a large hall with thick walls, of which all stones ran off the line. It

[406] During the downfall of the Sultanate of Rūm, the 'Roman' sultanate, or Saljūqiyān-i Rūm, nearby Konya was its capital city. Beyşehir, literary 'city of the bey', was the rising centre of the local 'bey' of the Beylik of the Eshrefid, a new autonomous territory in the region. Seyfeddin Süleyman (c.1280 – 1302) constructed Bezzarlar Hanı. It is generally accepted that, the design of this bazaar roughly followed the design of the local staging posts and way-stations for caravans passing by on the same trade route. Examples were the caravanserai of Aksaray, built in 1229, and that in Kayseri of 1232. Both caravanserais were also known as Sultan Han. They were designed during the reign of Alaeddin Kayqubad I or 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kai-Qubād (1192 – 1237), the Sultan of Rūm.

[407] Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror or el-Fātih Sultan Mehmed-i Sānī (30 March 1432 – 3 May 1481) reigned between 1444 and 1446 and 1451 and 1481. He made it the new capital of the Ottoman Empire, bringing an end to the medieval Byzantine Empire.

[408] The İç Bedesten was also known as Bedesten-i-Atık. Now it is as Büyük Bedesten, Eski Bedesten, or Cevahir Bedesten, respectively the Big, Old or Jewel Bedesten. The Yeni Bedesten was extended and as such it became known as Sandal Bedesteni or Bazaars for Sandal, or valuable fabrics.

[409] Jean de Thévenot (see Book 4) was also a skilled linguist, a natural scientist and a botanist.

Figure 5.2.5.
The drug bazaar in Constantinople, 1853

had four doors and it was well connected to the streets. He affirmed that in these shops the most invaluable goods were sold and that doors were closed all the nights. Nobody sleeps there, Thévenot explained; each merchant had only the care to close his shop well at the evening. (Thévenot 1664: 50)

> "... Les rues des Constantinople sont fort vilaines, pour la plus-part estroites, tortues, havres & basses, il y a plusieurs places où se tiennent les marchez : Mais il faut voir le grand Bezestain, qui est une sort grande salle ronde, toute bastie de pierres deraille, & fermée de murailles sort épaisses, les boutiques sont en dedans à l'entour de la salle, à la façon de la salle du Palais à Paris ; & c'est dans ces boutiques que se vendent les plus précieuses marchandises : il y a quatre portes à cette salle, qui sont bien sortes, & qui se ferment toutes le nuits, personne n'y couche, chacun ayant seulement le soin de bien fermer sa boutique au soir. Il y a un autre Bezestain dans la ville, mais plus petite, & où se vendent des marchandises moins précieuses." (Thévenot 1664 : 50)

It is also generally considered that Mehmed II had also established a bedesten in the city of Galata[410], located at the northern shore of the Golden Horn, facing Constantinople. This interior bazaar introduced again a similar layout with nine domes, but it was constructed almost completely in red brick with a small gate of grey granite. It was surrounded by buildings with a greater density that on the other site of the water.

The creation of bazaar places seemed a way to stimulate economic growth and from the 1470s on, the Sultans ordered their construction at a variety of cities outside the capital. The design of new domed bazaar places became part of the territorial expansion of the Ottomans. During the rise of the empire, interior bazaars arose first east of Constantinople, in Ankara, Kastamonu and Tire, then further away, in Zile and Kayseri. In the west bazaar places were established in the cities of Yanbolu, Serez, and Tekirdağ probably soon followed by bazaars in Sofia, Salonica and Larissa.[411] While ensuring their new eastern and western fronts, the Ottomans moved on. During the succeeding reigns, the sphere of influence expanded radically. The empire would reach to respectively inland

[410] Galata or Pera used to be an independent city, a colony of the Republic of Genoa until the city was capture in 1453 too. It became part of Constantinople or Istanbul. Due to its architectural differences, some researchers doubt if not the Galata Bedesten had arisen later than the time of Sultan Mehmed II. (e.g. Cezar 1983: 185)

[411] The bedestens in Ankara, Kastamonu and Tire opened in respectively 1471, 1474 and 1480, during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II. After remodelling between 1938 and 1968, the so-called Pa a Bedesten in Ankara became the Arkeoloji Muzesi Ankara the archaeological museum, todays Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi; a museum of Anatolian civilisations. The bedestens in Yanbolu (1492), Serez (1493 or 1494), Zile (1494) Kayseri (1497) Tekirdağ (1500) and Larissa (1510), all opened during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (3 December 1447 – 26 May 1512). Exact dates are unknown of the Sofya Bedesten in Sofia and the Selanik Bedesten in Salonica, today's Thessaloniki (Θεσσαλονίκη), but they were constructed by Sultan Bayezid II too.

Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt, the Balkans and Hungary, the Barbary Coast, and Mesopotamia.[412] Gaining immediate control in these areas involved new trade relations again. Yet, most captured cities already had bazaars and, if where they had not been present, no considerable typological developments took place. The bazaars in Monastir, Skopje, Đakovica, Ragusa and Belgrade, for example, were more or less temporal and established outdoors on present streets and squares.[413]

Typological change came from the capital again. In the mean, with the expansion of the empire, population in the capital had grown and the variation of supply had grown. The two bazaars were vastly enlarged in the early sixteenth century. Improvised structures were added. The shops on the outside interiorised and during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I,[414] the free-standing bazaars became one. The new additions created a sprawling labyrinthine of covered bazaars organised in an orthogonal pattern. It would become known as the Çarşı-yı-Kebir, meaning '*big centre*' in Ottoman Turkish. The local people would also start to call the area Kapalı Çarşı, or '*covered centre*', a name by which the collaborative bazaars are still known.[415] Foreigners would start to prefer Grand Bazaar. Indeed, the bazaar network had become large. According to the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi[416], already in 1630, it would reach its present size. One of the new generation bazaars, which he explicitly described, was the Uzun Çarşı or '*long centre*'.[417] This series of permanent covered bazaars was established downhill to the north following an old path through the city. In a way, these bazaars were established quite alike those in the east. The bazaars on this way would be covered over a length of roughly two-hundred-sixty metres. Together they were one of the new backbones of the bazaar system. According to the descriptions of Çelebi, the whole bazaar area would give access to

Figure 5.2.6.
Galata Bedesten located at the northern shore of the Golden Horn, facing Constantinople, picture of the 1900s

412 Ottoman forces ensured and expanded their eastern front, after their victory in Chaldiran in eastern Anatolia, in 1514. They invated Syria in 1516 and they marched into Egypt a year. Belgrad was captured in 1521, which opened ways to the European peninsula, eventually leading to the invation of among others the southern and central parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, or Regnum Hungariae, in 1541. Turkish pirates, or so-called corsairs, established themselves along the Barbary Coast of North Africa. They were based primarily in the ports of Algiers and Tripoli, since 1512 and 1551, and in Tunis briefly in 1534 and again from 1574 on. Later campaigns against the Persians, Tatars and Polish were proved successful. After a long battle between 1514 and 1548, Tabriz was overtrown by the Ottomans, giving them control of northern Persia, which had become under control of the Safavid Dynasty. This capture lasted until 160, and allowed expanding to western Persia. Baghdad was brought under their control in 1638.

413 Monastir is known as today's Bitola or Битола, Skopje also as Скопје, Đakovica as Ђаковица, Yakova and today's Gjakova, Ragusa as Dubrovnik, and Belgrade also as Београд or Beograd. Generally their bazaars are now known as 'stara čaršija', or 'Стара Чаршија', meaning 'old bazaar'.

414 Sultan Suleiman I the Magnificent or Sultān Suleimān-i Evvel al-Qānūnī (6 November 1494 – 5/6/7 September 1566) reigned from 1520 to his death.

415 The word 'çarşı' derives from Persian 'çārsū' or 'čahār-sū' (چار سو) meaning crossroad, intersection and literally 'four-ways'. (Haji-Qassemi 2005ix: 10 and Bonne 1989: 21) Others describe čahār-sū as four arches. (Ardalan, Baktiar and Nasr 1973: 139)
The Ottoman 'kebir' or 'kabīr' (کبیر) means big. (Nişanyan 2011: 129, 437) In its relation to bazaars, çarşı got the connotation of centre and shopping centre. Today, its bazaars house also multiple restaurants and cafes, a pharmacy, a post office, banks, a police station and a tourist information centre.

416 The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, or Efendí, (abt.25 March 1611 – 1682) visited a variety of places throughout the Ottoman Empire and neighboring territories. The first volume of his 'Seyahatname' (سیاحت نامه), or Book of Travels, started in Constantinople in 1635. He travelled, as he frequently mentions, for forty-one years, so that he must have completed his travels in 1670.

417 It can be also written as Uzūn-Chārshi.

the “two bezestâns, and seven thousand shops”. A variety of goods was sold in here, but also other facilities had joined. The system was fringed by drinking water provision, public baths, mosques, workshops, and lodgings for traders and travellers. There were grand ‘*hans*’, or inns for merchants and caravanserais for the others. (Çelebi 1670, translated in: Efendí and Von Hammer 1834: iv-vi, 47, 177-178) The next generation of Ottoman bazaars was still away from the thoroughfare of the city, but also more and more it became a main street in itself. The bazaars of Uzun Çarşı are exemplary. They delineated an important access route from the shores of The Golden Horn, the city’s natural harbour, to the old commercial centre. Partly covered, partly outdoors, these bazaars gave entry also to facilities, other than shops and attracting a variation of people. The Late Classical bazaars had been designed also different to the first permanent bazaars. Probably they were designed in the current fashion using thin planks, maybe neatly finished and carved. However, any evidence had been lost during a period of devastating fires in the centre of the city, none of which exceeded the final great fire at Constantinople in 1791.[418] Reporters of that time did witness that frequently the shops were communicating with each other and that they were filled with combustible materials. As such they created “a vast column of flame, of the most laminous glow”. (Dallawat 1797: 74-75) So, we could presume that they were built in wood.

[418] Larger parts of the system burned down in the night of 31 March 1750 and were destroyed by the earthquakes of 1766 and 1894. Each time the bazaars were rebuilt with governmental support. (Cezar 1983: 97-102, 280)

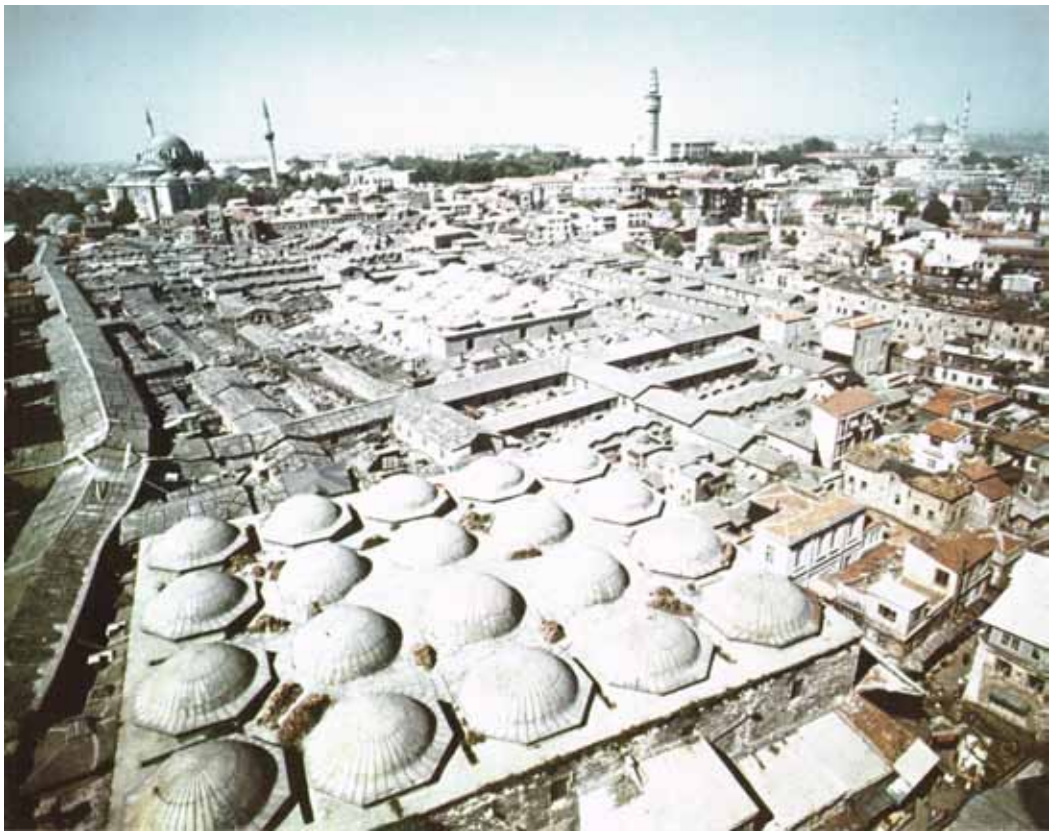


Figure *5.2.7.*
The bazaar system of Çar ı-yı-Kebir, aerial of the 1980s

Chapter 3

Qayşariya: Re-Conceptualising Old Designs

Figure *5.3.1.*
Miniture of a butcher shop in the bazaar of Isfahan, 1590

While the Ottomans had seized vast territories, the Persian Empire had fallen in a desperate state at the end of the sixteenth century. The capture of Tabriz, the capital of Persia until defeat in 1548, had been a great loss. The government of the shah had moved south to Qazvin and their authority had been weakened considerably after decades of ineffectual rule and civil war against the Turkmen Qezelbās chiefs. This would change during the reign of Shah Abbas I[419]. The shah would be able to revive and reform both centralisation and power in a new capital on major distance of the Ottoman border. Between 1590 and 1591, he offered a series of building campaigns to make Isfahan the next Persian capital in 1598. Isfahan had to be enlarged to facilitate the workings of a new high society, representing the constituent parts of a reconfigured royal household replacing the larger part of the old companions. (Munsi c. 1592-1616, 1629, as translated by Savory 1978i: 536; and e.g. Babaie and Haug 2007: 12) Like the Ottoman strategy in the past, these changes included the establishment for bazaars to boost power. On distance of the walled city the shah ordered architects to design a new urban armature. A new square, a new palace with gardens, a new Friday mosque and new bazaars arose. The outer channels of the braided river were filled in and replaced by a geometric urban plan. The first instalments were focussed on the design of the Maidan-i Shah, today's Naqsh-i Jahan square, thus the large central square mentioned before. By virtue of levelling a rectangular area the public space was formalised. It would become the centrepiece of the planned area. In the decade after the perimeter facades were constructed. Two-story high bazaar buildings arose all along the square, almost completely surrounding it. Each shop had got entrances both to the square as well as to the interior. In the north, the 'Qayşariya' was designed. This royal bazaar formed a larger, more luxurious and better secured marketplace then the other bazaars. Only the most expensive goods were stored and sold here. The Qayşariya resembled the Grand Bazaar in Constantinople. It was located along the main square of the city too and similarly large structures hold the network of bazaars together. Yet, the large structures in the bazaar system housed the royal mint and the royal caravanserai and the whole was designed at once.

The strategy of Abbas worked. Within decades, Isfahan became the new hot spot. When, for example, the English traveller Thomas Herbert[420] visited Persia between 1627 and 1629, in connection with his embassy, he experienced the city as a vibrant metropolis. He described it as the biggest built in 'the whole East'. It was walled and fortified and its bazaars formed the spine of the city. – The square and bazaars had to be nearly finished at that time. – Herbert described how the vizier of the shah accompanied him with four thousands horses on the date of arrival and how he was welcomed by innumerable people, while the sound of kettledrums, flutes,

[419] Shah Abbas I, or Shāh 'Abbās, The Great, (27 January 1571 – 19 January 1629) attained the Persian throne in October 1587, by revolting against his father Mohammad Khudābanda (1532 – 1595/1596), whom he had imprisoned.

[420] Sir Thomas Herbert (4 November 1606 – 1 March 1682) was an English traveller, historian and part the royal household of the Kingdom of England since 1647. He traveled though Persia between 1627 and 1629.

shawms and similar instruments veiled the sky. Dancing wenches, most gracefully dressed with uncovered faces, magicians and other entertainers guided him directly to the central square, which was surrounded by brick bazaars and bright blue, turquoise and gold mosques and temples. The royal palace stood on the west side of the square. From here, Herbert would explore the city in the days to come. He met a wide variety of peoples. Except locals, the public consisted out of Englishmen, Germans, Portuguese, Polish, Muscovites, Indians, Arabs, Armenians, Georgians, Turks, Jews, and more. In his view, the central square resembled Place Royale in Paris,[421] but larger. The interior public spaces of the surrounding bazaars were plastered and covered with vaulted ceilings ascending in cupolas. One could find all kinds of shops inside and each shop had all kinds of goods. In the north, trade was focussed on lamps and tin, and silver, gold and copper coins were minted. Not far from there, merchants would sell edible goods, enough to be more than satisfied. Elsewhere in the bazaars one would sell jewellery or spices, natural gums, dried goods or animals, all smelling nice. In the eyes of Herbert, Isfahan was like a Paradise, because it had almost the same pleasure. (Herberts 1638: 153-163)

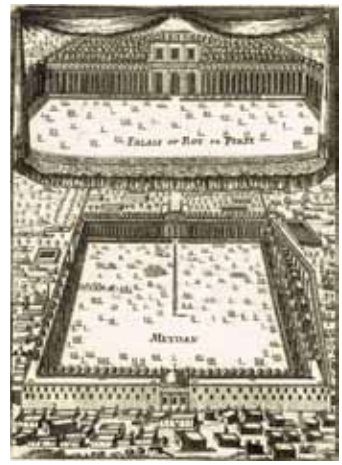


Figure 5.3.2.
Image of the Maidan-i Shah looking towards the Qaysariya, engraving by Allain Manesson-Mallet, 1683

> "The Mydan or great Market, IS without doubt the most spacious, pleasant, and Aromatick Market in the Universe; a thousand paces from North to South, the other way above two hundred, resembling our Exchange, or the place Royall in Paris, but six times larger: the building is of Brick, well made, and in delightfull manner fabricated; the whole Mydan joyntly continued: the insite is full of shops, each shop full of ware, archt above(and in a Cupolo) atop tarraswise framed, and with plaister (like that os Paris) cemented. This Mydan being the noblest part, is so placed in the heart of this triumphant City."
> (Herberts 1638: 156)

In 1651, the German traveller Adam Olearius[422] added that the city had become so extremely rich and densely urbanised, that the streets had become too narrow: Three persons hardly could pass each other. According to him, this problem was especially present in the area of the main square and the bazaars. The congestion emerged to be a serious problem, for example, on the west side of the square, at the place where palaces were connected to each other with the free-accessible two-story vaulted bazaars. They were crowded arteries in the city. A lot of people were walking or strolling here, but hardly anyone was able to give way for another.[423] (Olearius 1651: 19)

[421] Henri de Bourbon, known as Henri III, King of Navarre and Henri IV, King of France, (13 December 15533 – 14 May 1610) built Place Royale from 1605 to 1612. It would be 140 to 140 metres. Probably the French architect Jacques Androuet II du Cerceau (c.1556 – 1614) designed its facades. Other architects, like Louis Métezeau (1560 – 18 August 1615), with whom Du Cerceau worked more often, could be accredited for the constructions behind the facades. The square was baptised Place des Vosges in 1800.

[422] Adam Olearius, born Oehlschlaeger or Ölschlager, (c.16 August 1603 – 22 February 1671), was the secretary to the ambassador, which was sent by the German duke Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp to find a commercial way to Persia. He is known as a German scholar, mathematician, geographer and librarian.

[423] He also gives an idea of the size of the square: according to him it was 700 paces long and 260 paces wide.

Figure 5.3.3.
Etching of the bazaars along the Maidan-i Shah,1723, by Henri Abraham Chatelain (1684 - 1743) and Zacharia Chatelain (1690 - 1754)

> "[...] ten tijde van Schach Abas is de Stadt so Dolchrijck geworden/ ende so behuyst en betimmert, dat de straten so engh zijn geworden, dat daer nauwelijcks 3 Persoonen neffens malkander konnen gaen, principael daer bij de Maydan, ende Besar, daer veel wandelingh ofte gekuyer is, so dat men nauwer noodt malkander wijcken kan." (Olearius 1651 : 19)

The travel rapport of the French traveller and trader Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[424], some years later, continued to give a similar image. He described a townscape and use of the bazaars very much in accordance to those of Herbert and Olearius. In addition, he reported that large goods, such as tents, robes and other things taking up much space, were left outside by then. They were attached to poles planted in the earth of the large canvas in the midst of the square. Night guards protected the items of merchandise after sunset. More than those from the east, merchandise of the west were sold too in the meantime. In the bazaars around the square, Armenians traded in among others cloth from England and Holland and scarlet from Venice.[425] Here and in the other areas, without exception, booths would be closed and locked in the evening. Tavenier also revealed that both square and interior bazaars would not have been made, if Abbas had wanted to dedicate an existing palace at the old bazaar square as his royal premises. It would be this refusal, which led to the shah's intention to design a new place. He ruined the palace, home of a prince of ancestral Persian kings, the local merchants moved and the old district was left around, deserted from the city. (Tavernier 1676: 394, 400)

The bazaars surrounding the square as well as the square itself were real public spaces, used by the people. Their design might seem unique. The ensemble appealed to the imagination of the European traveller especially. Herberts' comparison between the Maidan-i Shah and Place Royale in Paris might be a striking example. The emphasis was on its largeness. The Isfahan square was 'six times larger', thousand paces long and more than two hundreds wide. (Herberts 1638: 156) The Parisian square was designed only a few years later. The regular facades surrounding both squares were built to uniform designs. Instead of surrounding bazaars, the French design did introduce vaulted arcades, as a kind of portico. There might be a parallel between the two cases, indeed. Yet, differences in style, size and detailing could oppose any relation in design. Europe introduced own precedents, like the recently built plaza Mayor in Madrid.[426] In the scope of this research, these

[424] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605 – July 1689) was a French traveller and a pioneer in Eastern trade. He made six journeys, all passing Persia; the first no further than Isfahan, the second on to Batavia at Java, the next three to India and the final one to Moscow.

[425] Today the cloth and scarlet are still sold there.

[426] Philip II, or Felipe II de Austria, or Habsburgo, called 'el Prudente', (21 May 1527 – 13 September 1598) commissioned the reconstruction of the place to the Spanish architect Juan de Herrera (1530 – 15 January 1597). Decisions made by Philip II had a large audience, because he was King of Spain, Naples, Castilie and Aragon, and as Philip I, King of Portugal and the Algarves. He was lord to The Seventeen Provinces, and as husband of Queen Mary I, he was King of England and Ireland and pretender to the Kingdom of France. Like in Paris, the plaza Mayor was designed within the existing urban fabric. After the old buildings were demolished, the largely unknown Spanish architect Diego Sillero designed the first building, the Casa de la Panaderia, in 1590. Colleague Juan Gómez de Mora (1586 – 1648) completed the square in 1619.

Figure 5.3.4.
The entrance of the Qayṣariya, etched by the brothers Chartelain, 1723

Figure 5.3.5.
Main entrance of the ruined Blue Mosque in Tabriz seen from the lost Maidan-i Sahebabad, 1841, steel engraving from Samuel Jean-Joseph Cholet (8 December 1786 - 13 October 1874)

specific cross-cultural relations would not matter. Foremost, there was a direct, more valuable and reasonable, relation between the Isfahan plan and previous designs for very similar public spaces in the Persian realm itself. Both Persian and Ottoman chronicles had given direct leads to a major precedent for this square. In the passed ages, before moving to the new capitol, royal descendants had their courts to Tabriz and Qazvin. The ancestors of Abbas created in both former capitols places for people to gather. Each city had a regular four-sided walled public space linking bazaars and qayşariyas too, though on a smaller scale, perhaps.

At the turn of the century, approximately between 1592 and 1616, the Turkoman-Persian historiographer Iskandar Beg Munshi[427] wrote explicitly how the court had been located in Tabriz in the past. According to his descriptions, the central square of the previous capital had been surrounded by commercial buildings too, together with religious structures and the royal administration just like Isfahan of later date. A mosque, according to him built by Uzun Hassan, had been located on the northern side of this so-called Maidan-i Sahebabad. It would become known as the Blue Mosque[428]. In addition, he wrote how likewise the next royal palace at Qazvin was located on a square too. This square was the Maidan-i Sa'adat. Two-storeyed private apartments decorated with gold,[429] a 'splendid' caravanserai and other buildings planned by ancestral rulers had been situated both east and west of the Sa'adat square. Munshi described Maidan-i Shah in Isfahan too. At the time of writing, the court was still travelling back and forward between Isfahan and Qazvin, and Tabriz was left not too long ago to remember how it was designed. This created three descriptions roughly resembling. (Munsi c. 1592-1616 and 1629, as translated by Savory 1978i: 430-431, 536 and 1978ii: 705) The Tabriz mosque with its red brick facade and bleu tilled entrance could be visited still. Although severely damaged, one could perceive its resemblance to the lay-out and expression of the gracious entrance of the Masjid-i Shāh or the Shah's Mosque in Isfahan. Its ceiling was likewise decorated with muqarnas and enriched by blue mosaic.

Further relation between the bazaar designs in Tabriz and Isfahan, might stay in the sphere of great plausibility, based on the written witnesses. Nothing remained in real but a few remnants, like the entrance of the partially reconstructed mosque. Several destructive

[427] The Turkoman-Persian historiographer Iskandar Beg Munshi, also called Iskandar al-Shahir Bi Munshi, (c.1560 – 1632) was the court historian and secretary of Shah Abbas I from 1592 until his death. He wrote the historiography Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī (Alamara-i Abbasi) through the reign of Shah Abbas I. The bulk of the work was completed in 1616, with an additional section completed in 1629.

[428] Ūzūn Hassan bin Ali or Tall Hassan (1423 – 6 January 1478) was the head of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, a tribal federation of the so-called White Sheep Turkmen. He was the forth male ancestor of Shah Abbas and ruled over Tabriz. Yet, the Blue Mosque, or Masjid-i Kabūd, was constructed in 1465 upon the order of Muzaffar al-Din Jahan Shah ibn Yusuf (abt.1397 – 11 November 1467) forced to be vassal of Hassan. Since c.1438, Jahan had been the leader of the Qara Qoyunlu, or Black Sheep Turkomans, sworn enemies of Hassan. He was also a poet and philosopher. He died in a last defeat by Hassan, introducing the end of era of Qara Qoyunlu. The earthquake of 1780 severely damaged the mosque. Reconstruction plans were made in 1951 and finally started in 1973, by the late Iranian architect Memaran Benam (data unknown) under the supervision of the National Organisation for Preservation of Ancient Monuments of the Iranian Ministry of Culture.

[429] These apartments were known as the Imarat-i No.

Ottoman–Persian wars over the centuries caused the losses. As such, these precedents might be quickly forgotten. The Ottoman royal histogropher Evliya Çelebi described for example how the former palace of Abbas in Tabriz had been levelled under leadership of his boss, Sultan Murad IV[430] and how all wooden houses had been set on fire. While the Shah tried to restore the city to the former splendour, nevertheless several buildings fell into decay. An Ottoman bedesten, which had opened in the mean, had become the main asset of the city. This bazaar had expanded with several vaulted market streets. (Çelebi 1670, translated in: Efendí and Von Hammer 1834: 133-134) Again one could make a comparison to Constantinople. Other descriptions could underline this. Jean Chardin, a French traveller again, reported likewise about the royal bazaar in Tabriz.[431] He did so towards the end of the century. Chardin called it '*kaisérié*', sounding quite similar to '*qayṣariya*'.[432] With a sense of pre-modern mythopoeia, from this point of view, Chardin ascribed the city as large and powerful. It would have fifteen thousand houses and fifteen thousand shops in two divisions supporting each other "like the Guelphs and Ghibellines did in Italy".[433] The shops were located in majority in the long broad roofed streets, called 'basar'. These bazaars were covered with beautiful vaults and domes on a height of forty to fifty feet. The royal bazaar was supposed to be the most beautiful of all, because it was an octagonal one and extremely roomy. Precious stones and again the most invaluable goods were sold here. Because the complex of wide bazaars was always busy during day time, Chardin called it the heart of the city. The dwellings with gardens were in the upper circle. Chardin stated that the qayṣariya of Tabriz was established in 1429 by King Hassan.[434] (Chardin 1686: 289) This was another, and more precise, description familiar to the ones of Isfahan.

> "Ces ruës s'appelle basar, c'est-à-dire, marché. Elles sont le cœur de la ville : les maisons sont sur les dehors. Presque toutes ont un jardin. Je n'ay pas vue à Tauris beaucoup de Palais & de maisons magnifiques ; mais il y a d'aussi baux Bazars qu'en lieu de l'Asie ; & il fait admirablement beau voir leur vaste étenduë, leur largeur, leurs beaux domes & les voutes qui les couvrent ; le grand peuple qui y est durant le jour, & la quantité de marchandises dont ils sont remplis. Le plus beau de tous, & où se vendent les piérreries, & les plus precieuses marchandises, est Octogone, & fort spacieux. On le nom Kaisérié, cést-a-dire, marché Royal. Il été bâti environ l'an 850 de l'hegire, par Roy Hassen, qui faisoit sa residence à Tauris. Quant aux autre lieux destinez au public, ils ne sont pas moins beaux, ni moins replis. On y conte trois Caravanserai. Il y en a de si spacieux, qu'il peut loger cens personnes en chacun"
> (Chardin 1686: 289)

Also in this case, all evidence of the revival of this particular bazaar system in real was destructed, as devastating earthquakes in 1721, 1727 and 1780 levelled virtually everything in Tabriz.

It might be very plausible to suggest that the general concept of a royal bazaar had been built on a longer tradition of trade places. This could be illuminated in Caesarea or Kaisariyah, today's Kayseri. This city is located more to the west, in the midst of Asia Minor. In the early 1930s, Eugene Beaudouin, an architectural historian suggested a relation between the bazaars in Isfahan and the one in this town.[435] It seemed that he based his suggestion

[430] He travelled in assignment of Sultan Murad IV or Murād-i Rābi' (27 July 1612 – 9 February 1640).

[431] Jean Chardin, born Jean-Baptiste Chardin and also known as Sir John Chardin, (16 November 1643 – 5 January 1713) was a French jeweller and traveler. In his work, he mentioned the northern city of Tauris, located on the foot of a mountain and joined to other cities by a salted river. Tauris, like Tabresa, was another name for Tabriz.

[432] The '*qayṣariya*', or 'قیصریه', in Farsi, has been also named for example '*qaisarije*', '*qeysarriyeh*', '*gheysarieh*', and in this case '*kaisérié*'. In this perspective, the relation between 'qayṣariya', 'kayserie' and 'caesarea' (καισαρεῖα) could be made also more general: The Persian and Arabic 'qayṣar' (قیصر) and the Turkish 'kayser' both relate to Caesar. All pronounced similarly as 'kai-sar'. Wheras Caesarea means 'from Caesar', Qayṣariya and Kayseri imply it is 'from the qayṣar' or 'from the kayser'. Thus these bazaars were from the Shah or the Sultan, and indeed the Qayṣariya in Isfahan then was also called the Shah's Bazaar. (See also Thiersch 1909: 230, footnote 5)

[433] These were two political factions, originally distinguished as such in Tuscany in 1250 and still present in the early sixteenth century. The Guelphs, or Guelfi, supported the power of the pope of the Catholic Church in Rome, while the Ghibellines or Ghibellini were in favour of the power of the emporer of the Holy Roman Emperor in Berlin. Yet, both mutually benefitted from eachother. The 'church party' of the Guelphs was based on agricultural estates, while broadly speaking the 'imperial party' of the Ghibellines tended to come from mercantile families. Likewise, the pope and the emperor, or imperator, were mutualistic: The emperor was the protector of the church of the pope, while the pope crowned the emporor.

[434] The year 1429, or 850 Anno Hegirae, might be slightly inaccurate as Hassan was born in 1423.

[435] The relation to the city of 'Caesarea' was posed by the French architect and painter Eugene Elie Beaudouin (20 July 1898 – 14 January 1983) in 1932. The Encyclopædia Iranica has adapted such a theorem, but remarkably it is not sure on this, and it does not have any idea on its typological evolution, nor on its wider history, or its notion. (see Floor 1989: 26)

purely on the linguistic similarities between Caesarea, Kaisariyah and Qayşariya. (Beaudouin 1932: 40) Further argumentation for the presumption was not given, but he might be right. Caesarea was located on the network of historical trade routes too and like the other cities on the route consequently it had was a vital trade centre. Yet also, it had suffered the heaviest damage from revolts in its history. Devastating rebellions starting from 1526 had accumulated into in the 1650s.[436] The only bazaar present today, small and longitudinal, had become an integral part of a system, which had been identified as built in the eighteenth century. (Cesar 1983: 109-112) If there were remainders from an older past, it could be only relics of an unknown ancient bazaar construction. Based of these, it would be hard to say if a Caesarean bazaar was bound to be the logic inspiration for the elaborated concept of royal bazaar. Still, the bazaar system also included two hans. Like the caravanserais, these were traditionally trade places too. One of these, Kapan Hanı or Enclosed Han[437], was built before those in Tabriz, Qazvin and Isfahan. It had been positioned along the route in a somewhat similar manner as the royal caravanserai was designed along the Qayşariya in Isfahan. It was built as a square two-storey building too, with a central courtyard surrounded by porticoes. Roughly, layouts could resemble. Withstanding the lack of stylistic resemblance, one should travel forty-five kilometres northeast of Caesarea. Here, a further unknown Muhammed bin Havlan from Damascus designed a grand han in the thirteenth century, even before the Bezzarlar Hanı in Beyşehir.[438] The design of this so-called Sultan Han had to be based on the Syrian symmetrical 'kaiçâriyah', another namesake, as described by Battuta. It combined a long covered space with an open space. Though done in a modest way, the design of this

[436] Under the leadership of Celâl, a Shi'a Islam preacher, major revolts against the authority of the Ottoman Empire occurred in the years 1526-1528, 1595-1610, 1654-1655, and 1658-1659.

[437] Kapan Hanı is supposed to be built at the end of the fifteenth century. It has been also known as Pembe Han, or Pink Han, and today as Pamuk Hanı, or Cotton Han. The neighouring Vezir Hanı has been built in 1724 by Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha, or Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa (abt.1660 – 16 October 1730), grand vizier and brother-in-law of the then Ottoman sultan.

[438] Sultan Han is located in the town of Sultanhanı. According to an inscription, this caravanserai was built in 1229, during the reign of Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād bin Kaykā'ūs, or Aladin Kayqubad I (1188 – 1237), the Sultan of Rûm. The further unknown Damascus architect Muhammed ibn Havlan al-Dimaski rebuilt it after a fire in 1278.

Figure 5.3.6a.
The entrance of the Qayşariya, 1925

Figure 5.3.6b.
The entrance of the Qayşariya, 2007

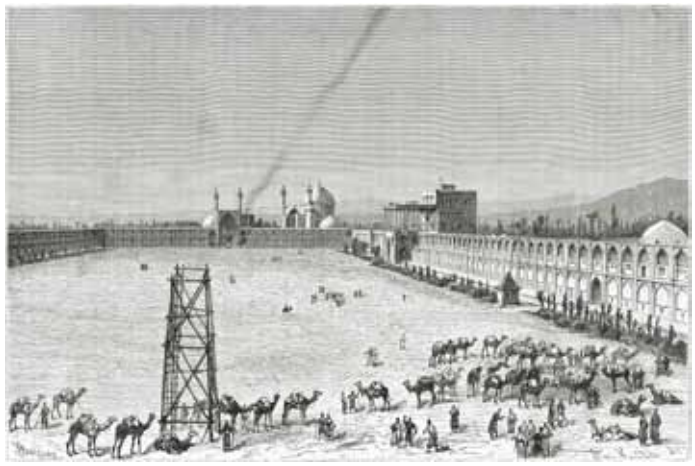


Figure *5.3.7.*
Engraving of Maidan-i Shah by A. Kohl, 1884, published by Édouard Thomas Charton (11 May 1807 - 27 February 1890)

particular hall could resemble the royal bazaar of Isfahan in more detail: Its entrance was designed also as a vaulted portico-like space, likewise it was decorated by muqarnas, and it faced a similar kind of space across the open space.[439] Its hall introduced a vaulted roof with half way a lantern dome. Although, this style was already brought to Isfahan when Uzun Hassan renovated the south entry of its Friday Mosque on the old square with familiar muqarnas, the Sultan Han presented certain additional design principles which were applied also in the qayşariya of Isfahan. (Godard 1936: 246-256) In Isfahan, the entrances of the royal bazaar and the mosque were positioned facing each other. The Qayşariya was in the north, the mosque in the south. In the west of the square the personal piety of the shah and the royal household mirrored the entry to the Masjid-i-Shaykh Lutfullah, the royal chapel mosque. The lines between these buildings formed two axes perpendicular to each other. In this way, the design of the new square followed also a principal pattern of the inner court of what would become known as a Persian mosque, with the emphasis on the south porticoed and vaulted entry, which always led to the dome chamber. Around the court modest mosaics in intricate geometric designs embellished the brick facades and in the middle of the square a pond with gardening adorned the outdoor design as well as they regulate humidity as it did in many inner courts in that region. (The Committee for the Exhibition of Isfahan 1976: 58)

All together, ancient texts and designs made manifest that the exchange between the Ottomans and the Persians, though not friendly, created a ground for evolved kinds of bazaars: A qayşariya or royal bazaar, longitudinal of form and located in the proximity of a grand square, and bazaars surrounding the square. So, where on the one hand, the bazaar had got a special structure with naves and bays, on the other hand, in about the same time, foundations were laid for these specific interior variants with vaulted and porticoed entries on an outdoor square. In further inductive reasoning, without illuminating any in-between steps, architectural historian Stefano Bianca[440] stated that qayşariya eventually derived from the imperial hall of the Roman and Byzantine markets, which were also called '*caesarea*'. (Bianca 2000: 129-130) It could reconnect the design of the royal bazaar again to that of ancient market buildings.[441]

[439] These porticoed spaces are called 'iwan' (ivān). They are vaulted, walled on three sides, with one end entirely open to a central courtyard. Like a portico or a porch, it is leading to the entrance of a building.

[440] Stefano Bianca (born 1945) is a Swiss architectural historian and urban designer.

[441] As elaborated on in Book 2, this could be very similar to the Mercatus Traiani in ancient Rome. Also this covered market was part of an emperor's public building program redesigning a capital city.

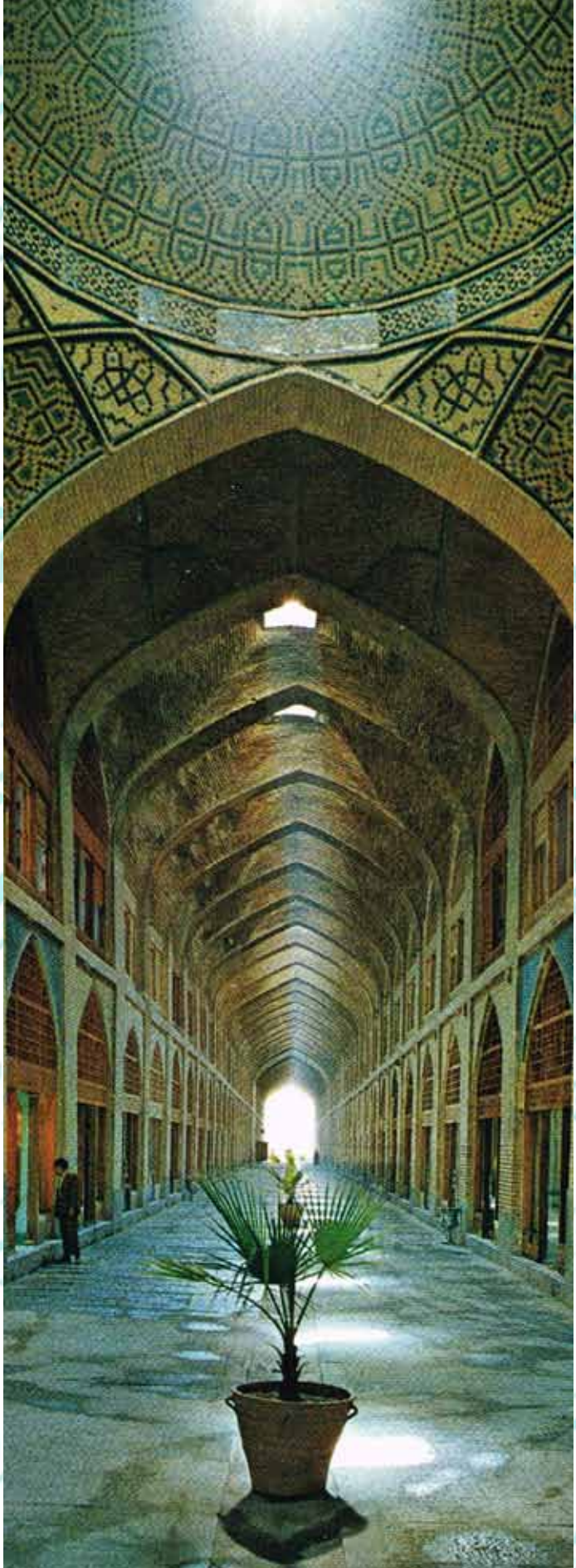


Figure 5.3.8.
Picture of the public interior of the Qayṣariya, 1960s. Background: A fragment of an old manuscript describing its caravanserai

Chapter 4
From Imperial Showcases to Everyday Shops

Figure *5.4.1.*
Čitsazha Bazaar, Isfahan, 2007

The transition of the capital to Isfahan propelled the city onto the world stage. By studying today's bazaar system more detailed, we could see that the Qayşariya was only the first indoor project on the main route to the old city north. The system had grown as a collage made by several small additions to older bazaars sticking together to form a huge system. With this, in time, new variant on the type emerged. During the live of 'Abbās I, only a few projects were added. All energy was focussed on the grand plan; a concept which also on the long run worked. The city was forced to be the new commercial centre of the empire by using the bazaar as part of planning commerce. When Isfahan had become the new capital, many European ambassadors were assigned to re-establish the trade relations. The Persian interest to get the trade route open again and attract commerce occurred at the same time. It became a major goal in instituting a powerful new capital. Descendant traders from an Armenian colony up north were deported to work in the Qayşariya.[442] Perforced by the shah, they needed to establish trade relations because they had the credit of being on good terms with several people of different culture, among whom the Turkmen. (Conolly 1834: 232) It all benefited Isfahan's prosperity. Countless chronicles underlined this. They offered a mental representation of bazaars as crowded arteries in the city leading to the new heart of the empire. In the broader scope, it was the same kind of impact as the new mosques and community buildings had on the city's new religious and cultural power and as the governmental institutions had in the political sphere. The new capital was transformed into an important and successful trade centre, and despite the largeness of the original urban design, the bazaar system was extended in length, already before the monarch's death in 1629. A royal-like bazaar was added to the Qayşariya. This so-called Čitsazha Bazaar, or Chintz-makers Bazaar, was famed for its trade in woodblock printed or stained calico fabric, which was originally produced in India. These early fabrics, in brightly coloured designs, were extremely expensive and rare at that time. It linked a public hospital, which was also built at the time.[443] (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 170-171)

During the continuation of the so-called Safavid dynasty, ruled by the descendants of Abbas I, the bazaar system extended considerably. Trade kept flourishing, more and more traders came to town and thus the demand for the fashionable trade places grew proportional. In the same line of logics as the past, the newly-planned interior bazaars were developed on and along the arteries of the city. Unintentionally but project-wise, they covered these routes in several steps. The adjoined bazaars perpendicular to the main route were often smaller. As such, these were called '*bazarcheh*'. This meant a small bazaar.[444] These smaller bazaars occurred also in the residential periphery of the centre, where they served a specific neighbourhood or the community. Mostly,

[442] The city of Jolfa.

[443] The exact date of design of the Čītsāzhā Bazaar, or Chintz-makers, is unknown as is its designer. Gaube and Wirth have dated the construction as being built before the death of the Shah, upon his order, before the Qayşariya was finised.

[444] Bazarcheh refers to bazārča (بازارچه).

both kind of new bazaars were designed together with one or more sarais. These sarais kept their characteristic outdoor courtyards or central places, but their surrounding offices were related merely to the sale of merchandise. One could speak of warehouses and shops, which facilitated the exchange and storage of goods. As such, these sarais supported the trade in the bazaar. (see e.g. Ardalan, Baktiar and Nasr 1973: 139, 141, Bonne 1989: 24, Floor 1989: 26, Haji-Qassemi 2005ix: 10) Most bazaars of this next generation were designed in the 1640s and in proximity of the bazaars of Abbas[445]. The small bazaars and the bazaars covering the main streets stayed to be stone-vaulted. In the designs also the dome returned, now mainly positioned at the crossings with other public spaces. Here the interiors would get wider bases and taller decorated vaults. The open courts of the sarais would have ponds or gardens in the midst. (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 143-155)

The Sarutaqi Ensemble could serve as an exemplar of both the artery and the smaller bazaars, because it combined both. It was constructed in 1646 during the reign of Shah Abbas II. Not by the emperor, but by Sarutaqi, the grand vizier and regent of the Shah. He had planned the bazaar ensemble northeast of the Maidan-i Shah.[446] On the one hand a part of an eastern access route to the emerging bazaar system was covered; stylistically like the royal bazaars. On the other hand the project added extra interior public space by the use of a small bazaar perpendicular to the route. A domed space emphasised the connection between the covered artery and the small corridor-like bazaar, which gave access to a commercial sarai and two courtyards aside. On each side of the small bazaar, two other courts were also surrounded with some shops. These courts were remarkably smaller. The facades of all courts were modestly decorated and they had concaves all around. Upstairs the spaces bounded by these concaves were connected to each other. A gallery gave access to the upper offices. Again the vaults were decorated with muqarnas. Here a precious small detail could explain resemblances with the grand project of previous shah. Calligraphy on tiles borne by the vault of this small project would

[445] Neither the arteries on the north of the Maidan-i Shah nor south of it interiorised fully until the nineteenth century. (see Gaube and Wirth 1978)

[446] Shah Abbas II (31 December 1632 – 25 or 26 October 1666) was the grandson of Abbas I, succeeding his father as shah in 1642. The Sarutaqi Ensemble was built on sponsorship of Mirza Taqi, also known as Saru Taqi (n.d. – 11 October 1645). Originally from Tabriz, he was punished, castrated and become a eunuch to the court in 1616, but eventually he was entrusted to be the Grand Vizier between 1633 and 1645. As regent, he governed the empire from the coronation of Abbas II until his own death. He utised architectural projects as an individual member of the royal household, linking his name to the shah. His bazaar project consists of the Bozorg Bazaar, literally High- or Grand Bazaar leading to the sarai, and the Darvazeh Ashraf, on the covered street. The sarai is been covered now by a simple shed roof.

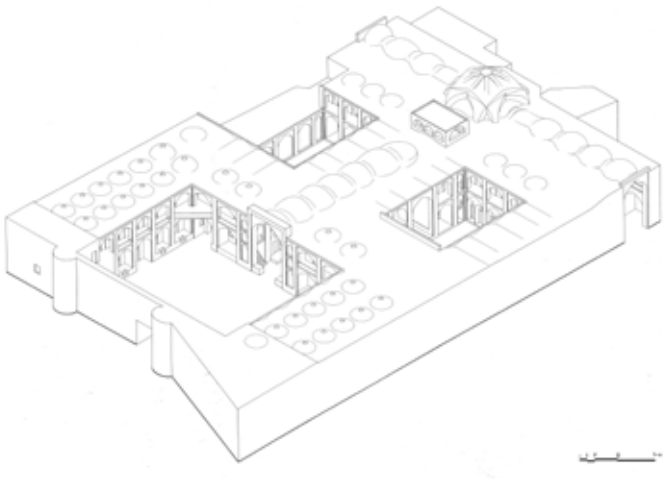


Figure 5.4.2a.
The Sarutaqi Ensemble, 2005, as drawn by the team of Kambiz Haji-Qassemi (data unknown)

Figure 5.4.2b.
The bazarcheh or central corridor of the Sarutaqi Ensemble, 2005

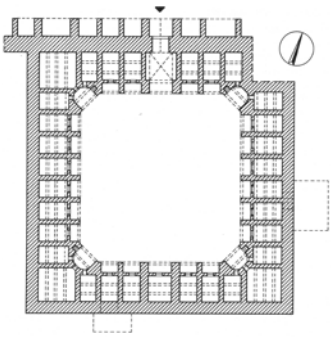


Figure 5.4.3.
Monagem-Basci Bazaar and Sarai as drawn by Eugen Wirth, 1978

give us the name of Mohammad-Reza Emami.[447] He had been the chief architect of the two mosques at the Maidan-i Shah and most possibly also on parts of the bazaars around square. (Haji-Qassemi 2005ix: 104-113, Gaube and Wirth 1978: 143) The design of this ensemble, in its perfection as a whole as well as in its details, made it one of the most emblematic bazaar projects in that era. Nearly three decades after its opening, Jean Chardin would visit this site too. He described it as greater than all others which by then had appeared in the surrounding of the new square. Yet, it was "not as large as it ought to become", because apparently Sarutaqi was murdered during its construction. According to chronicle of Chardin, as such, the ensemble should be considered as imperfect.[448] (Chardin 1711: 97)

> "[...] puis ou se trouve dans un long Bazar, appelle le Bazar de Saroutaki, qui est ce premier Ministre Eunuque, dont j'ai recité l'aventure si au long. Il y a en ce Bazar un Bain d'un côté, & un Caravanserai de l'autre, qui portent le même nom, parce que ce Ministre les fit tous deux construire. Le Caravanserai est plus grand que tous ceux dont j'ai fait mention, & cependant il n'est pas encore si grand qu'il devoit l'être, parce que Saroutaki aiant été assassiné durant qu'on le bâtissoit, l'édifice demeura imparfait. " (Chardin 1711 : 97)

Despite any freeze in its construction, the Sarutaqi Ensemble soon was accompanied by other projects. In the year of its opening, the Monagem-Basci Bazaar and Sarai were built in its neighbourhood. Two different new schools were joined in almost the same year.[449] Again not the shah but a nobleman near the court was involved. These projects were dedicated to the Monagem-Basci, the chief astrologer or fortune teller of the Shah. (Gemelli Careri 1699ii: 238, Gaube and Wirth 1978: 143-155) On the other side of town, merchants on the old square had embraced the idea of planned bazaars too. The concept of the vaulted bazaars along a square was imitated here already in 1640. They did so by use of the contemporary project-wise development. One series was called Bazaar of the Shah, either indicating the shah's involvement or simply a general respect for him. It would be designed on the western edge of this square. As such, it followed the ancient path through the city, while limiting the ancient square approximately along its full length in size. Several public facilities became accessible only from this new interior system, among which a large mosque. Quite similarly, the Risman Bazaar, or Rope Bazaar, would be designed on the northern edge in the early 1690s. It was planned by unknown and again along the full length of the square. Thus it decimated the old outdoor space once again.[450] (Golombek 1974: 22, 44) In the next decades, almost no known further bazaar was designed near the grant Maidan-i Shah; instead more bazaar-like sarais appeared in the city's ancient centre. Examples were the Kasegaran or Potter's Sarai and the Buryabafan or Mat Weaver's Sarai designed respectively in the midst and the end of the 17th century. These kinds of sarais introduced relatively sizable commercial courtyards, square or at least quadrilateral in form. They were two storeys high, constructed in brick and surrounded by shop or office spaces and concaves. A few of them introduced a bazarcheh.[451] (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 243 and 229) Common products were sold here and royal and noble involvement decreased. Many existing outdoor

[447] No further info on Mohammad-Reza Emami is known.

[448] Chardin arrived in Isfahan on 24 June 1673, or on the then used Julian calendar: 14 June. He spent four and a half years in Persia. In 1686, he published the first part of his travels. He mentioned the Sarutaqi Ensemble in the complete ten-volume work following in 1711. This work covered about two and a half years of stay in Isfahan.

[449] The Monagem-Basci, or Monaǧǧem-Bāšī, Bazaar was built between 1646 and 1648. The Sarāy Monaǧǧem-Bāšī opened in 1650. One school, named Madrasah Gadde-Bozorg dated from 1648, and the other, named Madrasah Gadde-Kuček, was built in 1646 or 1647. The gate to a mosque in the neighbouring Sarāy Nou-Monaǧǧem bears also the date 1646, but the sarāy itself probably is of much later date, namely 1811. (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 143-155)

[450] No confirmed dates of design could be discovered in the Bazaar of the Shah, but an inscription at its crossing revealed the year 1640, indicating the date of origin. The gate of the Great Mosque in the north edge of this Bazaar would be designed in the 14th century. The Risman Bazaar, or Bazar Rīsmān, might date between 1692 and 1694, because it is written near an entry to the Madrasah Kāsegarān. Most probably, this building replaced a building of 1626. The roofs of these bazaars have been constantly restored and converted.

[451] The Sarāy Kāsegarān is fairly altered over time, now more or less a parking area. The Sarāy Būryābāfān is roofed with an iron shed. Next to them also the Sarāy Hāǧǧ-Ahmad of the second half of the eighteenth century could serve as an example. (see Gaube and Wirth 1978: 232)

bazaar streets interiorised and the indoor network expanded in a fast temp. This was not for the better in terms of public quality.

Also in the rivalling Ottoman metropolis, trade boosted the development of bazaars. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the merchants saw that their market grew, as the empire was expanding its frontiers further and further. Due to the military campaigns of Sultan Mehmed IV[452] eventually, the empire would reach Transylvania, Poland and the Caucasus.[453] Trade with the other and new vizierates, evidently with Egypt, intensified and as such commerce in Constantinople continued to flourish. Several contemporary sources confirm that the ancient forum, which was located south of the extensive indoor bazaar network, had become the vast place for the local Tavuk Bazaar or poultry bazaar. There was also an abundance of good fruit throughout the year, as well as meat, fish, bread, and all for a very moderate price. The bazaar network at this place, both indoors and outdoors, was quite large already. Despite this, different bazaars were present at other parts in the city too. Notably, according to the rapport of Evliya Çelebi, there was a special Wednesday bazaar, a bazaar for horses and one for the sell of women slaves. Of all, the most remarkable was a new permanent bazaar, especially designed for the trade in spices[454]. (Çelebi 1670, translated in: Efendí and Von Hammer 1834: 16-17, 22, 165-168; Smitho 1694: 84-85, 95, 101; and Gemelli Careri 1699i: 195-215, 295-296) In fact, Çelebi made account of the so-called Egyptian Bazaar[455]. This was a new bedesten in the capitol. It had been designed in 1660 near The Golden Horn. Sailors and traders from the Mediterranean parts of the Empire disembarked here. Notably Egyptians brought in the valuable spices. This bazaar was domed and set aside from the streets very similar to the Early Classic Ottoman bazaars. The interior public space was aligned with rows of vaulted shops devoted to the same trade, selling all kinds of spices, cotton as well as pharmaceuticals. Yet, its lay-out and facade was designed in a different way, more like the

[452] Mehmed IV, also known as Avcı Mehmed, Mehmed the Hunter, (2 January 1642 – 6 January 1693) was the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire between 1648 and 1687.

[453] The Ottomans conquered Aegean islands and Crete from Venice in 1669. They gained Transylvania in 1664 and Poland beteen 1670 and 1674. Eventually, the Ottomans got control of the entire Black Sea Region. At the haydays of the empire in 1672, the Ottoman army captured among others the city of Kamieniec Podolski, or Kamyanets-Podilsky, far north in todays Ukraine.

[454] In the translated text 'mısır' was understood as 'corn', a synonym for 'maize'. Instead it should be translated as 'Egypt'.

[455] The Ottoman court architect Koca Mı'mâr Kasım Ağa, or Mimar Kasemi (1570 – 1659) designed the Egyptian Bazaar. It became also known as Spice Bazaar and locally as Mısır Çarşısı. It was part of Yeni Camii, the new mosque, which was completed for the mother of Mehmed IV. It was therefore originally known as the Yeni Bazaar or Valide Bazaar, 'valide' meaning mother. Construction of the mosque first began in 1597. The bazaar was completed in 1660 by the next Ottoman chief architect, a certain Mustafa Ağa. (see Cesar 1983: 130)

Figure 5.4.4a.
Egyptian Bazaar, 2004

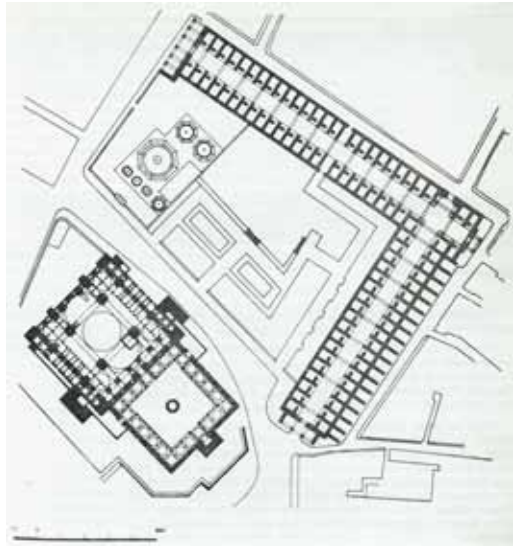


Figure 5.4.4b.
Egyptian Bazaar, drawn in 1983

Figure 5.4.5.
Turkish carpet bazaar in Cairo, 1881

bazaars of the long centre or those in Isfahan. The spice bazaar was longitudinal and L-shaped and a prayer dome was positioned at the interior corner, where the two arms meet. In the ends, two-storey arched gates form the main entrance. Aside four smaller ones give access too. The facade combined Classic grey masonry with red brick. It was the prelude of the rebirth of stone bazaar structures. The wooden bazaars, present around the older bedestens, would be replaced by solid vaulted stone constructions. Learned from designs like the Egyptian Bazaar, they were rebuilt fire-proof in stone and brickwork, like most structures "for the public benefit". Thus although, the bazaar system had become very extensive, in the end all would be covered lofty and lighted by domes. As such, the ancient bazaar area was adapted to the climate admirably and according to the witnesses, in summer extremely cool. Indoors, merchants from every part of the empire assembled. They had small shops in front, and a room behind for their wares. By then the bazaars were entirely surrounded by lodgings, into which numerous cells had open. (Wilkes 1810: 122) Çelebi reported that Constantinople had became so populous, and "contained such a sea of men", that it had been impossible to restrain its inhabitants without public authority. Therefore, the sultan had set up an organisation of twenty-two different kinds of public officers to keep the public order. They had been entrusted with suspicious people, thieves and criminals of all kinds and all places, including the bazaars. In fact, a special 'superintendant of the markets' would punish all who sold above the legal prices or used false weights and measures, and an 'inspector of shops' took disciplinary action against defaulters in buying and selling. The Sultan Mehmed IV appointed the chief architect, responsible for the redesign of the bazaars, as one of the officials too. If any building had been erected without his permission, it was pulled down and the builders were punished. (Çelebi 1670, translated in: Efendí and Von Hammer 1834: 52-55) From a typological point of view, the redesigned bazaars would demarcate a next step in the evolution of the type: The design of vaulted single storey structures, partially following old paths. Many bazaar streets in Constantinople had been developed and constructed by common people in the past, like merchants. However, especially in the process of reconstruction, the imperial government took firm control. They guarded the public quality of interior bazaars like any public place. This seems roughly in line with ancient Justinianic law, which had been written down in Byzantium.[456] There would not been made a strict division between outdoor and indoor bazaar streets, because there had not been one in the past. Roofing of the recent decades had often been provisional.

The Turkish bazaars in the Egyptian counterparts of Constantinople also showing this kind of ambivalence, although it was less clear what was the main path. Francesco Gemelli Careri, a Neapolitan traveller, visited bazaars in several cities in this vizierate, as well as Constantinople and Isfahan.[457] He could easily compare situations at the time. In Cairo, he made no account of roofing. Yet, he found the bazaars mostly in the ancient narrow streets and alleys hidden in the maze-like centre of the city. To his convenience, they were accessible from a wide road at one spot. This road, leading to a square with mosques, was unique in Cairo. The bazaars housed rich stores of various rarities collected from most parts of the world, as well as they offered local goods, from the present silk weavers

[456] See Book 2.

[457] Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, also known as John Francis Gemelli Careri, (1651 – 1725) was a traveler of the Kingdom of Napels.

Figure 5.4.6.
Turkish bazaare in Alexandria, 1890s

and coppersmiths. In Alexandria, he discovered only two of those narrow bazaar streets. Similarly, they were located near one of the rare squares of the city. Like in the Ottoman capitol, these bazaars were covered, though badly. They also housed 'miserable' shops. Lastly, in Rosetta, the city on the other side of the Nile delta, the bazaars were of better quality. They were brighter than the ones of Alexandria, still all covered. Here 'beautiful vines of exquisite grapes' provided shade in the bazaar streets, like 'in the gardens of the best houses'. (Gemelli Careri 1699i: 34, 42, 63-64, 71)

Whereas the quality of the bazaar network in Constantinople improved, the quality of the bazaar network in Isfahan began to fade. When in 1694, Gemelli Careri, entered the Persian capitol, he discovered that most of its bazaars were, not only - again - narrow, but also crooked and uneven. Many of them were quite dark because of the arched roofs covering the bazaars. Although, apparently they served the people to walk dry in rainy weather from one place to another, they were neglected by the public. The dirt in the bazaars would breed many diseases and it did not help that there were no paved spaces, especially because it caused dust in summer and filth in winter. The water sinks along the route were hot in summer and open in winter. Besides there were trenches before every house throwing out their waste. Only the places, where rich merchants were present, were maintained properly, because they were able to pay for it. From that point of view, the bazaars of Shah Abbas I were considered as unrivalled. (Gemelli Careri 1699ii: 62, 78)
The year of the visit of Gemelli Careri demarcated a time of change in Persia. With the coronation of a new shah,[458] the dynasty lost power. At the turn of the century, European land trade to Asia was largely replaced by cheaper long distance sea routes and in 1722 the Afghan army sacked the city. While the people suffered under these calamities, "industry declined among them; and the spirit of commerce, for which they had been so much distinguished,

[458] Sultan Husayn, or Hosein, (abt.1668 – 1726) ruled from 1694 until he was overthrown in 1722.

was in a great measure suppressed", as the English traveller Jonas Hanway would report.[459] The public thought of little more than to preserve their lives and their property. When in 1738, the city was re-conquered by a Turkoman-Persian tribe, greater empire was too. The new rulers moved their capital. The urban developments in Isfahan came to an almost absolute stop. What was left after the changeovers was a city much in ruins having two centres, both more or less out-blossomed. International trade decreased as all foreigners retire from Isfahan. (Hanway 1753ii: 23-32, and 1753iii: 110-116)

The Persian capital subsequently moved several times. First, the capitol moved eastward to Mashhad, close to the Afghan country. Although this capitol was again a trading place, by far it was not as international as Isfahan. The British and Dutch East India Companies[460] sent their goods around the Cape of Good Hope and the caravans, who did visit to this place, came from "the cities in the great and little Bokhara, from several of the eastern cities of Persia, and from Kabul, Kandahar, and the northern frontiers of India". So, mainly Uzbeks, Persians, Afghans and Indians intermingled. Long distance trade was focussed on Turkish and Russian Companies. In their slipstream, John Elton, a British merchant employed by the Russian court,[461] was among the few trying to re-establish direct European trade with Persia. According to his letter to a member of the British Parliament, there were plenty of goods desirable for Europeans. In the first place they should worthy to be so, because woollen goods, the best raw silks and other commodities produced in the surrounding countries were nearly fifty percent cheaper than by the way of Turkey. The effort of Elton remained unanswered, or at least far from successful, and Turkey and Russia obtained the exclusive privilege to trade with Persia in 1741. (Elton 1740, July, as quoted in Hanway 1754i: 23-27; and n.a. 1741: 5-9) Neither Elton nor Hanway made account of a grand bazaar project, during the decade Mashhad was the capitol. Presumably only some facilities for the caravans, located in the city, were hosting commercial activities.

Already in 1750 another dynasty took over and again the capitol moved, now to Shiraz. The aim was to restore Perso-European trade and thus its first ruler Karim Khan ordered for the construction of a bazaar place in the centre of the city.[462] The unknown designer created two long enclosed bazaar streets crossing each other at a huge domed intersection. In line with previous bazaar projects in the Persian capitols, they delineated a rectangular space. Yet now, built on the south and east, it was bordering a new garden, which was set apart especially to host prominent guests, foreign ambassadors as well as official ceremonies. In the north of the garden a citadel would arise. The whole was built in 1766. At the time of dedicating the bazaar project, the city looked "more like a ruined town than a city" and apart from its large vineyards and great number of other city gardens, Shiraz had "nothing handsome in it". There were no manufactures, but a few coarse painting cloths. The covered bazaars had mainly all sorts of Indian and Turkish products. Later one would also find blue-and-white chinaware. They introduced large shops, which in contrast to the rest of the city were well furnished. Each shop could be closed and every product got its own part of a bazaar. Several sarais, mostly two-storey, and public facilities, like

[459] Between 1743 and 1745, Jonas Hanway (12 August 1712 – 5 September 1786) travelled through Persia, then also known as the Afsharid kingdom.

[460] The Dutch company was known as Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, shorted as VOC.

[461] John Elton (c.1710 –1751) was a sea captain and businessman which moved to Russia after Anglo-Russian commercial treaty in 1734. He established an own firm at that place and explored trade possibilities in Persia under the new dynasty.

[462] Muḥammad Karim, better known as Karim Khān Zānd (c.1705 – 2 March 1779) was ruler of Azerbaijan and Mazandaran, and the next Shah of Persia. He ordered for the construction of the Vakil Bazaar, the citadel and the Nazar Garden. The latter was separated from the common, as the word 'nazar' indicates, and used by nobles, officials, and others by dignity or rank distinguished from the common people.

mosques and baths, would be added in the years after. Shiraz got many more favourable bazaars and sarais. (Smollett 1769: 301-302, Guthrie 1792: 756)

Within another few decades, between 1794 and 1796, Agha Muhammad Khan came to power. He moved the capital to Teheran. In the mean, Isfahan had revived. The transformation from the remaining open-air thoroughfares to covered bazaars mainly was the result of sequent roofing during this regime. The transformation process started near the two centres in the ends then slowly going to the middle. In general, these spaces continued to be interiorised according to a project-wise development. The designs reintroduced the concept grand vaults, cupolas and arches, as used in the Qayşariya. Along with this process also an increase of indoor extensions appeared on routes perpendicular to the main route from north to south, and in addition more sarais and bazaar ensembles opened to the public. Not royalty, but mainly nobleman assigned for their design. Some were also initiated the so-called bazaris, which could be among others rich merchants, shopkeepers and moneylenders in the bazaar, as well as the wealthy manufacturers present in the bazaar. A remarkable example from the early transition period is the Golšan or Flower Garden Esemble. It consisted out of a bazaar, bazarchehs and two sarais. It was develloped almost halfway the north-south route. Its core was designed and developed between 1760 and 1779 by Haggi Aqa Mohammad Zamani a representative of the new governor of Isfahan just after the change.[463] In many aspects, the design resembled the ancestral kinds. A large sarai was centred, now single layered with flower beds in the centre of the courtyard. The size of the complex is comparable with for example the designs of the Monagem-Basci Bazaar and like-wise people would not approach the courtyard in the axis but in its corners. Its design also differed from former ones: The bazaar design had become less orthogonal and its facades would be less plastic and without concaves around the sarai. The course of the main route determined the layout of the ensemble, introducing rotations and irregular forms. A most interesting variation on the type would be the introduction of an independent timche or '*timče*'. Domed spaces were already part of the bazaar vernacular, but as an independent tall hall used for trade it was new. It was designed as an interior space surrounded with shops and commercial offices, like a sarai but much smaller and entirely covered. The timche allowed small scale bazaar developments. Several timches appeared around the Golšan Sarai, but also along the artery an independent timche opened. This Hagg-Karim Timche was named after the new ruler. The Nahchiyan Timche was built most likely in 1768 and others were established in the nineteenth century, like the neighbouring Atiqeforuscha Timche or Timche of the Antiquarians, and the Arbab Timche or Timche of the Owners. They were designed with geometric lattice of decorative curves, called ramsi-bandi. The design allowed the interior to be lit by circular openings. Shafts of light dotted the space at certain times of day.[464] (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 162-163, 190-196)

The early imperial dynasty in Teheran had been known for its wars, not for its building campaigns. The strategic rivalry and violent conflicts between the Persian, Russian, Ottoman and British Empires for supremacy in the larger region effected international trade.[465] Loosing the larger scope, locals tried to keep their

Figure 5.4.7.
The Golšan or Flower Garden Esemble in Teheran as drawn by Eugen Wirth, 1974

[463] Hagi Aqa Mohammad Zamani or Hāǧǧī Āqā ibn Mohammad al-Zamānī (data unknown) was a representative during the reign of Karim Khan Zand, the Great (c.1705 – 2 March 1779). So the bazaar complex must be build between 1760, when Karim Khan came to power and his death. Some additions are dated: 1780, 1797, and 1900.

[464] Official transcriptions should be Hāǧǧ-Karīm Timče, Nahčiyān Timče, 'Atīqeforūshā Timče, and Arbāb Timče. Designers are unknown like most of the exact dates of construction. Nahčiyān Timče was also known as Ḥarīrī Timče, or Silktraders Timche.

[465] The Russo-Persian Wars of 1796, of 1804-1813, and of 1826-1828 were all in the Caucasus. The Ottoman–Persian War of 1821-1823 took place in Mesopotamia and eastern Anatolia. The Anglo-Persian War of 1856-1857 was battled in western Emirate of Afghanistan and on the southern coast of the so-called Sublime State of Persia, near Bushehr, and in southern Mesopotamia, which was in effect under British rule.

mercantile interest, sometimes in an awkward and unfortunate way. One particular incident in Qazvin might be illustrative. In 1808, the nazir or steward of the local governor guided a French official through the bazaar. Associated with the embassy of the newborn French Empire, the man explored alliances with the Persians, yet after their walk the nazir simply tried to sell a shop which happened to be vacant. (Tancoigne 1808, 10 June) It might underline that on the long run, bazaris and other related actors changed focus. Royal interest had decreased, common and daily goods would be sold more and more in bazaars, and the foreign traders found other ways to buy the desired exclusive products.

During this time of prolonged conflicts, places outside the boundaries of the Persian Empire became more important. The British East India Company, for example, had obtained full sovereign rule over Bengal in 1772. As generally known, British control would expand to other parts of India, making its coast a home base to long distance shipping from England and friendly nations. In the past, the rivalling Dutch East India Company governed numerous places along this shore too, yet after the rise of British power, they could only endure full control of Coromandel Coast and Bengal. Also the Danish and French East India Companies[466] got a few settlements along this coast of Inda.

In the west, especially Tunis took advantage of being an outpost of the Ottoman Empire. The city was the capitol of the most western vizierate, far away from the military might, and it located at the shore too. As such, it could benefit from the Mediterranean short distance trade carried by Europeans, while remaining to be considered as a vassal of the empire. Yet, although it kept its links to Constantinople until the end of the nineteenth century, pronounced in certain traditional obligations, in real the viziers charted a more independent course from the early days. Like in the states of Algiers and Tripolitania, where the Turks ruled on paper too, Tunisians had closer ties with neighbouring kingdoms of Marocco, Fez, Spain, Sicily and Naples than with the imperial capital. This self-control had been strengthened in 1705, when Husayn I defeated the local ruler appointed by the central Ottoman government.[467] (Morgan 1731: 199-203) In terms of trade, this did the city no harm. Several accounts had been made on the Tunisian interior bazaar system.

There was a Turkish Bazaar already in 1620. The local Ottoman ruler Youssef had built it for the Turkish artisan and customers, mainly sailors. He had bought columns and marbles at enormous expense from ruins of ancient towns to reconstruct the city

[466] These companies were known respectively as Asiatisk Kompagni (the successor of Dansk Østindisk Kompagni) and La Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales.

[467] Husayn I Bey, or Husayn bin 'Alī al-Turkī, (1669 – 13 March 1740) was Bey of Tunis. Tunis was officially a Beylik of the Ottoman Empire, but de facto it was considered as the independent Kingdom of Tunis, which was ruled by the Husainid dynasty for years.

Figure 5.4.8a.
Turkish Bazaar in Tunis, with its wood roofing, 1910s

Figure 5.4.8b.
Perfume Bazaar in Tunis, already in the past known for its souvenirs, 1910s

Figure 5.4.8c.
Cloth Bazaar in Tunis with its red and green columns, 1910s

according to Ottoman principles. Near the city's first mosque, he had established the Tailor or Turk Bazaars, which was linear of form. Next to it was the Slave Bazaar, a square construction with a wooden podium in the middle. Like in the imperial capital, these bazaars were covered with wooden roofs.[568] (Temple 1835: 171-172) However, when in 1664 Thévenot described the city, he mainly mentioned the Cloth Bazaar.[469] This bazaar was designed also a long wide street, with shops on both sides, but it was covered by an arched stone roof, supported by columns. (Thévenot 1664: 548-549) This resembled the Ottoman precedents of the 1630s, but, differently the interior facades consisted out of lateral arches supported with helical columns. The bazaar was designed in the regional Andalusian or Hispano-Moorish style. Like in other cities, there was one wide central bazaar intended for through traffic, with several branches allowing access to other stores and warehouses. The spaces were covered by vaults again, with some openings for natural lighting. The bazaars could be closed on both sides by large doors. Inside, shops sold mainly fabrics; both locally manufactured like wool and imported luxury goods such as the widely desired silk or linen. When Husayn got the power, the bazaar system had become the crossroad of the city, with a lot of merchants. This attracted especially French traders like Laurent d'Arvieux[470]. (Chatelain and Gueudeville 1719: 31-32; Labat 1735: 528-534, 538) Towards the end of the eighteenth century, new bazaars opened and the system grew to a large vibrant network. It could compete with Constantinople, because numerous products were sold here. Provisions of all sorts were "not only excellent, but also moderate a price". Most bazaars protected the people against the sun and the rain as they were covered.[471] It co-evolved with the rising ambitions of common French merchants and tradesmen. As they did not have the means for pursuing trade directly with the East Indies, or the expensive Constantinople, Tunis offered an affordable and attractive alternative nearby. The French interest became so large, that an exclusive neighbourhood of French merchants emerged near the East or Sea Gate. It was called Fuduce, or Fenduc. It was three to four yards and walled. The French consulate felt directly under the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille, which was based across the Mediterranean Sea. (Stanley 1786: 1-37, Borheck 1791: 33-36)

[468] Yūsuf or Youssef Dey (1560 – 1637) was a Tripoli-born Ottoman-Tunisian, who became 'dey' of Tunis in 1610. The mosque named after him was built in 1616. The Tailor or Turk Bazaar is known as Souk el-Trouk and the Slave Bazaar as Souk el-Birka. The use of 'souk', instead of 'bazaar', comes from the Arabic sphere of influence. Like bazaar, 'souk' was used to describe the linear space lined with shops, forming what we could describe as a permanent market and it is extremely close to its ancestral one. Historically also rendered in English as 'sok', 'sook', 'soug', 'suk(h)' and 'suq', it derives from the Arabic 'sūq' (سوق). This is dedicated to the ancient Aramaic 'sūqā', meaning street and/or market, used by the Aramaeans from the tenth century BC and the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires from the seventh to fourth centuries BC. As such souk would be related to the familiar Akkadian language, spoken in ancient Mesopotamia, which would use 'sūqu' for street and 'sāqu' for narrow. (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989xvi: 39 and 1989xvii: 276) As such, for example the Souk el-Attarine, or Perfumes Bazaar, is believed to be established by in 1240 by Abû Zakariyâ Yahyâ (1203 – 1249). He was the first local Hafsid ruler over Ifriqiya or Ifriqiyah, named after the ancient Roman province of Africa. This souk might be the oldest bazaar street in Tunis, but its redesign including roofing should be dedicated to the sixteenth century.

[469] In that time, the Cloth Bazaar, also known as Bazaar for the Drapers, was better known under its French name: Souk de Etoffes, or Souk el-Kmach. It is believed that this souk has been re-constructed in the fifthteen century, as successor to another, yet the neighbouring Mosque is built in 1673, under Mourad II Bey (died 1675).

[470] Laurent, Chevalier d'Arvieux (see Book 4) travelled to Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Constantinople. He delivered 380 French slaves in Tunis. The travel report was written down by Père Jean-Baptiste Labat (1663 – 6 January 1738), a French clergyman and writer on among others on botany ethnography and engineering.

[471] Souk as-Sakkajine, with its remarkable red and green tomb in the middle of the bazaar, was built during the reign of Husayn, so between 1705 and 1740. The bazaar had a wooden roof and it was specialised in saddles and equestrian supplies. The Souk el-Bulagjih or Slipper Bazaar, near the Souk el-Attarine, had also a wooden roof. One manufactured and sold traditional shoes, therefore it was also know as Souk des Pantoufles. Some attributed the bazaar to Husayn, whereas others believe it was founded by Ali II ibn-Hussein Bey (24 November 1712 – 26 May 1782), in his second year, thus 1768. The unroofed bazaar of the Souk el-Bey, or the Bey Bazaar, near the residence of the Bey, is built probably around 1782. It was also a place for slave trade. Later it would specialise in the trade in gold. The Souk ech-Chaouachine or ech-Chaouachiya, or Chéchias Bazaar, with its arched stone roofs, was dedicated to the traditional woolen skullcaps. It contained three bazaars: the Hafsid Bazaar, the Small Bazaar and the Big Bazaar. The Hafsid Bazaar was named after the dynasty, rulling before the Ottomans invated Tunis. The last two were built by Hammouda Bey, also known as Hamouda Pasha (9 December 1759 - 15 September 1814), Bey of Tunis from 1782 to his death.

Chapter 5 Curiosities and Connotations

According to the universal dictionary on commerce of Jacques Savary,[472] the bazaar concept had reached the European cities in the early eighteenth century. They were a kind of establishment, merely selling less valuable goods and in greater volumes. Sometimes, Barbarian slaves were sold there too. In 1762, the Lieutenant General of Police in Paris confirmed that the latter had become common practice in the French capital. He made an account of 'ordinary bazaars', where African women from the coast sold the bodies of their daughters. They took place at the Thuilleries and the 'Grande Allée du Palais Royale'. This caused disorder and general depravity of great concern. Although not much had been written on this issue, this practice continued for decades. Rétif de la Bretone, a French novelist of very liberal morals, gives an account of similar bazaars in the end of century.[473] (Savary and Savary 1723i: 313; Lieutenant General of Police in Paris 1762: 167-168; Rétif de la Bretone 1789: 167) So whereas abroad the bazaar stood for exclusive market places with exotic good, in the streets of Paris it was associated with prostitution, erotica, and scandalous, if not naughty, matters. The bazaar of Galeries de Bois, which would be been opened in the gardens of Palais Royal, eventually also attracted prostitution.[474]

In 1816, John Trotter opened the first vast bazaar in London. It was of a different kind; inspired on those seen in the past, but not all similar. Trotter established this bazaar on Soho Square in one of his warehouses, which he had used for storage of war supply and which had become useless after the defeat of Napoleon I of the French Empire.[475] The idea for the Soho Bazaar was said to be inspired explicitly on the bazaars "in Persia, and other eastern countries", and likewise it would be a public market or daily fair with stalls. The

Figure 5.5.1.
The Soho Bazaar in London, 1862

[472] See Book 4.

[473] Nicolas Edme Rétif, or Restif, (23 October 1734 – 3 February 1806) worked under the pseudonym Rétif de la Bretonne. His work had been published in London.

[474] See Book 4.

[475] In the early 1800s, the ongoing rivalary between the imperial powers in Europe had escalated and involved the newly formed United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. At the time, John Trotter (baptised 23 October 1757 – 6 September 1833) had been the head of a firm of army contractors. Between 1801 and 1804, he had erected the warehouse at Soho Square, extending westward to Dean Street. In 1807, after the outbreak of war with French Empire, Trotter was appointed as 'storekeeper-general', in control of all government stores and responsible for the supply of foreign squadrons. When, the war ended in 1815, after the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte, or Napoleon I (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821), he had searched for a different use of the building. The bazaar closed in 1889. (see Sheppard 1966: 57-58)

exact appearance of the bazaar was more modelled on the Galerie de Bois. The Soho Bazaar was set inside an old extensive warehouse at Soho Square. Its main interior was hung with red cloth, from top to bottom, and at a distance from the ceiling, any of the goods were exposed. The upper floor was reserved for charitable and benevolent purposes. Large mirrors hung at either end and, longitudinally along the ceiling, large characters read: "Persons in distressed circumstances, desirous of exhibiting articles of ingenuity or value for sale may here deposit them for that purpose, Gratis". It emphasised an act of goodwill. The war had left a multitude of widows and orphans. They had to find ways of living. Others could rent a shop in the bazaar, per day. Purchasing a shop was impossible for the target group. The counters in the bazaar had mahogany tops and were numbered to ease day-to-day allotment. A flap-door turning up admitted the shopkeepers behind. Many of them had shelves, handsome boards and various other devices, to enlarge their counters considerably. Two additional back rooms were offering larger stands. Their interiors were covered with plants, shrubs, flowers, herbs, and trees, both indigenous and foreign. Despite its flexible and accommodating nature, there were restrictions. Everything exposed for sale had to be good of its kind, without defect, and marked with a price. This was unique too. It was prohibited to expose goods, which were "of foreign produce or manufacture, without special leave in writing". The bazaar had to be an exhibit of merely Britannic products. As such, the industry of the nation would get a boost after the recent war, while the services of the bazaar would also "descend deeper, and to a more

Figure 5.5.2.
A stall in the Soho Bazaar in London, 1818

hopeless and pitiable class of society". Two-hundred people, near all women, were employed here. In the view of Trotter, it would be only the first of its kind. His ambitions reached far. His aim was to make such bazaars all over the metropolis, followed by bazaars in every large city in the empire. In his view, bazaar establishments could even be of national importance. He claimed that the idea to introduce a bazaar in the British capitol was founded on "benevolent and patriotic principles", opened to encourage "female and domestic industry". It would serve both "national morals and private happiness". His call did not receive the desired support from the parliament. Instead, the initiative persuaded the public media. Whereas The Times presented a petition from tradesmen and housekeepers to the House of Commons against "this alarming innovation", newspapers like The Sun and The Sunday Gazette reported supportively on this new phenomenon. (F.S. 1816, 20 January; The Times 1816, 4 May, Nightingale 1816, 4 May)

In general, the public attention was positive. On the one hand magazines like The New Monthly Magazine and The Gentleman's Magazine expressed themselves warmly about the new kind of business establishment, which promised to prove "highly beneficial to the publick", whereas La Belle Assemblée or Fashions for May 1816, were more sympathetic towards "the sale of female apparel, wants, of course, variety to recommend it", praising the shopkeepers for their tasteful manner of display. Even a children's book appeared. It gave appropriate explanations in detail to both child and parents, exhibiting the different trades carried on there. It was illustrated by many engravings giving a clear image of the shops. In consequence of the public favour, Queen Charlotte[476] visited the bazaar at Soho Square a year later. (Jerdan 1816, 21 January; The Gentleman's Magazine 1816, March; La Belle Assemblée 1816, May; The Times 1817, 26 May; n.a. 1818)

> "An establishment of this kind in London, which promises to prove highly beneficial to the publick, has lately been opened in the extensive premises of Mr. Trotter of Soho square. The benevolent object in view is, to enable ingenious and meritorious individuals, whose narrow circumstances keep them in obscurity, and preclude the possibility of their exhibiting for sale, in shops of their own, the various productions of their industry, to bring them fairly to market, and at the least possible expence. The premisses are large, dry, commodious, well lighted, warmed, ventilated, and properly watched - expences with which the temporary occupier has no farther concern than what be may contribute in his small daily rent. The tenant will pay only according to the space and time he may occupy." (The Gentleman's Magazine 1816, March)

> "While, however, we may in part lament the temporary injury these Bazaars may inflict on the established shopkeeper, yet they have this great advantage, they employ a number of females, for the shops are all kept by women; and they bring forth to the public eye those productions of taste and elegance, at a fair and moderate price, which are not to be met with in our public shops." (La Belle Assemblée 1816, May)

The idea of "an establishment of this nature" was followed closely by the St.James Bazaar at St.James-street. It opened in The Royal Mercatorium "for the encouragement of inventive genius and industrious merit, presents to the nobility, gentry and the public".

[476] Sophie Charlotte von Mecklenburg-Strelitz (19 May 1744 – 17 November 1818) was the Queen consort of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Hanover.

An elegant promenade commanded fashionable and useful articles at one view. (The Royal Mercatorium 1816) Within merely three months, nine more charitable bazaars opened in London and another six bazaars were about to open. A so-called London Bazar opened at Bond-street; The Strand Bazaar did so in the Oxford House at Strand, The Venetian Bazaar in the Saville House at Leicester-square and The City Bazaar at the southeast corner of Moorfields. The bazaar endeavour got more appealing names with the respective foundations of The Emporium of Fashion at Pall Mall and The Bee-Hive Bazaar at Holborn. Yet, the follow-up would continue to be named plainly, like The Piccadilly Bazaar and The Grand City Bazaar. The bazaars were spread over the city. The planned bazaars were announced within the same months: The Metropolitan Bazaar, The Grand London Bazaar, The City or Ladies Bazaar, The Cobourg Excambium and Leipsic Emporium, an exotically named bazaar, the Waterloo Bazaar and The Musical Bazaar, aimed solely for the sale of music and musical instruments. (Nightingale 1816, 4 May) Philosophers and social scientists underlined the benefit of these bazaars. In their point of view the 'British Bazaar', like other social institutions in the country, would be found "adapted to lay the foundation of a new system". Here, labourers shaped work for themselves. This type of fair or temporary market, often charitable, was expected to extend itself in a few years not only to every large town in the British dominions, but throughout Europe. (The Philosophical Magazine and Journal 1816, February; Grahame 1816: 181-186) And, it did.

Figure 5.5.3.
"A London Bazaar!! Or More Sellers than Buyers!", 1820, caricature by George Cruikshank (27 September 1792 - 1 February 1878)

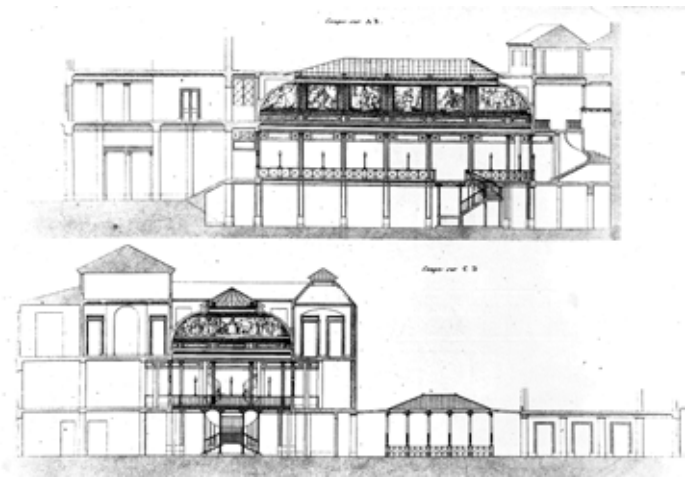


Figure 5.5.4.
Bazar de l'Industrie Français in Paris, design by Paul Lelong, 1829

In Paris, this bazaar concept was adopted in the next decade, but it emulated in a somewhat different way. Like the first London initiative, in 1820 an establishment known as the Bazar Français existed at Rue Cadet. The manager, Louis-Antoine Sauset, was a colonel on inactive duty and likewise most of the persons employed upon the premises were former officers or non-commissioned officers of the French imperial army.[477] This place was showing various devices of local invention, like innovative streetlights, twisted columns and other objects representing new French arts and industry. In its line, a bazaar company was established in 1821 for the purpose of glorifying domestic industry. The organising Bureau du Bazar Parisien published a sort of archaic yellow-pages, which included more than five-hundred pages describing the bulk of the Parisian merchants, manufacturers and artist.[478] (Bureau du Bazar Parisien 1821: xxxv-xxxx, 51, 137; Hall 1909: 264-265) Some shops might adopt bazaar in their names, following the example of Bazar Français, but little is known on this.

A vast bazaar came with the opening of Grand Bazar in 1825. It was a year after the children's book on Soho Bazaar was translated in French. Two years later, the concept was imitated in the design of Bazar de l'Industrie Français. This bazaar opened in 1829, soon to be followed by Bazar de Boufflers in 1829 and Bazar Montesquieu in 1830.[479] These bazaars all explicitly aimed to be like "those in the Orient". They present a variety of goods to the public, considered to be of "supreme beauty and perfection". Of course although they said to be inspired on the establishment at Palais Royal too, in design the bazaars resemble more the contemporary British bazaar building. For example, the Bazar de l'Industrie Français introduced two storeys too. According one source, it was renowned for its composition, as designed for this new kind of establishment. The entry hall was on street level. One set of stairs brought people downward toward a basement area and one set was going upward to the other level. Shops were arranged around a small gallery with a sky-lit well, which led the public to a grand stair case in the end. During the day the interior was illuminated by a lantern glass, and in the evening candelabra helped. The ground floor had a solid Neo-classicist base and was allocated to heavy goods, whereas the upper floor had refined iron columns and shops, which sold the

[477] Louis Antoine Sauset (5 April 1773 – 15 June 1836) was a colonel of the French northern army, in 1815 defeated in the Waterloo Campaign by the combined British, Dutch and Hanoverian forces. No. 11 Rue Cadet.

[478] Bureau du Bazar Parisien built on the existing organisations Société pour l'Engouragemant de l'Industrie Nationale, established in 1802, and the Athénée des Arts. Aiming to bring 'good taste', their huge address book would be sanctioned by the influence of public opinion, as it would determine rejection or inclusion in this industrial 'biographie industrielle de Paris'. (Bureau du Bazar Parisien 1821: xxxv-xxxx)

[479] Grand Bazar or Bazar de la Rue Saint-Honoré was established at 251 Rue Saint-Honoré, near Place Vendôme, by a developer or merchant called Becker. It did not seem to have been a commercial success, but might have been a precedent for the French architect Paul Lelong (29 July 1799, Paris - 11 September 1846), who designed Bazar de l'Industrie Français or Bazar Montmartre, between 1827 and 1829, at 27 Boulevard Poissonnière. It was expanded in 1837 for the exhibition of paintings and sculptures of Pierre Sébastien Guersant (20 January 1789 – 5 April 1853). The French architect Antoine Tavernier (1796 – 1870) designed Bazar de Boufflers ou Galeries de Fer, at 19 Boulevard des Italiens in 1829, and the year after collegue Victor-Benoist Lenoir (12 April 1805 – 6 May 1863) designed Bazar Montesquieu ou Bazar de Fer, at 6 Rue Montesquieu.

light and less bulky objects. (Danbri 1824; Raymond 1834: 201; Thiollet 1837: 11, 133-135)

Parisian design on their turn boosted the bazaar in London. It would be applied for a variety of purposes, more that just charity. A few intentionally built structures arose. A so-called Royal Bazaar in Oxford Street had been erected between 1827 and 1828. The bazaar was an undertaking of Thomas Hamlet, a well-known London goldsmith.[480] His premises had been "substantially built and advantageously planned for the carrying on a first rate business, with spacious showshops, elegant gallery, showrooms, workshops, smith's shop, large paved yard, extensive dry cellars, good dwelling house, countinghouses and stable". The interior was "well adapted for any business requiring room and show, or for a bazaar of the first consequence". It had two storeys and wooden counters on the sides. In their midst was again a well, sky-lit by small glass cupolas. The walls behind the counters were painted to create an illusion of a conservatory, with trees and sky depicted behind a trellis. The bazaar was destroyed by fire, but within a year it was quickly rebuilt as the Queen's Bazaar. The interior essentially did not change, though in detailing it was richer and adapted more of a Neoclassisist manner. The new bazaar became a home for dioramas and exhibitions of paintings. The counters of the Bazaar were "abundantly stocked with *bijouterie* and nic-nacs, the *Nouveautes de Paris* and Spitalfields – Canton in China, and Leatherlane in Holborn – toy-carts for children, and fleecy hosiery for old folks – puffs and pastry, and the last new song – inkstands, taper-lights, pen-wipers, perfumed sealing-wax, French hair-paper, curling-wheels – and all the fair ammunition of love and madness. (The Times 1827, 31 March; The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction 1829, 18 April and 1841, 16 January; Chaffers 1899: 95-96) This bazaar was truly a jack-of-all-trades.

In 1829, the Queen's Bazaar was followed by The Pantechnicon or Warehouse Bazaar on Belgrave Square. The British architect Joseph Jopling designed its front elevation with simple geometric forms and a dramatic use of columns. Its grandeur of scale along with plain stuccoed walls and iron doors was known for possessing "breadth and boldness at least, if not elegance". It would be a bazaar of a completely different kind. In name referring to a Greek repository

[480] Thomas Hamlet (26 December 1768 – 21 February 1853) rebuilt the bazaar in 1830, commencing in the Diorama Picture Gallery or British Diorama and Exibition of Works of Art. The actual designer is unknown.

Figure 5.5.5.
St.James Bazaar in London, 1849, steel engraving by John Tallis (7 November 1817 - 3 June 1876)

of all sorts of arts and manufactures, it was principally intended to supply a place of deposit for carriages, household furniture, and other bulky articles. The north building introduced four immense exhibition galleries, which were raised on cast-iron pillars and connected by stone staircases. The south building was divided by two galleries, on each side of which were shops. Above them were two other storeys for bazaars, which consisted of one large room. The basement contained the cellaring for wines in any quantities.[481] (Mechanics' Magazine 1830, 20 August) Within a year, also the bazaar at St.James Street got an extensive new building in Oxford Street. William Crockford, a local businessman and club proprietor, erected it especially for the purpose of bazaar arrangements. The St.James Bazaar would be more like the charity bazaar in the Soho Bazaar. The British architect James Pennethorne, who was then the principal assistant of John Nash, was responsible for the plan.[482] He designed a moderately high ground storey and a lofty second storey. The exterior, faced with stucco, was again a distinguished Neo-classicist design. The entrance doors were on the longitudinal facade. They had oblong windows over them, recessed in the three equal bays of a colonnade, and the pedimented upper storey grouped three round-arched windows, with moulded archivolts and imposts. The interior formed one extensive saloon. At the day of the opening exhibition, a screen was placed along the centre as room divider. It was opened under very favourable auspices, in the years of the novelty of bazaars. (The Illustrated London News 1844, 27 April; Perditus 1845: 259) The popular Early Neoclassic styles clearly sounded a peculiar note of ancient Greco-Roman architecture in these London bazaars. Also, in particular St.James Bazaar was cited as a fine example of the new practice of 'street architecture'. Since Nash had designed the nearby Regent Street, this subject had become "one of much public interest". Not only width and length of streets had become of importance, but also apparent similar general characteristics of the built, in order to prevent "insipidity in several facades". The bazaar showcased continuity in these thoughts, but omitting the need to combined different premises behind one facade. General characteristics in symmetry in outline and elevation were considered sufficient enough. More so in an outlook to future designs based again on use and meaning, it allowed an assemblage of designs fitted for its

[481] Joseph Jopling (c.1789 – 10 May 1867) also wrote several architectural books.

[482] Sir James Pennethorne (4 June 1801 – 1 September 1871) designed the St. James's Bazaar, between 1830 and 1832. John Nash (18 January 1752 – 13 May 1835), an Anglo-Welsh architect and urban designer, might have exercised general supervision over the preliminary designs: Two letters of 1830 concerning the project were signed 'James Pennethorne for John Nash'. (see Land Revenue Record Office of The National Archives (LRRO) 60/647, as reviewed by Sheppard 1960: 438) The wife of Nash was a first cousin of Pennethorne's father. The development of the bazaar in casu had been most favourable to the speculations of William Crockford (13 January 1775 – 24 May 1844) as a rouge-et-noir banker. Since 1793, he also owned a gentlemen's gambling club across the streets. It was also known as Crockford's Bazaar or Royal Mereatorium.

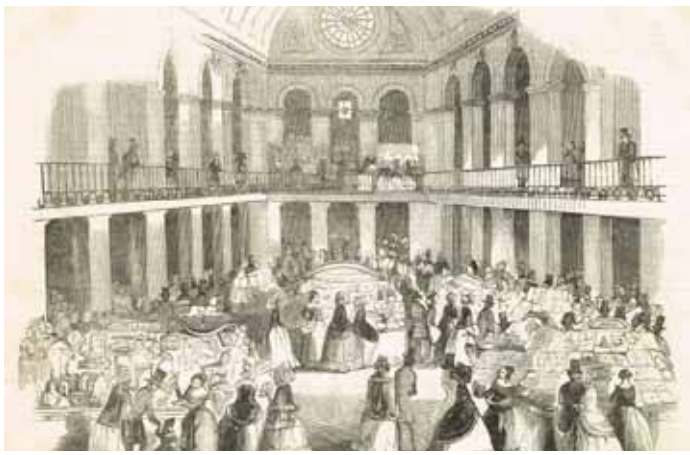


Figure *5.5.6.*
Interior of the Pantheon in London, 1847

locality in the street. (The Pictorial Times 1846, 19 September) The attention of the media, also from professional view point, might have boosted the concept. Another year later, The Pantheon Bazaar was established in a building which was originally designed as club-house and theatre. Although, in name it continued to associate with antiquity, the British architect Sydney Smirke[483] remodelled the premises in such a way that it blurred the associated style by a freely introduced pseudo-Arabesque one. He maintained the stuccoed front facade, but removed its tympanum above the main doorway, sheltering a portico. Behind the facade, he erected a new great hall, with a huge barrel-vaulted nave of five wide bays, flanked by flat-ceilinged aisles and galleries. Large curved skylights in the roof of the nave introduced natural light again. The reformed interior was elaborately decorated with papier-mâché ornaments. Its piers were painted with arabesque ornaments, "which produced a gay and characteristic effect". (The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction 1830, 3 April; The British Almanac 1835: 243-244)

Neither of these vast bazaars did survive. Queen's Bazaar was converted into a theatre already in 1836. Mismanagement and bankruptcy of the owner was to blame. Business at the St.James Bazaar became inadequate in 1845, mainly due to its immense costs and high rents demanded for the counters. When the novelty was over, curiosity subsiding, and the public stayed away, it was adapted to the temporary purpose of an exhibition room. In 1867 also the Pantheon Bazaar closed. It was acquired by retail wine and spirit merchants, who converted the space into a retail and wholesale store. The Pantechnicon could be considered as the most successful one. It kept selling larger commodities for nearly four decades. Nevertheless, eventually in 1874, it burnt down and it was not replaced.[484] (Perditus 1845: 259, Bohn 1854: 264-265 and Timbs 1855: 35-37, 267, 719, Vincent 1871: 80-81, 489; Chaffers 1899: 96)

Although these designs might not meet the intended objective in the end, it could not be said that the bazaar disappeared completely out of the city; on the contrary. One following example noteworthy was The National Anti-Corn Law League Free Trade Bazaar of 1845. Already pretentiously-named, it was not only eminently successful as a bazaar, though held for just three weeks in the Covent Garden Theatre, but also it exited the greatest public interest as an exhibition of British manufactures.[485] (The Times 1845, 9 and 29 May) This bazaar was considered as a prelude to the well-known Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, which took place in The Crystal Palace, designed by Joseph Paxton in

[483] The British architect James Wyatt (3 August 1746 – 4 September 1813) designed The Pantheon between 1769 and 1771 with a great assembly room, or rotunda, and a sequence of vestibules, card-rooms, etc. He adapted the building to its new use as theatre in 1790. The building burned down in 1792 and was rebuilt in 1795 and 1812. The British architect Sydney Smirke (20 December 1797 – 8 December 1877) was responsible for the design of the Pantheon Bazaar, which he made between 1833 and 1834.

[484] The theatre in former Queen's Bazaar was initially known as the Court Theatre. Charles Stewart Duncan (data unknown), architect living in the same street, made an uncompleted proposal for it. was not completed until 1840, when it opened as the Princess's Theatre. Eventually the architect Thomas Marsh Nelson (1817 – 1884) made an effective conversion in 1840. It reopened as the Princess's Theatre, and again after a fire in 1842 as an Opera House. Several alterations followed since. The former St.James Bazaar was thoroughly redesigned between 1883 and 1884. Under design of Wyatt Angelicus van Sandau Papworth (23 January 1822 – 19 Augustus 1894) was made adaptable for the Junior Army and Navy Club. The appearances of both interior and front facade were drastically changed. The former Pantheon Bazaar was occupied by the merchants Sir Walter Gilbey (2 May 1831 - 12 November 1914) and his brother Albert Gilbey (23 October 1833 – 28 November 1879) until 1937. The building was demolished shortly afterwards. The Corinthian Bazaar on Oxford and Argyll Streets replaced the bazaar activities, in 1867. The Pantechnicon was replaced by a different building after 1874.

[485] The National Anti-Corn Law League Free Trade Bazaar or Great Free Trade Bazaar was held from 8 may to 28 May 1845 in Covent Garden Theatre, which was designed by Sir Robert Smirke (1 October 1780 – 18 April 1867), brother of Sydney, between 1808 and 1809. The building was destroyed by fire in 1856.

Figure 5.5.7a.
The bazaar in the Covent Garden Theatre, 1845

Figure 5.5.7b.
Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations

1851 as well as it was an inspiration for two other popular bazaars, opened in that same year, with no doubt taking advantage of the influx of visitors to London.[486] After the international exhibition closed and the cast-iron and plate-glass structure was re-erected in south London, the place had to become a gigantic bazaar in line with its tradition. Supervised by Paxton, the British architects Owen Jones and Matthew Wyatt jointed responsibility to create this World's Fair or Great National Bazaar between 1853 and 1854.[487] A few years later, inspired by the concept, Owen designed another bazaar downtown. It would compete with those still open in its proximity. This London Crystal Palace Bazaar near Oxford Circus was chiefly built of the fashionable glass and iron too. Like its suburban namesake, it introduced glassed barrel roofing and front facade. It would be one of the last vast bazaars in London and was opened until the end of the 1880s.[488] Though eventually, intentional bazaar structures would not be built, the concept of temporal bazaars remained popular and they continued to be organised in London. (George Routledge and Co. 1851: 9; The Crystal Palace Company 1853: 32-33; Timbs 1855: 35-37 and 587-588; Blanchard c.1859: 115, 218, 215-239, 249; Timbs, John 1867: 40-42 and 840-841; Adam & Charles Black 1870: 202, 319, 330-339) It was more the phenomenon of a temporary fair or charity bazaar, which was persisting, rather than one actual bazaar building type. As a travel guide of the late nineteenth century would write: "These emporiums afford pleasant covered walks between rows of shops abundantly stocked with all kinds of attractive and useful articles." (Baedeker 1887: 25) It has been with these bazaars that the word bazaar became used to describe the display of products on sale in the December month, as in 'Christmas bazaars', and with shops selling a miscellany of inexpensive objects, as in 'penny bazaars'. (Morrison 2006: 304)

Across the Channel, on the continent, the Parisian bazaar took a different course in evolution. They foreshadowed the future of department stores. The galleries with sky-lit wells and grand stair cases received many benefits for any larger store offering a wide range of goods. This transition was articulated by two successive designs for a Bazar Central de l'Industrie du Commerce et des Arts. In 1835, the French architect Gabriel Veugny[489] designed its first plans. He introduced a plan for a quite large bazaar with five naves, of which two with narrow wells and sky lights. He combined a '*bazar de comestibles*' or food bazaar in the basement and mezzanine levels with in-store boutiques and counters on street level and up. Above those, depots and covert roof terraces would be located. The design of the front facade introduced large windows and indoors long slender cast-iron columns, most svelte in top, emphasised its open character and its large size. Trying to find investors, the founder of the bazaar André-Martin Labbé published a brochure with his plans.[490] He openly questions if this project should be called bazaar. In his view, bazaars did not have such a good name. The establishment that he had planned to form would fall "into the class of those known under the name of Bazar". It would suit the mode of execution that he thought of and put it into action. However, it would take "special names for certain things to make them understand", and as the French language did not offer a great variety in this genre. Still, he presented the project to the public

[486] The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations was held from 1 May to 15 October 1851 in The Crystal Palace, designed by the English gardener, architect and politician Sir Joseph Paxton (3 August 1803 – 8 June 1865). In its slip stream, The Prince of Wales' Bazaar was established in 1851 in the exhibitions rooms of Cosmorama at Regent Street, a building designed by John Nash between 1811 and 1825. Its interior had been designed by the French-born British architect Augustus Charles Comte de Pugin (1762 – 19 December 1832), a former draftsman in the office of John Nash. In 1851 too, Langham Bazaar, or Portland Bazaar, at Langham Place, was established in the London Carriage Repository, a building which originally was designed by Nash in 1789 and which had been extended in 1843. Presumably architect and playwright Samuel Beazley (6 July 1786 - 16 October 1851) redesigned the interior for this purpose just before his death. The bazaar was renamed to Portland Bazaar in the next year and in German Bazaar in 1860.

[487] The architect and illustrator Owen Jones (15 February 1809 – 19 April 1874) had been employed as one of the Superintendents of Works for the Great Exhibition in 1851, responsible the decoration and arrangement of the exhibits. He was responsible for its re-erection together with the British architect and art-historian Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (28 July 1820 – 21 May 1877).

[488] London Crystal Palace Bazaar at Oxford Circus opened in 1857. It became a drapery shop in 1889 and was demolished in 1920. The nearby Prince of Wales' Bazaar closed meanwhile in 1858, when the place was put for rent and the neighboring German Bazaar burned down in 1863. They were not the last vast bazaars, because in 1860, Corinthian Bazaar and Exhibition Rooms opened at Argyll Street to the design of Lewis too. He lived around the corner at Argyll Place. After being a wine cellar for a period until 1869, it would be fitted up as circus in 1871, to be demolished in 1910. A largely unkown St.Paul's Bazaar, at St.Paul's Churchyard, existed between 1874 and 1875.

[489] Marie-Gabriel Veugny (1785 – 1856) designed the bazaar at Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle. It was also known as Bazar Bonne Nouvelle.

[490] André-Martin Labbé (17 September 1780 – 1852) was a French merchant.

under the name of a bazaar, which in itself should cause a test result. (Labbé 1835, December)

> "L'établissement que j'ai le projet de former, rentre dans la classe de ceux connus sous le nom de Bazar, et le mode d'exécution que je crois convenir à une affaire de ce genre, est de la mettre en actions. Mais, bazar et actions sont deux mots aujourd'hui mal sonnans, et quelques amis, craignant pour moi l'effet des préventions, me détournaient d'en faire usage. Cependant, il faut des noms spéciaux à certaines choses pour les faire bien comprendre, et comme la langue française n'offre pas une grande variété en ce genre, j'ai cru qu'il y aurait de la puérilité à reculer devant des mots qui, après tout, ne sont pas coupables des abus ou des fausses combinaisons auxquelles on a pu les faire servir, et dont la défaveur, si tant est qu'elle soit sérieuse, a trop d'honorables exceptions pour qu'on doive regarder l'emploi de ces mots comme proscrit. C'est donc sous le nom de bazar et sous la forme d'actions, que je persiste à présenter mon projet au public, ne voyant aucun inconvénient, non-seulement à subir, mais même à provoquer l'épreuve qui doit en résulter." (Labbé 1835, December)

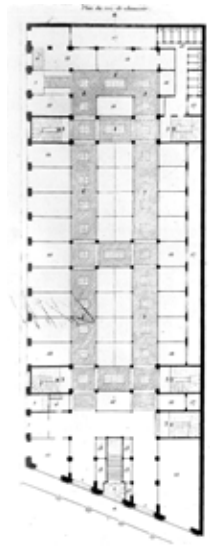


Figure 5.5.8.
Galeries Commerce et de l'Industrie in Paris by Victor Grisart and Antoine Froelicher, 1837

In 1837 the project opened. Labbé had assigned new architects and the design was altered. The appearance of the Boulevard had changed entirely. Victor Grisart and Antoine Froelicher[491] eliminated the originally planned roof terrace and structured the design somewhat different. They re-organised the front facade according to the five naves and they changed the style to a moderate Neoclassic one, applying vast masonry masses on the outer naves in the front facade. In the middle, they kept three naves largely glassed, "as beautiful as a Venetian palace", as Honoré de Balzac[492] would say. Each nave gave way to a similar entrance. The central entrance led to a stair case down, where the original planned food bazaar was simply called '*marché*' or market. The two entrances on its side would directly to the sky-lit bazaar. On the upper level housed the Grand Cafe Estaminet de France. In addition, the name of the project was changed to Galeries Commerce et de l'Industrie, or simply Galeries as the frieze revealed. (De Balzac 1846: 99) A British newspaper had stated a few years earlier that bazaars on the average answered "better in London than Paris, where there is

[491] French architect Jean-Louis Victor Grisart (See Book 4) and Swiss-born French architect Joseph Antoine Froelicher, nee Frölicher (2 November 1790 – 9 January 1866) continued plans.

[492] See Book 4.

Figure 5.5.9.
Galeries Commerce et de l'Industrie, 1844

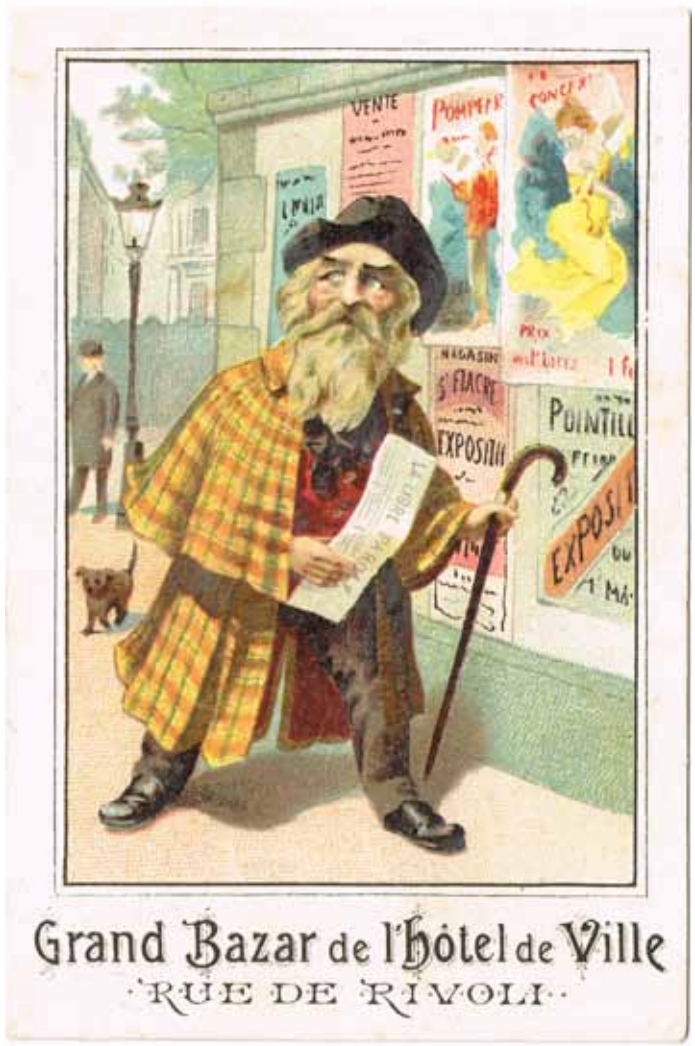


Figure 5.5.10.
Advertisement of the Grand Bazar de Hôtel Ville, 1850s

nothing to equal our Soho Bazaar or that of Oxford Street. This is not as might be expected from the out-of-door taste of the French people". (The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction (1830, 3 April) Using '*galerie*' and '*marché*' too, it would become known less as such a bazaar. Labbé seem to have chosen for a combination of notions to describe his hybrid project and avoid undesired associations. A new series of large stores containing many different departments emerged. Each of the departments displayed different goods or dealt in different services. These 'grand magazines' carried bazaar characteristics only partially. They may have little more to do with the ancient bazaars and on the exception of Grand Bazar and Bazar de Hôtel Ville,[493] these emporiums lost bazaar in their names. A new type of department stores emerged. (Marrey 1979: 17-23) They represented the spirit of modern industrial societies and rapid growing cities.

In the 1880s, European bazaars became associated with fairs, charity, miscellany and shops selling cheap products. Exotic articles could be found in department stores. Although in essence these

[493] The French engineer and architect Marie Pierre Henri Gutton (24 October 1851 – 12 January 1933) designed Grand Bazar at Rue de Rennes in 1906. Bazar de l'Hôtel Ville at Rue Rivolli was routed in a little boutique in the same street, called Bazar Parisien. It was founded in 1854 by Xavier François Ruel (12 November 1822 – 30 January 1900). In 1866, the store had been extended with three floors and renamed to Bazar Napoléon. The unknown architects Granon and Roger designed the first Bazar de l'Hôtel Ville between 1902 and 1904. And Auguste Léon Roy (born 1873, no further data known) did the second part of the work between 1912 and 1913. It would replace. BHV stores would develop as a chain.


ALCAICERIA

Figure 5.5.11.
Alcaicería in Grenada, 1960s

kinds of bazaars were market-places with a range of shops or stalls like their predecessors, vast bazaars designed as such remained a curiosity in Europe. If anyhow in nineteenth-century, the oriental bazaar found continuity here, it might have been in three rare examples on the edges of the past Arab and Turkic spheres. In respectively Andalusia, Hungary and Syria, the bazaar evolved in a unique kind, which seemed to be closer related to the ancestors. A contemporary romantic longing and a new desire for national identification played an important role in the rediscoveries and reinterpretation of the type, but also in all, these three variants did not found much imitation.

In Grenada, the new bazaar was designed after a large fire had devastated an old one in 1843. Like in Hungary, bazaars had been present for centuries. The fire was caused most probably by people encouraged by current uprisings in Catalonia and some other parts of Spain.[494] The incident could have spurred another rival against the imperial government, because the bazaar had been a local symbol of free trade. It also recalled past times of the Emirate of Granada, as it was built during this powerful Moorish state. Although silk, sold here almost exclusively, fed the flames and the so-called Alcaicería was lost completely, it had not been fat in a political fire. On the contrary, national guards assisted the merchants to extinguish the flames and, while regime change was underway, the bazaar would be restored with the help of donations from Queen Isabella II[495] and other royal members. The ruined streets and shops were redesigned and the premises were improvement. The local architects Salvador Amador and José Contreras changed the original lay-out of the area and emphasised the regional Andalusian or Hispano-Moorish style of the past.[496] At the time, its ten gates had been already reduced to four major ones and two shutters. In the new design the royal bazaar would have only two gates. The facades of the bazaar were styled in the specific Neoclassic fashion, for which the designers introduced two sides of shops along one narrow bazaar. Engaged columns on street level supported horseshoe arches of decorated sandstone. The made the facade in front of the upper storage rooms. Ceramic tiles, keystones and floral patterns recalled past times. Part of the bazaar was covered by buildings, part was open. (Semanario Pintoresco Español 1843, 20 August; Lafiente Alcantara and Zorrilla 1852: 451-452; Torres Balbás 1949: 431- 441) This royal bazaar became an example for the many bazaars built in Morocco after its war with Spain, re-finding a new independent identity. (Scharabi 1984: 159-168, 178, Tafel 64)

In Budapest, a new but different kind of bazaar was constructed three decades later. It was constructed between 1875 and 1879 on the south-eastern foothill of the capitol's palace gardens. The architect Miklós Ybl designed this Várkert Bazár or Castle Garden Bazaar as part of a grand ensemble of pavilions jointed together by a cascade of stairways, ramps and colonnades leading to the residency.[497] They were part of a series of ambitious projects to express the status of the new autonomous government of Hungary.[498] Two series of arched show-windows, separated by decorative pilasters, were facing the lower street level. On each side, a triumphal gateway gave access to additional turreted staircases. In their midst, they framed a symmetric system of rusticated stone retaining walls, which guided people up the ramps to a central pavilion. This kiosk had two domes, depicting some Ottoman styles and motifs.

[494] Following the Spanish act of administrative centralisation of 1842, the sovereignty of the several parts of Kingdom of Spain was reduced, which it led to continuing cilvil conflicts untill 1843, when regime changed and liberalism became articulated.

[495] Isabella, or Isabell II de Borbón (10 October 1830 – 10 April 1904) was queen of Spain.

[496] The word 'alcaicería' relates to 'qayṣariya'. The Alcaicería, Alcaiseriya, or al-Caiseriya had been built in the fourteenth or fifteenth century; in the time of the Emirate of Granada, a Moorish state in Al-Andalus. The first account of Alcaicería was said to be made in a letter from the Abū Nasr al-Musta'in Sa'd bin 'Alī bin Yūsuf (died 1465), sultan since 1453/1454. Salvador Amador (1813 – 10 June 1849), was a Spanish architect, also involved in the renovation of the Alhambra. After his death, the Spanish architect José Contreras (data unknown) took over.

[497] The Hungarian architect Miklós Ybl (6 April 1814 – 22 January 1891) designed the Várkert Bazár or Várbazár as part of the larger project, which was designed and realised between 1875 and 1882. The Hungarian artist Alajos Stróbl (21 June 1856 – 13 December 1926) designed the sculptures.

[498] Following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hungary was re-established and the Empire became a constitutional monarchic union with the Austrian Empire.

Figure 5.5.12.
Várkert Bazár in Budapest, 1900s

Sculptures, large earthenware vases and eclectic columns imitated more a Roman style. Upstairs, pergolas and colonnades with some trelliswork demarcated a roof terrace, while forming a vista of the city. It is the start of a leisure walk against a backcloth of medieval walls in the gardenesque environment of this hill side. (Szana 1887: 99) This strip bazaar closed already within a few years.[499]

In Damascus, in the mid 1870s, one passage through the centre of the bazaar system seemed to be covered already. It was "wider than the others" and looked "like the middle aisle of an old-fashioned high-pewed London church", as a contemporary whitness wrote. (Rogers 1874, 1 February) The ancient Roman 'via principalis' was transformed in covered bazaars by means of a lead-shade and its shop buildings were renovated. A redesign as such was adapted in two other wide roads within the city walls in 1878, the year when the Ottoman statesman Midhat Pasha became appointed governor of Syria.[500] Like the Alcaicería, these bazaars never lost its use.

[499] From 1883 to 1888 the bazaar housed woman industrial workshops, from 1890 to 1895 a portrait gallery, and untill 1918 a ladies art school, followed by decades of being used as artist studios. The comlex severely damaged over war in 1944 and 1945. From 1961 to 1984, it was recovered to become a music venue, with dancing and café, known as Budai Ifjúsági Park. Since then fall came. Restauration started recently in 2012, under responsibility of the architect Ferenc Potzner (born 17 January 1956).

[500] Under governship of Midhat Pasha (18 October 1822 – 8 May 1884), Medhat Pasha Souq, Al-Hamidiyah Souq and Al-Buzuriyah Souq were established.

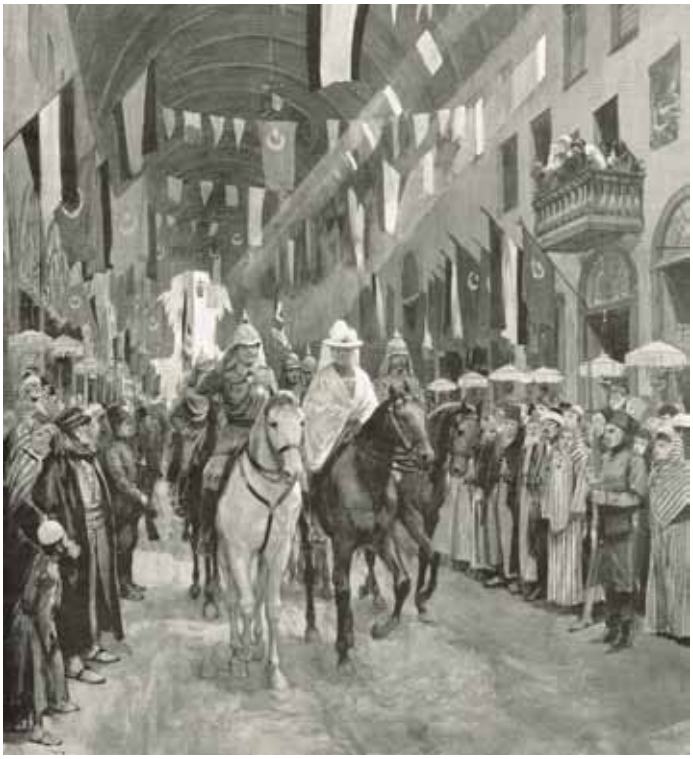


Figure 5.5.13.
Artist impression of a bazaar in Damascus during a visit of the German emperor by Melton Prior, November 1898

Chapter 6 Main Street East

Although generally vast bazaars ceased to be designed far away from its origin, it continued to be in Persian cities. Here in parallel evolutions, existing streets kept being interiorised and new bazaars, bazarchehs, sarais and timches were added to the network. There was never an overall plan. In line with the recent past, the initiatives came from the bazaris themselves. It had become common for them to cluster: The smiths, the braziers, the shoemakers, the saddlers, the cloth and chintz-sellers, each got their own bazaar. Confectioners, cooks, apothecaries, bakers, and shops of fruiterers were dispersed in various places. The consequence was a labyrinthic expansion, resulting in an interior network in which outsiders could hardly orientate. For example, back in Isfahan, the bazaar system had grown so extensive that in the early nineteenth century the Scottish traveller James Fraser[501] called it a gigantic ant's nest. Entering its gateway, the traveller found himself "in a sorry bazaar, or perhaps in a confusion of rubbish as shapeless and disorderly" place. A process of degeneration had started. After a second visit, he saw many bazaars had fallen in a miserable condition. The people were there as in the preceding times, but it was less busy than before and many shops were gone. (Fraser 1825: 166-167, 1834: 31, 56)

> "The bazaars are still partially crowded, and nothing shows the former wealth and greatness of this capital more than the immense accommodation prepared for trade. For miles together the stranger finds himself led along these vaulted receptacles, on each side of which are openings leading to caravansaries. But many of these are falling to decay; and even the bazaar of Shah Abbas is partially unoccupied, while some of its caravansaries have been converted into stables for the cattle, mules, and asses, of townspeople." (Fraser 1834: 56)

The bazaars were the only thoroughfares in the Persian cities. Some of them were spacious and built of materials more or less solid, like the older bazaars in the Tabriz, Isfahan and Shiraz. Certain bazaars in Tehran were described as lofty as well. However, the majority of the Persian bazaars were very wretched. Usually, they consisted out of narrow paths, only between the two-and-half and five metres. The shops on each side were merely storage space, according to Fraser, as the display was outside on raised booths. The whole was arched over, "either by well-constructed brick-work, or clay, or, in very inferior bazaars, with branches of trees that serve to intercept the sun". (Fraser 1825: 167)

At the time, the capitol had got indoor bazaars too. They stood in line with past precedents with royal allure. That was to say there were more roomy timches, joined to narrow bazarchehs or other narrow bazaar corridors. The pretentiously named Qayşariya Timche[502] was such an example, to be followed by several others in the same area. On the one hand inspired by the classic lay-out, in the various designs, symmetry and geometry were re-established. Like their precedent the ceilings were constructed and designed

[501] James Baillie Fraser (11 June 1783 – 23 January 1856) was a Scottish traveller. He had travelled among others to India, the Himalayas, Asia Minor and Persia. He published several travel journeys.

[502] The designer of the Qayşariya Timche, or Timče, is unknown.

with similar lattices of non-weight-bearing curves and light shafts. On the other hand stylistically, they followed architectural trends. The colours, shapes and materials of the indoor facades guided changes in interior design. The Hajeb al-Dowleh Timche was one of the most esteemed of its kind. It was named to an official of the court, in all likelihood its developer.[503] In this timche, masonry had changed to a colourful pallet. Originally it would have been of bare brown bricks, later embellished with darker ones. Now, dark and light grey facing bricks were embellished by yellow ochre, pale azure and ultramarine. This introduced an eclectic mix, re-interpreting the historic examples. Its ceiling consisted out of three interwoven vaults. Although size differed, it copied the concept of the first independent timche quite closely. The influence of these kinds of small scale designs hardly changed, while reaching to the early twentieth century at least. In Isfahan, in 1904, the design of the so-called Timche Maleko-t-Toggar, translated as Timche of the Head of Clerks, should be seen exactly in this trait. This exemplary two-story hall was developed by a traders' foreman.[504] He imitated the architecture of the nobles of the past. Again this had become most visible in the detailing of its interwoven tipple vault. Yet, opening up to Modern styles, it introduced ceramic tile work, in all kinds of standardised blue and yellow flower motives. Each design was geometric and orderly laid out. Irregularities in the plot line were hidden, but as a whole, the different buildings, volumes, bases and shapes were significant and visible. Being the spinal column of these cities, they are also a motley collection of different interconnections. (Gaube and Wirth 1978: 163-164, 190-196, Haji-Qassemi 2005ix: 7-8, 12-35, 96-103, 128-133; and 2005x: 7-8) Eventually, the bazaar system in Isfahan would run in a long line between the two squares. It included several branches, over a distance of almost three kilometres. The east-west limbs would have a various length with a maximum span of four hundred metres. This was all entirely covered!

Figure 5.6.1.
Qayṣariya Timche, 2000s

Imperial expansion, which had spread bazaar type to so many cities, might have come to a stop in this era. Yet, continuing cross-

[503] The designer of the Hajeb al-Dowleh Timche, or Timče, is unknown.

[504] According to the inscriptions, the Maleko-t-Toggar Timche or Timče and its adjoining sarāy were developed by a person named Hāǧǧ Mohammad Ebrāhim, a 'maleko-t-toǧǧār' or traders' foreman, in 1904.

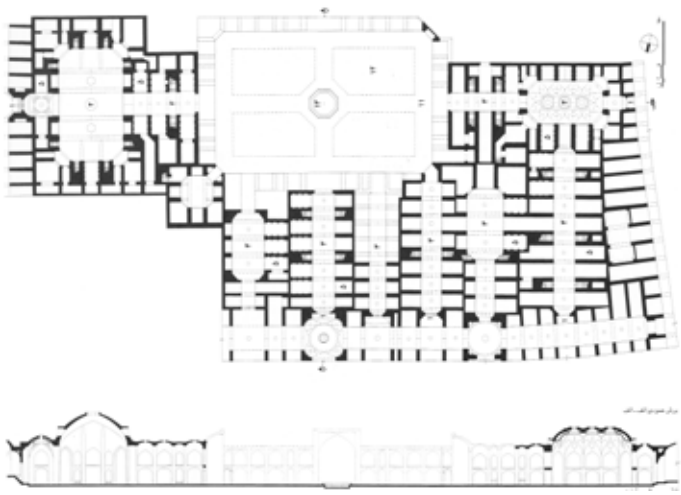


Figure 5.6.2a.
Hajeb al-Dowleh Timche in Teheran, as drawn by Haji-Qassemi et al, 2005

Figure 5.6.2b.
Hajeb al-Dowleh Timche, 2000s

cultural exchange, now dominating from the west, affected the type in another way. Demonstrated by the merchandise in the European bazaars and represented by the world's fair in London, the industrialised countries had boosted new technologies and exhibited commerce to a large public, including many across their borders. In certain fractions of foreign societies, the exposed progress had become most appealing. Their desire to actively modernise at home rose. This desire increased in Persia too. Even in such an extent that Reza Khan,[505] a minister possessed of the new Modernism, overthrew the ruling dynasty in 1926. He founded a modern dynasty under the name of Pahlavi. Persia, since then officially becoming called Iran, rapidly would change, because the new Shah introduced an extensive programme of modernisation. Everything of public concern was altered to international Modern standards and new technologies and products were imported to reach the goal. Both would have a great impact on the existing bazaars. The interior bazaar system in the capitol resumed growth, and although not yet as extensive as the one in Isfahan, the people could find an increasing choice of merchandise which came from industrialised western countries. Different foreign product categories had been present for quite some years; like French silk, perfume and lipstick, English wool and Swiss watches. In the late 1940s, after the Second World War, American goods squeezed others out. Wool, soap, different perfumes, face powder, stockings, toys, canned goods, toothpaste and hand backs – everything was 'made in U.S.A.', as an ideologically biased international Soviet journal complained. (Komarnitsky 1948, 24 March) Modernisation went hand-in-hand with industrialisation and maybe westernisation, or at least when the transition came to the bazaar the stores adopted western industry and goods. One could consider this a minor detail, but it represented a new time, which would change the bazaars rigorously. It did so the more, because in addition Shah Reza Pahlavi instigated a program of urban reconstruction, ordering to pull down the city walls and design and develop new and straight roads through the existing urban fabric, to enjoy modern ways of transport.

[505] Rezā Shāh Pahlavī, born Rezā Khan (15 March 1878 – 26 July 1944) overthrew the last Shah of the Qajar dynasty in 1926, and founded the Pahlavi Dynasty and the Imperial State of Iran.

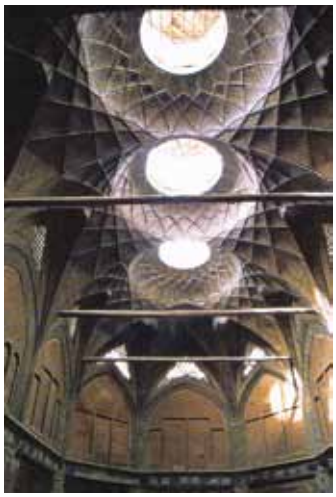


Figure 5.6.3a.
Timche Maleko-t-Toggar, 2000s

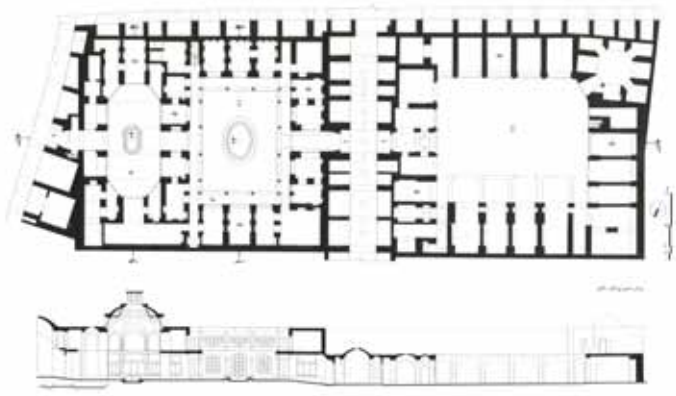


Figure 5.6.3b.
Timche Maleko-t-Toggar in Isfahan, as drawn by Haji-Qassemi et al, 2005

One specific plan for the renewal of Isfahan paved ways for this approach. In 1932, the French architect and urban planner Eugène Élie Beaudouin[506] made a radical proposal for new avenues of hitherto narrow streets in the west part of the city. The designer had been a former boarder of the Académie de France in Rome, where he had studied Isfahan thoroughly. He sought to develop an interpretation of the city as a geometric pattern, which had been extraordinarily congruent with the design of Shah Abbas. On this basis, he elaborated his thoughts and designed the Plan Modern de la Ville d'Isfahan. It would reorganise the city by a grid of great breakthroughs. He reported enthusiastically on the advantages of urban reconstruction in the French professional media. The new roads would ease the orientation in the urban maze, while the new parcelling would respect the character and the levelling of the city. He reasoned that at a birds eye view the reading of the overall composition was possible, but it became "much more difficult on the ground", where cultivation modified the everyday physiognomy. Not only the pattern had become less 'rational', but also the city went up on its refuses. According to Beaudouin, it was also necessary to clean the thresholds in all the bazaars and pave them with kerbstones. In some places, dust and garbage covered the grounds for one or two metres thickness. As such, the streets of the city were frequently two, three, even four, metres above the level of the cultivated grounds, and those grounds were on their turn one or two metres above the ground-level of the old constructions. (Beaudouin 1933, January; L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 1933, June; Beaudouin and Pope 1939: 1391-1410)

Figure 5.6.4.
Aerial of the bazaars in Teheran, 2000

> "[...] à cette hauteur, les murs d'enceinte en presque totalité, ainsi que le tracé intérieur dont le parcellement moderne a généralement respecté le caractère et le nivellement. La lecture de cette grande composition est d'ailleurs possible à vol d'oiseau ; mais devient beaucoup plus difficile sur le terrain où le travail des cultures modifie chaque jour la physionomie du sol. [...] la ville montait sur ses détritus. Dans tous les bazars où, pour fermer les partes, il fallait nettoyer les seuils, dégager les margelles, on se rend compte des apports. Dans les mosquées anciennes, à la Djouma par exemple, la poussière, les ordures couvrent le sol sur un ou deux mètres d'épaisseur sous les portiques. Les rues de la ville populeuse, en sortant par la Porte Tochti vers Gaë ou derrière la citadelle mongole de Tabarek vers Djoubareh, sont fréquemment à deux, trois et même quatre mètres au-dessus du niveau des cultures, et celles-ci, dans ces deux villes anciennes, sont encore à un ou deux mètres au-dessus du sol des constructions anciennes, de sorte que l'apport peut être là de l'ordre de quatre mètres." (Beaudouin 1933, January: 21-23)

André Godard, another French architect, who was appointed as the director of antiquities affiliated to the National Museum of Iran, opposed.[507] In his position, he made an elaborate inventory on Isfahan's historical buildings, including those in the areas which where recently cut by the plans of Beaudouin. He emphasised on the preservation of the mosque in the north – the old square was already gone – and to restore the Maidan-i Shah with its bazaars in the south. (Godard 1936: 219 and 1937: 103-116) For a time, the proposed reconstruction plans in the western periphery stayed largely unrealised and the rest of the centre remained untouched. Yet, three decades later, in the early sixties, the urban scheme of Beaudouin was put in a different light. The thousands of persons,

[506] Eugène Élie Beaudouin (20 July 1898 – 14 January 1983) was a former boarder of the 'Académie de France' in Rome.

[507] André Godard (21 January 1881 – 31 July 1965) was a French architect, archaeologist, art historian, and director of the Archeological Services of Iran, a position he held from 1928 to 1953 and again from 1956 to 1960. As a graduate of the 'École des Beaux-Arts' of Paris, Godard had studied Iranian archeology.

who made up "the beehive of the Isfahan bazaar", were confronted with the swift currents of economic change that were about to catch them up. Bazaris cognizant of the change altered the products in which they dealt rather than their methods and the bazaar seemed to become a relic of the past. This led the bazaar to the verge of major transformation. (Salisbury 1961, 2 November) The Shah introduced his radical urban development plan for the country.[508] The rapid expansion of the economy led to uncontrolled growth of the city, so urban modernisation was put high on the agenda again and the reconstruction of the network could help to streamline traffic and land use. Reorganising cities was a key issue in national reform. Many cities implemented road plans. In Isfahan, the proposal of Beaudouin was revised. Whereas, the western grids of the first plan had precursed a Modernist approach, now, in a new master plan, it was adapted for the whole city. The plan introduced a radical way to reorganise the city by the superposition of a grid of breakthroughs.[509] New roads would definitively cut through the bazaars. Together, the Jamal ad-Din Abdorrazzaq Avenue and the Allameh Majlesi Avenue demolished some of the oldest parts of the interior bazaar network. The adjoined ancient square had vanished. The roundabout of Maidan-i Qiyam, linking both avenues near the Friday Mosque, was constructed on this place instead. The bazaars located north and east of the mosque became abated from the rest. The Maidan-i Shah in the south survived, but it had been cut in two. The new Hāfez street and Sepah Avenue broke through the present bazaar system, allowing cars to cross. Much of the place transformed in a huge parking for many years.

Similarly avenues and roundabouts would reconstruct other cities, but mostly the bazaar networks remained largely untouched. By far, the plan for Isfahan was the most radical of all. In comparison, similar new thoroughfares in for example Kerman and Kashan would only demolish some parts of the outer flanks of the network, rather then cutting on a variety of places. On the other end of the spectrum, a plan for the modernisation of Tehran left the emerging central bazaar network in pristine state. In this vision, the bazaar

508 The plan for Urban and Rural Modernisation and Reconstruction (با کمک سپاه ترویج نوساز - ازدهی اصل یو آبادان جی شهرها و روستاها) was developed between 1960 and 1962. The Shah put it to a national referendum in 1963, in which the public vote accepted the proposed plan. The National Assembly and Senate enacted the law in 1968, with additions and revisions until 1974.

509 The new plan was made in collaboration with Organic Consultants, an Iranian architectural and planning firm.

Figure 5.6.5a.
Aerial of the northern bazaars and mosque in Isfahan, 1930s

Figure 5.6.5b.
Analyses of the northern bazaars and mosque in Isfahan by Gaube, 1970s

type was seen as a core in urban development, while it would become more a pseudo-mall. In the earliest plans for this moderate vision, the interior bazaar was also a central public facility and free standing structure in the periphery. It introduced here an indoor pedestrian space with a linear water basin and central fountain in its midst, aligned by open shops both on ground and gallery level on each side. In the later plans, Jaque Robertson revised the plans and narrowed down the design of the interior of the bazaar, while he extended it from two to three storeys. The narrow suburban bazaars would surround a new rectangular square. This proposed Shah and Nation Square in the northern urban extension of Tehran recalled an image of the Maidan-i Shah in southern Isfahan.[510] (Ardalan, Baktiar and Nasr 1973: 89-104, Victor Gruen Associates et al 1969: 3-8, Hourcade 1974: 25-41, Llewelyn-Davies International 1976, November) Although one could find some Modern representations in the city, these specific proposals never were realised.

In the mean, the international critique on the radical Isfahan practice had risen. The bazaar might be not directly in danger of being impaired by the encroachments of car mobility, but it was indirectly as master planning was not able to reach its aims successfully. On the one hand, while population rapidly urbanised, Iranian city planning could not catch up. On the other hand, proposed urban reconstruction plans were never fully implemented. Additionally, the economic importance of the bazaars was reduced and land prices in these areas dropped. The bazaars were threatened, spatially and socially. In response, a critical report to UNESCO

[510] Victor Gruen Associates (see Book 6) designed The Comprehensive Plan for Tehran between 1966 and 1969, together with the Iranian architect Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian, or Shahzada 'Abdul Aziz, (born 1920). The plan was approaved in 1970. Between 1974 and 1976, the British firm Llewelyn-Davies International under direction of the American urban designer and planner Jaquelin Taylor Robertson, known as Jaque, (born 20 March 1933) designed a plan for the northern extension Abbasabad. This plan included the Shah and Nation Square. Though, it was never realised.

Figure 5.6.6.
Bazaars in the southeast corner of the Maidan-i Shah, 1976

underlined the cultural importance of the bazaar network. It pled for preservation. As heritage, it could be a vital tourist attraction attracting people again. (Planhol and Brown 1968: 438-461; Shankland 1968: 1-46; Mozayeni 1974: 264-267) The neglect and decline of the bazaar system came to a halt. Designers and other urban professionals changed focus and a new positive approach to the bazaar network emerged. Internationally the Italian architect Eugenio Galdieri[511] and German colleagues Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth investigated the architectural history of the network, its growth, its alteration and its transformations. It would be the prelude to conservation and restoration. The local involvement of the Iranian architect Bagher Shirazi[512] in this was of great influence. In the seventies, he had prepared several proposals to revitalise the bazaars and restore monuments. Shirazi believed that the structure of new roads, imposed over the old one, had to be accepted as irreversible. The old structure should surrender to the influx of the new. By the introduction of access points with car parks, the bazaar network could revive as a pedestrian only area. (Galdieri 1970, March-June; Shirazi 1971 and 1974, 591-592; Gaube and Wirth 1978) The national government propagated a new policy. The bazaar was rediscovered and knowledge on its network was desired. Some of which was found abroad.

The Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Iran supported for example a research publication of the University of Chicago on the urban form of Isfahan. Capturing the sense of the time, the book emphasised the continuity of change in which among others the bazaars had always played their role. Harvard University organised likewise an exhibition on the design of the bazaars of Shah Abbas and other projects at his time. It led to a renowned international colloquium on Isfahan, linking numerous studies on the city. Information was exchanged revealing what Isfahan had been and was. For instance, one researcher would conclude that the bazaars had formed "an organism with an active, flourishing life of its own", which continued as a vital force even when much of the splendor of the formal city was then a memory. Another researcher reconstructed urban patterns, which could not have left deep marks due to the recent reconstruction. By revealing ancient texts, this scholar could redraw the outlines from forgotten bazaars, crucial in the understanding of the network. Crossovers were discussed and a university's documentary film would appear next. Across the ocean, also the British Museum organised an exhibition on Isfahan, now with support of the Ministry of Culture and Arts of Iran. Aerial views of the former bazaars, bird's eye views of the large square and indoor photographs of the Qayşariya were presented to the public, next to the recent master plans.[513] Within a few years, Beaudouin's reconstructions plans had become out of fashion. Even The Architectural Review, which always had been a straightforward British tribune for modernity, called the ancient network an important 'life line'. They adapted previous research conclusions and they spoke of an urban disaster: "A grid of straight roads designed for the motor car, has been superimposed without regard to the pattern of growth or integrity of the old quarters". (Ardalan, Baktiar and Nasr 1973; Welch 1973; Bakhtiar 1974: 322; Golombek 1974: 18; Holod 1974i and 1974ii; The Committee for the Exhibition of Isfahan 1976; Browne 1976: 260-283 and Cantacuzino 1976: 293-300;) New entrances along the avenues

[511] The Italian architect Eugenio Galdieri (29 October 1925 – 4 November 2010) was engaged in the monumental and archaeological restoration. From 1970 to 1979, he supervised conservation and restoration works conducted in Iran, Afghanistan and Oman.

[512] Bagher Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi (23 Augustus 1936 – 19 August 2007) was an Iranian restoration architect and lecturer in urban development. In 1971, after his PhD research in Rome, he became director of the Italian consultancy company Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMeo). As such, he conducted conservation works on some of the most important monuments in Isfahan.

[513] The publication of the University of Chicago was composed between 1971 and 1973. It was called 'The Sence of Unity' and celebrated 'the 25th centenary of the foundation of the Persian Empire'. The Harvard exhibition, called 'Shah 'Abbās and the Arts of Isfahan', was first shown in the Asia House Gallery in New York, between 11 October and 2 December 1973. Subsequently, it moved to the Fogg Museum of Art, one of Harvard University's own art museums. The Isfahan Colloquium was held at Harvard University from 21 to 24 January 1974. The exhibition called 'Isfahan, City of Light' was organized by the Ministry of Culture and Arts of Iran in association with the World of Islam Festival by the Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, from 6 May to 11 July 1976.

were built and the bazaars were about to resurrect again.[514]

However, in the end of the seventies, the Iranian Revolution broke out. Modernisation policies had not only transformed the urban pattern. It had changed economics and wealth in general. With an apparent exclusionary and clientilistic approach, it alienated groups such as the bazaris. As such, the bazaars became a focal point of resistance to modernisation. It hosted the headquarters of opposition, and making the bazaar the place where the majority of public protest was organised and where political protests of other groups in society, like mass rallies, was supported by all means.[515] (Keddie 1981: 245, Hooglund 1982: 25; Keshaverzian 2007: 2, 243-244) The next year, Shah's government collapsed, monarchy fell and within months the Islamic Republic of Iran was formed. Ayatollah Khomeini came in charge as leader of the country.[516] While the Maidan-i Shah became Maidan-i Iman, the overthrown Shah reflected on his former policies from abroad: "I could not stop building supermarkets. I wanted a modern country. Moving against the bazaars was typical of the political and social risk I had to take in my drive for modernization". In Iran, Khomeini stressed that the protection of the bazaars would get his priority: "We must preserve the bazaar with all our might." Consolidating his power, he added: "In return the bazaar must preserve the government." (Pahlavi 1980: 156; Khomeini 1982, as quoted in Keshaverzian 2007: 1) New conflicts arose. Some bazaris faced allegations of cooperation with the Pahlavi regime. People who did not demonstrate their revolutionary credentials and allegiance lost their property. They were fined and imprisoned, or executed. Others became part of the new elite, exhibiting their loyalty to the Ayatollah and joining

[514] In the proximity of the Friday Mosque, the Nāsir Khusraw Pasazh was built in 1970 and the Retail Trade Passages and adjoining Davody Building were built between 1972 and 1974. The architects are unknown.

[515] The first national bazaar closure, as a collective gesture of their disapproval, was on 16 October 1978. More often since, bazaars closed out of protest. Untill 1980, almost two-thirds of the demonstrations were organized by an alliance between bazaaris and the mosques and a quarter was organized by secondary schools and university students. (Hooglund 1982: 25) Protesting against the regime continued here also after the replacement of government, as is does up to today.

[516] After the revolution Sayid Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini (21 September 1902 – 3 June 1989) got the highest ranking political and religious authority of the nation and became Grand Ayatollah. He was called The Leader of the Revolution or (Supreme) Leader of the country.

Figure 5.6.7a.
Bazaars in Teheran, 2007

Figure 5.6.7b.
Bazaars in Teheran, 2007

the Islamic Republican Party. The trust between people almost disappeared. It resulted in hostility towards strangers, a lack of appropriate social contacts and a void of political or religious discussions. Following the revolution, while Iran dramatically reversed the policies, numerous countries impose sanctions against Iran. Combined with the outbreak of the Iran–Iraq War, the travel industry had nearly come to a halt. (Apple 1982, 15 November, Keshaverzian 2007: 101-106),

The bazaars were nevertheless restored. Although, the public quality of the bazaar changed severely due to the collapse of trade and the lack of trust between people, renovation re-established some of the original glory. In 1991, after years of neglect, the design of the Shah or Imam Square started to shine again. Pretentiously, it was redubbed Maidan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, literally Image of the World Square. Even according to a New York Times journalist, the place with its "thriving bazzars" reclaimed its status as "one of the Middle East's most beautiful places". Since the revolution, few tourists dared to venture here, among them almost no Americans, but this started to change. After a long pause, Iran was opening the country to outsiders again. Slowly a few pioneers came. (Ibrahim 1991, 18 June; Kinzer 1997, 13 July) With the arrival of travellers, now mainly for leisure purpose, the bazaar got a new role in tourism. Ancient oriental curiosity was rising again.
Most recently, also the old Maidan in Isfahan is reconstructed. Planning has started at the turn of the millennium. Recent added sheets of corrugated iron, covering some branches of the bazaar network, have been removed. Provisinary structures are completely demolished. In 2009, the avenues have been put below street level. In addition, a huge underground parking and railway underneath the square are under construction. In 2011, the construction of the bazaars surrounding the square has started with the Abdul Bazaar. A new bazaar rejoins the disconnected parts of the bazaar network and others will surround the square. They are constructed by structural steel covered by sand coloured masonry. Decorative brick, depressed arches and one-storey shops on both sides shape the next generation bazaars in classic forms.[517] Old times seem to revive also here, on the place of the degraded roads. Yet although, fragmentation of the bazaar network may be repaired, its public space will not be the same as in the past. The public will change. Soon a subway station may introduce new streams of fashion-conscious suburban visitors to the bazaars. More tourists may come. Trust may be re-established among the people. Public government may change again. In all cases, the bazaar and its meaning continue to change as it has always done.

To conclude this epistle: Over time, the bazaar type has always been a market consisting of a street lined with shops and stalls, but it has evolved into many variants. On the one hand, the gradual process of development, formation, and growth of bazaar system have led to more complex forms. On the other hand, the popularity of the type in other cities, thus in other socio-spatial contexts, has led to more variation as well as it has led even related (sub) types. Originated as an exterior public space, which has been very close to a main street and a main market place, the bazaar has evolved towards a provisionary covered space while diversifying into several

[517] The Esfahan Urban Railway Organisation, abbreviated to EURO, planned and developed the City Line Network since 2001. The Imam Khomeyni station, the Imam Ali station and the Majlesi station on the north-south line would affect the bazaar system. Isfahan Municipality Renovation & Restoration Organisation (IMR&RO) announced plans for the reconstruction of the square in 2007. They corporated with the bazaaris, represented by the Fruits and Vegetable Organisation & Reorganising the City Occupations (FVO&RCO). In 2008, Hexa Consulting Engineers designed and constructed the railway tunnel with undergrounds stations, the Atigh Square underground parking and the underpasses. Probably they were also responsible for the Abdul the Great Bazaar, but the name of the architect is unknown.

permanent interior public spaces. In the past, the bazaar adapted caesarean principles when it was placed in Byzantine buildings. One could say that the royal bazaar place was born. In a same line, the advent of bazaars in hans took place in the Sultanate of Rum. This was exemplified by the case in Bey ehir. Here, lodging and bazaar was combined, like it also had been in a less permanent way in the cognate sarais or caravansarais along the so-called Silk Routes. Eventually, the bazaar developed into purpose-build interior bazaar designed in Bursa, Edirne and Constantinople. These bedestens were usually free-standing, regular dome-based structures, which were almost square. They hosted permanent stalls and boots for exclusive trade. In the Ottoman capitol these bedestens were expanded by more provisionary structures, interiorising the surrounding space and allowing more shop space. A collection of bazaar, a system, emerged and formed one big interior bazaar centre near the city's ancient main market square. Similarly, Tabriz, Qazvin and Isfahan introduced bazaars along large squares, but these were designed intentionally as edges of the squares and these would be created both almost at once. The bazaars remained domed and arched structures with small shops, but built in close proximity of royal buildings. As such, bazaars became qayşariyas, kinds of royal bazaars, again. Qayşariyas symbolised a certain, often new, dynastic power as part of the grand urban design. They became a

Figure 5.6.8.
A bazaar in Tabriz, 2007

consistent particle in plans for new Persian capitols. As such, when the development of bazaars apparently moved from royalty to the noblemen and later certain trader groups, the design of a qayṣariya would be the precedent for the design. These next generations of bazaars were densifying exiting systems and creating today's larger interior network. Scale had moved to another grain. Instead of the large projects, small corridor-like bazaars and the small timches were added. They introduced another kind of bazaar, which also interlinked a new variation of sarais. In a parallel evolution, in the Ottoman Empire the bazaars boomed too. Often only the age-old outdoor bazaars were established in the urban labyrinths of the new sultanates and vizierates. These would not offer the best public quality. Yet also, longitudinal and L-shaped bazaars emerged. It did for example in the capitol. In Tunis the longitudinal bazaar hybridising with main streets again. Bazaar streets were covered by arched stone roofs supported by columns having a series shops or boots on each side. One could see the later Neo-Classic Alcaicería in Grenada or some of the Moroccan bazaars in this line. It also added to the wide spread popularity of the type, as seen in the Imperial capitals of France and Great Brittan. Here, bazaars were more a curious imitation of what was seen in the east. Yet although, extremely popular for quite some time and evolving in a unique kinds of establishments in both London and Paris, in both cities the bazaar more or less disappeared as an permanent structure. If not, the bazaar became associated with temporal fairs, charity, miscellany and shops selling cheap products or it was the name of a department store. In general, these European interpretations moved also to other cities. In that spectrum, in their own ancestral line, the romantic leisure bazaar in Budapest and the monumental bazaar in Damascus form rare exceptions in the evolution of the type without any following. All together, in the last century, the bazaar type had withdrawn to the regions of origin. But here, recent Modern planning provoked road constructions through the urban fabric and effecting, if not demolishing, large parts of old bazaars networks. For a time, provisional bazaars built up out of sheds of corrugated iron sheets made the new systems. Today, the neglect seemed to have come to a stand still or even turn. Recent developments in the bazaar design seem to imitate the success of predecessors from a remote period, but now more focussed on tourism and a re-found local identity. Restoration, renovation and regeneration of the bazaar network in for example Isfahan as well as reconstruction in that city seems to contribute to the image of a bazaar as a national symbol, which can be attractive in its nature as being a marketplace and destination for foreign explorers. In this line, we may understand some of today's bazaars in the fast urbanising capitols of countries like the Kingdom of Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. Designers revise images of a Modern bazaar and continue on ancient history. Nevertheless, opposing this trend, still bazaars disappear. Apart from the destruction of the bazaar network of Bam by a devastating 2003 earthquake, the more 'silent' demolishment of the bazaar network of Mashhad seems remarkable. Though it used to be by no means a continuous series of bazaars, in the recent years, the bazaars were destroyed to make way for the extensive complex, containing the green-illuminated mausoleum of Imam Reza, the brand-new huge two-storey halls of mirrors and seven enormous courtyards. This example could

introduce a devaluation of the bazaar type, even in 'the east'.
Either way, the bazaar will rely on general issues concerning its public quality: Is it popular? Is it well-used, part of governmental concern, generally known? For all this, people have to be able to access the bazaar without insurmountable restrains. It seems a fundamental design issue. Doors may be closed at night and guards or police may watch over the bazaar, but this does not mean that it is impossible to go into the bazaar when it is open. Generally, also in the case of the bazaars, public law governs the accessibility and the individual right to enter. Still, foreigners have qualified certain systems as labyrinths, limiting their ability to find ways. Indisputably, in essence it is remains open to all. Yet, the guarantee of accessibility by itself does not mean that the bazaar is always packed. From that point of view, this research showed that periodically the popularity of bazaars has been less thriving. In several examples, public use has fluctuated strongly, depending of the influx of people in relation to the importance of the city, its position in long distance routes or its common centrality. As shown, on a different level, national wars, regime changes and seclusionary politics have been influencing the attraction of cities of concern, and thus affecting the bazaar networks and their public quality throughout typological evolution. In Iranian cities, for example, one will find only few foreigners today. Still, certain parts of the ancient networks remain crowded, but different to some renowned eras locals are dominant. These people simply walk the main route in the city, which is formed by the bazaars. If bazaars not by themselves form the primary route, than at least usually they are nearby. However, they are often not suitable to host cars and other motorised contemporary vehicles. Modern avenues do. In general, their construction facilitates these kinds of movements, but it has also changed focal point of business, because people walk there too. It may have led to an additional decrease of people in the bazaar, affecting commercial facilities as well as other public facilities present. Contradictory related to this, modern goods and services in bazaar may increase public use. Local issues matters. From restructuring to poor maintenance, it all has direct effect. When on top of that, public government decides to send wreckers, for whatever reason, public space is lost anyhow. Despite its actual public use or concern, more and more, bazaars have become open to the knowledge or view of all. It has especially since the nineteenth century when descriptions were presented in the popular media. Some systems may not have appeared without this kind of attention, or they at least would not have been growing so enormously. Also in the early centuries, the wide spread popularity was caused not in the last place due to exchange, travel journeys and other media. Though withdrawn from Europe, the bazaar is spread around large parts of the world. The notion of bazaar is accepted into many vernaculars and an indefinite number of pseudo-bazaars have appeared in cities everywhere. It seems an age-old feature useful to attract tourists today. The future will learn what is next.

Figure 5.6.9.
Sharjah Souk in Dubai, souvenir scale model and photo, 2010s

Figure 5.6.10.
The Souk in Abu Dhabi by Norman Foster, 2011

Palm Beach Gardens, 1989

“On August 27th 1989, I visited The Gardens of the Palm Beaches in suburban Florida. The complex was barely a year old and I remember the way its largeness and exclusiveness was dazzling me. An enclosed broad double-layered mall gave access to an enormous amount of shops. Burdines, Sears and Macy's were located in the ends of the mall. All three large and leading department stores; and each of them bright and shining. Every item was carefully displayed. The mall itself was designed in the local Spanish Style and landscaped with royal palm trees, weeping figs and other small stately but artificial urban trees. The grand junctions were topped with glass domes and extra decorated with water basins and real flowering tropical plants. Outside was a huge but carefully designed parking lot and again royal palms everywhere. It was humid, sunny and 33° Celsius. Luckily, back indoors it was cool and comfortable. - In the last years the mall is redesigned. Its original stylistic idiom, represented by among others the orangish red and brownish stucco furnished with ocean blue iron works have been replaced by white alternatives, now decorated with engineered wood and a 111 metre long mural. Also its sculptural planting and sitting areas have been neatly rearranged or simply demolished. The image of the mall changed, but in nature it is still the same mall. Still as mayor transformations have happened outside, things have changed. More then in the past the area is made accessible by car. A new interchange provides regional shoppers direct access from the I-95. It seems to stimulate fast urbanising of the surrounding grounds. More shops and restaurants, a movie theatre, a county convention centre and a hotel embellish the former grey areas. They not only amplify the area's position as leisure centre, but together with the new condominiums, town-homes and the city's first true residential high-rise they have truly transformed the area: Downtown at the Gardens has opened! A new mall, courts, streets and parks are constructed outdoors. The interior mall has become part of a new urban area.”

The Mall

Printed image of the mall of Southdale Shopping Center in Edina, 1950s

Chapter 1 Early Leisure Spaces

For most people nowadays the mall would immediately bring up images of shopping centres like The Gardens. As a matter of course the commerce and the built construction dominate the mind, especially because a propagating wave of shopping malls has been designed and constructed since the 1950s, many commercial handbooks, annuals, prizes and associations accompanying this. However, recent trends and social-spatial transformations show that a more general typification would help understand the mall and its role in the culture of cities more than just one which is merely functional and related to shopping. Today the mall has many, multiple, related meanings depending on its context. Above all a search for an umbrella description along the lines of public space – inherently, a less narrow one – has brought justice to the mall's primary and most fundamental meaning. In origin the mall is a leisure space, which even has little to do with shops.

The mall has its roots in the High Renaissance. For this epistle we best can travel back to the city republics of among others Florence and Genoa, where pall-mall was a ball game. The game was known already about 1550s, when a printed Florentine carnival song referred to 'giocatori di palla a maglio' or player of ball-to-mallet.[518] (Grazzini c1550s, quoted in Grazzini, Biscioni (ed) 1742: 190-191) From these city-states the game crossed borders to the Kingdom of France, where it was called '*paille maille*', and later '*jeu de mail*'. The name was referring to the straw, '*une paille*', which was used to push a ball though a metal ring or mail: '*une maille*'. In 1589, Giovanni Botero wrote that the King of France, Francis I had played the game, like the current students of the Italian academia and the Université de Paris did "with such joy that delights no less concern to, and that their themselves" on the field outside the city.[519] (Botero 1589: 330) Although an crucial eighteen-century source stated that this game had no regular place in Paris until the eighteenth century, when a special track was laid-out at the Tuileries for the child-king Louis XV,[520] older sources met an assertion. Though, it was said that the only place were the game had been often played was situated behind the Arsenal du Roi, on the banks of the Seine, early French dictionaries refuted a merely temporal use of tracks. Clearly they talked about the existence of fixed places to play the game. In 1680, one could for example read that the mall, or in French '*mail*', from the Couvent des Célestins in Paris was considered as 'not too good'. In 1693, the French architect Augustin-Charles d'Aviler added a general description of the design of a mall.[521] A mall was an alley of trees of three or four hundred yards long, four to five wide, bordered with planks secured at breast high, with an area of crushed stone, covered with cement, where one chased balls with a '*mail*', or long-handled mallet stick. The mall of Saint Germain en Laye, was seen as one of the finest, because of its trees along the boundary, which were of high forest. This is more or less what one could read in a similar dictionary of the Académie Françoise a year later. A nice mall was one with trees, well maintained and

[518] The Florentine poet, writer and playwright Anton Francesco Grazzini detto il Lasca (22 march 1504 – 18 February 1584) wrote "Giovani, et giucatori di palla a Maglio [...]" probably in 1559. It became known as Canto di Giucatori di Palla a Maglio. Originally, 'palla-maglio' would derive from the Latin 'pila' or bal and from 'malleus' or stick. (Kelter, Ziebarth, Schultess et al 1905: 62)

[519] The Savoy priest, philosopher and writer Giovanni Botero (1544 – 23 June 1617) was educated in the Kingdom of Sicily, after which he studied and taught in the Papal States and the Kingdom of France mainly at the Collegio Romano in Rome and Universitas Magistrorum et Scholarium Parisiensis in Paris. He also worked in the Duchy of Milan ruled by Spain, the Republic of Venice and the Republic of Genoa. François I, or Francis I, King of France (12 September 1494 – 31 March 1547) was had Sovoy roots too, as a son of Louise of Savoy (11 September 1476 – 22 September 1531).

[520] The French Royal architects Philibert Delorme, or De l'Orme, (c.1510 – 8 January 1570) and Jean Bullant (c.1515 – 13 October 1578) had designed the Palais des Tuileries, west of the Louvre, from 1564 on. They acted by order of the Florentine-born queen mother Caterina Maria Romola di Lorenzo de' Medici, or Catherine de Medici (13 April 1519 – 5 January 1589). The French landscape architect and royal gardener André Le Nôtre (12 March 1613 – 15 September 1700) completely redesigned the gardens in 1664. He was the grandson of Pierre Le Nôtre (c.1570 – c.1610) who had worked for De Medici as well. The pall mall track was laid out for Louis XV, called Bien-Aimé or the Beloved (15 February 1710 – 10 May 1774), King of France and Navarre. He came to the throne at the age of five. Louis XV lived in the Palais des Tuileries from 1715 to 1722.

[521] The French architect and writer Augustin-Charles d'Aviler (1653 – 23 June 1701) studied at the Académie de France in Rome between 1676 and 1679. He became an advocate of what he called the Vignola style. A style named after the Italian architect Giacomo or Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, in French Vignole (1 October 1507 – 7 July 1573), who spent the years between 1541 and 1543 in the royal castle in Fontainebleau, an important French foyer for Renaissance arts.

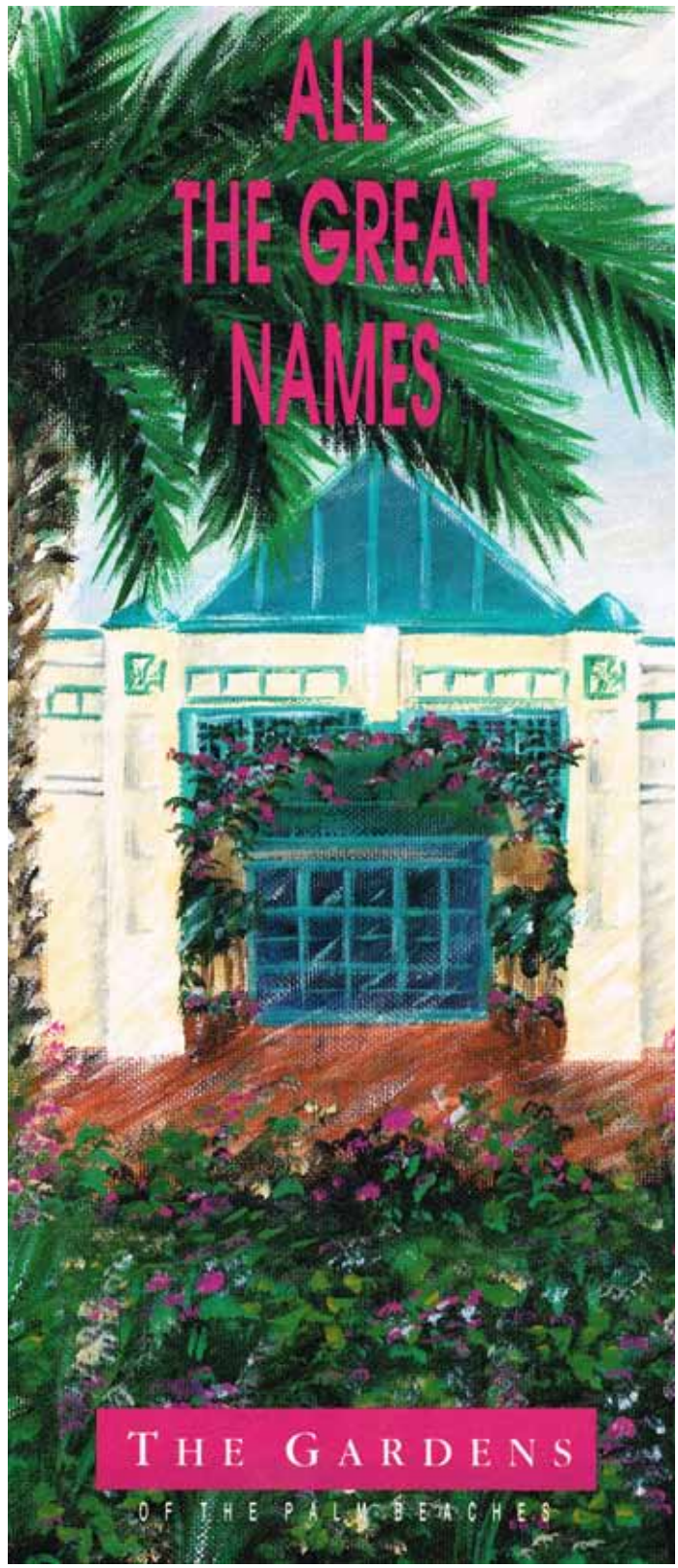


Figure 6.1.1.
Information brochure The Gardens of The Palm Beaches, 1989

not longer than twelve hundred feet. A '*mail*' was explicitly defined as the space, where one played the game. More specifically it was described as an alee too, a formal alley bordered by planting, where they roll the ball.[522] (Richelet 1680ii: 6, D'Aviler 1693ii: 146, Académie Françoise 1694ii: 5, Hurtaut 1779: 464, 730)

> "MAIL, est une Allée d'arbres de trois ou quatre cens toises de long, sur quatre à cinq de large, bordée d'ais attachez contre des pieux â hauteur d'apui, avec une aire de recoupes de pierre, couverte de ciment, où l'on chasse des boules de buis avec un mail, ou maillet ferré à long manche. Le Mail de Saint Germain en Laye, est un des plus beaux, parce que les Arbres qui le bordent, font de haute futaye." (D'Aviler 1693ii: 146)

The mall behind the arsenal had to be the convent mall. Both arsenal and convent were located next to each other; both south of the Bastille,[523] and like The Gardens Mall, their mall was designed on the edge of the city. As the monastic order had left in 1779, it made sense to indicate the mall differently. Apart from the indication of this particular mall, in general it should be assumed that malls in France got a permanent place even earlier. That is to say that the French were introduced to the ideal environment for the game already in 1571. They could follow the principles, which were common in the neighbouring countries. Particularly remarkable is the treatise of the Venetian agronomist Agostino Gallo of Brescia,[524] which was developed as a dialogue between two nobles discussing the noble and virtuous use of plants. It enlightened the delights of the city and argued why it is better to live in a city. One of the interlocutors in the book explained that the rural leisure activities of the past, like hunting and falconry, have been replaced by more sophisticated ones; worthy a gentleman. The men of their days rather played baseball, pelota, palmaille, billiards, and other similar ball games in their courts.[525] Yet, one suggested that when the sun moved to the west, it would be good to put these games on a low pitch, setting tables under trellis, to dine in the cool of a gentle blow, because the wind could disturb the track by twigs of surrounding trees and flowers of the meadow. (Gallo 1564, Gallo 1569: 379, Gallo 1569 as translated by De Bell-Forest 1571: 339-340) These tips on urban living were quite popular in the region and soon a French translation appeared. In time, all over France, one could find '*mails*'. They were designed in Angers, Aubigny, Bauge, Blere, Blois, Boiscommun, Cambrai, Castres, Chateaudun, Chateauvillain, Chatellerault and many more towns, all roughly positioned the Loire Valley up to Paris, as well as for example in the larger cities like Amiens in the north and Lyon in the south. Even across borders, in Switzerland, one could find familiar malls in Geneva and Neuchatel.

Either soon or late, the game had reached the British Empire, where the game had got settled on an especially designed track, again on the outskirts of the city. The British king, Charles I, by marriage was related to the French court.[526] So, most likely he knew the popular continental game from his experiences abroad. Secondly, more specifically the king was greatly interested in the French lifestyle. Among others he adored their garden designs. The French family of Mollet was famous for this around European royals. Even so much as in the 1620s the British king summoned the French landscape

Figure 6.1.2.
Pallamai or palla magio in Zugh d'tutt i Zugh, 1702, by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634 - 1718)

[522] It was also described as a kind of small massive piece of wood with iron at both ends and a long folding handle, used for the play to push a ball, and the game in general: 'Pal-mail'.

[523] Delorme was educated in Rome between 1533 and 1536. In 1546, he redesigned Couvent des Célestins, a monastery founded in 1352, including a vis-à-vis wooden bridge on the occasion of its jubilee, and in 1553 he designed the new Arsenal du Roi. This building was demolished to make way for Boulevard Henri IV between 1866 and 1871.

[524] The Venetian agronomist Agostino Gallo (before 14 March 1499 – before 6 September 1570) was born in the province of Brescia, then part of the Repubblica di Venezia. The discourse he recorded took place during the Italian War of 1551–1559, probably in May 1553. The manuscript published in 1564, carried the first thirteen days of the recorded conversation. The second edition got an appendix of seven days. Soon it was followed by several new editions, eventually in the 1572 the parts were united to the twenty days, as translated in French.

[525] In the original text, the games were named '*pala picciola, [...] grossa*', '*pallone*', '*palamaio*', and '*borelle*', respectively ball games played with a small or big paddle, a variety played against a wall, pall mall and boccette, a local billiards-type game.

[526] Charles Stuart I (19 November 1600 – 30 January 1649), King of England, Scotland and Ireland, was married to Henriette Marie, or Henrietta Maria, de France (25 November 1609 – 10 September 1669). Her brother was Louis XIII (27 September 1601 – 14 May 1643), King of France and Navarre.

Figure 6.1.3.
Game of pall-mall, 1670s

architect André Mollet to England to lay out his gardens.[527] Most likely this Frenchman was responsible for the lay-out of the track, which in name became known as Pall Mall, to the game. The game was "hereto-fore used in the long-alley near St James's, and vulgarly called Pell-Mell". (Blount 1670: NP, entry on Pale Maille) Later sources link '*pall-mall*' to '*pellere malleo*', Latin for 'to drive with a mallet'. (Bailey 1737: NP, entry on Pall-Mall, and on Mall) All the ingredients used in the original design were those by which Mollet was renowned of. He described the contemporary use of linear gravel paths symmetrical bordered by double-lined trees in his treatise on pleasure gardens. In difference to his contemporaries, he combined these with the use of palisades, both low and high. This combination was visible on the old engravings of the London track, where the smooth ride lined by elm trees was used as a playing field, while being walled. Thirdly, the game as a matter of course could have reached England, if only we concentrate on the presumed designer. He ought to be informed on the popular pall-mall game. Only a few years before André moved to London, together with his father he had worked with Florentine Alessandro Francini[528] on the gardens of Château Fontainebleau near Paris and

[527] André Mollet, also known as Andrew Mollet (abt.1600 – 7 June 1665) was part of a family of eminent French gardeners. He started to work as a royal garden designer to Queen Kristina in Stockholm. In the 1620s, he was summoned to England to lay out gardens for Charles I of England and by 1633 he was in the service of Prince Frederick Hendrik van Oranje. Thereafter, he lived in France, England and Sweden. With the restoration of the monarchy, he returned to England, where died somewhere before 16 June 1665, possible 7 June.

[528] Alessandro Francini, in France also known as Alexandre Francini (late 16th Century – 1648) was an Italian-born engineer and hydraulic expert. He was naturalised as Frenchman in 1603. In 1614, he worked together with the Mollet family on the gardens of Fontainebleau, a royal castle near Paris. Francini gained his spurs working for the Medici's in Florence. Between 1548 and 1559, Delorme and Bullant had been responsible for the completion of the castle. They added a ballroom and a chapel to the original building. The latter was connected by the Francois I gallery.

Figure 6.1.4.
Pall-mall, located next to the St. James Palace and Park, 1658, drawn by Richard Newcourt (c. 1610 - 1679), the Elder

in the past Claude Mollet[529] had been responsible for the garden of Château-Neuf de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Both royal gardens would be known for their malls. At the time, Maria de' Medici, queen consort of France, resided here. She was also the Florentine-born. So, Mollet had worked with a Florentine for a Florentine, and as '*palla e maglio*' was beloved in Florence - especially in the Medici family - linking the game to the French and British courts could be an easy step.[530] (Mollet 1651: NP ~ 43-52, Karling 1974: 10 and 18, Staley 1906: 480) In general, apart from the specific situation Charles I was in, royals and noblemen in London must have read about the game in travel reports. Several examples underline this. One early example is given by a book of Sir Robert Dallington[531], an English nobleman close to the court. He enthusiastically reports on the game as it was played in France before it was brought to London. (Dallington 1604: 129)

> "Among all the exercise of France, I prefer none before the Palle-maille, both because it is a Gentleman-like sport, not violent, and yeelds good occasion and opportunity of discourse, as they walke from one marker to the other." (Dallington 1604: 129)

In London the track originally was set on the edge of the city. We can learn from a map of London 1658 that 'Pall-mall' was located next to the 'St. James Palace and Park' along its entrance alley. It is the first known evidence of the track and its name giving.[532] (Newcourt 1658)

Within a decade the area along the other side of the track urbanised. John Nash had realised his famous urban quarter here. Over time, the outdoor space of the original Pall Mall remained a beloved place. As soon as it was opened for general public access, it was paved, which in a different way contributed to its exclusiveness, as most streets were still dirt-roads. Redeveloping the track on the contrary became a venture according to its past nature of debarring participation. Most of the space and the surrounding areas were part of the Crown Lands leased for a long term by Lord Saint Albans.[533] Albans was also one of the commissioners of the paving committee. So Pall Mall was in fact privately-owned public space, just like many

[529] Claude Mollet (abt.1557 – 23 May 1647) was the Royal gardener. In Saint-Germain-en-Laye, he worked together with the French landscape designer Étienne Dupérac, or du Pérac, (abt.1520 or 1535 – March 1604).

[530] The Florentine Maria de' Medici or Marie de Médicis (26 April 1575 – 4 July 1642) was the mother of Henriette Marie de France. Catherina de' Medici (13 April 1519 – 5 January 1589), one of the former queen consorts and a very distant relative of Maria de' Medici, was also born in Florence.
"The Piazza di San Marco contains in its Monastery and Library the most lasting memorials of Cosimo de' Medici – 'the father of his Country.' […] But by way of contrast the Piazza was the playground of the young men of the city. The popular game played was 'Palla e Maglio'…" (Staley 1906: 480)

[531] Sir Robert Dallington (1561 – 1637) was an English courtier, author and traveller. In 1598, he travelled to France and wrote his travel journey. Most likely his books were read by the court as for fifteen years later, when he published the civil and military aphorisms of Guicciardine, Dallington dedicated his edition to Charles I: "I was the more plentifull in Authorities, because to reade many and great volumes, few young men have the will, no Prince hath the leisure…" (Dallington and Guicciardini 1913) Most issues of his books were dedicated to royals.

[532] This map of London was made by the English cartographer Richard Newcourt, the Elder (c.1610 – 1679) and the English engraver and painter William Faithorne, the Elder (1616 – May 1691).

[533] The English Lord Henry Jermyn (c.1604 - January 1684) was the first Earl of Saint Albans, a small town north of London. At an early age he won the favour of Henriette Marie, or Henrietta Maria, de France (25 November 1609 – 10 September 1669) Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland, whose vice-chamberlain he became in 1628, and Master of the Horse in 1639.

Figure 6.1.5.
The urbanised Pall Mall, from the part-work series generally known as The World's Metropolis, or Mighty London […], 1852, drawn by Samuel Read (c. 1815/1816 - 6 May 1883)

of those tracks. But this situation did not mean an ease for designing buildings along the popular space. While it did offer rather good locations for houses and other buildings and the lots could proffer from the pleasant views on the tree-lined space and the fine gardens, most sites came available only after the exclusive lease was ended. In this way, the private lease was controlling the quality of the area as well as the urbanisation process in general. Very slowly the mall developed. This space became part of the urban tissue by means of a variety of buildings which arose around it. As such it more and more integrated in the larger street network. In this process, the use remained towards leisure and entertainment, and the consequent discursive encounter of groups sharing similar interest and culture. It seemed all part of a new enlightened society. In time, shops facing the mall were turned into a kind of clubs, before the birth of officially recognised clubs, and art galleries appeared here, before any exhibition space was opened elsewhere in the city. Slowly Pall Mall turned into a renowned high-quality street pleasing many groups of people spreading information and promoting critical thought. The introduction of the world's first public gas lightning here in 1807 attests to its enduring popularity.[534] Pall Mall had become "a fine spacious street" and "a favourite locality", yet it retained "unchanged its public character". (Weir 1851b: 289-304, Scott 1965: 6-8, 13-14, 91-95, and Prichard 1981: 1-3) It was a case of private individuals using public venues to continue to promote the space's status quo. It worked. The Pall Mall was put on the same line with other famous public spaces in the city. It served as an exemplar in urban design.

> "The uniformity in the appearance of the houses, nearly all being of three stories, brick, and coated with stucco, the cleanliness of the streets, where filth is never allowed to accumulate, but removed by the dust-carts every morning; the side-walks, and the brilliant illumination of the gas-lights, bestow upon London a peculiar physiognomy. The handsomest streets are Oxford street, Piccadilly, Pall Mall, Portland Place, Haymarket Place, and Regent street." (Malte-Brun 1824; 689)

[534] The British inventor Frederick Albert Winsor was born Fredrich Albrecht Winzler (1763 – 11 May 1830) in the Holy Roman Empire. He was the owner of the National Heat and Light Company, which since June 4th 1807 lightened Pall Mall. In 1820 the whole parish was lit by gas.

Around the same time as the game arrived in London, it was introduced to the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, the north-western regions of the Holy Roman Empire and the Danish

Figure 6.1.6.
A peep at the gas lights in Pall-Mall, 1809, drawn by Thomas Rowlandson (13 July 1756 - 21 April 1827)

Dominions.[535] It was eagerly played at the other royal courts and at the newly established universities. The game appeared from Strasbourg to Altona and in the Dutch cities like The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Leiden. The game with track had migrated from France to the North in only a few decades. In Strasbourg for example, the game was introduced around the turn of the century. Still, an official track was constructed not before the 1630s.[536] In this decade also Altona, on the other side of the river Elbe and facing Hamburg, constructed its own mall. Its description resembles the London Pall Mall: "The *Palmaille* (Pall Mall) is a fine street, of considerable length, with handsome houses, and along the middle of it runs a shady walk, bordered on each side by a double row of lofty trees – oaks, lindens, and acacias." Like the one in London, both tracks in Strasbourg and Hamburg would be qualified as the most beautiful places in the city. (Malte-Brun 1824; 689, Kelter, Ziebarth, Schultess et al 1905: 62) For the track in Utrecht the characterisation was not very different. Like the other examples it was constructed in the 1630s. To be precise: In august 1637 members of the local magistracy began to plant the track, called 'Maliebaan', just outside the city.[537] Also this track was bordered with trees: 1200 lindens and 600 elms form four rows of trees on each side to shade the area. Like the early Pall Mall in London the space was surrounded by a low palisade and it could be entranced at several places by small openings. In 1750, a public announcement prohibited the entry of horse carts, cattle and other animals on the mall. This somehow could remind us to the current exclusive nature of a mall, which is exclusive both spatially, as it was walled, and in use, as it meant pall-mall gamers and accessible for pedestrians only. Part of the exclusiveness ended when some decades later the area urbanised and new connections had been designed. In Utrecht this could be illustrated with the enlargement of the mall with the 'Nieuwe Baan', or so to say the 'new track'. (De la Neuville 1693: 34 and 94, Perks 1970: 3-12) Streets like these linked the mall to the surrounding urban network, in a same way like Nash's plan did for Pall Mall. When the tree-lined space opened itself to the city, more people were able to use the mall and to value it. Especially when in the early nineteenth century the outskirts of Utrecht transformed, the Maliebaan renewed its popularity. The game was still played by then, but now by many. (John Murray 1845: 70)

[535] Respectively: Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden or the united provinces of the Northern Netherlands, Protestantische Union which was a coalition of Protestant German states in the Heiliges Römisches, and Reich. Schleswig-Holstein or in Danish Slesvig-Holsten, the most southern part Jutland Peninsula, currently a part of Germany.

[536] The game was introduced by a man named Johann Klapp, who would be the first the master of the mall to control and maintain the track.

[537] The members of the magistrature 'Wittenvrouwen' started the plans for the Maliebaan (a 'track' to play the game 'malie') on 27 March 1637. The first mall master was employed in November of the same year.

Figure 6.1.7.
Paille Maille in Altona, 1900s

Figure 6.1.8.
Maliebaan in Utrecht, 1900s

> "One of the latest improvements here has been the transformation of the ramparts into Boulevards, so as to render them an agreeable promenade. The Mall, called Maliebaan, is an avenue of 8 rows of lime trees, half a mile in length. It is one of the finest in Europe, and was saved from being cut down by the express command of Louis XIV., at a time when his army spared nothing else in Holland. Travellers going to Nymegen should desire their drivers to pass through it, as it lies but a little way out of the direct road. The game of Pall Mall is still kept up." (John Murray 1845 : 70)

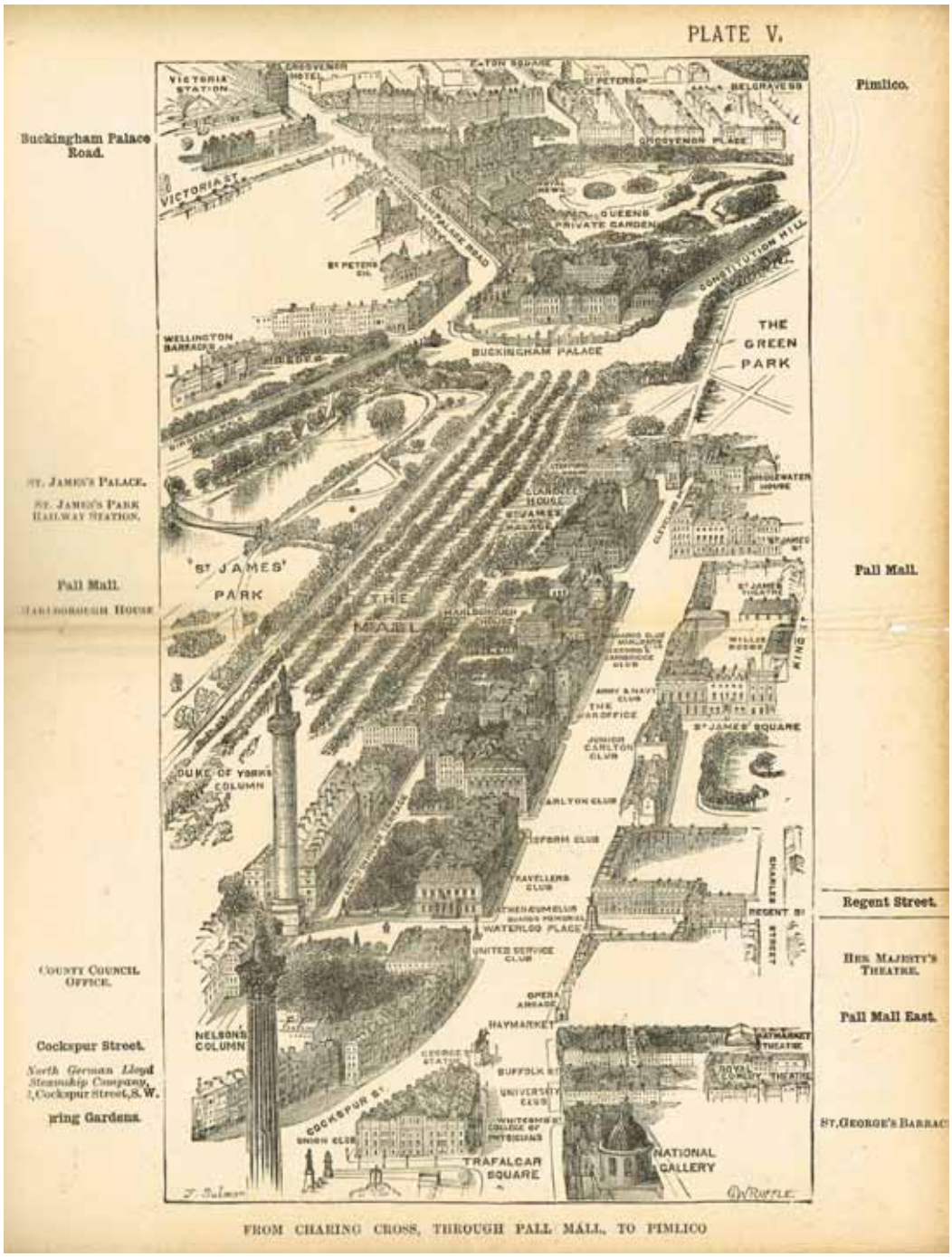
Several examples could illustrate the same: The Maliebaan in Leiden, the early pall-mall track on the Malieveld in The Hague and the vanished track in Amsterdam all could tell similar stories.[538] The linguistic relation between the French 'mail', the Dutch 'malie' and the English 'mall' as notions for urban spaces was clear. In a trilingual subscript to a 1660 view of the Maliebaan in Utrecht, the notions were used side by side in a description of the space as a place 'adorned which fine trees which afford an agreeable prospect'. (Rademaker 1725: NP ~ 438, view 208) Most often the early malls were largely enclosed and accessible for pedestrians only. In time however the tracks would become part of the street network, as soon as the surrounding area was urbanised. New streets would unlock the mall and the general public would use and appreciate the new public space in a similar way as in London, without playing the game anymore.

In sum, while cities urbanised and thus extended its outskirts, pall-mall tracks transformed into malls more in the sense of a 'promenade for pedestrians' or in other words of a 'public walk, a level shaded walk', more than simply 'a place to play at pall-mall'. (Webster and Porter 1913: 887 v. Bailey 1737: NP, entry on Mall) Although it might be obvious that the French word '*mail*' anglicised to mall, the word sounded not completely strange, especially not in relation to public space. The word sounded familiar to some others with a public or somewhat comparable connotation; such as the Latin '*mallum*', meaning public assembly, or the Gothic '*mapl*', a market place (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989ix: 269-272, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 626). Similar to the migration in France, many malls had been designed to serve as promenades for pedestrians in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In and around London, malls appeared in among others Ealing, Harrow and Enfield, and on distance of the capital city, Swindon in Wiltshire, Brading on the Isle of Wight and Faversham in Kent all established malls.

A major contribution to the boom of malls was made during in 1660, when Charles II[539] assigned Mollet to formalise the garden of St James Palace. The king or his royal gardener must have gained the idea that there ought to be a mall with some more majestic grandeur. Charles II grew up with a love for France. Like his father he favoured the elaborate French gardens, which he would see during his two-year exile in the country. The British Palace seemed to be competitive with The Louvre with its Champs-Élysées. So, when redesign of St. James Park had been ordered, it was done in a formal style. A straight road on the park premises was transformed to a new track for the pall-mall game and it was named The Mall. When there was a mall named Pall, there could be any mall, it seemed. Yet there was only one superior mall, one might have thought.

[538] The malls have been constructed in a time Prince Frederick Hendrik van Oranje (29 January 1584 – 14 March 1647) was among others Stadtholder of Holland, and Utrecht. André Mollet became also his gardener. The connection between London, The Hague and Utrecht lasted several decades: The son of Frederick Hendrik, William II (27 May 1626 – 6 November 1650), married Mary Henrietta Stuart, the eldest daughter of King Charles I of England, and his grandson, William III, hired the stadtholderates as well as the thrones of England, Ireland and Scotland. The pall-mall tracks in Utrecht, Leiden and The Hague can be still found in the names of the urban places. In Amsterdam the mall was located near today's Kruislaan. (Perks 1970: 4)

[539] See Book 2.



FROM CHARING CROSS, THROUGH PALL MALL, TO PIMLICO

Figure 6.1.9.
The Mall, from Charing Cross, through Pall Mall, to Pimlico, unkown date

Chapter 2 Promenades and Shaded Walks

It was mainly due to the design of The Mall in London that malls grew out to be a very popular type of public space around the globe, especially in capitol cities. But the Pall Mall as famous place was not been forgotten. The capital of Great Britain was the centre of a huge empire and it was one of the world's largest cities. What happened throughout the empire was published in London and what happened in London was published throughout the empire. Like the descriptions of the eastern bazaars had been published in London and the enthusiastic reports on the city's arcades had been spread abroad, also the new mall was enlightened in all aspects. The Mall was for example described as "a vista half a mile in length'. It was explained that it "received its name from a game at ball, for which was formed a hollow smooth walk, enclosed on each side by a border of wood, and having an iron hoop at one extremity". Yet, this mall was seen as an essential part of the beautification of park. More so, it was "every day more and more pleasant by the new works upon it". (Weir 1851a: 193, 194) This Mall was big, wide and grand, a centre in the capitol. As such the influence of The Mall reached to the edges of the British Empire. Similar malls appeared in the British Crown Colonies on the Indian, Australian and American (sub)-continents.

In the East, Brits introduced a mall in for example Bombay.[540] Regular rows of 'fine large trees' had been closely planted along each side of a road to form a shaded mall. It was a typical European public space superimposed on a foreign city: The colonial residents drove and rode here every evening after sunset, while the native citizens amazed themselves about this daily scene. They would call the new mall in their city; '*Tunda Sumuk*', literally meaning 'cold road'. (Hebvey 1853: 343) On the other side of the globe, in the English enclaves in Australia, malls appeared when the settlements grew out to become towns while newcomers rapidly colonised the continent. As the indigenous people were put second or driven away by the intruder, or deathly infected by new diseases, the understanding of space was predominantly Western. The construction of a smaller Pall Mall in Bendigo, central Victoria,

[540] Today, Bombay is known as Mumbai.

Figure 6.2.1.
Mall in Bombay, 1910s

Figure 6.2.2.
Pall Mall in Saint Kitts, 1910s

could serve as an example.[541] It was one of the oldest public spaces in town and appeared around the time of the local gold rush. "The principal street is a pleasant promenade", as a nineteenth century writer put it. Like the London namesake it was on one side lined with shops and stores while on the other side was a park with pleasant gardens, trees and lawns. A "convenient verandah shelter you from you from either rain or noonday sun, as you gaze at the varied display." (Hodder 1882: 200) Even in the West Indies, on the island of Saint Kitts, English settlers established a Pall Mall.[542] The future administrative, commercial and social centre of the Leeward Islands was embellished with a 'pretty place adorned with some large, shady, sandbox trees'. (Capadose 1845: 122) In the formal design of malls grant local trees could replace the original elm trees. In addition in the tropics people needed a place where particularly sunlight was blocked. Every time, the immigrated town-settlers imitated the latest fashion of the British metropolis and made it their own. Even where Malls in the northern Colonies and Provinces could work more like Brittan, they had to because the hot-summer continental climate was different than at home. One of the first malls here in British America appeared in Boston in the so-called Province of Massachusetts Bay. Again more like the old Pall Mall in London, this mall ran along a park: "This part of the city, especially in summer, is the most beautiful spot the eye can rest upon. The

[541] In 1851 the goldmining settlement was known as Bendigo Creek. Being a town, it was renamed Sandhurst in 1854 and Bendigo in 1891.

[542] Pall Mall or Pall Mall Square in Basseterre is in 1983 renamed to Independence Square.

Figure 6.2.3.
L'Enfant's Washington, 1793, redrawn in 1865 by George Woolworth Colton (22 September 1827 - 15 February 1901)

trees in the old and short Mall, fronting the cemetery, are large, spreading, and of fine appearance. But the Mall now particularly so called, which bounds the eastern side of the Common and the west of Tremont street, is two-sevenths of a mile in length, and adorned and shaded with three rows of large elms and two parallel walks, is a far more beautiful object." This Mall was larger than Pall Mall and more sized like The Mall. It was praised by the public opinion. The Mall was a 'handsome public walk, ornamented with several rows of trees'. (Page 1775, Curtis 1829: 362, American Magazine 1835, July: 493) All around the empire, people must have loved the green shady malls, as in time they became consistent particles of the city lay-out in the Anglo-Saxon world.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, another design became of high importance for the spread of the newborn type. This was the Washington mall. Without naming it a mall yet, the linear space was designed to become the centrepiece of Federal City, a new city to symbolise US independency. Republican space! The Thirteen Colonies just had formed the original United States of America. Thomas Jefferson,[543] who had advised the nation's first president to build this space, envisioned a similar axis that would lead to the seat of the head of state as the one in St. James Park. Jefferson explored some possibilities himself, and where he suggested that for the presidential residence two blocks should be set aside, with one block for the Capitol and one block for the market, nine 'consolidated' blocks would be devoted to 'public walks'. (Jefferson November 29, 1790 as quoted in Washington 1859: 512) He desired Pierre Charles L'Enfant,[544] an old army friend of the president, to come to the US to draw plans for 'the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the federal town and buildings'. L'Enfant approved, but asked for more information. In compliance with his request, Jefferson had collected plans of Frankfort, Karlsruhe, Amsterdam, Strasburg, Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux, Lyons, Montpellier, Marseilles, Turin, and Milan, which all he send in a roll by mail to L'Enfant. On the one hand, in most of these cities, recently European designers had been introduced monumental axes leading to palaces. These axes illustrated the power of one supreme monarch. On the other hand these axes were beloved already for ages.[545] (Jefferson March 1791 and April 10, 1791 as quoted in Washington 1859: 221, 236) In this dominant stream of formal designs, the Versailles-born L'Enfant proposed a French-style Grand Avenue in the centre of the city, 400 feet in width, or 122 metres, with public walks in a way Jefferson had envisioned them.

> "The making of the public walk from under the Federal House to the Potomac and connected with the palace ... will be productive of equal advantages with the foregoing as it will give the city from the very beginning a superior charm over most of those of the world as it likewise be an improvement of convenience and distribution..." (L'Enfant August 19, 1791 as quoted in Caemmerer 1950: 158)

It would be the first detailed proposal for the axis, but the construction of 'The City of Washington' took several years and while many buildings were developed the public grounds never became an avenue. The area remained open and grassy and thus more and more the public would call the area a mall. Isaac Weld,[546]

[543] Thomas Jefferson (13 April 1743 – 4 July 1826) was among other things, an American architect, horticulturist, inventor and statesman. He served as the first Secretary of State under George Washington. He was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence (1776) and would become the third President of the United States (1801–1809).

[544] The French-American architect and urban planner Pierre Charles L'Enfant (2 August 1754 – 14 June 1825) was born in Paris, France. In the US, he jointed the army and became friends with President Washington. (Howe 1913: 186-197)

[545] i) Paris: the 'avenue of trees' in the Tuileries gardens, planted by order of Maria de' Medici in 1616, redesigned by Le Nôtre as Grand Cours between 1667 and 1670, and renamed Champs-Élysées in 1709. – ii) Marseilles: the axial urban extension of Saint-Louis, ordered by King Louis XIV (See Book 4) in 1666, and called La Canebière since 1672. – iii) Bordeaux: the axis in the gardens of Clos des Charueux, constructed by order of the French archbishop Ferdinand Maximilien Mériadec de Rohan (7 November 1738 – 31 October 1813) between 1772 and 1784 and today known as Esplanade Charles de Gaulle. – iv) Montpellier: the Esplanade du Peyrou designed by D'Aviler between 1689 and 1691, redesigned as promenade by the French architects Étienne Giral (1689 - 1763) and son Jean-Antoine Giral (1713 – 30 December 1787) in 1774. – v) Orléans: the axial Rue Royale, designed by the French civil engineer Robert Soyer (1717 – 1802) around 1751, when its bridge was constructed by Jean Hupeau (1710 – 10 March 1763). – vi) Strasbourg: the redevelopment of the linear Rossmarkt as Place de Broglie by François-Marie, Duke of Broglie (11 January 1671 – 22 May 1745) between 1728 and 1741. – vii) Karlsruhe: the main axis of the new Schloß Karlsruhe, designed by Johann Balthasar Neumann (27 January 1687 – 19 August 1753) between 1750 and 1751, upon order of Karl III Wilhelm von Baden-Durlach (17 January – 12 May 1738). – viii) Turin: the axis of Contrada di Po, or Via Po, designed by the Savoy architect Amedeo Cognengo di Castellamonte (1610 – 17 September 1683) between 1663 and 1674, upon order of Carlo Emanuele II di Savoia, Duke of Savoy (20 June 1634 – 12 June 1675), and rearranged after the redesign of the castle on the axis by the Sicilian-born Savoy architect Filippo Juvarra (7 March 1678 – 31 January 1736) in 1751. – ix) Milan: the ancient Castello Sforzesco, seat of the Duchy of Milan. – x) Lyon, like Turin, showing dominant grid patterns. – xi) Amsterdam: the city hall of Amsterdam as placed by the Dutch architect Jacob van Campen (2 February 1596 – 13 September 1657) on a square at the end of the Damrak axis, and in 1806 becoming Paleis op de Dam, residence of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (2 September 1778 – 25 July 1846), King of Holland.

[546] Isaac Weld (15 March 1774 – 4 August 1856) was an Irish author, explorer, and painter.

an Irish explorer, was among the first to link the idea of a mall to this space. After he had visited the newborn city, even meeting George Washington, he called it 'a large park or mall'. (Weld 1799: 7-10)

> "The house for the residence of the president stands north-west of the capitol, at the distance of about one mile and a half. It is situated upon a rising ground not far from the Patowmac, and commands a most beautiful prospect of the river, and of the rich country beyond it. One hundred acres of ground, towards the river, are left adjoining to the house for pleasure grounds. South of this there is to be a large park or mall, which is to run in an easterly direction from the river to the capitol. The buildings on either side of this mall are all to be elegant in their kind; amongst the number it is proposed to have houses built at the public expense for the accommodation of the foreign ministers, &c. On the eastern branch, a large spot is laid out for the marine hospital and gardens. Various other parts are appointed for churches, theatres, colleges, &c. The ground in general, within the limits of the city, is agreeably undulated; but none of the risings are so great as to become objects of inconvenience in a town. The soil is chiefly of a yellowish clay mixed with gravel." (Weld 1799: 7)

Still, it wasn't until the midst of the nineteenth century that the area was landscaped. At that time, Andrew Jackson Downing was in charge.[547] He proposed a naturalistic plan: "The surface of the Parks, generally, should be kept in grass of lawn…" (Downing March 3, 1851 as quoted in Reps 1967: 51) His design consisted out of an urban park in an English landscape-style. With the approach of the centennial of the city as the seat of the government in 1900, many persons advanced proposals for the physical improvement to commemorate this important occasion. Within a year, Daniel Burnham, Charles McKim and Frederick Law Olmsted were selected to redesign the mall.[548] After they visited several European cities, they reconstructed the mall in its original proposed formal style in which the mall was more like the Parisian Tuileries Gardens. (Reps 1967: 70, Moore 1921: 153-154) Olmsted was already experienced with the design of green malls. He had integrated them in the design of several parks, as an independent element in landscape design. Examples are The Mall in Central Park in New

[547] Andrew Jackson Downing (30 October 1815 – 28 July 1852) was a New York born landscape designer and writer.

[548] Daniel Hudson Burnham (4 September 1846 – 1 June 1912) and Charles Follen McKim (24 August 1847 – 14 September 1909) were American architects, the first also urban planner and designer. Frederick Law Olmsted (25 April 1822 – 28 August 1903) was an American landscape designer.

Figure 6.2.4.
The Mall in Central Park New York, picture 1910s

York (1857-58), The Greeting in Franklin Park in Boston (1885), and The Midway Plaisance in Washington Park, Chicago (1892).[549] He had detached the green mall from a capitol building, as seen in London, and applied it in a reinterpretation of the idyllic pastoral landscape. Then also, in Washington, Olmsted revived an old principle. According to him, in the young capitol a real avenue would be too long for a park, but in combination with a promenade, he said: "we can find no better place for such a grand mall, or open air hall of reception, as we desire to have, than the grounds before us". (Olmsted and Vaux 1858 quoted in Olmsted 1928: 222) The United States Capitol would stand on the axis of the mall.[550] The U.S. Senate Committee on the District of Columbia concluded that, finally realised, "the L'Enfant idea of treating the entire space as a unit has never been entirely lost sight of". In their view the concept was challenged during 1871, when the right of way across The Mall was bestowed upon a railroad. One branch of Congress agreed to a proposition to combine the scattered areas into a single park. Although by then this branch was deterred from so doing largely by the objection that such treatment would divide Washington into two parts, according to the committee, the gradual development of the city and the location in The Mall of public buildings had resulted in a steady improvement in the character of The Mall. During the next thirty years, the area had been changed from a common pasture into a series of park spaces unequally developed, and in places broken in upon by being put to commercial or other extraneous uses, but nevertheless becoming more and more appreciated from year to year. With this gradual improvement had sprung up "a general desire that the L'Enfant plans be reverted to, and that the entire space south of Pennsylvania avenue be set apart solely for public purposes". (U.S. Senate Committee on the District of Columbia 1902, 15 January)

The Mall in Washington, now commonly known as the National Mall, was wider and longer than any mall before. Also the buildings surrounding the space were bigger than those which would enclose some previous malls. With a grandeur associated with Neoclassicism, this mall symbolised the new state. Its huge buildings turn their faces to the green, but their backs to the main arteries, Pennsylvania and Maryland Avenues. In the general urban circulation, people travelling to The Apotheosis of Washington would be detoured around The Mall north and south. Physically this situation might isolate the space from the rest of the fabric, still more than ever The Mall was designed as public space. Mainly it would be so because of its use and meaning. By its design it could gather all kinds of people to be a part of the commercial and civic activities on that place as well as it was able give people a space to enjoy a green environment. The public would trade, demonstrate, walk the dog or just to take a stroll. Since the redesign of Olmsted and Vaux, it had been the centre of the city and - in mind - of the nation, but set apart just like any other green mall.

The grand design of the National Mall really had a great impact on American urbanism. The mall type became the source of the City Beautiful Movement and similar malls appeared in other cities. The 1903 Group Plan for Cleveland was the earliest imitation outside of Washington. In the midst of this civic-centre plan Daniel Burnham, John Carrère, and Arnold Brunner designed The Mall.[551]

[549] Central Park was designed together with Calvert Vaux under the name of 'Greensward'.

[550] The British-American painter and architect William Thornton (20 May 1759 – 28 March 1828) was designed the United States Capitol between 1792 and 1793. The British- American architect Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe (1 May 1764 – 3 September 1820) took over responsibilities in 1803 during the first construction years, to be succeeded in 1818 by the American architect Charles Bulfinch (8 August 1763 – 15 April 1844). The American architect Thomas Ustick Walter (4 September 1804 – 30 October 1887) took over the works and in shared responsibility with the American civil engineer Montgomery Cunningham Meigs (3 May 1816 – 2 January 1892), he made alterations and additions to the design between 1851 and 1865. Several architects have held the federal position of The Architect of the Capitol since.

[551] John Merven Carrère (9 November 1858 – 1 March 1911) and Arnold William Brunner (25 September 1857 – 14 February 1925) were American architects, who like Burnham were based and/or born in New York.

The main axis of the composition in the same manner naturally ran north and south. Also the design team gave the axis "absolute symmetry to the head of the Mall and to form an adequate and imposing termination […] to be similar in size and character to the Federal Building". Again a mall design was applauded for the same reasons: "There were to be sidewalks on the outer edge and a gravel walk with seats and drinking fountains under the trees the whole length of the Mall." (Brunner 1916, June 5-7) Or as Washington journalist and a pioneering urban planning theorist Charles Mulford Robinson[552] stated: "There is involved the expenditure of many millions of dollars; but a mean and stagnant section of the city will be transformed, the values of adjacent property have rapidly advanced, and there will be gains in the increased economy of transacting the public business, in the more impressive dignity of municipal, county, and national governments, in the attraction of strangers, and in the development among the people of a higher civic ideal. And that is the great thing." (Robinson 1906, October) Many State Capitols would follow. Robinson took his share in this. The Civic Center mall in front of the Colorado State Capitol in Denver was constructed on his suggestion. It was planned by Robinson between 1886 and 1907, and realised in 1912 by the design of Olmsted. In the decades after, Little Rock in Arkansas, Madison in Wisconsin, Oklahoma City in Oklahoma, Lincoln in Nebraska and many other State Capitols would follow.

Perhaps due to this new exposure, American urban planners became involved in the design of capitols abroad. The new civic approach migrated to some foreign cities. Most illustrative are the plans for Canberra in the Commonwealth of Australia, a newly established dominion of the British Empire, and Delhi in the so-called Indian Empire or British Raj. In both designs again the mall was the crucial centrepiece symbolising nineteen-century civic society in a way the grand arcades did on the European continent. As mentioned, both countries already knew a few British malls. Those were of modest scale. Still, the introduction of the American mall was of greater impact; not in the last place because it concerned national

Figure 6.2.5.
Plan for the Federal Capital or Canberra by Walter Griffin, 1913

[552] Soon after publishing his review on urban problems and solutions, the American journalist Charles Mulford Robinson (30 April 1869 – 30 December 1917) became consultant. Robinson also served as one of the first American professors of Civic Design at the University of Illinois.

Figure 6.2.6a.
The Group Plan for Cleveland, 1903

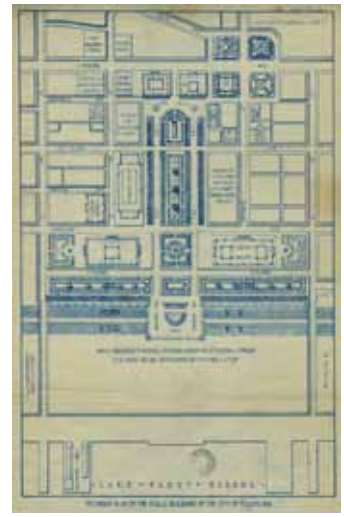


Figure 6.2.6b.
The Group Plan for Cleveland, 1903

capitols rather then state ones, but also because both plans were strongly related to each other. The proposed lay-outs of the two cities had come under the public notice within twelve months of each other and both plans had been designed by the American designer Walter Griffin.[553] Canberra or the new Federal Capital of Australia was planned like Washington; as an entirely new town. Its principal road was designed as a mall, which was in width exactly similar to the National Mall. The main feature of this road was the central lawn, 100 feet or about 30 metres wide, laid out with flower beds, fountains, and statuary. This mall was also surrounded with governmental offices. The plan for the Australian capitol included also a second mall, which was envisioned more in the atmosphere of Pall Mall; a "road devoted to club land". (Price 1912-1913: 42-57) The new capital city of India did follow the ideas of Washington too. Yet, on the contrary it was in reality merely an extension of an older city of the same name. Despite the fact that it was not an entirely new town, here also Griffin's winning design would be used to receive governmental offices, including official residences of the Imperial Government of India, and also here the mall was the main public space. Like the other cases, the planned Government House should be viewed from the entire mall. The Town Planning Review stated: "…this building cries out to be acclaimed the climax of the Mall". (Abercrombie 1913: 185-187) With all this attention, inevitably the design of spacious malls as centrepieces of civic centres was imitated and slowly these kinds of malls became consistent particles of urban planning and design in capitol cities.

Figure 6.2.7.
Griffin's plan for Imperial or New Delhi, 1913

Like in other cases, the boom led also to immediate opposition. The critical question "what would become of us, if we walked only in a garden or a mall?" could have been asked today, still having the shopping centres in my mind, but in fact it was a romantic revolt against current Early-Modern socio-spatial transformation, norms as well as a reaction against the rationalisation of nature. "I am alarmed", the critical Henry David Thoreau[554] continued; "when it happens that I have walked a mile into the woods bodily, without getting there in spirit. In my afternoon walk I would fain forget all my morning occupations and my obligations to Society." (Thoreau 1905: 11) In Modern America, the mall had become part of planning. To some theorists a mall was almost an absolute value, the ideal heart of 'The City of The Future' (Alaux 1914, March). Thoreau's critique on urban planning and design was marking a transition from the early ideals of the Enlightenment, using the mall as a place of refuge, leisure and entertainment by means of green, to a more utilitarian approach of space, creating new and modern civic centres. This process did continue in the twentieth century.
One of the High Modern testimonies of this rationalisation is the Philadelphia's Independence Mall project. In 1915, in the built-up to the sesquicentennial of the American Independence, studies had been presented to give 'a new setting' for the Pennsylvania State House,[555] as it had sheltered the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the crafting of the United States Constitution.[556] One of the architects of this proposal, Albert Kelsey[557] had previously manifested an interest in the City Beautiful movement in his 1902 pamphlet "The Philadelphia Parkway Project". Patriotic sentiment accompanying the idea of Modern monumentality was set. Still it took more than a decade and several plans to give the national

[553] Walter Burley Griffin (24 November 1876 – 11 February 1937) was an American architect and landscape architect and a long time associate of Frank Lloyd Wright.

[554] Henry David Thoreau, born David Henry, (12 July 1817 – 6 May 1862) was an American naturalist, historian, philosopher and surveyor.

[555] The Pennsylvania State House is built 1732 and 1753, by Andrew Hamilton (c.1676 – 4 August 1741) a Scottish lawyer and speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. It is designed by the American architect Edmund Woolley (c.1695 – 18 October 1771).

[556] See Book 2.

[557] Albert Washburn Kelsey (26 April 1870 – 6 May 1950) was an American architect, urban designer and planner.

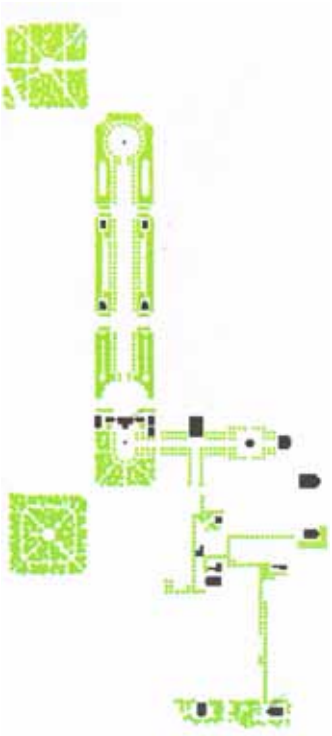


Figure 6.2.8.
The functional approach of the Philadelphia mall by Edmund Bacon, 1947

shrine its axis. One of the proposals for this area was envisioned by his former associate Paul Cret and within a few years Cret's junior partner took over. It was this Roy Larson, who proposed for the first time a mall.[558] (Kesley and Beek 1902, Kelsey and Knickerbacker Boyd 1915, Cret 1933, Larson 1937) Still the Modern version of the urban mall was kept in the intensive care nursery of a design until 1947, when the work was continued by urban planner Ed Bacon.[559] To make Larson's mall a true mall as designed at places of national interest on his turn he studied the work of Griffin and L'Enfant. According to him, their projects demonstrate a capacity to conceive large systems of urban order simultaneously in their functional and physical aspects, something which was systematically denigrated by many planners. Now also in mall design form followed function: In the plan of Bacon the 'functional plan' set forth the 'physical organisation', the 'area plan' related functions to the third dimensions, and the final 'project plan' gave the essential nature of the project impacting the architectural image. Fundamental in this functional-based Philadelphia's redevelopment plan was the ambition to re-plan streets to keep through traffic out and thus the new mall would be foremost a 'pedestrian mall' as Bacon put it. (Philadelphia City Planning Exhibition 1947: NP, Bacon 1967: 264-271, 302-303, 310) The construction of this mall took four years and it began with the approval by the national government in a similar way as in the case of the National Mall. On June 28, 1948, the U.S. Congress passed a public law, which would establish the Independence National Historical Park "[f]or the purpose of preserving for the benefit of the American people". This park would include "certain historical structures and properties of outstanding national significance located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States". But, where in Washington land was clear, in Philadelphia the government was authorised to acquire any property, real or personal, within the plan area. (US Public Law 80-795)[560] The law demanded the acquisition of considerable property before the project could become a mall. Modern justification allowed for the demolishing of many building blocks.

Firstly, the Modern mall has still been designed as a broad principal road which in its monumental nature somehow expresses the seat's power just like The Mall in London. It is what we see not only in Philadelphia, Washington and some other Anglo-Saxon national capitals, but as mentioned earlier in time also in half of the US State Capitol grounds. These malls have dignified names like Independence Mall, National Mall, Capitol Mall or they proudly bare the name of the city, and even if they do not have an official name in any case one must recognise the traditional tree-lined planting. Secondly, the mall of the twentieth century is not merely an intimidating approach to a capitol building. For example, the place of "I do solemnly swear…" and "I have a dream" is also the common place of brass bands, gospel, and clogging during the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. You might even end up in a crowd watching Dog Day Afternoon, hosted by Screen on the Green a few years ago, or more likely you simply walk your pooch in real, or screen the green yourself for a nice sunny spot to watch the movie on your iPad. Heat waves shimmering, thousands of old people, and people with children in strollers moving restlessly about in the

[558] The French-American architect Paul Philippe Cret (24 October 1876 – 8 September 1945) headed the School of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania for more than thirty years. Between 1905 and 1909 he was associated with Albert Kelsey. Roy Frank Larson (31 October 1895 – 14 December 1973) was a local American architect.

[559] See for Bacon also Book 2. His design for an Independence Hall Mall was presented on The Better Philadelphia Exhibition, held in the Gimbels Store, an American department store chain. The exhibit opened on 8 September 1947 and closed on 15 October.

[560] Currently part of the United States Code, Title 16 Conservation, Chapter 1 - National Parks, Military Parks, Monuments, And Seashores, Subchapter LI - Independence National Historical Park, Section 407m - Establishment; Acquisition of Land; Property Involved, as published by the US Government and reflecting the laws passed by Congress as of 8 January 2008.

heat and sitting on those endless miles of benches.[561] On shaded public walks like this people gather daily to stroll, jog, picnic, or relax. These malls represent the sovereign power in a civic way, whilst they are designed also to be people's places. Now thirdly, in Philadelphia, the mall had become part of a functional plan. The mall was applied to regulate pedestrian circulation, while creating also a space away from the main transportation routes. It perfectly fitted the main stream ideas on the 'La Ville Fonctionnelle' of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne. Next to the three fundamental functions, living, working and recreating, the city required a functional approach to circulation and historic heritage. The C.I.A.M. statement that then sun, green and space were the prime materials of urban design seemed to apply to the Independence Mall too. However rejecting typical Modern public space, he did not made a plan in which "the result has been concentration on the building design independent of its environment", as Bacon put it. While the influential Le Corbusier in 1957 revised of the charter, skipping the aspect of historic heritage and making circulation explicitly an urban function,[562] Bacon aimed to keep the unity between the building and the environment, regarding to "total design principles". (Le Group CIAM-France 1943, April: 28, 47, 69, Le Corbusier 1957: 120-121; Bacon 1967: 228-231) The design of the mall could mediate between modernity and history: going alone with the general socio-spatial transformations while respecting city's culture. The type matured as public space, typical for its time, in all its ambiguous nature.

[561] The quotes came from the 'Oath of Office of the President of the United States', which since 20 January 1981 should be affirmed in public while facing the National Mall, and the public speech by the American clergyman and activist Martin Luther King, Jr. (15 January 1929 – 4 April 1968), held on August 28, 1963. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival was launched in 1967; and the Screen on the Green, showing films on a large movie theatre sized portable screen, on 27 July 2009. It presented including Dog Day Afternoon, an American crime film released on 21 September 1975. Many other popular public events could be added to the list.

[562] The 'Déclaration de La Sarraz', result of the first Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (1928) gave three fundamental functions required to ensure urban planning: 'habiter', 'travailler' and 'se recréer'. This would be the base for the fourth CIAM (1933), which was titled 'La Ville Fonctionnelle'. Its concluding manifest, 'La Charte d'Athènes', additionally described 'circulation' and 'patrimoines historique' in an equal manner. For Le Corbusier see Book 2.

Chapter 3

Southdale Center: Modernist's Revolt to Evolution

In the further development of the mall type, the original monumental principles would be abandoned more and more. In time also reduced in size, the mall would get a different application. Soon in the United States, it would be planned and designed as the heart of a new suburbia as if it would be the most presentable place of a new capitol. The mall was reshaped into a public space serving a transformed society and finally it would be covered. By then the American city had dramatically changed. City limits expanded and suburban life emerged. Most likely without this specific urban sprawl the mall would not become such an extremely popular type. It might be even impossible to imagine this High Modern mall without these transformations. Sprawl wasn't new of course, but the process got massive forms and its constitution changed. In the 1920s, for example during the Florida Land Boom, the development of block-size arcades could still cope with the speed of urbanisation. New often small suburban arcades could provide all basic needs of the new citizens in the south.[563] Similarly the booming metropolis Los Angeles dealt effectively with the expanse of the city by the establishment of car-accessible market places.[564] (e.g. Longstreth 1999) After the Great Depression the suburbanisation was speeded up, the American city was shaped in a different way and thus new centres crystallised differently. These centres were sized not one block, but several, and the mall would evolve to become its centrepiece.

To grasp the full meaning of this suburban variant, it is important to enlighten the socio-economical context and certain governmental stimuli which caused this specific urbanisation process. It is the first step to the popularisation of the type. Under the flag of the New Deal,[565] the federal government released two influential legislations that encouraged home ownership. Both worked strongly towards the dispersion of the city. The National Housing Act of 1934 (US Public Law 73-479)[566] and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (US Public Law 78-346)[567] made housing and home mortgages more affordable and unintentionally it did promoted the single family detached dwelling as the prevailing mode of housing. Like the refrigerator, the purchase of an own home became a symbol of the growing middle class. The second step was marked by the increase of car possession and auto-mobility. The federal government actively stimulated the aspiration for cars in the post-war period. Cars were one of the new manufacture goods for consumption created in a need for a fast expanding market after the cutbacks of the wartime. In the United States, the large war machinery had to shift production energies into new channels and so the automobile industry emerged from the shadow of the Second World War, stronger than before. When ultimately the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 (US Public Law 84-627)[568] authorised appropriations

[563] See Book 4.

[564] Other exemplary designs showcasing easy car-accessibility in the suburbs and made by American architects would be Market Square, Lake Forest, Illinois designed in 1916 by Howard Van Doren Shaw (7 May 1869 – 7 May 1926), Country Club Plaza, Kansas City designed in 1922 by Edward Buehler Delk (22 September 1885 – 1 September 1956), and Highland Park Shopping Village, Dallas designed in 1931 by Marion Fresenius Fooshee (27 July 1888 – 4 January 1956) and James Bruce Cheek (19 February 1895 – 30 March 1970). John Nolen (14 June 1869 – 18 February 1937) designed alternatives without large car parks, but instead including wide streets and avenues. The design of Venice, Florida, made in 1925, could serve as example.

[565] At 2 July 1932, in his acceptance speech for the American Democratic presidential nomination, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (30 January 1882 – 12 April 1945) promised "a new deal for the American People". This became the motto of his presidency.

[566] The National Housing Act (US - Public Law 479 / PL 73-479, signed on 27 June 1934) was "an act to encourage improvement in housing standards and conditions, to provide a system of mutual mortgage insurance, and for other purposes".

[567] The Servicemen's Readjustment Act (US - Public Law 346, Chapter 268 / PL 78-346, signed on 22 June 1944) was also known as GI-Bill of Rights. It was an act "to provide Federal Government aid for the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War II veterans". It included easier access to mortgages.

[568] The Federal-Aid Highway Act (US - Public Law 627 Chapter 462 / PL 84-627, signed on 29 June 1956) was also known as National Interstate and Defense Highways Act. It amends and supplements "the Federal-Aid Road Act approved 11 July 1916, to authorise appropriations for continuing the construction of highways" as well as it amends "the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide additional revenue from the taxes on motor fuel, tires, and trucks and buses; and for other purposes".

for continuing the construction of highways, huge suburbanisation was the result. Cars enabled commuters to travel long distances between home and work, growing more and more distant from each other. As a result, inner cities and main streets were deteriorating. Additional to the pull factor of suburban allocation, a push factor came up of insufficient infrastructure to deal with modern traffic volumes resulting in a drain of inner city population. By loosing a big part of their inhabitants, missing tax revenues aggravated the qualitative emptiness of the city by a physical decline due to lacking maintenance – a vicious circuit difficult to escape. When the population of cities moved to the outskirts it did not take long for urban facilities to follow. Commerce was the first to move suburban clients: introducing shops in the suburbs would slowdown the increase of mobility. Designers and planners were confronted with the questions how to 'tame the motorcar' and more fundamentally which spaces to create for suburban residents? Promenades and public walks could both help to reorganise the inner city and create pedestrian space in the suburbs.

> "Pedestrianism will be the transportation mode of the future, not only within the repatterned hearts of our cities, where experiences similar to those in today's outlining regional shopping centers will be available, but also in other core elements of urbia, wherever new environment clusterizations are created." (Gruen 1964 : 250)

In the midst of the twentieth century several designers were working on new concepts for commercial centres putting the pedestrian space first. Pietro Belluschi[569] for example introduced huge 'landscape courts', Georges Nelson[570] advocated for 'grass on main street', and Whitney Smith[571] brought this into practice with his 'quiet lawns' and 'pedestrian parks'. (Belluschi 1942: 66-67, Nelson 1943: 58 and Giberson, Smith, Hillman et al 1944: 81-83) Like the contemporaneous Philadelphia approach, these designers all eliminated the car and created a pedestrian area in the form of a green space. At about the same time, Morris Ketchum[572] presented similar proposals for downtown areas. Ketchum's conceptual

[569] Pietro Belluschi (18 August 1899 – 14 February 1994) was an Italian-born American architect. The landscaped courts were part of his design for the suburban shopping centre of McGloughlin Heights near Vancouver.

[570] George Nelson (29 May 1908 - 5 March 1986) was an American architect and an editor of Architectural Forum.

[571] Whitney Rowland Smith (16 January 1911 – 13 March 2002) was an American architect. He worked together with Wayne Richard Williams (17 October 1919 – 27 November 2007).

[572] Morris Ketchum Jr. (5 May 1904 – 22 November 1984) is an American architect.

Figure 6.3.1.
'Grass on main street' as proposed by Georges Nelson, 1943

Figure 6.3.2.
Northgate Shopping Center, aerial 1950s

design study of a new store block for Main Street would result in "all auto traffic being routed along the parallel streets at both sides". He explicitly called these promenades 'malls'. Supported by among others the American architect Simon Breines, Welton Beckett and John Graham,[573] who introduced concepts for 'pedestrian islands', 'pedestrian only' and 'pedestrian malls', Ketchum could be considered as part of a stream of designers more focused on the pedestrianisation of downtown. (Ketchum 1940: 294, Ketchum 1948: 273-280, Breines 1948: 12-14, Funaro and Baker 1949: 110-135) These examples illustrate the two different directions which can be distinguished: the use of park elements to create a pedestrian area in the suburb and the use of the urban mall creating car-free space the inner city. Of course the solutions were not so delineated and soon designers and planners combined both. Where in the inner city one continued on previous concepts of mall design, in the suburbs the type slowly changed to something different. Crucial example of the latter was given by the design of John Graham for Northgate Shopping Center in suburban Seattle. This centre would be a project which in size and programme should be compared with the main business street in a major city, but now serving the whole northern suburban region of Seattle. So, its range and thus the average travel distance of the public increased. Between 1948 and 1950, Graham designed High Modern store buildings around "a wide shopping walkway, probably to be known as the mall or plaza, in which no vehicles will be permitted". All around, their facades introduced glass show-windows and entrance doors with minimal framing. Where there was nothing to show, rustic stone strips decorate the first storey of the building. Above this all a canopy was stretched out. The second storey was of plain concrete. The department store in the middle of the mall was embellished with polished natural stone above the overhanging structures. A large theatre was standing aside, at a corner of the parking area. Mainly the suburban mall was a shopping mall. Not so much due to the general novelty, but more due to the fairly large size of this commercial centre, many media boosted the new design. For Time Magazine for example it was a new heart of the unlimited suburbs: "By midsummer Northgate's five-block long, 48-ft.-wide 'Miracle Mall' will be lined with 70-odd shops, a 1,468-seat theater and a four-story office building. […] The parking lots will hold 4,000 cars, and no automobile will be more than 600 ft. from the nearest store." (Fussell 1948, February 22, Time 1950, May 8, and Baker and Funaro 1951: 210-211) It would set the trend. The search was apparently settled. Thanks to the wide public support and attention, Northgate stood for many designs to come and a rapid increase of suburban shopping centres. Supported by legislation and the growing mobility, they popped up all over the nation and at a faster rate than anything before. In those days, the American Society of Planning Officials reported that estimates placed the increase at twenty-five percent within the first three post-war years. (Chicago Daily Tribune 1948, October 10, The Norwalk Hour 1948, December 10)

A 1951 design contest for Marshall Field's New Shopping Center[574] in suburban Chicago in 1951 underlined a certain consensus on designing a centre as such. The four runner-ups all showed basic schemes for a similar disposition of store buildings around a huge 'central traffic-free mall', main-street size and as a whole

[573] All were American architects. Simon Breines (4 April 1906 – 16 September 2003) was the first president of the Landmarks Conservancy of New York and member of the Art Commission of New York City. Welton Beckett, or Becket, (8 August 1902 -16 January 1969) used to lead one of the largest architecture firms in the United States. John Graham Jr., informally known as Jack, (8 May 1908 – 29 January 1991) joined the Seattle based firm of his father in 1937.

[574] Marshall Field's New Shopping Center was the working title. The American architects Jerrold Loebl (2 September 1899 – 1 October 1978) Norman Joseph Schlossman (13 March 1901 – 8 May 1990) and Richard Marsh Bennett (4 February 1907 - 2 May 1996) elaborated on the contest and designed a similar mall. It would open in Skokie as part of The Old Orchard Shopping Center, now known as Westfield Old Orchard.

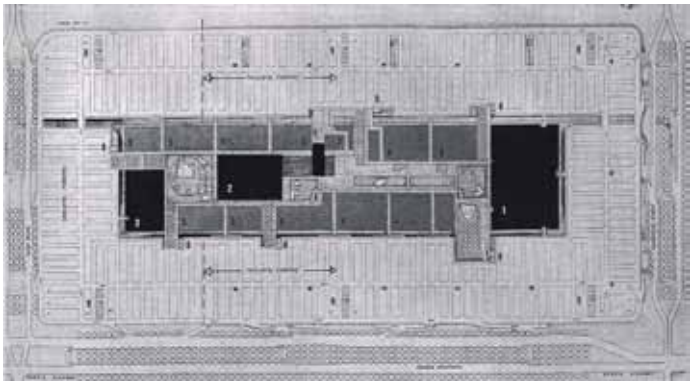


Figure 6.3.3.
Marshall Field's New Shopping Center, design by Morris Ketchum, 1951

surrounded by parking. Always clearly delineated by the buildings and stretched between three department stores; one big, two small, all malls are more-or-less green. The winning idea was of Ketchum. He proposed a 'shopping mall' which did not have grass. The simulacrum would be mainly paved and landscaped with seemingly ad random planted large trees. In the midst he designed a plaza where he proposed a community building. Also other competitors used the mall in their proposal. For example, Alfred Shaw[575] had designed one long stretch of a mall, not broken up, but with similar paving and planting. In the SOM plan the new king of mall would be much greener, wider, and closer to the first concepts for suburbia. Yet although trees were again not lined-up, the design presented a more traditional version of a mall as it was implemented in the Early Modern inner city. This mall was embedded in a larger street network including a big square in the end, which could provide an open view to the centrepiece. Lastly, also Howard Fisher[576] created a mall, but it was more isolated then the other ones. Surrounded by shop frontage, covered walkways and upstairs terraces, he had given special attention to the handling of the central mall as 'a series of vistas' which would flow into each other. Plant-beds with trees introduced a green atmosphere. (The Architectural Forum 1951, December) The mall opened in 1956 and in the in-between years, Lakewood Center and Stonestown Center opened in California, Shoppers' World in Massachusetts and Northland Center in Michigan.[577] They echoed the same concept. Suburban shopping malls of the same kind were also built in Canada and Australia. Don Mills Convenience Centre opened in 1955 and Chermside Drive-In Shopping Centre followed two years later.[578] It would be the beginning of a rapid spread of the mall type, as it was replicated as the centrepiece most frequently. Very soon, the mall became the icon of these new shopping precincts and synecdochically 'mall' soon would represent an entire centre.

The trends in creating a park-like pedestrian area in the suburb and car-free space in the inner city also reached Europe. The first suburban shopping mall on this continent appeared in the Nordic countries. Vällingby Centrum was inaugurated in 1954 and six years later the nearby Farsta Centrum opened. Similar to the American ideas, both centres were part of planned communities on the outskirts of Stockholm, but in the approach of the Swedish planner Sven Markelius they were part of satellite groupings around

[575] Alfred Phillips Shaw (13 May 1895 – 1 December 1970) was an American architect trained in the office of Daniel Burnham's successor firm Graham Anderson Probst & White.

[576] Howard Taylor Fisher (30 October 1903 – 23 January 1979) was an American architect and also based in Chicago.

[577] Ketchum designed Shoppers' World, in Framingham, Greater Boston. It opened in 1951 and included a multi-purpose theatre. Between 1991 and 1999, the eastern end of the mall site was reconfigured and the entire mall enclosed. American architects Albert Carey Martin, Jr. (3 August 1913 – 30 March 2006) and father Albert Carey Martin, Sr. (16 September 1879 – 9 April 1960) designed Lakewood Center in Lakewood a planned community near Los Angeles. It was planned in 1949, and opened between 1951 and 1952. Becket designed Stonestown Center, now known as Stonestown Galleria, in the new Stonestown community in San Francisco. American architect John Louis Field (born 18 January 1930) enclosed the mall in 1986. In 1954, Northland Center in Southfield suburb of Detroit was designed by the Austrian-American architect and urban planner Victor David Gruen, né Viktor David Grünbaum (18 July 1903 – 14 February 1980). He was also known as Gruenbaum.

[578] The Canadian architect John Burnett Parkin (26 June 1911 – 17 August 1975) designed Don Mills Convenience Centre, between 1954 and 1955, in suburban Toronto, Ontario. The majority of the mall was closed and demolished in summer 2006 for redevelopment as the Shops at Don Mills, designed by architect Harry 'Butch' Pellow (data unknown) and urban designer Ralph Giannone (data unknown), both Canadians. This indoor mall opened in 2009. Between 1955 and 1957, Allen & Stark Ltd. developed Chermside Drive-In Shopping Centre, now Westfield Chermside, in Brisbane, Australia. Since 1965 this centre has been expanded and reorganised many times.

the main city, and accessible by train.[579] Although being the first suburban here, this adaptation was preceded by the introduction of a mall in a European inner city to the south. The City of Rotterdam in the Netherlands chose to reconstruct its original heart, which was severely damaged during the Second World War, partly not with its 'normal streets', but with a Modern mall. Where in the most bombed European cities urban planners decided to reconstruct the original network of public space with common car ways and sidewalks, the Department of Urban Development and Reconstruction presented a master plan with several streets for 'pedestrians and bicyclists' only, including one specialised 'shop-walk street' and one Modern 'arcade'.[580] (Rotterdam Stadsontwikkeling en Wederopbouw 1950, September 29) From a retrospective point of view, the new proposal similar to this might have been more acceptable in Rotterdam because shop owners, the public government and the people had experienced main business streets which were mainly the domain of pedestrians earlier. In general during the war, rarely automobiles would interrupt people walking on a temporal paved space in front of the emergency stores, and in one specific case the architect Cornelis Elffers had introduced a real but temporal car-free space, in a Ketchum way.[581] (Elffers 1940, 31 Augustus and 7 November) When in the end of the 1940s, the architects Jo van den Broek and Jaap Bakema[582] were assigned to reconstruct the heart of the city, Lijnbaan and surroundings, they designed a permanent pedestrian shopping space. Strolling-while-shopping was in vogue. The duo, renowned for their position in the CIAM movement, almost naturally followed the Modern ideals as occurring on the other side of the ocean more closely. A functionalist approach on this area was the obvious fashionable answer. Traffic separation was one of the main features: "In the streets along which shop windows are designed, car traffic is not allowed". They designed continues

[579] Vällingby Centrum and Farsta Centrum are designed by the Swedish architectural partners Sven Backström (20 January 1903 – 18 March 1992) and Leif Reinius (24 May 1907 – 14 February 1995) and landscape architect Erik Harald Glemme (27 May 1905 – 20 January 1959). The original suburban plans were designed by the architect and planner Sven Markelius (25 October 1889 – 24 February 1972) Farsta is redeveloped between 1997-1999, Vällingby in 2008. On the heels of the first project was also another centre which followed the same concepts. It was even named in an Americanised way: Shopping. This centre up north in Luleå was built in 1955 and designed by the British-Swedish architect Ralph Erskine (24 February 1914 – 16 March 2005).

[580] The documents refer to: a so-called "winkel-loopstraat", translated as shop-walk street.

[581] The Dutch architect Cornelis Elffers (18 September 1898 – 21 December 1987) designed this pedestrian-only space between the shop-fronts of Gemeentelijke Noodwinkels Coolsingel. A sign read: "Rijwielen Verboden (Aan De Hand)". Bicycles had been prohibited.

[582] Johannes Hendrik van den Broek, called Jo, (4 October 1898 – 6 September 1978) and Jacob Berend Bakema, nickname Jaap, (8 March 1914 – 20 February 1981) were Dutch architects and urban designers. After nine years of attending meetings of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), Bakema became its Secretary in 1955. He was also a core member of its offshoot Team 10.

Figure 6.3.4.
Emergency stores with temporal car-free space called Postkantoor Gallerij in Rotterdam, 1940s

awnings along the stores connected by some crossovers, which would give the public some shading from the sun and sheltering during rainfall. Together with a few kiosks, lightening, flag poles, trees and benches it also would give these streets a more pleasant character, as the designers state in their own plan description. With that, and more than Northgate, this mall was partially covered. One reporter of a local magazine related the newly opened mall to the original covered pathway of its seventeenth-century ropery, and by doing so he concluded that the Lijnbaan was 'roofed' once and again. (Van den Broek and Bakema Architecten 1952, February 29, Ott 1943, December) This typological innovation received quite some attention back in the United States. Magazines and newspapers emphasised its "revolutionary design", and still planned as "a spacious, airy complex". As such it was recognised not only as the first integrated shopping centre in all Europe, but for many its partially-covered shopping streets baring to vehicles and bicycles was the news. Despite its dark wood sheathing the effects of the Lijnbaan was considered warm, lively, and almost gay: "Merely being in the Lijnbaan is a pleasure", Lewis Mumford cheered in the New Yorker. (Shenker 1954, August 15, Los Angeles Times 1954, December 5, Mumford 1957, October 12 and 1958, Summer)

> "One might question the use of the dark wood sheathing above the concrete frames of the shops, and the sometimes raucous lettering of the shop signs, but the effects of the Lijnbaan is warm, lively, almost gay: the daylight, the waving flags, the delicate acacia trees, the rectangular flower beds, the occasional benches, even a glass-enclosed café area plump in the middle of the mall - and, not the least, the human figures, moving in and out between the shadows of the covered way and open sunlight, in an area that is entirely their own." (Mumford 1957, October 12)

A more analytical study, at least in terms of design, was presented by The Urban Land Institute, an independent research organisation in urban planning and development. Towards the professional world they stated that "crowded American downtown districts might take a lesson" from this plan. In European the attention was no less and globally the reconstruction was even considered by UNESCO. (Grebler 1956, Salmon 1959, July-August, Kiek 1954) All kinds of media magnified the Modern ideas presented by the Rotterdam mall. Soon conceptually the design was imitated widely abroad. In Europe, among others Markelius repeated the concept for downtown by designing the Trog in Stockholm,[583] and

[583] Designed by Sven Markelius and developed in phases between 1952 and 1962.

Figure 6.3.5a.
Korte Lijnbaan Rotterdam, 1960s

Figure 6.3.5b.
Lijnbaan Rotterdam, 1960s

Figure 6.3.6.
Plans announced for the roofed mall by the Dayton Compagny, 1953

in the United States, the interest came from the architect Victor Gruen,[584] friend of Ketchum and for a few years designing suburban shopping malls too. He had travelled to the Netherlands and consulted his Dutch colleague Jo van den Broek on 29 October 1954, a year after the opening of the Lijnbaan. According to one of the shop owners,[585] with whom Gruen had discussed economic and commercial matters, he was noticeable pleased with what he had seen. It would even influence his work. In Rotterdam, he had seen that malls really could be implemented in existing urban cores. Also he had learned that shopkeepers wanted the mall as narrow as possible, whereas building regulations required an adequate width for light, air and emergency access.[586] After his visit, he finished designing these kinds of malls for the suburbs of San Jose and Honolulu. They introduced a section like the Rotterdam one, with similar awnings along the stores likewise connected by crossovers, with similar planting and sitting area, and with similar materials, like brick. (n.a. 1956, Kiek 1954)

Ultimately, it was Victor Gruen, who proposed a fully enclosed mall. On June 17th 1952 after a year in planning, the American developer Donald Dayton[587] announced plans for the first interior mall to be realised in Edina, south of Minneapolis. The project comprised a relatively large area. Between 66th and 70th Streets, France and York Avenues, ten acres of stores would all fit one roof. The ambition was to get several giant centres like this that would eventually ring the Minneapolis metropolitan area, as Dayton explained in the local newspaper. Gruen termed his plan a 'revolutionary concept'. The centre was qualified to be revolutionary for the reasons that traffic was segregated and the pedestrian areas were covered, artificially lightened, air-conditioned and heated. The designer put the centre 'away from the public thoroughfares'. To be precise; the centre was planned six-hundreds feet, almost two-hundred metres, from the nearest public street. Again, the car and the pedestrian were separated to allow "the center to develop its own smoothly functioning traffic pattern without congesting the public street", as Gruen put it. The first publicly-presented model of the plan showed how - in between the centre and the main streets - parking was provided on two levels: in the southeast quadrant on a lower level and in the other parts on a more elevated level. The centre was surrounded with colonnades and covered walks revealing store fronts. Two levels of arcades would guide pedestrian paths to enter its core. Roofs covered the central public space and large glass facades divided indoors and outdoors. The plan called for it to be 'scientifically' lighted, heated in the winter and air-conditioned in the summer and although completely glass enclosed, inside it was designed to give the illusion of being outdoors. The newspaper accurately predicted that the most novel feature of the centre is the proposed interior space, where walks would be lined with trees and grass lawns. Among others newspaper stands would be located on it. (The Minneapolis Star 1952, June 17: 1 and 5, Life 1956, December 10: 61) Indeed it would be a novelty, perhaps, revolutionary, but nevertheless Gruen defined the shopping centre as a composition of traditional or commonly known urban components. For anyone who would study the original design drawings of Southdale Center, they should reveal that the two connections between the mall and the colonnaded covered walks

[584] Victor Gruen practiced architecture in Austria until the Nazi annexation. In 1939, he immigrated to the US, where he set up a new architectural firm in New York. He moved to Los Angeles two years later and in 1951 he reopens an office in New York.

[585] German ready-to-wear tailor Ernst Liffmann, also known as Ernest, (Born 1908, no further data), owned the shop Firma Wisbrun & Liffmann N.V.
During the war, his store was located in one of the temporary shop buildings designed by the Dutch architects and brothers Everhardus Hubertus Antonius Kraaijvanger (17 July 1899 – 9 February 1978) and Herman Maria Joseph Hubert Kraaijvanger (20 July 1903 – 15 September 1981).

[586] The width of the Lijnbaan would result in a width of eighteen metres.

[587] The American businessman Donald Chadwick Dayton (13 August 1914 – 22 June 1989) was an executive of The Dayton Company, a family run Minneapolis department store among the leading in the United States.

Figure 6.3.7.
Southdale Shopping Center by Victor Gruen, 1954

on the outside of the complex were called arcades. The mall was officially called a court.[588] (Gruen 1954, May 26: drawing 8) Like early Rotterdam examples, he linked a mall to arcades and colonnades. In his reasoning arcades, opened to pedestrians only, would form lively centres of urban activity in an unpleasant climate or hostile public environment. (Gruen 1964: 29 and Gruen 1973: 13-16) He combined well-known images show-casing arcades with new ones of gardens and covered walkways, both residues of proposals which he presented more then a decade earlier in The Architectural Forum 1943 themed issue on 'New Buildings for 194X'. While then working together with his wife Elise Krummeck and still named Gruenbaum,[589] he presented a future concept of a shopping centre, in line with other co-evolving proposals. The vision comprised a one-story ensemble which was located on one imaginary downtown city block. The shops, community centre, post office, public telephones, restaurant and the barber were laid out around a mall-like space, then called a 'landscape patio'. All facilities faced the green pedestrian area, not the street, and they were connected to each other by a covered walk. Like co-evolving concepts, it would eliminate the disturbance of cars running trough a main street and give more space to the pedestrian. (Gruenbaum and Krummeck 1943: 101-103) The covered space lined with trees and planted areas in Southdale Center thus was very similar, and although it was more like a landscaped courtyard, an area wholly surrounded by buildings, it could be qualified to be the first completely enclosed mall in the evolution of the type. (Kowinski 1985: 120-124) Instantly it became the exemplar for the design of enclosed malls. This boost was helped by the amount of attention in the public media. Local newspapers briefed about this as a novelty and a few days before Southdale Center was presented to the public, the architectural press did about the same. Gruen together with his real estate partner Larry Smith[590] got the opportunity to guest edit a Progressive Architecture special on shopping centres. Like the Forum issue of 1943, the shopping centre was presented as *the* new building type and without mentioning Southdale yet, they discuss new ideas like roofing and climate control. Typical for High Modernism, revolution and newness was the common credo. The same sentiment was introduced in Gruen's comprehensive exhibit

[588] The developer used different names. The mall was renamed Garden Court and its upper floor; Garden Terrace. The two level arcades were named Dayton Lane and Edina Lane, Holiday Lane and Petticoat Lane. (Levine 1956, October 7: 3)

[589] In 1944, the surname of Gruenbaum was officially changed in Gruen. The German-American architect and industrial designer Elsie Krummeck (5 December 1913 – 30 May 1999) joined with Victor Gruen to form 'Gruen and Krummeck Designers' in November 1939. She had worked on auto shows and the Chicago and New York fairs. Gruen and Krummeck were married between 1942 and 1951.

[590] The Canadian-born American real estate analist Lawrence Patten Smith, better known as Larry, (1 September 1901 – 25 January 1967) was assigned by Dayton to make economic surveys for Minneapolis. His consulting firm was located in Seattle. Later he collaborated with Gruen again on Shopping Towns USA, published in 1960.

on the 'Shopping Centers of Tomorrow'[591] and again in his first book. (Gruen, and Smith 1952: 67-109, Victor Gruen Associates 1953: 1-33, Gruen and Smith 1960: 140)

> "The shopping center is one of the few new buildings which represent a response to the emerge of the automobile as a means of mass transportation. It is a grouping of buildings and related spaces, establishing a new environment in 20th century life, not only for shopping but for many other activities as well. Its group and related spaces are not along existing roads but contribute a new planning pattern of their own. This new environment is dedicated to the pedestrian." (Gruen and Smith 1960: 140)

Thus, Southdale Center included a *new* environment dedicated to the pedestrian. Indeed it was indoors and thus "No matter what the weatherman says, it's always spring at Southdale" (Levine 1956, October 7: 1), but the concept of designing a pedestrian area separated from the street and its sidewalks is to great extent still similar to the majority of its predecessors. Modern sliding doors substituted the gates in the ancient palisades, while the mall was still somewhat separated from the main path system. In a way the mall had always been off-street. Perhaps the proclaimed revolt illustrated the Modern predilection for change rather than really braking with the past.

Basically, the shopping mall was a serious attempt to bring Main Street to the suburbs. Victor Gruen pled for more than just shopping. According to him, the new regional centres should combine trade with banking and office work activities, and provide social, cultural, and civic '*crystallization points*' like the downtown centres. Enclosure and a functional approach might be the main pillars for constructing these at the time, but in the head of the designer it wasn't all modern and new. The idea to concentrate various human activities as a prerequisite of spatial crystallisation was often missing among his contemporaries. Gruen learned from the Northgate example. He put forward also rather classic examples, such as the Greek Agora, to present his ambition to create a traditional city space where commerce flanked politics and public meetings. In the same line, he used the Roman Forum to illustrate how traffic could be banned again from the city's core and he used the medieval market square to illustrate how a place as such used to be the city's centre geographically, socially, religiously and culturally.[592] Southdale Center would provide such a space in an area where there were none. It would be a place "where people meet their

[591] The exhibition "Shopping Centers of Tomorrow", designed by Victor Gruen Associated (Victor Gruen A.I.A., R.L. Baumfeld, Karl O. van Leuven Jr. A.I.A., Edgardo Contini) was held in the Walker Art Center, from 14 March to 12 April 1953. Gruen had published an article with the same title in Arts and Architecture, January 1954.

[592] The Stoa was a covered walkway or porticos, commonly for public usage, especially merchants spread their wares under these columns, The Bouleuterion was the place where politicians debated and the Ecclesiasterion was for public meetings. The City Hall and the Guilds Hall were placed here. The Cathedral, the merchant's and craftsmen's stalls surround the square. All could be understood as commercial places as well as civic spaces.

Figure 6.3.8.
Impresion interior mall by Gruen, 1956

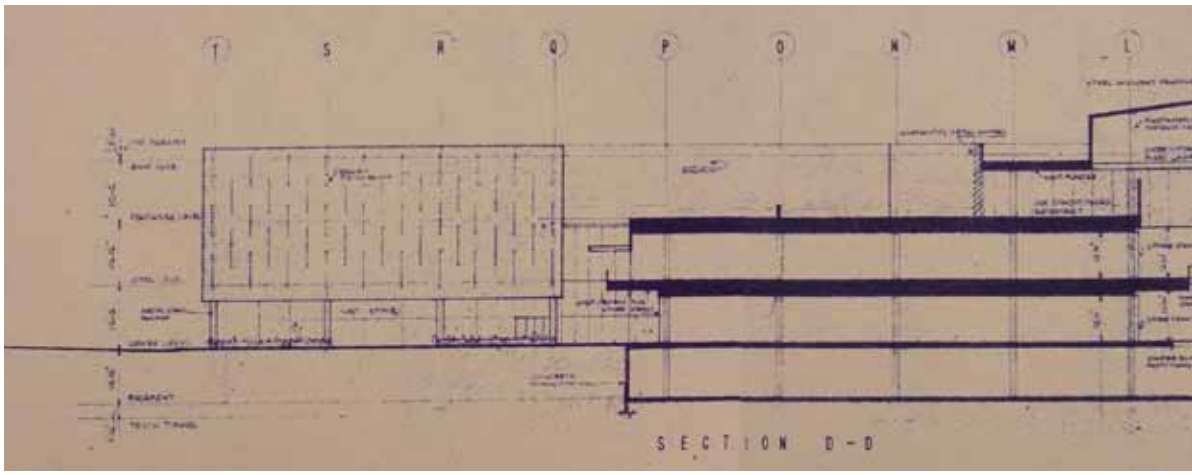
friends, attend club meetings and civic doings", Dayton said. (The Minneapolis Star June 17, 1952: 5, Gruen and Smith 1952: 67-68 and Gruen and Smith, 1960: 17-18) The mall was put forward to intensify public life as if it was an inner city area. It was designed as part of a small-grained pattern in which all types of human activities could intermingle in close proximity. By also referring to some findings of Jane Jacobs' critical appraisal,[593] Gruen tried to dispel the antipathy against large scale development and modernity. He evoked to restore the balance between what he called the pleasures of private life, the individual freedom, and the values which only the public phases of life could offer. In his view recommendations of Jacobs, which are valid for residential sections such as Greenwich Village in New York, generally could bring urbanity in the city. (Gruen 1964: 13, 28-30) In the local public media, he repeatedly put forward his strive to provide social, cultural and civic crystallisation points in the vast suburban areas; a concept which he discussed simultaneously among colleagues in academic journals. (The Minneapolis Morning Tribune June 18, 1952: 1 and Gruen and Smith 1952: 67-109)

> "I believe the shopping center gives a new change to develop that same enjoyment of human gathering which once the old market place provided," says Gruen. "In recent years, people have become discouraged from using the 'city core' for cultural gatherings", he argued. In his vision these centers need not be so blatantly commercial as downtown. Here the space was for sculpture, murals, fountains, mosaics on the floor and the walls. (The Minneapolis Morning Tribune June 18, 1952: 1)

> "A shopping center must be more than a mere collection of stores and shops. A regional center must be even more than its name implies – a center for shopping. The regional shopping center must, besides performing its commercial function, fill the vacuum created by the absence of social, cultural, and civic crystallization points in our vast suburban areas." (Gruen and Smith 1952: 67)

In reflecting on the Modern evolution in a revolutionary epoch of huge suburbanisation and increasing mobility the ideas of especially one person are worthwhile notifying once again; those of Morris Ketchum. Not only was he a profound architect and urban designer who paralleled Gruen's development towards a shopping centre

Figure 6.3.9.
Blueprint of Southdale Shopping Center by Gruen, 1956

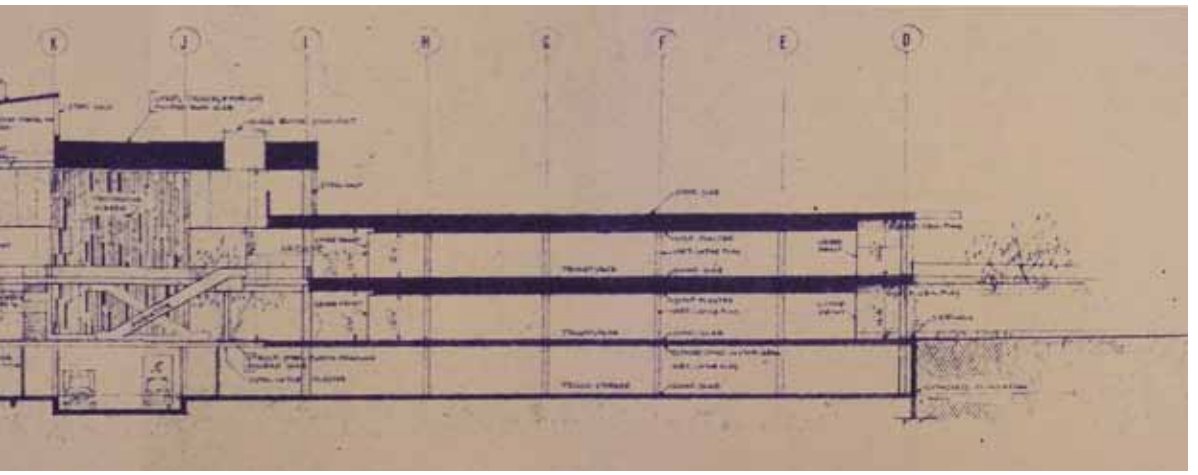


designer, he was also a close colleague. When Gruen just arrived in the U.S. and still was an unlicensed architect, he even worked under the signature of Ketchum and in the early days in New York, they were working on two stores next doors.[594] (Jackson 1952: 30, Wall 2006: 30) Ketchum realised the envisioned community centres already in 1947. For his North Shore Center he would plan an 'integrated community of retail, service and entertainment facilities'. Retail, dominated by a department store would be combined with a theatre, bowling alleys, a restaurant, exhibition space and offices. (New York Times June 9, 1947) Similar facilities where located along the mall of Southdale. It was seen as the hub of activities. Here the housewife could take a break on her round of errands. Sitting at the sidewalk café or on a rest bench, she could look at the semi-tropical plants and works of art, while listening to the sixty brightly plumed canaries and finches. "The kids might want to get acquainted with the cigar store Indian at the tobacco shop". The court would feature events of interest for everyone in the family: fashion and sports shows, seasonal flower displays and exhibits of everything from cars to paintings. The plan also included a 'post office', 'restful dining facilities' and an auditorium, which could be used for "meetings of civic groups and clubs of all types as well as for lectures and fashion shows". By this way the centre offered "the amenities that go with modern shopping". But, as the developers stated to the press: "there is something extra special at Southdale for the youngsters. A trip to The Concourse brings Junior to a Disney-like fairyland: a miniature zoo with live animals, rides, a papier mache jungle with giraffes, elephants and hippos staring out of 3-D foliage. And, of course, plenty of dispensing machines for milk and orange drinks." (Levine 1956, October 7) Although Kiddie Koral broadens the kid's horizon, the back room with wire cages soon wasn't seen as a cheerful looking place. Still, in a way, with these amenities this mall brought back a kind of urban entertainment which could be compared with playing pall-mall in the Age of the Enlightenment. By recombining Modern forms of leisure and business, it opened itself up for a number of public shows or civic events.

So, contrary to what critics might think today, these centres were not a fixed result of design and planning. Particularly in Gruen's

[593] See Book 2.

[594] The store of Lederer de Paris by Victor Gruenbaum, designed under signature of Morris Ketchum in 1939, was located on 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Next door Ciro of Bond Street London was designed by Morris Ketchum in 1939.



vision planning was part of negotiation, subject to public hearings and very often it had to be decided upon by vote, but at the same token it did need 'creativity' and 'leadership'. With this point of view he explicitly positioned himself between Jane Jacobs and Robert Moses,[595] who at the time publicly were debating on planning. He did not fully favour Jacob's laissez-faire but neither did he prefer Moses' autocratic planning. In search for what he termed 'creative planning', mediating between the two, he built upon traditional urbanisation processes. His native town Vienna served as an example. The medieval inner-city was once ringed by fortifications, but as the need for these military constructions ceased, planning did set in and convert it into one of lasting assets of the city. (Gruen 1964: 32-40)

Today looking back on the development of Southdale Shopping Center, on the one hand the urbanisation of the area took place along the lines of natural processes. Cohesive social, cultural and civic activity attracted more people and more public facilities. On the other hand consistent planning guided this process. With a lot of turns caused by numerous people involved. In the end the planner was in charge. In time the centre was reorganised over and over again. When the design was still on the drawing boards, the design needed to be adjusted for the first time. It had to absorbe an extra twenty shops and a department store of the L.S. Donaldson Co. The firm joined the suburban development to locate their large store in the suburbs of Minneapolis. Their main store was located downtown. Gruen had to work with John Graham being the store's consultant, so new negotiation was needed to revise the plans. Graham's focus on pedestrian space was reducing some of the proposed planting. But in the end all parties were confident: the 'close concentration of large stores and fine shops in on central location' would give the mall of Southdale Center the same quality as downtown's main shopping street. (The Minneapolis Morning Tribune October 25, 1953: 1 and 7) In 1969 the developer announced another addition. It would give space to a third department store and an extra thirty-five shops. More than the wish of one actor, this extension of the interior system was the result of the popularity of the place. Thus the developer returned to Gruen. He added a second garden court to the interior pedestrian network, he jointed both levels and he connected the new concourse to the existing mall with extra escalators. (The Minneapolis Tribune December 21, 1969: 1 and 5) It was the first step towards the foreseen urbanisation of

[595] The American urban planner Robert Moses, called Bob, (18 December 1888 – 29 July 1981) played a large role in shaping the physical environment of New York State. He realised State parks, miles of highways, many bridges and tunnels and in New York City hundreds of playgrounds. He had also built housing, civic centres, beaches, zoos, exhibition halls and the 1964-65 New York World's Fair.

Figure 6.3.10a.
Garden Court at Southdale Center, late 1950s

Figure 6.3.10b.
Sidewaulk Cafe at Southdale Center, late 1950s

Figure 6.3.11.
Southdale regional shopping centre, 1956

the suburb starting with the provision of crystallisation points. It levelled grounds for converting the centre into a small urban system containing two indoor malls and several arcades.

> "Architecture, like the city, needs 'transfiguration', deep-seated changes and over-all adjustments to changed times and changed conditions. All feverish activities. [...] Thus we architects, wishing to create structures that can offer delight within and without have but one choice: to use our energies, our knowledge, our imagination, creativity and perseverence toward the aim of creating, first of all, order, and then environmental qualities in our cities that will permit the contemplation of future buildings and their undisturbed functioning for the purposes for which they designed-structures that will enhance the employment of those who observe them, live in them or otherwise use them." (Gruen 1964 : 158-159, 166)

According to Gruen and illustrated by the above example, the mall had proved to be an urban space of city-wide interest. As the largest weather-protected space in the area, it became not only a meeting place, but as hoped it was the place for the most important urban events in the evening. The developer stated: "It has been profitable, and today it is a valuable property. Southdale has stimulated development within a radius of a mile from the centre. That covers an area of several thousand acres." However after the last addition the complex had become much less extrovert. It seemed a process of slow change: in the first preliminary design indoors and outdoors were connected gradually by means of colonnades, overhang, and recessed entrances. When the second department store joined the development, at least it had shop windows and arcades on the outdoor facades. But on the run, as the third department store was designed and other shops were added, the centre became an almost entirely closed big brick box. In time Gruen and his firm seemed to have been concentrating too much on the indoors. Two years after the last addition, Gruen admitted that a number of problems which at the time could not have been foreseen had not been quite successfully resolved. Next to the introversion, another was 'the ugliness and discomfort of the land wasting parking surrounding' the pioneering centre. (Gruen 1973: 38-39) His self-criticism would be a precursor for growing negativism and opposition to these kinds of interior public spaces. Yet, the success of the indoor mall was nevertheless unstoppable.

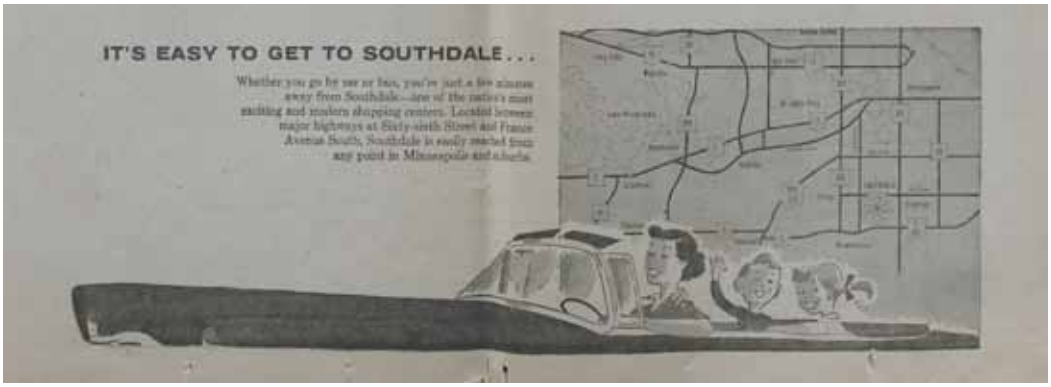


Figure 6.3.12.
Easy car-accessibility, advertisement 1956

Chapter 4 Booming Business

Recent biographers of Victor Gruen emphasise the speed of his career and the impact of his designs. Originally a shop designer, he had managed not only to establish himself in the commercial landscape of New York but within a considerably short time he also caught enough attention to attract retail chain entrepreneurs of the East coast for his services. This was not only an early recognition for his work nationwide, but also a first step towards scale-upgrading, which led to the design of Southdale Center. His ideas and designs for new indoor malls were spread around and the 'Gruen Effect' was enormous. Covered malls soon took over larger and larger tracts. (Hardwick 2004: 1-7, Wall 2005: 36-41) In the winter of 1956,[596] the opening of the indoor mall was presented by the public media all around the U.S.A. Magazines like Time, Fortune, Life, Business Week and New Yorker all presented the news. They presented their admiration gloriously. Many other journals and newspapers did mostly the same: 'the splashiest' and 'the biggest', 'the handsomest' and 'most advanced'. (Life 1956, December 10; Time 1956, October 15; Fortune 1957, February and Business Week 1957, 26 January)

> "Since World War II, U.S. suburban shopping centers have been growing bigger and fancier. This fall one of the biggest – and by all odds the splashiest – opened near Minneapolis. The Southdale Center contains the world's largest shopping area under one roof, 10 acres." (Life 1956, December 10: 61)

> "To the strains of piped music, splashing waterfalls and clanging cash registers, three of the handsomest and most advanced shopping centers in the U.S. opened for business last week." (Time 1956, October 15: 96)

> "The garden court, rich in color and interest, is a block long, three stories high. Tropical plants, eighty colored canaries in a tall cage, eye-catching lights and fountains make it the focal point of the center" (Fortune 1957, February: 142)

The architectural press reported the event likewise. The Architectural Forum presents the design as "a breakthrough for two-level shopping centers" and for example Architectural Record it was "more like downtown than downtown itself". (The Architectural Forum 1956, December and Architectural Record 1956, December) Within a few years the concept of covered malls was established. Sure enough, it became a consistent part of The Community Builders Handbook. In the fifth revised print, which prestigiously was called 'executive edition', the Urban Land Institute extensively enlightened malls. According to the renowned institute the elements of separation of foot traffic from car traffic has brought about the placing stores along a pedestrian way or central open space, generally in elongated form. They define this type of mall as 'a pedestrian street with strips of stores face to face'. Basically, this already would create a pleasant atmosphere but when decorated with planting and bits of landscaping, the attractiveness multiplied. Fountains, flowers, benches and banners make the mall

[596] The opening had been expected in May 1955. (The Minneapolis Star 1952, 17 June: 1 and 5)

Figure 6.4.1.
Exhibition called Shopping Centers of Tomorrow, 1953

the setting for promotional events and pedestrian passage along the stores. Covered malls would allow complete weather-conditioning, which could introduce more comfort and appeal. Where the Southdale brought a pleasant warm climate to Edina, others could contribute to comfort in warm and humid areas. The many examples showed the various possibilities of an air-conditioned enclosed mall. (Community Builders' Council of Urban Land Institute 1960: 325-333) It all could be seen as the breakthrough in professional and public recognition, but where Gruen aspired to a mall representing an essentially *urban* environment more than a mere collection of stores and shops, in the end mainly his 1952 concept of a *shopping* centre stuck to the minds of the followers. And, although commerce was nowhere to be found in the 'functions' of the Modern functionalist city,[597] it can be argued to which extend that the omnipresence of Modernism had been a principal drive to factor 'shopping' as *the* pillar of the Modern mall.

As commonly known today, mainly the concept of a shopping mall was adapted by other urban designers, developers and planners. The idea spread quickly from the cold north to the hot and humid south. Jim Rouse,[598] one of the early supporters of the enclosed shopping variant, predicted its popularity in Time only a week after the opening of Southdale. (Time 1956, October 15: 96-98)

> "Despite rapid advances in shopping-center design and location, says Rouse, they are still in their infancy. Ultimately, he predicts, the big retail centers will all be weather-controlled and glass-enclosed, allowing store owners to dispense with display windows and open their counters, bazaar-fashion, to passersby. Says Rouse, who is also one of the leading urban redevelopment authorities in the U.S.: 'The well-planned, well-managed shopping center is more than simply a new plan for retail expansion. It represents a massive reorganization of the urban community'." (Time 1956, October 15: 96)

True, at Southdale Center's fiftieth birthday, the United States counted circa 50.000 planned shopping centres[599], an estimated

[597] Commerce was explicitly rejected as such. (Le Group CIAM-France 1943, April: 28, 47, 69, Le Corbusier 1957: 120-121)

[598] Jim Rouse planned and developed several pioneering shopping malls, nationwide in both United States and Canada. He would be a keynote at "An Examination of the Shopping Center as a Nucleus of Intercity Activity", the 1963 Urban Design Conference at Harvard University in which he also paid tribute to the achievements of the Disney design staff. See Book 2.

[599] Compare with less than 2,500 shopping centres in Canada in 2006, and an estimated of 5700 centres in Europe in 2007 (ESCT and ICSC 2008, March: 7, Lambert 2008, Summer: 15)

quarter of which included covered malls. (ICSC 2006: 1, ULI and ICSC 2006: 11, 531) The fast early emergence of enclosed malls in the suburban area around Los Angeles, hometown of Victor Gruen, stood for a national trend to come. Even designs of his own firm, like Topanga Plaza, South Coast Plaza and Central City Mall were able to introduce civic programme only modestly.[600] The resemblances with Southdale were reduced to shopping, design style and appearance. The promise to establish community activities, including recreational activities, in the 'shopping city' of Topanga (Cameron 1964, August 30) was a witness of a final shift to the inclusion of civic events rather than the ambitioned civic institutions, like hospitals, libraries, schools and post offices. It was a second attempt to introduce the concept of civic centres, given the changed circumstances introducing competition. Of course, Gruen was never the only Modern mall designer, but as the merchandise and marketers increasingly dominated the development of the mall, more store designers got involved in the design of shopping centres. They mainly focussed on shopping. In the L.A. region, in the same years three other indoor malls had come from the drawing boards: Inland Center, Tyler Mall, and Los Cerritos Center. Interesting enough, these malls were all designed by firms headed by Charles Kober.[601] He was part of a commercially-oriented dynasty; the son of a Southern-Californian architect, who was called "a leading evangelist in spreading the gospel of elegance and convenience in stores". Kober continued this legacy by designing bigger and bigger projects. Entranceways should be an invitation and the insides a revelation, his father would say. He aimed to attract people for whom shopping was a major part of their social life. (Leap 1961, February 12) For him the design of a mall was the design of an interior shopping space. His centres were white introverted boxes deliberately allowing some rough textures and brick work on the outside, but mainly plain stucco and without many windows. The design was all about the indoor space. "Analyses of retail operations in the country, methodically compared to forecast population growth, industry-job predictions, as well as expected income levels, provided the basic guidelines", as The Los Angeles Times explained to the public. As such they established the need for a shopping complex. "Psychological testing and market surveys in the field to show shopper's buying patterns and motivations were the basis for all designs and floor plans" Merchandise schemes determined the mall, extensive interior landscaping give the overall design its

[600] Topanga Plaza or Topanga Mall in Canoga Park opened February 10, 1964 as California's first enclosed shopping mall. Today, it is renamed formerly Westfield (Shoppingtown) Topanga. South Coast Plaza in Costa Mesa opened in 1967. Central City Mall, the later Carousel Mall in San Bernardino opened in 1972. Victor Gruen & Associates designed the initial phases of these malls. Respectively the Austian-American architect Rudolf Lothar Franz Israel Baumfeld, known as Rudi, (31 December 1903 – 20 February 1988), and American architect Karl Osterout Van Leuven, Jr. (13 September 1914 – 18 June 1978) had been responsible for the first two designs.

[601] Inland Center in San Bernardino opened in 1966. Tyler Mall, renamed Galleria at Tyler, in Riverside opened after five years of designing in 1970. Los Cerritos Center in Cerritos opened in 1971. All three were designed by the firms of the American architect Charles McChesney Kober (9 April 1923 – 22 October 2001); respectively Burke, Kober & Nicolais, Burke, Kober, Nicolais & Archuleta, and Charles Kober & Associates.

Figure 6.4.2.
Mall comparison in Shopping Towns USA by Gruen, 1960

relaxed mood. (The Los Angeles Times 1967, March 16) A focus purely on retail changed the design of the mall. Whereas Gruen would brighten up the mall with a dramatic Wonderfall Waterfall and a twenty-horse carousel, like in the case of South Coast Plaza, Kober followed more and more the market driven forces. The work of Kober and others in the Pacific suburban regions showed the growing gap between Gruen's ideals and the realisation of such plans. Despite the fact that malls remained the domain of cultural festivals, annual shows, scout events and cheerleader competitions, civic institutions were left out and an increasing discrepancy between exterior and interior emerged. In designing machines for selling, the focus was on the entrances from the spread of parking lots and the inside only.

As the interior public space was devoted to retail, the mall seemed to loose its nineteenth century 'civicness'. Tyler Mall is exemplary for a design in which commerce might oppress institutionalised civic engagement. It represented an approach from the inside out, showcasing the mono-functional shopping mall, albeit with its whimsical flair introducing Late Modernism in which increasingly designers tried to find ways to attract and entice the public – read consumer – indoors. The design represented the next decade in evolution. With the exception of one of its anchor buildings, designed by others, the exterior design was rather conservative in a High Modern functionalistic way, maybe perfunctory, but foremost uniform to many others. It was a big box. Yet, the retail environment was different to those of its predecessors. Unlike the outside, the design of the interior public space introduced a new look. One of Kober's new design directors, Jon Jerde[602], had created this shopping mall with colourful skylights with abstract clusters of hanging lights, and high-gloss red and white flooring with bark-filled planters and wooden, semi-circular benches. One of the major local retail developers announced what was true for other regions too: "Now the enclosed malls are here to stay for another very good economic reason – competition!" (The Los Angeles Times 1969, July 13) In those years, the Argentinean-born architect Cesar Pelli had taken over the lead of nearby Gruen Associates, in Los Angeles.[603] He took the challenge, and thus in his work, we see the same shift. The three-level Fox Hills Mall in Culver City was one of Pelli's early-realised malls.[604] The exterior of the complex was made of uniform gray textured block, again functionalistic, while

[602] Jon Jerde (see Book 1) worked with Kober between 1965 and 1977, where he became director of design in 1967 and among others was responsible for the Tyler Mall. After he left the office, he started the Jerde Partnership.

[603] The Argentine-American architect César Antonio Pelli (born 26 October 1926) became partner for design at Gruen Associates in 1968, when Gruen retired and would return to Europe. The firm was located on 6330 San Vicente Blvd, close to the crossing of Wilshlre Blvd., where Burke, Kober & Nicolais was located on number 2801 in the east. In 1976, also Pelli left and in the year after he established his own firm.

[604] Fox Hills Mall in Culver City L.A. opened in 1975 as a new shopping centre. Like Tyler Mall and many others in the region, Ernest Walter Hahn (12 September 1919 – 28 December 1992) developed the mall too. It was renovated in 1988. Recently the mall was renamed Westfield Culver City, formerly Westfield (Shoppingtown) Fox Hills.

Figure 6.4.3.
Tyler Mall, 1969

Figure 6.4.4.
Fox Hills Mall, 1976

indoors the design introduced irregular shapes, bursting facade-lines, slopes and staggered floor levels. Like Kober and Jerde, Pelli too seduced the public mainly by the interior design of the centre. He designed the mall with different spheres and a theme stairway, but true to his tutor, in white and with a Gruen-like central garden court. To improve the indoor environment, he reintroduced natural light in the mall by the design of skylights, a feature that has not been dominant in mall design since a long time. This was perhaps another spectacular counterrevolutionary step, but in a time energy crisis, saving on artificial lighting was an important motivation to do so. (Maitland 1990: 16) Of all characteristics, the interior mall stood out, especially because it was bigger than usual. It was the first three-level mall in California, designed big enough to face competition in the emerging pattern of surrounding shopping centres, and thus the public media started to question if it would work: Was this centre large and powerful enough that it would flock people travelling miles and miles? According to the developers, the primary trade area of the shopping mall encompassed a population of more than 450,000 in and around Culver City. (Turpin 1975, October 5) Again, this was more than before, and as such, this shopping mall was a prelude not only to the survival of the most attractive, but also of the biggest. The older malls, those of the sixties, each were only about twenty-five kilometres away. Within a few years after the opening of Fox Hills Mall, they expanded to face the competition. In the north, Topanga Plaza was just on time enlarged with The Promenade at Woodland Hills. In Torrance in the south, Del Amo Center was about to expand with other indoor malls to become Del Amo Fashion Center, one of the largest covered shopping centre in the United States.[605]

In these big almost autonomous malls, the interior itself became the event. Exemplary for this was Glendale Galleria, east of Fox Hills.[606] In its form and size, it very much resembled a Gruenesk mall – it even had a three-level garden court –, but the interior was explicitly focused on leisure and urban entertainment. The just established Jerde Partnership designed the mall on the basis of a concept made at Charles Kober Associates. "We have designed Glendale Galleria to be a vital and attractive center of urban activity", Jon Jerde explained it to the public. Glendale's thousand-foot-long mall featured an arched, barrel-vaulted skylight inspired on the Galleria in Milan. The activity in the garden court did not fade after shops were closed, but lasted until the last movies were over and the last diners had strolled away. At the request of the Glendale Symphony Orchestra, Jerde designed a huge central court for concerts. (Desser 1973, November 18) By using exotic Milan, classical music and the latest movies, Jerde triggers fantasy. Entertainment should attract people. Similarly, he designed the nearby malls of Plaza Pasadena, Westside Pavilion and MainPlace Santa Ana.[607] In these malls, an amusement atmosphere and attractive activities formed the basis of his pioneering approach. Jerde meliorated the design of malls with experiential design.

[605] The Promenade at Woodland Hills, renamed Westfield (Shoppingtown) Promenade, was opened in 1973 next to Topanga Plaza and designed by Burke Kober Nicolais Archuleta Architects. Del Amo Center in Torrance was designed by the American architect Welton Daniel Becket (8 August 1902 – 16 January 1969) and opened in 1961. He expanded the mall with Fashion Square in 1966. It was expanded by again Kober's firm to become Del Amo Fashion Center. Its first expansion was designed between 1969 and 1975, ready to become the largest covered shopping centre (in sq. metres) in the U.S. from 1981 to 1992.

[606] Glendale Galleria, in Glendale, was designed by Charles Kober Associates / Jerde Partnership with the American architects John Stephen Symonds (born 15 June 1935) and Andrew Alphonse Feola, called Andy, (born 31 October 1942) in 1976. Between 2012 and 2013, the mall is renovated.

[607] Plaza Pasadena was opened in 1980 in Pasadena L.A., In 2001 it was replaced by Paseo an upscale outdoor mall. Westside Pavilion in West Los Angeles opened in 1985 and MainPlace in Santa Ana L.A. in 1988.

"Experiental Design: the closest thing to it is moving making, but we don't have any cameras, we don't have any actors, we don't have any scripts, and we don't have any endings."
"The shopping center could again be an urban experience, a

communal setting that renewed a public life of richness and complexity"
"Modernist design used humans as background scenery. Experiental design is the background scenery for humans."
(Jerde as quoted in Anderton 1999: 80, 84, 149)

He designed malls 'where experience makes the place'. It might seem a provocative approach to brake with the clean Modern approach of Gruen. Contemporary opponents agree. On the one side, the narrative of Rem Koolhaas and his students could be illustrative.[608] According to them, Jerde brought shopping to 'an environmental climax by taking the entire discarded repertoire of architecture and returning it as farce', whereas Gruen produced 'a new dawn of shopping by introducing an abstract minimal context'. Jerde versus Gruen it could be. Trough the eyes of Koolhaas, the one celebrates the chaos in the city; the other provided a refuge from the chaos. The trivialised architectural bombardment replaced the formal 'less is more' approach. In this line, he concludes rather cynical that eventually 'junkspace' would remain. (Herman 2001: 403-405, Koolhaas 2001: 408) On the other side, the interpretation of Margaret Crawford could be exemplary. Her debate underlining the importance of Jerde was not embedded in high architecture like Koolhaas. On the contrary as said, she researched everyday urbanism. For her the mall always had been a place where people like to gather; thus far from junk. Although her interpretations of the shopping mall differed, she equally underlined the importance of Jerde's work in the evolution of the type. According to her: many architects would qualify his work as kitsch, but to everyone who is interested in the typological evolution his status should be unquestionable: he became a towering figure, one of the only two architects who have been able to shape the form of this fundamental late twentieth century building type. (Crawford 1999a: 22-29, Kaliski 1999: 94, Crawford 1999b: 45)

The mall design changed and Jerde played an obvious role, but again change had been gradual. To summarise, when the inclusion of civic institutions hardly happened, civic events would replace them. Soon the interior as a whole was the event, opening doors to entertainment and experience. In fact, Late-Modern designers like Jerde reintroduced leisure in the mall. The amusement and the fun to shop in a place set aside from the streets had become like the pleasure of playing a game of pall-mall or the enjoyment of strolling under the shaded walks. Again, for public spaces designed as autonomously set-asides, the attraction of people ought to be most important. Why would someone go to such a place if one would not be attracted to it? The Jerde Partnership reasoned as follows: in the midst of the century, retail space had become the new public realm. According to them, the shopping mall was been the last place left where American communal life still existed. Malls remained the de facto meeting points for citizens living and working in the suburban sprawl. Therefore, Jerde's firm designed these spaces as 'backdrops for urban life'. Its designers created spatially recognizable entities with a unique spatial experience. Jerde combined placemaking with experience design animating urban life. Concurrently, Americans were moving from mass consumption to the experience economy, a process that among others had lead to themed environments. (The Jerde Partnership et al 2004: 3-13) It was a new interpretation in a much longer process of change.

[608] The five-year Harvard Project on the City, ran in the years 1996-2001, researched the effects of modernisation on the contemporary city. Each year Koolhaas selected a topic to be researched by eight to fourteen students of Graduate School of Design.
See for Koolhaas also Book 1 and 9.

Chapter 5 City Mall and Mall City

For this research, it might be too much to describe every existing mall in an equally precise way, in relation to each other and from evolutionary perspective. This would be not only another life's work, it would also be unnecessary for the understanding of today's cultural meaning of the enclosed mall, its position in the city and its role in the socio-spatial transformation processes. Basically, the typological variation of the Modern interior mall was rather limited. Primary again, not only the designer's oeuvre, accomplishments, inspiration, dreams and what so ever could determine the relative importance of the individual differences, specific engineers, lawyers, investors and politicians of course determine them too. Secondly, most important for urban design, their quality as interior public space depended mainly on either the spatial embedding in the street network, the ability to attract people and condition public use or both. Thirdly, the typological diversification, if there was any, mainly followed the differences its allocation in the city and its local culture. Thus, to simplify case-to-case variation, an indoor shopping mall on the Pacific would be a different one than one in the Northeastern United States or elsewhere.

Figure 6.5.1.
Clock of the Nations at Midtown Plaza mall, 1965

The final stage of Gruen´s search for the heart of the U.S. city was characterised by a move away from the suburban projects to rediscover downtown. Leaving out community facilities and the careful treatment of public space, the suburban mall had become a shopping mall: the centre piece of the 'Great Consumer Paradise'. Gruen was disenchanted. Two years before his death, he refused to pay alimony for those developments. These malls were constructed by "anonymous real-estate entrepreneurs who in the best cases were responsible professionals and in the worst promoters and speculators who just wanted to make a fast buck", he said.[609] (Gruen 1978, February 28, reprinted in Town and Country Planning 1978, July/August: 351) His shift started already in the early sixties. Still in the midst of commercial competition, he realised that despite his ambitions, he could never give new shopping centres the same civic qualities, in terms of institutions, as a historic city centre. At that point, he started to reconsider his theoretical discourse by referring to certain tendencies 'threatening the regional shopping centre'. Gruen's own past predictions had become reality. Malls had been lost in a 'technical discussion' and the aim to make them 'cultural and social centres' had not been attained either, or at least for him that did not remain a goal to work for. (Gruen 1963, November: 467, Gruen and Smith 1952: 109) In an early and rare occasion at the height of his influence, he was given the opportunity to introduce the interior mall into downtown. Having made peace with the automobile, Rochester, New York, was in a position to bring the suburbs downtown. Supported by downtown retail merchants, the government didn't fight the suburbs or the shopping centres rising to meet suburban needs, it simply capitalised among

[609] Quote of Victor Gruen during the Third Annual Conference by the International Council of Shopping Centres in London, held from February 26th to March 1 1978.

others things the people like about shopping centres: a wide variety of merchandise, a mall to meet people and above all a place to park.[610] They followed the success of the interior shopping mall of Wellington Square in downtown London, Ontario, which was just three-hundred-fifty kilometres away. Graham's firm patterned a suburban mall in downtown as if it was a small Southdale lookalike.[611] Midtown Plaza opened in 1962. Gruen used so-called 'vertical stacking' to develop multiple land use in the heart of the city. He combined a three-level subterranean garage, with a two-level shopping mall on Broad Street and an arcade to link to Main Street. In addition to the shopping centre, the Plaza also included a skyscraper with offices, a restaurant bar and a hotel on top. The whole was surrounded by new office towers and bank buildings.[612] (Community Builders' Council of Urban Land Institute 1960: 380-383, McKelvey 1961: 202, Gruen 1973: 122-131) From the outside the complex was formed with striking repetitive angular geometries, and, where concrete is used, revealing its prefab components. Only the ground floor was transparent, but set back. The interior was more like its predecessors, using cream-coloured stucco, square columns and beams, and simple small tiles on the floor. The remarkable centrepiece of the mall was The Clock of the Nations, a soft-coloured carnival spirit timepiece gaily saluting the public every hour. Each passing hour its electronically controlled marionettes danced around the clock to the bright tunes from different countries around the world. Thus, here also, the spectacle was inside. Nevertheless, this downtown mall was a project that most closely followed the mission of Gruen. It created an interior public space beyond mere shopping. In his larger oeuvre it remained a rather unique example. Predominantly Gruen resumed introducing open-air pedestrian malls in city cores. It goes without saying that his aspirations for a multifunctional programme and mixed-use was perhaps more easy to fulfil in the traditional civic centre. Like in Rochester, the challenge was to give downtown similar on site advantages as suburbia. Thus, redevelopment projects were focused on 'upgrading downtown' by improving car-accessibility, circulation and parking, next to the encouragement of a productive use of the inner city, a reintegration of commercial and non-commercial use, and a return of the qualities of its lost activity, variety and visual enjoyment, to be complete. (Architectural Record 1965, June)

The transformation of main streets into pedestrian zones had become common practice and the American urban mall was used to ban the car. Around the continent, the examples were legion: the malls in Kalamanzoo and Pomona, Lincoln Mall in Miami Beach, Spark Street Mall in Ottowa et cetera.[613] With all the attention on the separation of pedestrian traffic, both European and American cities designated areas of the historic centre for exclusive pedestrian use. (Brambilla and Longo 1976, December i-iv) Still, despite a long list of downtown showcases, somehow this strategy would not work for big cities. East Coast Manhattan was exemplary. In an interview in The New Yorker, as early as a few months before the opening of Southdale, Gruen envisioned underground traffic tunnels for trucks, buses and taxis so that aboveground grassy malls could form a new spine of the island. (The New Yorker 1956, March 17: 33-34) 'Grass on Main Street' was an old idea by then and every time rezoning traffic would be considered too complex or too costly. With the exception of temporal traffic blockades,

[610] As early as 1952, for example the Chamber's Retail Merchants Council started to make urgent pleas for improving downtown.

[611] John Graham's firm designed Wellington Square in London, Ontario, in 1958. The American architects and partners Morris Lapidus (25 November 1902 – 18 January 2001), Leo Kornblath, née Kornblatt (born 14 August 1920), Abbott Harle, née Abraham Hornstein, called Abby, (27 October 1923 – 26 February 2003) and Harold M. Liebman (14 May 1920 – 7 November 2010) were responsible for the final design between 1959 and 1960. Harle began at Gruen Associates, and he and his partners all have a similar European roots: Lapidus and Liebman were Russian-born, Kornblatt had a Russian mother and an Austrian father and Harle was raised by a Romanian mom. The mall was developed by William Zeckendorf, Sr. (30 June 1905 – 30 September 1976), president of the New York based firm Webb & Knapp. In 1986, the Canadian architects James Carscallen Crang (20 June 1924 – 25 January 2007) and George Elliot Boake (born 7 April 1927) extended the mall with new malls to become to Galleria London, now known as Citi Plaza. Wellington Square became the lower level of the southern portion of this system.

[612] In 2010, Midtown Plaza is slowly being dismantled. The City of Rochester took over the property in a 2008 condemnation proceeding. The City closed the mall hoping to see new structures to rise. The American artist Dale Clark (born 31 May 1923) created The Clock of the Nations. The sculpture was preserved after takeover and temporarily on exhibit at the Greater Rochester International Airport.

[613] The Kalamanzoo Mall was the first pedestrianised street in the U.S. It was designed by Gruen in 1959 under a new ordinance controlled by the Pedestrian Mall Advisory Board. Lincoln Road Mall in Maimi Beach, which opened in 1960, was again of the hands of Lapidus. Pomona Mall was designed by the American architect Millard Owen Sheets (24 June 1907 – 31 March 1989) and built under the California Mall Law of 1960 and the local Pedestrian Mall Law. The mall was inaugurated in 1963. Spark Street Mall in Ottowa was designed in collaboration with the French planner Jacques-Henri-Auguste Gréber (10 September 1882 – 5 June 1962) and built by applying Ontario provincial mall legislation.

generally vehicles stayed on the roads and the main streets would remain packed with cars, yellow cabs and busses. The City of New York found other ways to introduce pedestrian space. A variety of small-scale initiatives, whether or not supported by stimulants and incentives, stood for another trend as written before. While the government promoted public space on privately-owned grounds to serve pedestrian circulation, many developers continued the Late-Modern interpretation of functionalism, designating such interiors to shopping only.[614] Most of these enclosed malls were quite similar to the early example realised in upstate Rochester. They mainly appeared in Midtown Manhattan. Malls opened inside Citicorp Center, 875 Third Avenue, Crystal Pavilion, The Trump Tower, 575 - Center of Fifth and in the old Gimbel Brothers Department Store. The later one, dubbed The Mall of Manhattan, would be a true representative of the vertical version of the interior shopping mall, as it was layered and pretty compact. Shops were spread two levels above grounds and two below grade. On a basement level the mall gave entrance to subways stations. Here also a food court was located. The narrow sky-lit atrium of the mall continued from the lower levels to the ten upper floors emphasising the malls verticality in a way which surpassed the Trump Mall.[615]

Following commercial trends outside the city, in highly urban settings, designers and planners introduced similar shopping malls. It seemed to be the most feasible intervention to create space set aside for the pedestrian shopper while car circulation could continue without mayor infrastructural adjustments. We could see similar developments in for example Chicago, Atlanta, Houston, and Phoenix. Interior shopping malls were also adapted by many European cities in redevelopment schemes of the same decade. The Bull Ring Shopping Centre in Birmingham and the Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre in London were the first.[616] Yet, as in Modernistic Europe the distinction between redeveloped inner-cities and newly planned peripheral centres was different, perhaps less distinct compared to the U.S., the interior malls in downtown often resembled those in the outlying areas of those cities. Malls, no matter where in England, or France, Germany, The Netherlands, or for example Switzerland, followed more closely a design line marked by Wellington Square and Midtown Plaza.

North, south, east, west; the indoor mall was everywhere in downtown, in the periphery, in new towns, and in suburbia. Especially in the United States, the boom reached a peak with construction of mega malls. Big, bigger, biggest, the best attraction and unforgettable entertainment would magnetise people from everywhere. A few of those malls stood out.

The first was Galleria Post Oak in Houston.[617] The complex had found an alternative for suburban shopping centres too. It had added hotels, health clubs, banks, medical centres and brokerage houses. Designers and developers explicitly emphasised that the Galleria was modelled after the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan.[618] The huge three-level enclosed mall was the first to reintroduce barrel-vaulted glass-roofing, but it was not downtown nor a short-out. One the one hand, the new philosophy was to greatly brighten and enhance the main corridors of the centres, using skylights, while saving energy. By means of glazed roofing the design of the malls strived for an intimate character and subdued

[614] See Book 2.

[615] The mall in the Trump Tower opened in 1983. Citicorp Center in 1975, the mall of Crystal Pavilion in 1982 and the mall in 575 - Center of Fifth in 1985. Ermery Roth and Sons designed all these interior malls. Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed the mall in 875 Third Avenue in 1980. RTKL Associates Inc. designed The Mall of Manhattan between 1987 and 1989 in the old Art Deco Gimbel Brothers Department Store, which was designed by Burnham between 1908 and 1912, and by the American architects Richmond Harold Shreve (25 June 1877 – 11 September 1946) and William Frederick Lamb (21 November 1883 – 8 September 1952) in 1925. In 2009, a department store replaced the mall's basement levels.

[616] The Bull Ring Shopping Centre in Birmingham was developed by Laing and largely designed by James Arthur Roberts, called Jim, (born 29 April 1922) between 1960 and 1964. The mall was largely demolished to be redeveloped between 2000 and 2003, by Benoy, under direction of Graham Stanley Cartledge, Esq. (born 7 January 1947). Its name was styled Bullring. The British architect Barbara Joan Osmond (14 July 1922 – 13 March 2010) and husband designer the Dutch-born Paul Boissevain (born 19 December 1922) designed Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre in London between 1960 and 1965. This shopping centre, scheduled for redevelopment and redesign by SOM.

[617] The Galleria, in early stage known as Galleria Post Oak, was created by the American engineer and developer Gerald Douglas Hines (born 15 August 1925) and designed by the American architects Gyo Obata (born 28 February 1923), with Harwood Taylor (25 May 1927 – 16 December 1988). It opened in the late 1970, partially in 1971.

[618] See Book 4.

Figure 6.5.2.
Galleria Post Oak in Houston, 1971

atmosphere. (Redstone, 1973: 68) On the other hand, the malls might have been built more on an American arcade tradition to find ways to reunite retail with other public facilities, creating a mixed-use suburban town centre. It was built on the edge of the city's most affluent residential areas as a mall, set apart from the streets and easy accessible from a major freeway junction. Like Midtown Plaza it included offices and a hotel next to retail and like New York Rockefeller Center it introduced an ice skating rink open to the public at a normal fee. "Refreshment kiosks. French cuisine. It's not everyplace you can munch petit fours while waiting Peggy Flemming skate for charity", a writer of The Architectural Forum commended the 'supermall'.[619] (The Architectural Forum 1972 April: 30) The public strolling and shopping at the mall's balconies could overlook the ice rink. One could see joggers circling the oblong glass dome. The office building and hotel towered above. It was "the place to see and be seen" in a city, which to some had supplanted Los Angeles in current intellectual definitions of urbanity, correctly perceived and published as the freeway city, the mobile city, et cetera. It was "a meeting place, promenade and social center" in a new booming city. Envisioned in 1972 and ready in 1976, The Galleria was slated for an expansion, larger than the original. (Huxtable 1976, 15 February; The Victoria Advocate 1972, June 25) With more expansions to come,[620] the position of this suburban town centre mall grew stronger. Houston's Galleria was a most impressive specimen of suburbs, once dependent on the central city, now "metamorphosed into vast, glittering, independent 'outer cities' that rival and often surpass the traditional big-city downtowns as centers of economic power and vitality". (Stevens 1987, November 8) The effect of The Galleria was big. Since the indoor ice rink concept had proven successful, more centres had also tried the same format, like the Palm Desert Town Center and the University Town Center in Southern California.[621] The L.A. Times ironically stated that it was a common expression mumbled by haggard shoppers at malls nationwide: "This place is like an amusement park". But it was no longer just an expression. It was a fact. Roller coasters and ice rinks would keep shoppers amused. The new entertainment mall was born. At the time, nearly a dozen amusement malls were in the planning stages, including proposals from near Minneapolis, Miami, San Diego, and Denver. Optimistic

[619] It is slightly bigger: 25 x 55 metres compared to 18.5 x 40 metres. Peggy Gail Flemming (born 27 July 1948) is an American figure skater; World and Olympic Champion (1966 - 1968).

[620] The first expansion, known as Galleria II, was followed by Galleria III completed in 1986 and IV respectively in 2003.

[621] Palm Desert Town Center, renamed Westfield Palm Desert, was built in 1983 and the University Towne Center in La Jolla, now Westfield UTC, opened in 1977. Hahn had developed both.

American developers contended that up to a thousand amusement malls of various shapes and sizes could eventually spread coast to coast. Even Walt Disney Productions had studied the concept for years and still regards it as project worth pursuing.
Meanwhile, a monstrous amusement mall had opened in Canada. Here, the architect Maurice Sunderland designed the second outstanding mall system of its time.[622] Unlike some malls that have installed attractions as afterthoughts, the West Edmonton Mall planned its rides as cornerstones from day one. Developers said that future amusement malls would more closely link retailers to attractions so that a customer could, for example, step off a miniature Jungle Ride and step into a store selling popular safari clothing. Some developers insisted that these indoor entertainment meccas were best fit for frigid cities. But weather aside; it was a venture so big and risky that it kept most developers at a distance. (Horovitz 1985, October 13) The first phase of the West Edmonton Mall began in 1981 as a huge system incorporating three major department store anchors, as well as more than two-hundred retail stores and services. Like The Galleria, it soon grew to a system of entertainment malls. Unprecedently, the malls gave access to ten anchor stores, eight-hundred shops and more than hundred-and-ten restaurants, twenty-six movie theatres, a casino, a bungee jump and a rock climbing wall, a replica of Columbus' ship the Santa Maria and amazingly enough seven indoor amusement parks – all under one roof. So-called Fantasyland presented Deep Sea Adventure and Atlantic Bottled Dolphins to watch. It also delighted shoppers with exotic birds, fish and even tigers. Drop of Doom added a thirdteen-storey free fall ride, Mindbender, a triple-loop roller coaster, Carousel and Swing of the Century, classic merry-go-rounds. The Ice Palace introduced an official-sized rectangular hockey rink, which occasionally was used by the professional team of the Oilers. Annual celebrity golf tournaments were held at Pebble Beach Golf Course, a scaled-down version of the one of Carmel Bay, and miles away from the Pacific Ocean. Small children could enjoy among others Kenuppet Kastle, Kiddie Coaster, Kiddie Karavan, Sky Divers and Tatoo, a train ride trough the mountain tunnel. It all became pop. When people preferred to come back the next day, or the day thereafter, they could stay the night at the Fantasyland Hotel, where they were offered to book the Hollywood room, the Truck Stop room, the Roman room, the Coach room, the Polynesian room or one of the other themed rooms. The mall

[622] Maurice Sunderland (23 July 1926 – 20 August 2009) was a Canadian architect and painter born in Northern Ireland. WEM was opened in four phases; in 1981, 1983, 1985 and 1998.

Figure 6.5.3a.
Europe Boulevard at West Edmonton Mall, 2003

Figure 6.5.3b.
The Santa Maria at West Edmonton Mall, 2003

system was so big, that it apparently also needed three McDonald's. The different interior public spaces had not only a strong different appearance, but there lay-out and position differed strongly also. The design of most malls introduced tree-lined planting and broad green median strips, some introduce water basins, but most striking was its interior lake, in which was moored an exact replica of the Santa Maria, the ship of Columbus. In these malls, controlling the urban climate acquired a new meaning. The colourful designs of Europe Boulevard and Bourbon Street, both malls in the complex, could serve as an example. People could stroll first along the most exquisite boutiques and designers' shops at Europe Boulevard, designed with a magnificent glass dome and brand new Neolassicist facades, and when they were done, they could enjoy Cajun food and jazz in Bourbon Street with its pristine New Orleans townhouse facades and intricate iron balconies. It seemed that with the help of disciplines such as econometrics, landscaping and psychology, the perception would be controlled as well. Eventually replicating images of streets from Paris in France and the French Quarter of New Orleans, West Edmonton Mall was a shopping centre that combined "PT Barnum with a touch of Walt Disney",[623] as critical Canadian journalists said. (The Citizen 1983, November 9; and 1985, September 7)

Due to the success of the entertainment malls, others were planned in Australia and the United Kingdom. In designs such as the MetroCentre in England,[624] we see a similar introverted world as in the American counterparts. An enormous concrete construction hides a large number of shops, several movie theatres and leisure facilities and an indoor amusement park. By designing a complete introverted mall, without any connection to its urban context, the mall becomes a city within a city. One could wonder: Would we still need the outdoor world?

The support of public amusement had taken other forms. Merry-go-rounds, roller coasters, Ferris wheels, pirate ships and dodgem cars made the mall Disney space. The result was small almost self-governed mall systems within a larger network. The mall design

[623] A reference was made to the American showman, entertainer, and businessman Phineas Taylor Barnum (5 July 1810 – 7 April 1891), who was remembered for promoting celebrated hoaxes.

[624] MetroCentre is the brainchild of the British developer and businessman Sir John Hall (born 21 March 1933) from Carmeron Hall and Newcastle United. The malls were constructed between 1984 and 1987. In 2004 the New Red Mall designed by V&A Design was added to the system and between 2007 and 2009 parts were redeveloped.

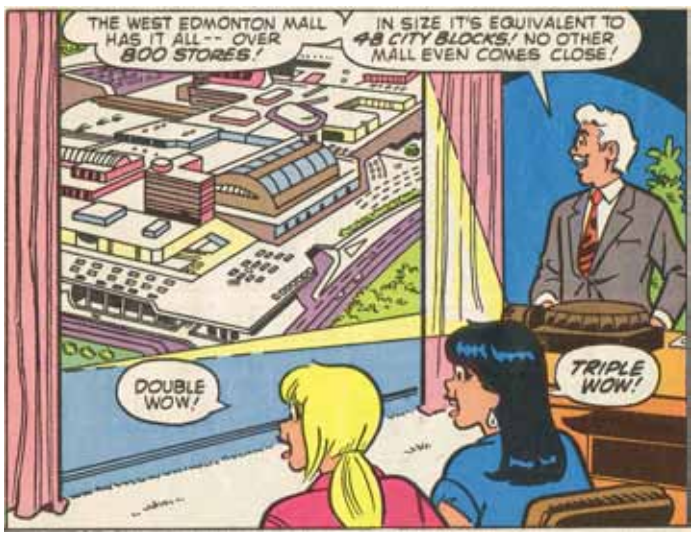


Figure 6.5.4.
West Edmonton Mall by Archie Giant Series Magazine, August 1991

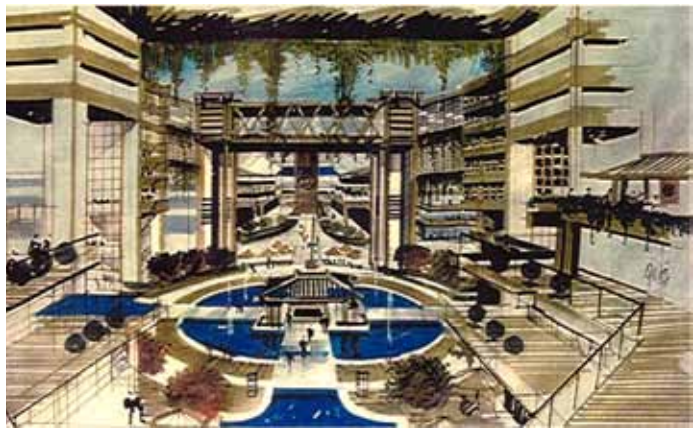


Figure 6.5.5.
Mall of America as envisioned by Maurice Sunderland, 1986

would be optimised: carefully landscaped and fully conditioned. At the same time, precisely that was also its weakness. In his prosaic book on The Malling of America, journalist William Kowinski took opposition.[625] The distance to the highway, the parking, the introverted nature made the mall into an independent world, 'pulled out of time and space'. Psychologically separated from the outside, people gathered in a special world with its own rules, a protected space. When there is no heat or cold, no seasonal changes, no gathering clouds, no traffic, no noise, no fume, people would not be distracted or feel threatened was the reasoning. The Late Modern design approach opened the way to rules prohibiting unexpected behaviour and allowing very little beyond the desirable. The mall had become a controlled space. Unity, preplanning, single and centralised management had become the instruments by which the environment was influenced. The control of the temperature, lightning, merchandise, and events got in the hand of the management companies. The mall was faced by the phantom menace of one powerful 'AT&T-Disney-IBM-Warner-Amex-Coca-Cola-Sears Company'. (Kowinski 1985: 60-61, 388)

In his book 'The Mall, An Attempted Escape from Everyday Life' also sociologist Jerry Jacobs also underlined the autonomous nature of the Late Modern mall.[626] However, his reasoning is somewhat different: He concluded that despite - or just because - of the amusement, the malls still were public space. Not only because of service facilities such as restrooms, libraries, post offices, state employment agencies, recruitments offices, TV stations, banks and supermarkets, but especially because of the activities organised to serve the public interest. He gave several examples. Shows, expos, acts and other performances were open to the public and were provided free of charge. Local hospitals supported by the American Heart Association initiated walks in the mall to improve strength and fitness. Early in the morning, the so-called 'mallwalkers' used the mall not for shopping, but for exercise. Other people gathered to do nothing or to join friends. Teenagers then would be exemplary. Nearly all suburban teens conformed a pattern of rarely going to the mall on weekdays and usually organising a jaunt there in the weekends. For all, the environment of protection had become the main motivation to come together in the mall, while the general acceptance of security, and thus control, was taken for granted as long as nothing unusual happened. (Jacobs 1984: 12-15, 97-101)

[625] William Severini Kowinski, called Bill, (born 30 June 1946) is an American writer and consultant on popular culture, media, and politics.

[626] Jerry Jacobs (data unknown) is an American sociologist.

Figure 6.5.6.
Mall of America as envisioned by Jon Jerde, 1992

In 1986, Sunderland also was responsible for the wining design in the competition for the Mall of America. It would be a third iconic giant in the evolution of the type. Its concept followed concepts of West Edmonton Mall, but this mall complex would be built at once. Remarkably, it was planned on a location only ten minutes away from Southdale Center. In 1992, after Sunderland developed the design further to the development permit drawings, Jon Jerde was assigned. (United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit 1993, 22 September; Sunderland 1988, 29 December) When Jerde took over supervision of the design, the project got more attention: "Architecturally, the new Mall of America is predictable", Progressive Architecture stated. Jerde had altered the design in his own stylistic way. Like Disneyland, the mall would be divided into 'several theme neighbourhoods', each with a distinctive architectural style and special attractions. It introduced four themed malls, which varied from a warm Californian atmosphere to shiny Manhattan style, yet all big and vertical. They encircled Knott's Camp Snoopy, a three-hectare four-story sky-lit central amusement park.[627] "With the American passion for big things, the spectacle of the Mall of America is not surprising, but where is the end of the road for overwhelming shopping complexes?", the magazine questioned. (Meidinger 1989, October; Wright 1992, October) This megamall could show that both Kowinski and Jacobs would be right. It would be a shop-till-you-drop playground or at least utopia for Valley girls. It was three times the size of the then largest mall system in the United States, the Del Amo Fashion Center. Surrounded by hundreds of shop windows, always somewhere a giant sales up to 70% off, it was shopaholic paradise. Yet, the intention was to offer people more. "You won't go to this mall just to buy a shirt", said the Bloomington's director of planning in the newspaper. "Coming here will be a two- or three-day event." Another roller coaster would roar through the middle of the mall and a creek babbled past flume rides. "The coming of the megamall follows three decades in which malls have transformed the way people shop and entertain themselves." A foreman of the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC), a trade association, added that despite decades-old warnings against wanton consumerism, malls were growing, not shrinking. Of course, some people in Bloomington would rather have seen a golf course or just about anything else

[627] The Mall of America was designed between 1986 and 1992 under assignment of the same developers as the WEM; the Ghermezian Organization from Canada. In 1998, 2004 and 2007, plans were announced to expand the complex. Knott's Camp Snoopy was later known as The Park at MOA and is now known as Nickelodeon Universe.

on the site of the new mall. They fear the traffic and the crowds of mall visitors, but a short-lived protest, urging people to 'Maul the Megamall' died of apathy. "I guess I'm pretty well resigned to the fact", said an organiser of the soon-defunct Dump the Megamall Committee. "Frankly, I'll go somewhere else before dealing with all those people." (Wilkerson 1989, June 9) Actually a mall system this big would attract up to hundred-thousand visitors daily, but not all persons would be interested merely in its shops or amusement. Quite a number of people simply enjoyed the enclosed space as it is. The more so as it could be cold outside. One noticeable group of people, for example, saw the mall as the perfect place to walk, not exactly like the old days or mainstream strolling-while-shopping, but to exercise for health reasons. The Mall Stars were such a group of mall walkers. One of them, advocating walking programs in any American indoor mall, explained: "I didn't see the mall as a fantastic shopping center in Bloomington, Minnesota. I saw Mall of America as a new, state-of-the-art walking track that I could use – for free. I started walking the Mall of America the minutes it opened". (The New York Times 1998, 8 February; Donovan and Legwold 2002: 8-9) Another prominent group, who apparently had little to do with the owner's initial intentions, was formed by teen-agers mainly doing nothing. Instead they had become what some Albany security guards started to call 'mall rats', taking seasonal residence in a mall. The first mall developers viewed the youthful visitors with suspicion. "After all, these kids didn't have any money, did they?" Planners and mall analysts showed that they were dead wrong. They were living on soda, ice cream and fast food and sometimes they did pump quarters into electronic games like Asteroid and Space Invaders. "So malls decided to encourage them to hang around, and fast-food restaurants, video arcades and movie theaters became standard mall fare". "The golden age of the mall rat was born," as Seventeen magazine had put it. Malls had become

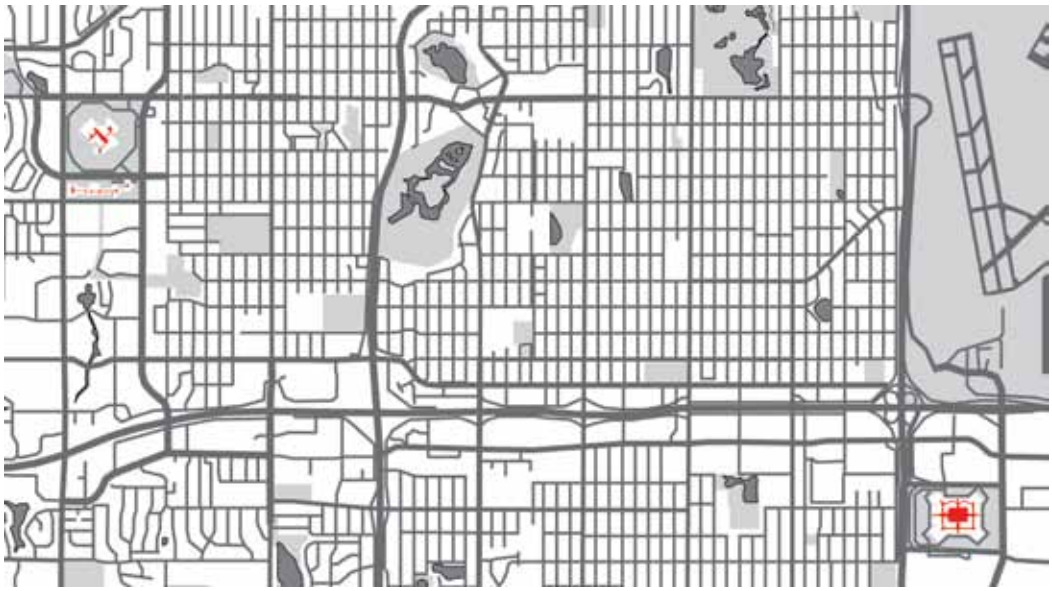


Figure 6.5.7.
Mall systems, including Southdale Center, Galleria and Mall of America

new teen hangouts. (Elkin 1981, 1 and 4 August; Farrington 1992, 27 November)

Having all those people together, big indoor malls could also become the domain of crime, drawing purse-snatchers or worse. That is what mall owners learned from Del Amo Fashion Center. In a single six-month period in the late eighties this mall was the domain of more than five-hundred thefts, another hundred-and-forty-one auto theft, eighty burglaries, seventeen assaults, ten robberies, and even two rapes. So measures had to be taken. (Stein 1987, 29 October) In the Mall of America, surveillance cameras, two-way communication systems and so-called mall-to-mall intelligence networks had all become standard tools to keep mall patrons safe. Mall security guards would work in a close relationship with the local police force, officials said, because as street crime could seep into the sanctuary of this huge enclosed mall, one would face issues that used to be the domain of big-city police. (Iverson 1992, 7 June)

All together, Mall of America introduced not only a large public but also many of the trappings of a traditional outdoor public place. A brochure described the mall as a city within a city. It even got a chapel. Well…, somewhere in a corner on floor three. Still, every year hundreds of people exchanged or renewed vows here anyway. Bloomington never had a downtown. For many people, the mall was largely the area where they would congregate. Mall owners had been forced to change their attitude about many groups, also protesters. In the end of the century, several requests to hold demonstrations at the mall had been approved annually, if protesters agreed beforehand to abide by the mall's rules and regulations. No boycott was to be urged and no store names were to be mentioned. (Kaszuba 1997, June 3 and 4) In the same line, by law, yet temporary, mall owners had been forced to accept that the megamall was public place, though private property, even for unwelcome guests. Immediate cause of this situation was an act of the Student Organization for Animal Rights[628] holding an unannounced public demonstration. Charges against some people for distributing leaflets at the Mall of America in 1996 and trespassing the mall resulted in a courtroom debate. The County District Court said that Minnesota citizens would have reasonable rights to free speech

[628] The Student Organization for Animal Rights, a small but zealous Minneapolis group of activists, was founded in 1993 and held public demonstrations from time to time. On 19 May 1996 they entered the MoA.

Figure 6.5.8a.
North Garden at Mall of America, 2006

and assembly at publicly supported malls and shopping centres. That, however, the mall should have the right to determine the appropriate time, place and manner of demonstrations and that the protesters had failed to request permission to set up their pickets. This opinion clashed with a 1972 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that malls are private property and that there is no citizen right to access for handing out literature. In the same case, the Court of Appeals referred to this decision, stating that the mall protesters were protected only if Minnesota's constitution extended a broader protection than the federal Bill of Rights. And in affirming the court of appeals, the state's Supreme Court refused to construe Minnesota's free speech provision. It stated: "Mere preference for a different outcome is not enough" to justify a broader construction of the state constitutional provision. (Hennepin County District Court 1997, 24 July; Minnesota Court of Appeals 1998, 7 April: 753, 756, and Supreme Court of the State of Minnesota 1999, 11 March: 799) The case was not unique. Other courts, including the highest one in among others New Jersey, Massachusetts and Oregon had reached similar results in free speech in mall cases. Since 2007, the appellate courts' approaches could be criticised, as the California Supreme Court, by a one-vote margin, held that a mall in San Diego violated the freedom of speech provision of the state constitution by barring labour union protestors from distributing leaflets at one of the mall's stores. (Supreme Court of the State of California 2007, 24 December) This case was decided in a state that has been the epicentre of shopping mall protests.[629] Was California-style free speech different?

The question whether the mall was ' really public' or not would dominate the debate more then ever. The debate was always connected to 'public activities' versus the 'interests of the anonymous real-estate entrepreneurs and the owner in charge'. Already at the time of the opening of Fox Hills Mall, the local newspaper started to emphasise the importance of the 'public interest' in this issue. At the time, shopping centres were booming. They were built at many locations. In the harsh battle of retail, malls win or lose. A critical journalist of the Los Angeles Times enlightened the status

[629] See Book 3.

Figure 6.5.8b.
East Broadway at Mall of America, 2006

Figure 6.5.8c.
The Park at MOA at Mall of America, 2006

quo. Private developers of indoor malls were competing with the traditional main street, taxpayers were afraid of subsidising their speculative shopping venture and nostalgiacs were afraid of losing the considerable charm of the street that coexisted with considerable blight. At the same time as a result of competition between shopping centres, malls became the heart of new kind of ghost towns. It resulted into large department stores at each end, with vacant planes of shops in between. The outcome was not desirable too. It all formed grounds for opposition. Anti-mall warriors chanted: "don't mall us!", "that mall make me sick" or "I don't like malls, I hate them". Although the opposition of grassroots movements grew, the interior mall stayed contemptuously. Was the developer to blame? In those days, perhaps not, because of course the battle of the retail was also a battle for people. Without people visiting a shopping mall, a mall would be senseless. It was like the journalist of Los Angeles Times concluded: people simply appear if they want. (Siedenbaum 1976, September 13, Kowinski 1985: 145, 155, 337)

Therefore, in the balance between public interest and the interests of the mall owner, also in this case the presence of people determined the public qualities of the indoor shopping mall too. If they really would not like a place where they were not allowed to protest, they would not come. If they could find a better place, they would go there and leave the other for what it is. Unquestionably, it is all related. Commercial developers would go with the flow by investing in atmosphere, attractions and public amenities to increase (or keep) catchment area. They needed people. As soon as one of the competitors had provided a safer and cleaner place, the other mall would offer a variety of new public services. As soon as competitors readjust and offering public services became the new standard, promotional other public - or civic - activities will appear in the next mall. The variety of strategies to achieve continuous commercial success all depended on 'indirect commodification' as Margaret Crawford stated. From commercial perspective, covered shopping malls had to have the continuous assignment to (re)value something, which previously had become valueless. Crawford linked these Late-Modern commodification strategies to Richard Sennet's discourse on the nineteenth century mystification, [630] introduced in the then popular department store, and that greatly impacted public life overall. An ordinary pot in a window display of a Moroccan harem transforms the pot into something exotic, mysterious and desirable. The introduction of such myth, status and attraction in public life then is similar to the entertainment introduced in the mall in the eighties, the more because eventually it had brought us to fantasy and amusement. (Crawford 1992: 14-17, Sennet 1974: 141-149) Somehow restraints to public billing and protest did not resulted in large groups of people turning their back to the mall. The ordinary mystic attraction of the mall won. Nevertheless, together with the reports on mall rats and security, trespassing cases and more serious crime in the public media underlined a presumption that in essence indoor shopping malls were carefully engineered to pull out your credit card only. Thus, to some in the end of the century, malls would turn into a type which almost idiosyncratically represented notorious negativism.

Figure 6.5.9.
Electronic Mall Madness; "The talking shopping Spree game", by Milton Bradley Company, 1990, and in the back West Edmonton Mall Game; "Own the eight wonder of the world" by Midas Marketing and Management Inc., 1986

[630] See Book 2.

Chapter 6
Malling, Remalling or Demalling

In the last phase of the typological evolution the concept of an indoor mall appeared to be in a state of agony. The indoor mall seemed contaminated. Every state or country knew once-leading enclosed malls struggling for their future. Of all examples especially the Floridian mall could contribute to the latest chapter of this epistle. Within an extremely suburban environment, the density of malls was high, and so urban and architectural designers here were among the first to choose to depart stylistic standards and common characteristics in lay-out to cope with competition. This transformation emerged during the resumption of the Florida Land Boom after the interruption of World War II. Population growth was now faster and bigger than before. More than California or any other U.S. state, this process shaped today's image of the state. As big cities stayed rare, in Florida suburbia *was* the city.[631] (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993, August 27; and 2003: 3, 644-661) The speed and scale of this post-war suburbanisation catalysed the planning and implementation of malls. Up to the 1929, local suburbanisation brought a new kind of arcade to serve as the commercial and civic centre of the new suburb, but in the post-war period, like elsewhere, Modern large-scale and interior malls had spread in anticipation of future home sales and population growth. They had been designed to create public space in the heart of the newly established residential areas. The South Florida Metropolitan Area was exemplary for the magnitude of this development. Here sprawl looked endless. It stretched from Homestead to Jupiter. Already in early stages, home designers had reached full revs while constructors had run up the engines. "Adding to the 1959 construction record also were a number of shopping centers, notably in the southern part of West Palm Beach and in Riviera Beach." Every week some 2,800 people migrate to the sunny peninsula. Development corporations were

[631] Between 1950 and 200, population in California grew with 220.0%, making it the most-populated state of the nation, while the population of Floridian increased 476.7%, making it the fourth state in the U.S. Yet still, whereas eight Californian cities were listed in the 'Top 50 Cities in the U.S. by Population and Rank' in 2000, only two cities in Florida were included. In California, Los Angeles is the 2nd biggest city of the nation, San Diego the 7th, San Jose 11th, San Francisco 13th, Long Beach 34th, Fresno 37th, Sacramento 40th, and Oakland the 41st. In Florida, Jacksonville is listed 14th and Miami 47th. (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993, 27 August; and 2003: 3, 644-661)

Figure 6.6.1.
The Garden's of the Palm Beaches, 1988

Figure 6.6.2.
Palm Beach Mall in West Palm Beach, 1968

operating on a massive scale, planning whole cities with shopping centres, churches, and recreational facilities. Similar to the Californian developments in the threshold of the sixties, interior malls were reviewed on a high note of promise for progress and prosperity, and, but especially in Florida the situation started to become critical. (Fortune 1960, January; The Palm Beach Post-Times 1960, 3 January) In the end of the eighties this was not very different. Shopping centre developers and retailers had been scrambling "to get a piece of the pie in lucrative markets" before the best locations were "snapped up by the competition". In this process big malls were beginning to compete in each other's back yards. When for example The Garden's of the Palm Beaches opened its doors in 1988 as the first two-level mall in the region, stores closed at smaller malls and reopened at this brand new one. It was a luxurious shopping centre designed to entice the sophisticated consumer, and as such it seemed to win competition with the nine shopping malls in the near surrounding. The Shops at Palm Coast was one of its first victims. Built in the late fifties, this so-called strip mall started to fail already in the mid seventies and the public stayed away at large in the next decades. Consequently, in its struggle to survive, it was quickly renovated. Also the enclosed Twin City Mall in North Palm Beach started to loose the attention of the public, especially when it lost its anchor store. In fact, most surrounding malls fought for their future appeal after having the new regional mall in their vicinity. It was a nation-wide problem. Big uniform Modern white shoeboxes had to compete with a variety of bigger, newer and shinier malls close-by. Thus in an attempt to survive a common answer was to redesign older malls to cast of the uniform image. Representing a coast to coast wave of 'remalling', locally there had been renovations and expansions at Palm Beach Mall in West Palm Beach, Delray Beach Mall in Delray Beach, and Oakbrook Square in Palm Beach Gardens.[632] (Williams 1989, 29 January) High Modern shopping malls, which were the perfection of form and function by interconnecting commercial buildings with parking areas and enabling the public to walk from shop to shop as easy and comfortable as possible, were now defeated. The public started to search for alternatives, because all of them looked the same, presented the same big name labels and the same parking

[632] The strip mall of The Shops at Palm Coast, to be known as Palm Coast Plaza, was built in 1959 in West Palm Beach. It was the first shopping plaza in Palm Beach County. Probably designed by the American architect Frank Robert Mudano (30 December 1928 - 29 July 2007). There had been an arcade to a supermarket meeting the main strip at a perpendicular angle. Several times buildings along the mall changed, the mall itself finally was included in renovation in 1989. Palm Beach Mall in West Palm Beach opened in 1968. It was the first fully-enclosed, climate-controlled mall in the county. The Delray Beach Mall in Delray Beach opened in 1975. The American corporation of Edward John DeBartolo, Sr. (17 May 1909 – 19 December 1994) designed and developed both malls. Palm Beach Mall was renovated in 1986 and closed in the early 2010. Delray Beach Mall was expanded and renovated between 1987 and 1988 by a joint venture of S.R. Weiner Associates and Wilder-Manley and in 1996, David Alan Friedman (born 7 May 1962) from Lefmark Florida Inc. announced plans to redevelop the mall as an outdoor mall. Twin City Mall in North Palm Beach was the county's second enclosed shopping mall. It was planned and designed in 1962 but opened in 1970 probably by the American architect Herbert Howard Johnson (24 June 1913 – 9 Augustus 2003). It was demolished 1996-1997 and replaced by a strip mall called Northlake Shoppes in 1999. The mall of Oakbrook Square in Palm Beach Gardens was designed by the American architects Franz Joseph Shropa (born 21 January 1942) and Donald Takeshi Yoshino (born 8 November 1942), and opened in 1976. In 2008, this shopping centre was far past recovery to be remodelled.

hassle. (e.g. Meyers 1987, December 8) The Gardens was one of the first designed to be different. The architect Jim Ryan[633] "sought to create not just a place, but an experience". A new generation of malls had reached Florida. Cascading fountains, palm trees and display of permanent works of art would be the perfect setting for specialty stores, services and restaurants. It would be a setting "where human scale blends gracefully with architectural triumph... a place where the spirit soars beyond the unexpected". (Haysmer and Hinsdale 1992) Also from another perspective, its design could be seen in line with contemporaries. The centre's Late Modern interpretation of art deco went along with a marriage between past principles and new retail concepts. 'Less' was replaced by 'more': A signature of the style of the project was the purple flowering Bougainville over a pergola at each major entrance. It was supported by pale peach coloured columns, topped by the steel lanterns primed sea foam bleu, and matching the walls and fences. The entry pavilions were finished in polished limestone, with skylights crowning each pavilion, and they were flanked by forty-year-old giant Canary Island palms. In difference to the most recent examples, the design of the exterior seemed important again. Even the grey field was greened. Some 3,600 palm trees in between the parking lots had been planted. Inside, a spectacular bleu rotunda skylight introduced day and night to the interior. Pink and white marble floors, sculptures and all what has been described in the introduction of this book introduced luxury. Additionally, an unlimited variation of tenant store fronts was new elements in the appearance of the mall common areas. (Rathbun 1990: 116-119) This specific case could illustrate a general change in the design of shopping centres. The mall designers aimed to give the public a place to experience in great detail, while they adapted local or regional influences. But in its re-found focus on the exterior, the mall remained a forerunner. The Late Modern approach, focusing on local styles and specific context, did effect the renovations of malls first. Foremost an up-grade of the interior only seemed needed, because a study of shopper reactions to mall renovations by the International Council of Shopping Centers indicated that the people rated interior improvements simply more highly than exterior improvements. This wasn't unexpected because people spent most of their time at the mall. So, in this stage, the redesign of malls exterior was not included. To keep up with fashion, the Urban Land Institute published an official handbook on remalling. Though stylistically it presented new designs, in essence, design principles as defined by Gruen and Smith still applied. Only the interpretation and implementation had changed. Interior malls had to be exiting and stimulating, full of variety and interest, keeping attracting people. Malls should surround the shopper with pleasurable experiences, and if in time the public's interest changed, mall owners should anticipate. Asking the public to rank various renovation efforts, the ICSC study found that the public ranked lighting improvements the highest, followed by those on food courts, centre courts, interior landscaping, and the general layout. The lowest-rated improvements were parking spaces, parking lot lighting, directories, mall security, exterior landscape, and general exterior, in that order that last seemed least important. These preferences were put forward as leading principles in remalling other spaces. (ICSC 1992, March, Schwanke, Lasser and Beyard

[633] The American architect James Patrick Ryan, called Jim (born 7 July 1935) designed The Garden's of the Palm Beaches between 1987 and 1988. Though his firm JPRA Architects underlined to me that it must be noted that this project, and its subsequent renovation in 2005, was the result of an entire firm, not just one individual.

1994: 31-59) Meanwhile, the shopping centre council awarded the Gardens Mall as one of their new show cases.[634]

In an explorative article in The Palm Beach Post, the competitive process was questioned. Should it always be bigger and newer? Should the shopping mall be present anyway? Five days after the opening of the Mall of America, the newspaper presented two views on the "the mauling, er, malling of America". Negativism took the public stand in Florida too. "Malls are utopias," said writer and pop culturist Karal Ann Marling.[635] In her view, they were winning no design prizes "from the guardians of high culture" as their architecture was "often less interesting than that of the average K mart". Only the insides counted. It should be clean, safe and cool in the summer, and warm in the winter. To her in a sense, these malls resembled Disneyland's 'Main Street U.S.A.'. because they both supplied "what the tract developers had left out of their instant neighborhoods: a pedestrian experience, a physical center, a locus for communal activity, and a strong, articulated sense of place within a maze of all but identical ranch houses". In her vision, the small town would be the mythic ideal and thus malls were perfect, "better than cities" and a sybarite of suburbia. Margaret Crawford opposed at the time that malls were a theme park: To her the mall had become America itself. The nation might even be "reaching a saturation point", wherein malls had become ubiquitous, offering not only shopping, dining and entertainment opportunities, but furnishing many people with their only experience of public space and collective life. Crawford put forward that over the past years, Americans spent more time in shopping malls than in any place other than home and work. (The Palm Beach Post 1992, August 16) Both visions could underline contradicting approaches towards interior public space. For some the Late Modern mall was an imitation of urbanity, even being a copy of a non-existent original, and for others the mall was reorganised as interior and part of everyday life. Within the approach needed for this research, as displayed in Book 3, generally I would favour the latter.[636] However, in the case of the mall, the first view did not come out of thin air. It could be showcased by the amusement facilities present in many mall systems through time or, in its slip stream, by the broaching of themes in many other cases. Floridian malls were no exception, a bit different at the most.

The presumed so-called disneyfication of the mall might be present in Florida. On its turn the Walt Disney Corporation had studied the concept of the mall for years and as Disney World was located in the State, possibilities had expanded into the field of specialty boutiques at the mall. Soon indeed, a Disney Store[637] was opened in The Gardens Mall, and several others would be spread around Florida. The animated scenery of 'Mickey's Toy Shoppe' added more amusement to the mall, and commerce of course, making a Floridian disneyesque atmosphere of the shopping mall complete. And: Yes! Even Mickey and Minnie Mouse visited The Gardens 'in person'. (Rathbun 1986: 127-129, Vaughan 1987, March 3; Cooney 1988, November 23; Cohen 1992, July 31) Still, as the later ought not to be the argument in this research to relegate malls to a utopian realm, and by leaving phenomenology again for what it is, perhaps more stunning was the themed interior of a mall in Orlando, which had opened two years before The Gardens. The Florida

[634] The 1989 ISCS Shopping Center Design Award winner.

[635] For a certain period of time, the American cultural researcher and academic Karal Ann Marling (born 5 November 1943) was a cultural affairs commentator for Minnesota Public Radio.

[636] See Book 3.

[637] The first Disney Store opened in the Glendale Galleria in 1987.

Mall gave access to hundred-and-seventy shops, six department stores and an adjoined hotel, which were all individually designed in an eclectic mixture of Mediterranean, Victorian and Art Deco architecture. Although this space was covered with one glass shed, it was designed as if it would be the famous Main Street in nearby Disney World. Like the nearby imagineers, mall designers applied distinctive iconic stylistic aspects, including a wide variation of fake roofs, intentionally to complete the décor.[638] The case illustrates that indeed enclosure by walls could reinforce the idea of a separate world. It might provoke imagination by design style and above all it might recall fantasylands, fictional places, or even utopian spaces, especially having a Mickey or a Snoopy around. Nevertheless, malls do have entrances and every minute people do come in and out. So, even as themed space being part of the systematic planning of crystallisation points, still, it gave twentieth century suburbia a meeting pace and as such malls continued to be part of daily life. As concluded before, while judges, prosecutors and counsels followed these transformations in the city, searching a balance in the freedom of speech and the public interest, the mall turned out to be an urban space of city-wide interest. In that way an interior shopping mall could resemble its ancestral pall-mall track, yet its public meaning transformed highly since the time of this original. What once upon a time could be used by court members only, in the nineteenth century was designed for civic public purposes to become thereupon *the* gathering places for the suburbian. Underlining Crawford's argument, as such the mall was in the minds of many people. We could see clear proof of this not only when interior malls were opened, when the public reacted enthusiastically, but more so when malls were run down and threatened. Then people oppose insisting owners to invest in remalling. The protests made manifest that their mall should seen as an appreciated place to gather. Yet although redesign was launched from time to time, unfortunate in their mission, designers not always got there. Especially in the 1990s, as renovations and expansion continued apace amid a slowdown in new design and construction, more and more malls were found dead. The Modern mall felt victim to speculation of developers and shifts in the public demands. For the first time since the shopping mall concept was created nearly forty years ago, the market's needs would dictate the pace of the retail development. (ICSC 1990, August) Fewer malls were built, a trend which again was clearly visible in suburbanised Florida. The public media revealed talks about 'a hit list of store closures', and in some cases, after years of foreclosure and bankruptcy hearings, the future of whole shopping malls seemed at risk. Punchy, dramatic headlines could illustrate the state of affairs: In the same county as The Gardens, the saga of for example the Cross County Mall[639] was burdened with the question: "Can this Mall be saved?" No, it was replaced. Also the Palm Beach Mall was faced with public doubts if it would survive. Again, eventually it did not. Another case nearby, another headline and in time passing more final judgements: "Beginning of the End of The Twin City Mall". (Smith 1990, 17 January and 1991, 22 April; Chua 1996, 21 April; and Mckenney 1995, 9 December) On the internet people from everywhere started to share good memories on once thriving now declining malls. The public reaction on the recent closure of the Palm Beach Mall is illustrative. Accompanied by a feeling of nostalgia and sadness, memory lane was opened. Despite

[638] Edward DeBartolo also designed and developed The Florida Mall in Orlando. It opened in 1986, and since 1993 there have been several changes to the complex. Main Street U.S.A. in Walt Disney World is located only half-an-hour drive to the east. It was designed between 1969 and 1971 by a team of architects and layout stylists for the Disney Corporation (Marling 1997: 94, 100-102).

[639] The Cross County Mall in West Palm Beach had been an addition to an existing department store, which was planned in 1977 and constructed between 1978 and 1979. The construction were torn down in 1998 and the firm of the American developer Michael Jay Swerdlow (born 14 March 1945) replaced it with an outdoor mall with a strip building with lots of restaurants and stores.

the fact that also this mall was opened with the words "come in and spend your money" (Gordon 1967, October 27), for many it was public space beyond mere shopping. If today one would pick at random from the various reactions on a blog one would discover that in fact it had been a child's playground, a teen's turf, and a spot to have a gourmet lunch with your auntie. For some it was a place to find their partner or to meet the U.S. President once in their life.

> "My most outstanding memory is of getting dressed up on a Saturday night to go window shopping with the parents." (Kathleen 2009, December 10) "I once saw President Gerald Ford there in 1975, He came from P B I A and then too the mall and gave a speech. I remember how full of life the mall used to be and what fun I had there as a child." (Scott 2009, December 12) "That was Palm Beach's R E A L first shopping center" (Graham 2009, December 12) "We called it the 'Monkey Mall' because it had a chimpanzee at the pet shop" (Staceyflnative 2009, December 12) "Threw coins in the fountain and made tons of wishes - some of which came true, others not." (Calliope 2009, December 12) "I really miss the mall especially when the mall had the tropical look and little bridge i would cross and play on. I really wish it could open up again with that scenary." (Mrs.Burgess 2009, December 15) "I met my husband while I was working at Jordan Marsh on January 11th, 1968. He asked me to marry him 20 days later, on January 31st. We have now been together 42 years next month! So The Palm Beach Mall has great memories for us!" (Janet 2009, December 17) "I would say that I basically grew up in that mall. From the mid 80's to 2000 I would go to that mall almost every weekend with either my mom, friends or on dates." (Juan 2010, 20 January)[640]

By searching the web one could find similar personal recollections for any dead or dying mall in the discussed Gold Coast region of Florida, or in the prestigious Palm Beach County specifically, and that would count for many of those malls in the state, no matter if they're in Miami or Fort Lauderdale the Metro Orlando, the Greater Tampa Bay Area or the Metropolitan Area of Jacksonville. Apparently, the meaning and significance of the mall for people would come to the surface as soon as a mall started to vanish or had a high vacancy rate, an area or entire mall sealed from public, a space shuttered or slated for demolition or when already redevelopment had begun or had been completed. In a wider context, the iconic website Deadmalls.com and the later blogs of Sickmalls.wordpress.com, Bigmallrat.blogspot.com, and some others could be a representative.[641] Since 2000, they compiled information on these dated or deteriorating malls, no matter if located in Florida, California, New York, Minnesota or elsewhere, and many individuals remember their good old days. Nation-wide, these comments could show that even 'shopping' malls had been part of everyday lives, and if a mall died, the public lost a space to gather.

The emergence of dead malls introduced a next step in the evolution of the mall type, which could be demarcated by redevelopment plans made for the 'haunted' Boca Raton Mall, a 'ghost town' shopping centre, as it was called.[642] The mall was a typical victim of the '*overcommecialisation*' of the area. In this case, the grand extension of "an elegant shopping mall just west of Boca Raton" was the culprit,[643] or at least the Palm Beach County Commission might be so, as they had served as Zoning Board giving green light to the

[640] Quotations all found on historicpalmbeach.com, a website owned by The Palm Beach Post and providing anyone to give personal commentary on the history of Palm Beach.

[641] Deadmalls.com started in 2000. The website was the brainchild of the American amateur bloggers and students of malls Peter Blackbird, called Pete, (born 7 March 1980) and Brian Florence (born 18 March 1977). Jack Thomas (born 18 October 1988) shared the avocation of his fellow-villagers in the first year. Together since, they visited countless dying malls from suburban New York throughout the United States. In 2005, when interactive websites became increasingly mainstream, several other hobbyists followed: The American blogger Anita Rose (born 20 June 1983), who had joined Deadmalls.com as one of the prominent commentators via the new and associated Deadmalls.blogspot.com, started Sickmalls.wordpress.com in that year. The American blogger Scott M. Parsons (born 9 September 1969) created Bigmallrat.blogspot.com, linked to Bigmallrat.com, more focussed on California. Many others, promoting mall history and illuminating declining ones, followed since.

[642] The Boca Raton Mall was announced 1969, it was designed between 1972 and 1974 by Lee Turner von Stein (4 November 1931 – 26 November 2009), and it closed in 1989.

[643] Town Center at Boca Raton was opened in 1980 by design of RTKL Associates and this firm expanded the mall six years later among others to include three new anchor stores.

Figure 6.6.3.
Mashpee Commons by Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, 2002

extension plans despite the domination of criticism on the effects. While the threat of demolition hanged over its head, the public hoped that those in charge would let the mall continue in its efforts to serve the community. This time, mall owners chose neither a complete demolition nor a stylistic upgrade by renovation but a combination of both. It became a unique and new approach. The dying complex was partially demolished and partially renovated. The mall itself was uncovered, a few big boxes were remained, *and* a new urban fabric would bring setting to the mall. In 1987, Richard Heapes created the conceptual plan for the transformation of the indoor Boca Mall. He redesigned the mall as a central open-air green mall, the kernel of a town centre called Mizner Park.[644] The addition of a movie theatre, concert hall, hotel and apartments along the mall had been crucial in transforming the shopping centre into a town centre. The Mediterranean-style fountains, benches and open spaces needed to reanimate its function as gathering place. (Blankenship 1984, 27 January, Schwerdt and Durkin 1986, October 20, Kaplan 1988, June 4 and 8)

The resuscitation of this dead mall should be seen in the scope of two trends. On the one hand of a new generation of town centres developed. Public space in these would be mainly outdoor space again. The plan introduced traditional streets, squares, avenues and sometimes an outdoor mall. Designed between 1983 and 1985, Miami Lakes Town Center could be considered as a local herald of this new Late Modern wave.[645] Besides specialty retail and entertainment, like a movie theatre and a health club, the centre incorporated residential uses and again offices and a hotel, set in a 'main street' design theme. On the other hand, in this study, foremost Mizner Park should be seen in the scope of the new way of shopping mall renovation. It was closely related to the redesign of New Seabury Shopping Center in Massachusetts, which was remalled back in 1985. Randall Imai divided the complex into a series of smaller buildings, cutting the indoor mall in two. Three years later, in a way following the Boca case, the Miami-based designers Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk converted the mall into a new midst of a town centre called Mashpee Commons.[646] The term 'mall' was avoided as it was usually applied to enclosed retail structures and this did not match the twofold strategy of the designers. They would like "to develop traditional streets as the primary structure of the town, along which all the buildings would occur, complete with sidewalks and cars, and to organize those streets into block patterns which would govern future development and connections to adjoining neighborhoods". The mall was reborn anew to live as Central Square, striving "for a multiplicity of uses beyond retail (which characterizes the mall) to include civic, residential, educational, healthcare, recreational, and workplace uses which not only support each other and promote walkability, but also allows the larger community and region to engage with the place in ways beyond mere shopping".[647] The large scale de-enclosure of the Boca Raton Mall, destined as park, stood in the same line. According to a recent handbook of the Urban Land Institute, Mitzer Park even "would come to represent the antithesis of the enclosed mall it replaced". (Bohl 2002: 158-161, 164-168, 174-179)

Florida became one of the main stages where owners and designers

644 This plan was named after the local American architect Addison Cairns Mizner (12 December 1872 – 5 February 1933), whose signature style was Mediterranean Revival style. The American architect and visual designer Richard Elliott Heapes (born 10 October 1955), principal of Cooper Carry, designed the 1987 Mizner Park scheme. The American architects David Wesley Kitchens (born 15 February 1953) and Kevin Rilous Cantley (born 1 May 1953), principles at the same firm, supervised the project until the redesigned mall, dubbed Plaza Real, opened in 1990.

645 The American Architect Donald Sackman, called Don, (born 7 January 1944) designed Main Street between 1983 and 1985 as part of Maimi Lakes Town Center developed by The Graham Companies.

646 In 1968, the American developer Arnold Buffum Chace Sr. (11 July 1914 – 12 February 1988) created the New Seabury Shopping Center. In 1985, when his father became ill, Arnold Buffum Chace Jr., called Buff, (born 20 October 1947) took over business and initiated the redevelopment of the mall. At first, the American architect Randall Masato Imai (born March 8, 1948) redesigned the complex between 1985 and 1986. Then in 1988, Chace hired the Floridian architects and urban designer Andrés Duany (born 7 September 1949) and his colleague and wife Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (born 20 December 1950) to design a new master plan for Mashpee Commons. Imai continued to be the primary architect.

647 In March 2010, I interviewed Randall Imai and asked him to explain his design strategy.

collaborated in their ambition to develop traditional urban patterns for the suburban centres. In their attempt to create a sustainable place beyond mere shopping often the indoor mall and interior public space in any shape was avoided. For this group of professionals, the concept of complete 'demalling' had become a new mantra and an increase of de-interiorised malls followed. This trend was closely related to what would be the movement of New Urbanism, which became organised in 1993. Duany and Plater-Zyberk were two of the founding members of the so-called Congress for the New Urbanism.[648] While generally promoting walkable neighbourhoods and mixed-use development, the congress officially began studying the reuse of dying malls since 1998. Members jointed among others in their aversion for malls and they aspired to replace them with 'traditional urban design'. It was seen as a logic outcome of their charter in which they advocated "safe environments, but not at the expense of accessibility and openness". Outdoor public space should be the standard. Of course, Mitzer Park and Mashpee Commons were seen as excellent examples. Their research was expanded to vulnerable centres, which could become greyfields. As such they called dead malls also '*greyfield malls*', (Congress for the New Urbanism 1999: 63, 129, 138, 179 and 2005: 6, 8-18, Congress for the New Urbanism, PricewaterhouseCoopers and Sobel 2001,

[648] The first the Congress for the New Urbanism was held from 8 to 11 October 1993 in Alexandria, Virginia. Since CNU I, the congress is held annually somewhere in the United States. The First Australian and New Zealand Congress was held from 26 to 29 April 2001 in Melbourne. It launched Australian Council for New Urbanism, which is gathering since. The first Euro-American New Urban Council was held in Bruges in Belgium. On the closing session on 6 April 2003, the group concluded to create the Council for European Urbanism. The CEU held their launch conference in Stockholm on 6 November 2003, accompanied by the 'Good Mixed Use for the 21st Century conference', held from 4 to 6 November. The familiar Council for Canadian Urbanism had its first formal event in Toronto, on 3 and 4 October 2009.

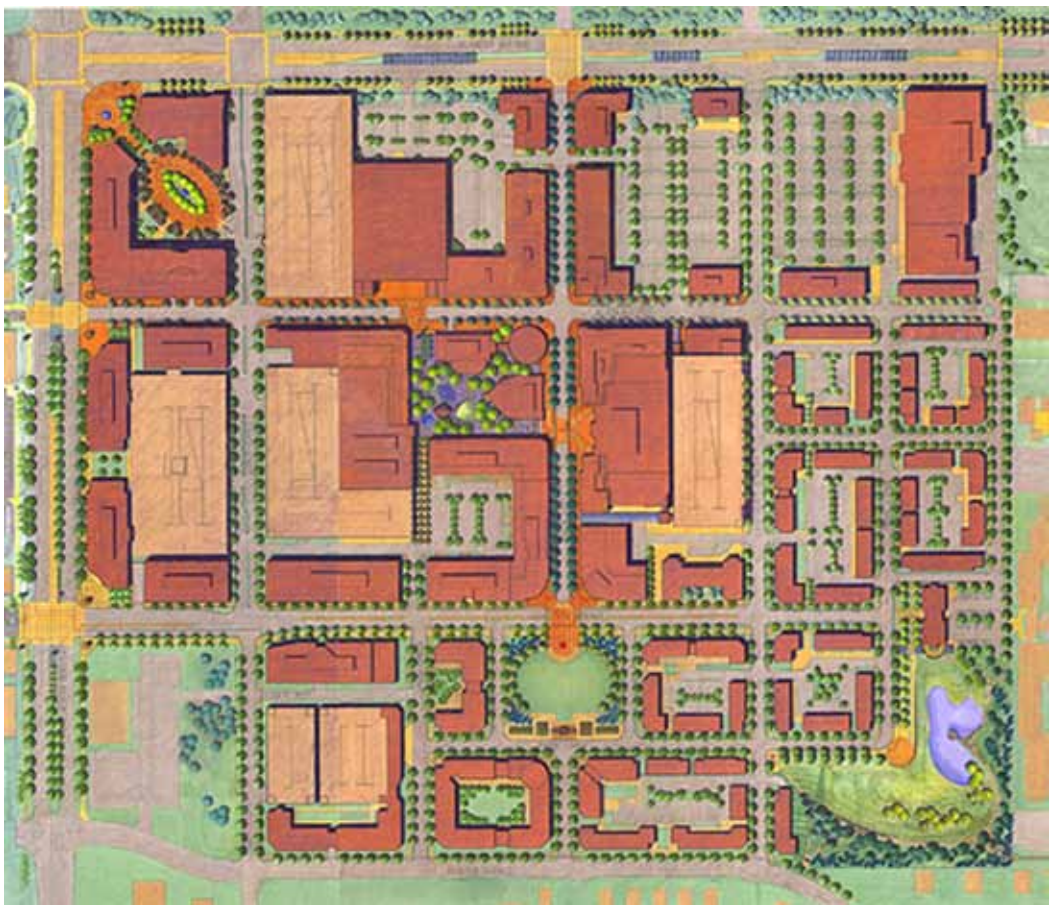


Figure 6.6.4.
Belmar plan in Lakewood by Howard Elkus and David Manfredi, 2002

June, Sobel and Bodzinn 2002, June) With this attention, the concept of demalling got a wider reach.

A first imitation of the concept could be found close-by, in the Sunshine State of Mitzer Park. Victor Dover and Joe Kohl proposed similar transformations in their redesign for Winter Park Mall in suburban Orlando. By introducing the concept of demalling, they would turn the mall into Winter Park Village.[649] Not much later, Dover and Kohl crossed borders with their proposal for Eastgate Mall in Chattanooga, Tennessee, while their Californian colleague Peter Calthorpe had proposed a demalling of Crossings in Mountain View. Likewise, Howard Elkus and David Manfredi transformed Villa Italia Mall into Belmar in suburban Lakewood, in the Denver area.[650] They all were associated to the New Urbanism. As the movement gained more influence, internationally even,[651] owners of malfunctioning shopping centre choose to follow their best practices. Mixed-use town centres were put forward as the answer for new urban retail development and 'retrofitting malls' and 'fixing big boxes on main streets' believed to be essential for the existing shopping areas. (Steuteville, Langdon, et al 2003: 5.13-5.17) Also outside the circle of this specific school, a fairly broad group of urban designers, governmental institutions and civic groups adapted these thoughts. The National Endowment for the Arts and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, two independent governmental agencies, joined forces to bring together academic leaders and designers to examine the current redressing, reassembling and redevelopment of the mall. In the slipstream of the public attention, also institutes like the Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design dived into the matter. It held a competition devoted to dead malls. Architecturally, the result was divers, but most winners aimed to connect dispositional malls to their surroundings, for example by physical connections, down-scaling, or using an intermediary, by bringing in civic, federal, religious, political institutions, or by a hybrid combination of these socio-spatial strategies. All was in line with the proposals of the New Urbanists, only their characteristic traditional freehand drawings and ditto computer animated impressions were replaced by photomontages creating trendy compositing illusions for the future. (Smiley and Robbins (eds) 2002, Techentin 2004)

Also, the public media reported on the new wave of demalled shopping centres, mainly thanks to the Congress for the New Urbanism. "The mall represents a point in time in the evolution of retailing," as The New York Times quoted developer Will Fleissig. Fleissig was another member of the congress and involved in the Belmar redevelopment in Lakewood.[652] His message to the readers was clear: ''Now we're reaching the end of that era and entering something new." The Miami Herald gave a platform to the new approach to mall conversions in a more nuanced way. It might not be "the right solution everywhere", as they quoted one of the studies on book on of the New Urbanists; but in certain communities wanting "to achieve an identity" and might not have one, demalling could make that happen and serve as "a catalyst for redevelopment". The Los Angeles Times caught the trend in a similar refined way. In their article, they underlined that enclosed malls were "not on the verge of vanishing", still having "higher sales per square foot than their outdoor counterparts", but by reviewing developments from 2001 to 2003, they showed that more than

[649] The American architect and planner Kenneth Curtis Welch (14 July 1891 – 7 April 1973) did a first analysis for Winter Park Center in 1961. Then in the years after, the American architects Henry Johnston Toombs (3 January 1896 –16 June 1967), Joseph Amisano (10 January 1917 – 12 April 2008) and James Edwin Wells (23 September 1908 – 17 February 1987) were responsible for its design. It opened in 1964 and five years later, a fire caused severe damage to the mall. In 1973, the local American architect Mark Schweizer, Jr. (23 Aug 1932 – 27 Feb 1997) remodeled the mall, then redubbed Winter Park Mall. The American architects and urban designers and planners Victor Brandon Dover (born 17 October 1962) and Joseph Andrew Kohl, called Joe, (born 13 October 1961) transformed the mall and created the master plan for Winter Park Village in 1997. Redevelopment began in 2000.

[650] In 1998, Dover and Kohl redesigned Eastgate Mall in Chattanooga, Tennessee, too. Redevelopment began in 1999. Also this mall was designed originally by Toombs, Amisano and Wells, in 1962. The English-born American architect and urban planner Peter Anthony Calthorpe (25 June 1949) designed Crossings in Mountain View, California, in 1995. Llocated near a new commuter station to San Francisco, redevelopment began in 1999. It would replace the dead Old Mill Mall, which had been opened as Old Mill Specialty Center as an L. B. Nelson Corp. development in 1975. The American architect Edwin Masanobu Kado, Jr. (born 14 June 1934) designed the interior mall. The American artist and former fireman Julian Calvin George (17 February 1921 – 16 January 2011) designed its remarkable long central waterscape and faux rocks, and Jones & Peterson of Anaheim did the rest of the landscaping. In 1988, an attempt to redesign the mall as a European-style public market failed and the mall stayed closed since. Gryo's World of Terror created a one time Halloween event in the abandoned mall in 1990. The adjacent outdoor mall of San Antonio Center was designed in 1957 and had underwent expansion when the other mall was about to open. Most of it is demolished in 1995 too. The American architects and urban designers Howard Felix Elkus (born 12 Apr 1938) and David Peter Manfredi (born 9 Augustus 1951) created the master plan for Belmar in Lakewood, Colorado between 2001 and 2002. The local American developer Gerri Von Frellick (21 May 1916 – 4 January 1993) created Villa Italia Mall between 1965 and 1966. Previously, the mal had been expanded between 1984 and 1985.

[651] Today in 2010, the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) has over 3,100 members in 20 countries and 49 states. Since 2003, the framework of their Charter is also used by The Council for European Urbanism (CEU), promoting new traditional urbanism in Europe.

[652] William Kohn Fleissig, called Will (born 16 March 1951) was co-founder and director for planning and design with Continuum Partners LLC, the developer responsible for Belmar.

thirty shopping centres, most of them enclosed, ceased functioning as malls, and many had been replaced by outdoor developments. (Libby 2003, 15 June; Viglucci 2003, 24 November; Tamaki 2004, 3 June)

In a competitive environment such as the cases in Florida, often remalling had worked only for a few years, because often it would introduce a fashion up-date in design style, channelling the race differently. In the case of Mizner Park, a fundamentally different approach was presented. In its redesign, the mall shook off its mono-functionalistic image, as 'mall' had by then become a pejorative term associated with the most brutal way to cover retail. It was associated with small shops under a shed, cheap commercial complexes, and the baldest big boxes. By recombining a variety of uses and by urbanising the area, the fixation on retail was replaced by a wider outlook. At the same token, malls with less retail could become public spaces for the local community again rather than to serve the large region. A recent book on 'retrofitting suburbia' stressed that although these kind of redevelopment plans all concern urban design solutions for dead and dying malls, they introduced public space in many forms. The outcome of demalling varied. Some projects incorporated publicly-owned outdoor public space, such as Mitzer Park, whereas others still include privately-owned spaces. Concerning the whole plan and the specific context, their design might differ also in facilitating public use. The book praised the "amazing variety of public spaces and activities" in Belmar, and seemed critical towards examples which had been more "aggressively programmed with activities in partnership with local community groups". They also remarked that a few demalled projects, like Winter Park Village, seemed to fall short of the mark, despite their promising plans. (Dunham-Jones and Williamson 2008: 108-139 and 2011: 112-139)

All together, these suburban town centre developments and new village malls had an interesting side effect. As traditional urban patterns appeared in suburbia, the desire of the general public for the old downtown had grown stronger. On the one hand, in the inner city one did not have to create 'traditional' urban patterns, because they already existed, while on the other hand the old centres had lost their focal point for retail shopping and their social hub for residents. In a Jacobsian way, public governments in Florida feared for downtowns, that were left untended, and had become blighted areas that can drag the rest of a city down with it. The successful creation of Mizner Park, combined with the endeavours of the Congress of New Urbanism, several attempts were made to bring neighbouring downtowns back to live. In the Gold Coast region, planners buckled down to the old centres of Delray Beach, Boynton Beach, Lake Worth and West Palm Beach. Looking at the number of regional malls that have been developed and assuming that downtowns as we knew them were a thing of the past, the local public governments sought for plans specifically tailored to the needs of each city. As a result, many of these traditional downtowns were ceding their former roles as the hub of a community's shopping activity in favour of new roles as centres for specialty shopping, cultural activities or less retail-oriented activities such as finance and offices. (Lowery 1988, November 13) Historical city centres learned from the suburban

ones. And so, Florida had become also one of the main stages for the revival of existing town centres. The gentrification of downtown Palm Beach, renamed CityPlace, was most profound. It was one of the largest and most ambitious town centre projects built to date in the United States. According to the Urban Land Institute, CityPlace transformed a blighted area into a vital city centre that "evokes some of the ambience of a European city". (Bohl 2002: 180-191) A piece of wasteland where once crackheads were sleeping in the abandoned Early-Modern First United Methodist Church[653] would be the new epitome of a New Urbanist mixed-use development. Between 1996 and 2000, Howard Elkus and David Manfredi converted the freestanding church into a community centre. They redesigned the plaza in front with use of dramatic fountains, palm trees and vast seating areas. The neighbouring streets got sidewalks and the designers used tile mosaics to give the public space an atmosphere, which they called a mix of southern Mediterranean and South Beach. Colourful stuccoed townhouses with balconies and green awnings above the shop windows indeed might give a flair of Italy, a country where the project officials and mayor had set off to. Its buildings might also recall some of the old Spanish colonial revival style of the church. Yet, the facade was ornamented with a huge cartoon face forming a clock of a local FAO Schwarz toy store. It might be an artefact out of his past as designer for Disney. Again some Late Modern Disneyana…[654] Nevertheless, West Palm's urban renaissance underlines the departure of the shopping mall concept. Yes, it would bring downtown new stores, restaurants, a movie theatre, but as a journalist stated a few days before the opening: "to think of CityPlace as a mall is to think of Central Park as grass and trees". CityPlace was more. It attempted to create a state of mind, a new city centre, and "not in the roll-up-the-sidewalks-at-5 p.m. style" that redevelopment often brought. CityPlace intended to turn a local profit while transforming a whole

653 Edwin Brewer Phillips (25 December 1889 – 11 July 1957) designed First United Methodist Church, now Harriet Himmel Theater, in 1926. It was built by Walker Brothers of Birmingham, Alabama.

654 Meditaranian influence is accurent in the work of Elkus and Manfredi. Yet it got through especially after CityPlace officials and mayor had set off on a ten-day tour of architecture in Italy on 23 October 1997. Disney influence is is also within their portfolio. Elkus had designed among others Disney's largest retail store, the World of Disney, which was located in the Village Marketplace outside Disney World's legendary Magic Kingdom and opened in 1996. The firm provided also the final master plan and design for Downtown Disney, Anaheim, California while working on CityPlace.

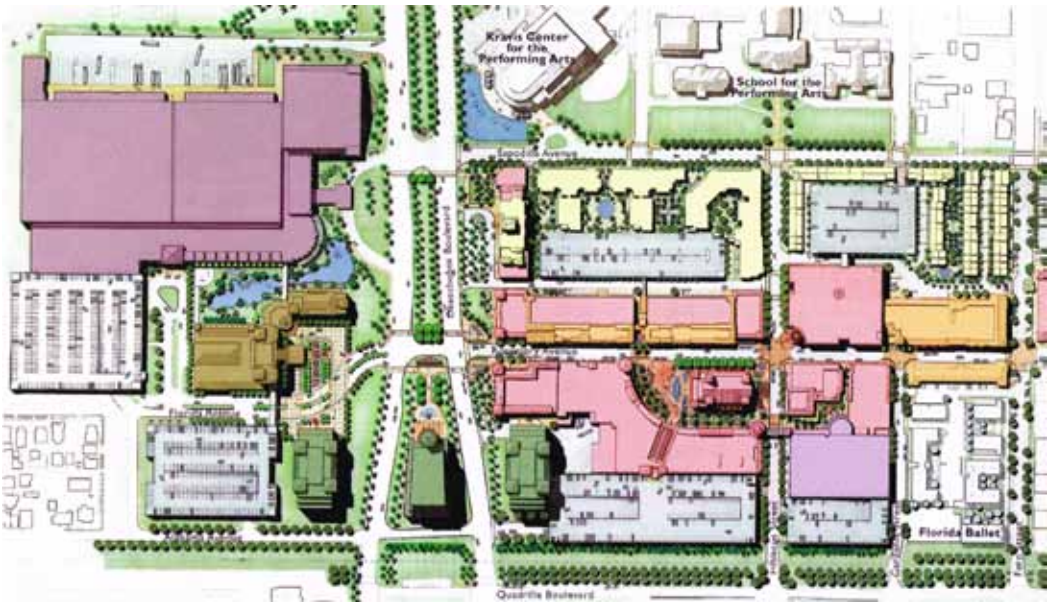


Figure 6.6.5.
CityPlace in West Palm Beach, 2001

Figure 6.6.6.
Downtown at the Gardens by John Glidden and Keith Spina, 2005

city. According to the newspaper, that couldn't happen with a mall. Malls worked in the South Florida suburbs. So, in their view CityPlace wasn't only new. It was different. (Schultz, 2000, October 22, Rietman 2000, October 25) Still, although not called as such, the double palm lined pedestrian space on the side of the church which included planting and sitting areas reminded people to a mall. "A mall by another name is still a shopping mall", a resident smartly stated, almost pedantically. (Bass 2000, October 28) Somehow, he was right. Inspired by the European city, the redesign of the original downtown did restore the traditional public space, but as it also had become *the* alternative for the indoor mall it echoed the concept of such a mall. The public wanted variation and differences. They turned their back on the mall and chose unexpectedly for the outdoor space. In return they got a new kind of downtown mall, aside from the streets.

The shopping centre tide had turned. Even the future of The Gardens was at risk! In the last years, the developers took draconian measures to ensure the mall's time ahead. Across an artificial lake and its car park at the west side of the mall, they opened Downtown at the Gardens.[655] "We are creating an atmosphere much like CityPlace", they explained in the newspapers. (Russell 2001, September 26) Indeed the coloured small scale buildings around an open-air village mall with courtyards and fountains, benches and palm trees, introduced a similar impression, only here in Late Modern Art-Deco style. Did this mean that there were two downtowns? In 2005, in the year of opening, the adjacent interior mall had been extended and remalled too. Improvements on the indoor facades included a new finishing of white stucco. The Gardens' distinctive structural steel was painted over in soft, muted tones. Cherry wood and black marble replaced tiling on all existing built-in planters and seating areas. Benches were tailored with new fabrics and leather and custom-designed carpeting provides a finishing touch of a fresh elegance at these resting places. The light-beige brick pavers outside

[655] The local American architects Benjamin John Glidden III (born 26 December 1946) and Keith Morse Spina (born 19 January 1964) designed Downtown at the Gardens between 2001 and 2005.

had been changed in polished stone, just like the red bricks on the walks. Two illuminated, frosted glass art pylons flanked each entry pavilion since, and the stone walkway bridged the existing ponds, which featured new mosaic tile finishes into engaging waterfalls. The entire property underwent a rejuvenation of landscape architecture as well.[656] (Palm Beach Gardens 2009, October 20)

Today both actions do not seem to give the final answer. Downtown at the Gardens has received heavy public criticism, because of its confusing downtown intention and overwhelming competition at the near by The Gardens Mall. "If there's any project that's come to symbolize South Florida's boom-gone-bust economy, it's Downtown at the Gardens." Many of its primary original tenants, high-end restaurant chains, have shuttered their doors. The dismal numbers of late: Downtown is thirty percent unoccupied. Fixtures, such as 'aesthetically pleasing architectural elements and improved landscaping' have gone unattended. On the brink of foreclosure in June 2009, ownership has changed. New owners have invested in free public events, including a holiday light show that's playing nightly and an American Idol-style talent contest that aims to drawn hundreds of people on weekend nights. Most remarkable, they have raised the possibility of opening up the mall for vehicular traffic as well. (Passy 2009, December 23)

There is a mayor difference between the Mizner Parks and CityPlaces of today and the mall of Downtown Gardens. Despite the fact that all three kinds are open to various kinds of environmental (ecological and social) influences, the later is still a mall set aside from the network, mainly providing lifestyle, entertainment, and fashion. In a Modern shopping mall kind of way, it is surrounded by large parking fields. By matter of course, during the recent great credit crunch, economic reconsiderations have popped up. Is there clearly a pent-up demand for extra neighbourhood centres? Or, can the new outdoor mall really be an extension of the indoor mall, which is huge already? If so, what meaning will Downtown at the Gardens have on a distance of merely one kilometre from its 'real' downtown competitor, usually less dependent on shoppers? Next steps are taken. A high-rise condominium complex, a hotel, an office building and banking facilities have gone up near The Gardens Mall in the meantime. Downtown in suburbia urbanises. The site is still under transformation. The embedding of such malls in a larger network of public spaces, in urban areas, most likely will have a better perspective, than autonomous malls having one dominant function, especially when they are matter of serious competition. In this line the combination of an interior mall and outdoor space, having the presence of residents and office workers too, can work. Otherwise, the malls have to update its leisurely attraction every once in a while. Thus although, these demalled malls could become a place less prone to economic developments, retail competition and leisure attraction, while surviving in closer proximity of each other, the proof of their resilience and success lay in the future.

The Edina case, up in Minnesota, is challenging the same dilemma. In 2005, nearly half a century after Southdale became the first shopping mall of its kind – the buzz of a nation – the public government proposed to introduce "a series of plans aimed at transforming the nearby complex of disconnected strip malls and big boxes onto a true town centre, with ponds, walking

[656] The American landscape architects Susan Lynn Grissim (born 1958), Randall Kirk Metz, called Randy, (born 1953) and Paul Raymond Andriese (born 1959) redesiged The Gardens Mall between 2005 and 2009.

paths and a circulating transit system". The Southdale Center was scheduled to be remalled and next-door Galleria then would be demalled. Both were integrated in a new urban fabric including new streets, avenues and a big watery park. Grey lands would be redeveloped for high-density housing. (Peterson 2005, February 10) That Southdale stretch, whenever it might be realised, could bring Edina in the front of the charge again. Meanwhile, influential public media, like The Economist, The New York Times, Chicago Tribune and The Wall Street Journal, enlightened the latest wave of makeovers. Retail relicts and their prime land transform into villages, and in this way "they're pushing the development of old-fashioned neighborhoods where people can live, work and play within walking distance – or at least near public transport", as the USA Today summed up the popular debate in the early 2000s. In a cover story, the newspaper even emphasised the link between these old car-oriented neighbourhoods and obesity, a national health problem. Foremost it was said that the existing interior shopping centres faced high vacancy rates[657] and thus an increasing amount of malls should consider remalling or even demalling. The mall makeovers were gaining stream and less enclosed malls were developed from scratch. Village malls appeared. Time Magazine called this the recycling of the suburbs and as such it qualified the change as the number two of "the ten ideas changing the world right now". Could it become an international affair indeed? (El Nasser 2003, 23 April; Moor 2003, 23 April; ULI and ICSC 2006: 10,14 and 459; Bora 2007, 18 January; The Economist 2007, 22 December; Segal 2009, 1 February; Burns 2009, 20 March; Walsh 2009, 23 March; Hudson and O'Connell 2009, 22 May)

In the last decades the mall type really boomed. Especially the enclosed shopping mall variant was a block buster. Around the world one will find those malls. In the U.S., JC Penny's, The Walking Company and The Barbie Shop may be located there, Hooters, Tony's Roma and Tiger Sushi too. A theme park like The Mirror Maze or LEGO Image Center is the place to play today. Although negative criticism dominates the recent discourse, repudiating the whole idea of mall, the mall is a popular space for many people to

[657] The median vacancy rate of enclosed malls in the U.S. was 7%. To be precise: at central/urban malls it was 8%, at suburban malls 6%, and at small town/rural malls 18% in 2006.

Figure 6.6.7.
Southdale Center, photo 2006

spent time, meet friends and have fun. As in preceding times malls are still set apart to gather and enjoy. Palisades are replaced by walls and crowns of trees by roofing, a phenomenologist may say. Typological alterations through time have been major. This again illuminates a transformation in society and cross-cultural exchanges in the use and design of malls.
In sum, every mall variant is originated in a different place and time and although the Anglo-Saxon influence has been dominant, the current variance is a quite miscellaneous one. For centuries the mall had known a specific range of distribution and a limited dissemination, but spread on long distances over a long time spaces and cities, and social and cultural contexts differed enough to end up with a wide variation. In every era and in every place the mall has been applied in a slightly different way, always creating new public spaces. Each designer attempts to condition society by providing a place for leisure times, while more or less the application of the mall type is unique in every case. In the end, also malls are reconstructing public space in many ways. The oldest kind of mall is in fact a track designed especially for the pall-mall game. Often they are tree-lined spaces surrounded by palisades. Applied in parks those spaces have lost their game and have become simple green malls; shady walks, bordered on each side by a double row of lofty trees. In several new capital cities, this concept has been repeated. The grand design of those new capitol malls stands out. These malls are the city's principal road, they have a central lawn, and the represent the sovereign power in a civic way.
Pedestrian malls are created in the Modern city. In the suburb they are the new crystallisation points. They create pedestrian areas embellished with park elements, including the first examples of indoor malls. Downtown, mainly they create outdoor car-free space. The shopping mall is an offspring. It is a pedestrian space, which is serving primary retail activities. Today this variant can be found around the globe both in the suburban and urban areas. More often this one is combined with all sorts of restaurants and entertainment, like playgrounds, swimming pools, movie theatres or large theme parks. Shopping and entertainment malls are proved to be fragile, if only one considers the amount of dead malls. When they are able to attract other functions and uses, and thus when they are able to be real crystallisation points, these malls are more sustainable. In that perspective, the so-called demalled mall, de-interiorised and stripped of its cover or released of its walls, is still a mall. As said, from the ambition enabling these malls to allow the larger public to engage with the place in ways beyond mere shopping some of them turn into an integrated part of the city. They are spatially integrated and they condition a variation of use. These new village malls are increasing in amount and in a few cases they live on as interior public space.

One could say that today's connotation of the mall as interior public space is founded on all of the above, just like the one of the arcade or the bazaar each in a different way. Often it has similar layered cultural and social meanings, which are based on design successes but especially today also on its failures. Still each mall has its own socio-spatial role or symbolic value. Again in comparison with the arcade and the bazaar, the difference is that the mall by nature has a more autonomous position. Thus public validation will be based on


HARFORD MALL
HARFORD DIST.
MALL MADNESS
NORTHGATE MALL
RALEIGH SPRIN
1974 MOHS
TRAIL BLAZER
SOUTHLAND MALL
1970
MERCER DISTRICT
Day At The Mall
GIRL SCOUTS
MALL DAYS 1977
THIS IS SCOUTING
2012
BOSCOV'S L.V.M.
1992
SCOUT S
MALL SH
DISTRICT
ORANGE
1974
B.S.A.
MOHS
61 YEARS
FUTURE
Sunrise
at Kitsap Mall
Totem Council
2005
SLEEP-IN at RIVER HILL
1988
FEBRUARY 10, 1973 MOHS
JUNE 9, 2012
WE CAME, WE SAW, WE ROCKED THE MALL
BEAVER VALLE
MALL MADNESS
MANIA
FOLK CRAF
DRIFTING
'84
SUMMER
CORNER
2001
DAY ON THE Mall

Figure 6.6.8.
Souvenir patches from many public mall events, like youth fairs, scouting in action, singing and sport competitions, boy and girl lock-ins and fashion shows.

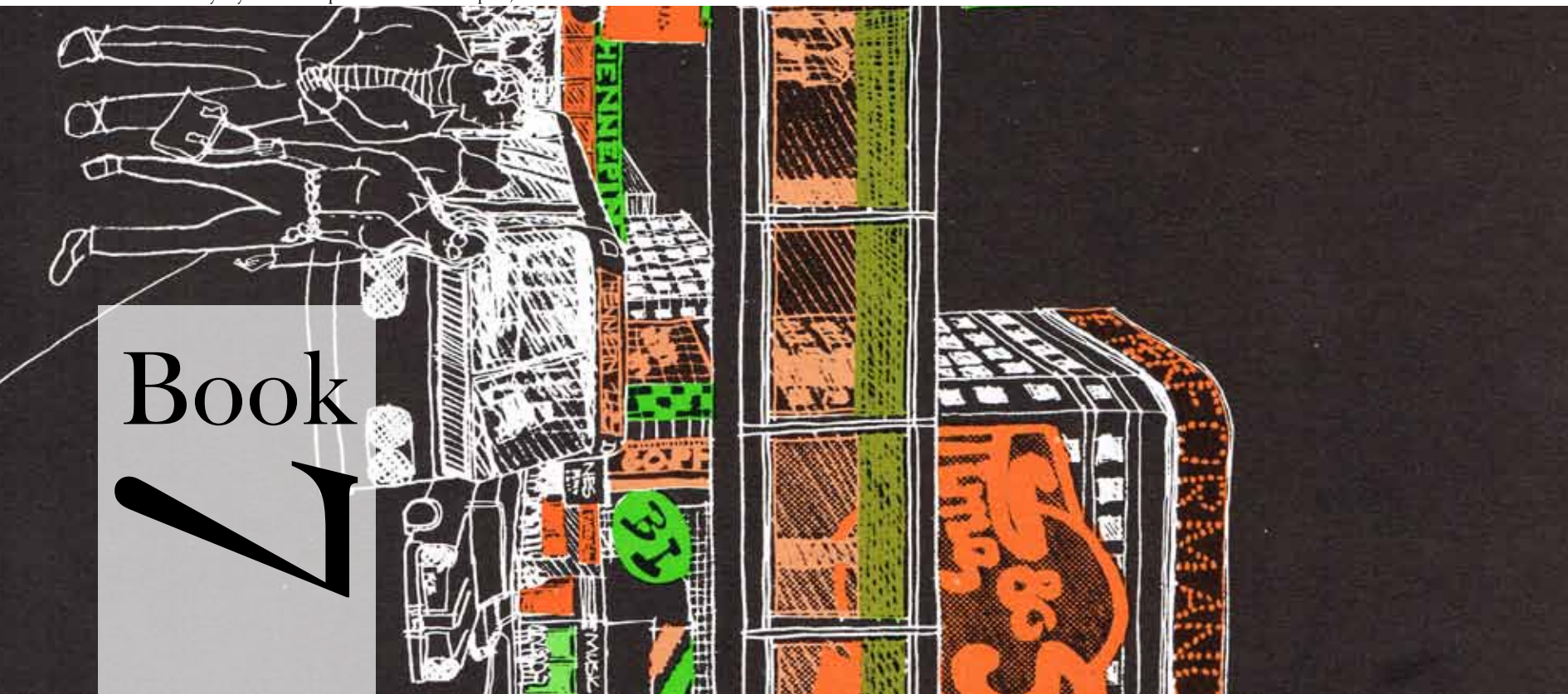
its attraction and quality, rather that connectivity and accessibility. Of course the one does not exclude the other completely, but the course of the typological evolution of the mall reveals a continuum in dominant leisure use and a location clearly set apart. Although in the recent decades whitewashed by a strong focus on facilities and lately by mere retail one could recognise in the mall a place where people mainly spend their free time. To a certain degree, republican noblemen playing at the old Maliebaan resemble valley girls and mall rats staying in the Del Amo Fashion Center and shopaholics and mall walkers spending hours in the Mall of America. As such, the stylistic manners used at the mall could be very important for its success as attractor. A variety of designs, - timeless but unique, trendy or for example imaginary and futuristic -, may contribute to its appeal. Through history malls have been places for exposure and events. The sale of necessity goods is rarely found at the mall. In the mall most shops and stalls display luxury goods, fashion and the latest technology. Elections, scout events, sleepovers, protests, live cartoon characters, dazzling displays, and amazing fountains; they are all part of the mall. A milk fair on The Mall in London is like a car show in Southdale Center. The mall should be up-to-date and always appealing to the public, if not it will die. From another point of view single malls that unarguably have the power to attract people make other facilities gravitate to the mall. This process strengthens its position as a public gathering place as well as it could be burgeoning urbanisation. Then the mall could be the sprout of a new system of public spaces, including ordinary streets, squares and avenues. It could be surrounded by mixed use, including housing. What happened once to the Pall Mall is now happening – often in a planned way – to many shopping malls in the suburbs. Some of the recent Floridian examples are illustrating this process. The reverse process could be observed in the case of the urban mall, implemented in an existing street pattern. The urban mall is deliberately planned and designed for the downtown pedestrian. Car access, and often that of bicycles, busses and trams too, has been blocked. As soon as the urban mall is set apart and thus as it slightly separates itself from the network of public spaces, it needs to invest in its appeal, attraction and anchor. This is what we see in Europe in Rotterdam and for example Stockholm, and in the U.S. in Kalamazoo, Miami Beach, Knoxville and many other cities. The position and use of green malls mainly present in parks are not very different. They are set apart for representation and designed as a pleasant shaded walk. Especially the sustainability of interior malls is related to these principles. Either the mall has agreeable qualities for the public, being user-friendly and enticing the people, or it dies.

Minneapolis, 2006

“In 2006 I had visited The Twin Cities. At the time, it was not easy to enter the country. It became almost normal: whenever I travelled alone, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection apprehended me. This time on June 15, they held me for one full hour. Finally, while someone examined my suitcase, an officer started to question: “Who are you? Where're you from? The usual. Then: What are you gonna do?” “Well, visit Minneapolis!” I answered concisely ... “Why would you, what is interesting?” he said. Of course, again I answered, now almost starting to lecture. Immediately, the atmosphere became less hostile. He laughed; he wasn't thinking his hometown was interesting at all. Does anyone know what's really interesting about this city? ...With quite some delay, I finally crossed the border. I was heading for the Hiawatha Line. This light rail transit brought me to the heart of the city in only twenty-five minutes. My hotel was on the other side of Nicolette. It was a remarkably pleasant walk. While I crossed the broad and animated pedestrian mall, I had a first glimpse of the overhead skyways. Light, transparent and tube-like skyways reveal pedestrians moving in the air, going from one building to another. Although the weather was fine and many people walked outside, the skyways looked fairly animated too. Where are these people coming from? What are they going to do?”

The Skyway

Sketch of a skyway over Hennepin Avenue in Minneapolis, 1970s



Book 1

Chapter 1
Early Overhead Street Galleries

The skyway is a relatively young type of interior public space. Its dispersion around the globe is less in comparison to for example the variety of places where we can find arcades or the covered malls, and even bazaars. In literature, common knowledge seems limited. Only a few people, often locals, have done applied or academic research on this enclosed public gallery above street level or, as some describe, this covered bridge between two buildings. "Research on this new urban element is virtually nonexistent", as one of them emphasised some decades ago. Immediately critics commented that even pioneering research was lacking in social-critical or proper historical research. (Jacob and Morphew 1984, Progressive Architecture 1984, January) It still is, while the skyway is all but an incident in today's city. In fact, in certain urban settings, especially in the cities around the Great Lakes Region in North America, the number of this type of interior public connection is quite high. Here, designers and planners have been responsible for the construction of hundreds of skyways. They

Figure 7.1.1.
Dreams to travel up in the air, the King's Skyway, 1902

Figure 7.1.2.
Recreational touring to the summit, photo of a man with Studebaker Skyway automobile, August 1941

connect publicly accessible buildings on the second or third storey. The public spaces in those buildings are most often simple upper-storey concourses devoted to retail. In many cases, these concourses also give access to other facilities, like print services, pharmacies, restaurants, congress centres and theatres. One can also enter many offices and even dwellings sometimes. The skyways themselves are merely linking the concourses above the outdoor streets. Together, they form elevated public interior systems used by pedestrians to avoid the cold, the heat, or simply the crowded streets below. Within almost every connected building, public stairs, escalators, elevators and slopes bring people from the outdoor streets to the indoor upper level. In a numerical way, the system is highly connected with the outdoors. There are many upper-storey access points. However, in terms of spatial connectivity, sometimes or in some parts, the skyway systems are separate entities as well, particularly when the accesses are extremely narrow, basically just allowing two people to pass on a staircase. Nevertheless, in most parts, hundreds of people move up anyway to walk through the overhead structures from building to building to exit close to their destiny. From the outdoor street, looking up, it is clear who chooses to walk inside and who does not. Windows in the skyways reveal the elevated pedestrian traffic. If one has not visited one of these places, a scene of people moving in the aerial tubes might sound as 'science fiction'. If not, perhaps it should, because present reality strongly relates to the wide variety of futuristic images of the past.

The term '*skyway*' had always been related to dreams to travel up in the air, to the imagination of future possibilities and to the actual attempt to do so. It had historically been applied primarily to belts of asteroids in the galaxy and a variety of imaginary routes for travel through the atmosphere.[658] This connotation would dominate mental concepts when airships and airplanes actually prepared the way for others to follow. Then, futuristic scenes of heavy sky traffic during business hours dominated the image of what a skyway could be. The sky was unlimited. In the same vein, some decades later when airline companies emerged and established scheduled services, a long-distance flight pioneer defined 'skyway' as "a very broad highway with the advantage over roads, that there were no vehicles shooting out of side turnings to be contended with, nor […] old women loosing their heads in the middle of the thoroughfare!" (e.g. Hood and Reynolds 1825: 19; Stedman 1869, January; London Daily Express 1902, 25 May; Cobham 1925: 302-303) It were times of optimism and progress.
During the still somewhat exclusive early aviation era, society began to adapt to the car more. As described before, the car enabled suburban living in the United States, creating new kinds of arcades and malls. In addition, people used the car to explore the surrounding territories, like the nearby mountains. For those people, skyway got a more general connotation: any way to reach the sky, also by means or an automobile: "Main roads or byways, any road we go, to look up to the skyway, and feel the wind that blows. High hills or valley, whatever route we take, the sweet toll and singing, and love for others' sake." (McKinsey 1916, 12 June) The Early Modern sensation of the firmament drove people up. Recreational touring to the summit was born and to facilitate this new activity of leisure new roads started to be constructed. In 1928,

[658] In English, the earliest meaning of '*skyway*', as found in early nineteenth century poetry, might be in the connotation of the '*way to heaven*', similar to the early French '*chemin du Ciel*'. (Les Académiciens de l'Académie Françoise 1694: 190)

by the construction of Onion Valley Road,[659] on a riding distance of suburbanising Los Angeles, a majestic mountain region was opened to travel by car. The road and the proposed State Park was a combination of everything stupendous, fascinating and spectacular. It provided opportunities for explorations of more than a dozen exalted heights over 13.000 feet, or 4000 metres. The city's newspaper headed; "Skyway opened by New Road". Panoramic views were opened for those yet unable to fly, but who were in the possession of a car. Within two years, the term became current and a true so-called '*skyway highway*' opened in the Rocky Mountains.[660] The project was part of the highest continuous highway in the United States and thus foremost it had to connect major cities on both side of the mountain. Still, meanwhile at its peaks it offered a spectacular scenic route, which was more than a simple public thoroughfare. (Blon 1928, 24 June; The Sun 1930, 19 October) In the nineteen-thirties, highways and byways at such heights naturalised and more skyways, called as such, were built. From this point, it might not be so odd that soon people called an '*overhead highway*', which was constructed on unprecedented heights, a skyway too. The New Jersey State Highway Commission was the first to do so in 1933. It renamed its '*super highway*' on the Newark-Jersey City Viaduct, bridging at a height of 135 feet or 41 metres, as the General Pulaski Skyway.[661] This skyway crossed high above the New Jersey Passaic and Hackensack Rivers, the existing Lincoln Highway, many local roads, and several railroads. (Walker 1926, 21 November; The New York Times 1929, 24 October and 1933, 4 May) One could conclude that this overhead road was the first '*skyway*' in an urban setting and called as such, but this would be a linguistic reasoning. It was by far not the first time an overhead had been introduced in the city and - apart from its name - it is not *the* origin of today's enclosed public gallery above street level, at the most, phenomenologically related.

My research on the typological evolution of the skyway, and its immediate predecessors, simultaneously show that the first ideas for overhead urban movement in fact came to the surface when the Industrial Revolution ran rampant and utilitarian urbanism dominated the profession. While in the second half the nineteenth

[659] The scenic road, like the proposed State Park, was the idea of The American engineer William Paul Whitsett (27 December 1875 – 8 April 1965), commissioner of the Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles. The American surveyor Paul Ernest Ritch (16 November 1887 – 28 May 1953) was as field engineer of the Bureau of Waterworks responsible for construction. Two years earlier designs had been completed for an aerial tramway, called 'Mount Whitney Skyway', just south of the new state park. (Popular Science Monthly 1926, September)

[660] The State Highway Department constructed the road, known as Colorado State Highway 65, and it opened in 1930. The department paved the part from State Highway 92 to Cedaredge by 1947, and then they did more paving from U.S. Route 6 to Mesa by 1954. Finally, they paved the last section in the mid 1960s. It is also now known as Grand Mesa Scenic and Historic Byway, one of the national scenic byways.

[661] The Newark-Jersey City Viaduct, originally also known as Diagonal Highway, opened in 1932. The New Jersey State Highway Commission planned it in 1926 as the uncompleted portion of Route 25, leading into the Holland Vehicular Tunnel and directly linking downtown Manhattan to all major cities in the south and west. From Philadelphia, Washington, all the way from Key West, and from Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, all highways to New York converged on the Pulaski Skyway at the time. The American Bridge Company, McClintic-Marshall Company, Phoenix Bridge Company, and Taylor-Fichter Steel Construction Company built the skyway.

Figure 7.1.3.
General Pulaski Skyway, 1930s

century, early urban theorists were adopting the ideas of Baron Haussmann in a discourse on 'Städtebau',[662] officials in several cities agreed that also elevated traffic should solve the problems of serious congestion. They learned from practice, especially from the experiments and experiences in facilitating mass transit by elevated rail tracks, such as the London and Greenwich Railway, which was built on a brick viaduct between 1836 and 1838. To an increasing degree, rail traffic had got its place on urban bridges, elevated tracks or overhead constructions of other kinds. The American engineer Henry Sargent exhibited a first elevated model for such a railway in booming New York already in 1802.[663] The original settlement was small, but while population had more than tripled over a period of twenty years and the City prospected the progress of increase to continue, the city soon would become a metropolis. The Commissioners of Streets and Roads in the City of New York made a practical plan for the extension of the city "in such a manner as to unite regularity and order with the public convenience and benefit"; the famed grid plan. (Common Council of The City Of New York 1807, 16 February; Morris, De Witt and Rutherford 1807, 24 March; Pintard 1807, 1 December) The continuous stream of new constructions may inspire him to explore other ways of movement and reform the city. When he built the elevated track, "the subject was then new and it was suffered to languish in obscurity". However, over the years, the public opinion had shifted. The people discovered the advantages of overhead rail transit. (American Rail-Road Journal 1832, 21 January, Reeves 1935, January) The present variation of grid patterns in essence organised the urban fabric in an orderly manner, but the urbanisation occurred as fast as the growth of the population and an alternative way to give room for the increasing traffic was welcome. Also in the European metropolises, where one arranged the street network less rationally, the elevation of public transit and double-layered public space in general was most welcome. In the eighteen-thirties, when in various cities several sections of railway tracks already had been elevated, London engineers planned and built one elevated line end-to-end in their city. Soon Paris and New York got their first real elevated railway too. Among many others, Boston and Chicago followed.[664] In this context, a few Parisians started to

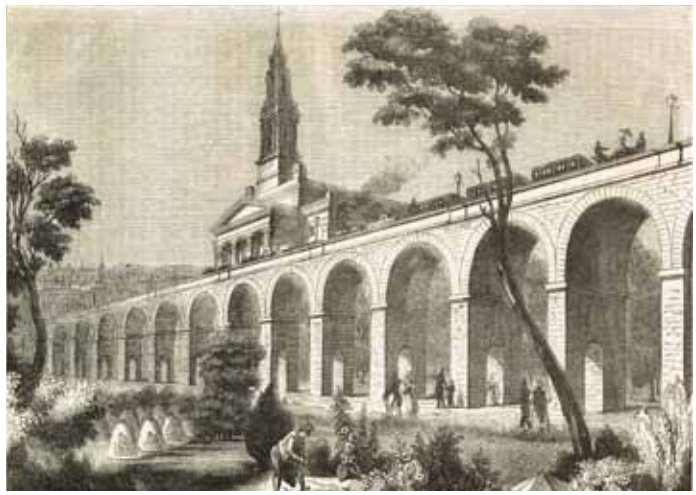


Figure 7.1.4.
The London and Greenwich Railway on a brick viaduct, wood engraving of 1854

[662] See book 2.

[663] Henry Sargent, or Sargeant, (baptised 25 November 1770 – 21 February 1845) was an American painter and engineer Colonel. He secured a patent for this so-called '*suspension rail-way*' in 1825.

[664] The British royal engineer Colonel George Thomas Landmann (11 April 1780 – 27 August 1854) proposed the London elevated railway in 1831 to bypass numerous busy streets near London Bridge. It would rise above marshy grounds, which periodically flooded by the Thames. Serving the London & Greenwich Railway it was constructed between 1836 and 1838 and. In Paris, the first overhead railway opened in 1859. The French engineer and writer Antoine Andraud (29 May 1795 - 1859) proposed it in 1852. La Compagnie du Chemin de Fer de Paris à Strasbourg obtained a construction concession a year later. Works began in 1855, it was interrupted in 1857 when a new City Council opposed, but was resumed in 1858 under the tenacity of La Compagnie de l'Est. In 1969, the railway was closed, and today it lives on as the elevated Promenade Plantée. In New York, the first elevated railway was proposed in 1866 and opened in 1868 as the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway, a cable-hauled line running along Greenwich Street and Ninth Avenue. In Boston, the legislative Committee on Street Railroads reported in 1884 a bill incorporating the so-called Meigs system to run above streets from Boston to Cambridge. This experimental steam-powered monorail was built in 1886 by Captain Joe Vincent Meigs (7 June 1840 – 15 November 1907), an American engineer and second cousin, once removed, of Montgomery Meigs (see Book 6). The Meigs monorail made its last run in 1894. Lastly, although an elevated railway was operated at the Chicago Inter-State Fair already, The Chicago and South Side Rapid Transit Railroad Company planned the first regular elevated railway service in Chicago not before 1890. Construction was finished two years later when the line opened for the public. In general, elevated train service expanded and dominated rapid transit for the next few decades.

Figure 7.1.5.
The West Side and Yonkers Patented Railway tested by Charles Harvey: December 1867

question the Haussmannian reconstructions. Would street widening really be sufficient for the continuing increase of vehicular traffic? The French civil engineer Henry-Jules Borie was among those who doubted.[665] By observing the situation in booming American cities like New York, Boston, Chicago, and European counterparts like London, he advocated a three-dimensional city, in which he pushed the vertical dimension to the limits. It would be a new and alternative mode of living. It would be one, which would be applicable to the most turbulent big cities of the globe. In 1865, he published a quarto booklet of forty-five pages, entitled 'Aérodomes', translatable as 'Air-Buildings'. In his essay, showcased by a proposed large-scale redesign of the centre of Paris, he envisioned a future with a variety of circulation spaces in the sky. People could move from one level to another at certain 'stations'. Up in the air, covered galleries, panoramic terraces, bridges over boulevards and walkways would bring them from building to building. The '*rues intérieurs*' and '*passerelles*' would link the envisioned Late-Neoclassical superblocks at the upper level, crossing a new grid of boulevards. The urban environment would be quite dense, but functionally very structured and, in accordance with the Parisian building regulations, these superblocks would have one or two setbacks to allow sunlight touching the ground. The highest structures would connect at these setback levels or even at the building roofs. Glass shelters would be the best option to protect pedestrians here against the 'exposure of continual dangers' up in the atmosphere. Industrial impurities, like dust, moisture and noise, filled the air at the time. According to Borie, the creation of interiorised connections would have another advantage too. They could also ease circulation in rough and stormy weather. (Borie 1865: 4-9, 20-25, Décret du 27 Juillet 1859, Article 8) With this, he used similar arguments as those used by the designers involved in the development of Parisian arcades, but being the next generation he would elevate the galleries. Probably the newly constructed overhead railways bypassing crowded streets inspired him. If not, anyhow he was not the only one choosing for elevated structures in a futuristic imaginary. For example, contemporary politician Tony Moilin followed the same line.[666] His vision for 'Paris en l'An 2000' comprised explicitly the establishment of elevated '*rues-galeries*' or '*street-galleries*' in the old city. Again, the Parisian

[665] French-American Henri-Jules Borie, also known as Henry Borie (abt.1805 – after 1892) was educated as generalist, or civil engineer at the École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Saint-Étienne (graduated in 1835). Little is known on Borie: He was also the inventor of the hollow brick (ideal for high-rise), which he displayed at several national and international expos, among them the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations or The Great Exhibition in London and the Exposition Universelle of 1855 in Paris. In 1860, he immigrated to the United States, where he visited copper mines near Lake Superior and became engineer and division chef of the People's Railway Company in San Francisco.

[666] Jules-Antoine Moilin, called Tony (21 May 1832 – 20 May 1871) was a French physician and a member of the Paris Commune, for which he was executed.

streets would not be the same in the future. According to Moilin there seemed no choice but to give the pedestrian upper galleries. These would again run from building to building, now intersecting only at their first storeys, across the various boulevards and squares and on certain points even across the river Seine. The new public interior would give access to commercial facilities, offices, houses et cetera. As thus these galleries cut through all blocks, they would form one uninterrupted network embracing all laying on every street and mingling the scattered sections of the city. In the end, a walker could cover again the whole city without ever having to expose to certain 'dangers', while protected from rain or sunlight. As soon as the Parisians had got a taste of the new galleries, they would loose all desire to set foot in the streets of old – which, they often said, were fit only for dogs. (Moilin 1869: 9-13)

> "Mais, dans les vieilles rues, il n'en fut plus de même. Là il fallut exhausser ou abaisser bien des planchers, et souvent on dut se résigner à donner au sol une pente un pue rapide ou à le couper par quelques marches d'escalier. Quant tous les pâtés de maisons se trouvèrent ainsi percés de galeries occupant la longueur de leur premier étage, il n'y eut plus qu'à réunir ces tronçons épars les uns aux autres, de manière à en constituer un réseau non interrompu embrassant toute l'établissant sur chaque rue des ponts couverts qui avaient la hauteur et la largeur des galeries et se confondaient avec elles. Des ponts tout semblables, mais beaucoup plus longs, furent jetés de même sur les divers boulevards, sur les places et sur les point qui traversent la Seine, de flacon que la rue-galeries ne présentait de solution sur aucun point et qu'un promeneur pouvait parcourir toute la cité sans jamais se mettre à découvert à l'abri de la pluie ou du soleil." (Moilin 1869: 9-10)

More then Borie, Moilin ambitioned a city wherein the new system of overhead street galleries would defragment the fabric while people could intermingle. His view was more than just an engineering case. His vision resembled a general and very popular idea. Like many, he would like to apply the attainments of the Industrial Revolution for social benefits. In particular, the application of arcades, or the so-called 'street galleries', to achieve a city wherein social equality

Figure 7.1.6.
Aérodromes with elevated street-galleries, by Henry Jules Borie

would reign was not completely new. It was an old idea of the philosopher Charles Fourier, which was honoured in the youth of Moilin by La Société pour la Propagation et pour la Réalisation de la Théorie de Fourier.[667] The posthumous publication of the complete works of Fourier included popular ideas for socio-spatial transformation, aiming progress and equality. (Fourier 1841: 462-469) In general, utopias could count on a broad attention in a time when the working class seized power while the bourgeois nouveau riche dominated the range of influence and their monarchic restoration provoked more and more international conflict lacking in public support. Several minds searched for an ideal society or community. One should see the improvements promised by Moilin in this light. He suggested that a new government should pay for all the reconstruction needed. This seemed more than just a dream. In 1871, supporters of the so-called Commune de Paris[668] chased the old French government to Versailles and established a new government aiming social equality and communal unity. Tony Moilin supported this socialist, some said communist -, authority. Yet, although he took even an active role in the governmental representation, being a delegate, none of his urban plans became real, partially because the Commune's power ended briefly and the French army fusilladed most officials in a reprisal, including Tony Moilin and his congenial thinkers. "Socialists did not need umbrellas, sunshades, scarves, waterproof shoes, coats, etc.", the Parisian journalist and chronicler Jules Claretie[669] concludes in his reflection on Moilin's contribution to this revolution. The new republic had "no Baron Haussmann to find the means of employing some thousands of artisans at the expense of the city", abroad The New York Times stated more strongly. (Claretie 1875: 118-123, The New York Times 1871, 28 March and 15 June; Baudrillart 1871, September: 58-63) One could also conclude that the first skyway in an urban setting, although not called as such, derived from the series of semblances and similar visions of the French utopians. Yet, they never built it.

[667] This idea would also inspire Walter Benjamin. For Fourier, see Book 4.

[668] La Commune de Paris got local power on 28 March 1871. After a long assault starting in the beginning of April, the old national government fled to Versailles on the 19th. Le Comité Central de la Garde National supported the independent and sovereign city and steadily gained authority. Formally, the so-called Communards ruled until 28 May. However, the reprisal executions on the 20th were not only the climax, but de facto also curtained the joined actions of the republicans and the group communists, socialists and anarchists.

[669] Arsene Arnaud Claretie, also known as Jules Claretie (3 December 1840 – 23 December 1913) was a French journalist, novelist and chronicler of Parisian life.

Chapter 2 The Birth of Covered Public Footbridges

The idealism in the French approach was quite in contrast with what had become common practice in the United States. As said, in the end of the nineteenth century, elevated railway-tracks had become a consistent part of the big city and in New York, more than in Paris or, for example, London, its spatial impact on the city was apparent. Streetscape would change fast. The West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway was the first to start constructing a public elevated line on Greenwich Avenue in 1867. For this, the company was granted a franchise to build the first elevated railroad a year earlier.[670] Their plan was to connect the termini at the Battery, south Manhattan, and at New Rochelle, in the Bronx via Ninth Avenue. It took years if not decades and a series of successive companies to complete. Though the initiator Charles Harvey built only a first small part, he planted a seed to grown fast. Others would imitate the idea quickly after and finally a raised network emerged and expanded fast.[671] Stairs would bring the people up. In 1872, Rufus Gilbert planned an elevated railroad on Sixth Avenue.[672] He had designed a tubular iron roadway, which was suspended above the streets by Gothic arches springing from curb lines. It stayed a plan for some years. As the newly formed Rapid Transit Commission had adopted an amendment, which applied the connection to the other existing steam elevated route, the plan, including its proposed techniques, would be less practical.[673] Thus, a more conventional line came to practice in 1881. The Third Avenue Elevated opened sooner, in 1878 and the Second Avenue Elevated was constructed a year later, to be opened in 1880. Soon the concept of the elevated railroad was also introduced in twin-city Brooklyn.[674] The Brooklyn Elevated Railroad on Lexington Avenue opened in 1885. Three more lines in Brooklyn followed in 1888, and many branches and connections more in and between both cities. (Walker 1918: 60-86,

[670] The franchise did not name streets.

[671] The American salesman and self-trained civil engineer Charles Thompson Harvey (26 June 1829 – 11 March 1912) built eventually only the Greenwich Elevated, which opened as an experimental rattletrap line in 1867, to be extended as a cable-hauled line, running only for three years. Subsequently, the line changed ownership to New York Elevated Railway Company, incorporated to continue service on this line. By 1875, largely rebuilt and extended to Ninth Avenue, it operated as a steam railway.

[672] The American surgeon and inventor Rufus Henry Gilbert (26 January 1832 - 10 July 1885) initiated the second elevated line, the so-called Gilbert Elevated Railroad, succeeded by plans for the Gilbert's Improved Elevated Railroad or Sixth Avenue Elevated.

[673] The financial panic of 1873 contributed to a hold of rampant investments in railroads as such too. Construction was halted until economy was recovering. This was after in 1875, when the commission had adopted the amendment.

[674] The cities of New York and Brooklyn consolidated not before 1898.

Figure 7.2.1.
The West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway, wood engraving 1877

Figure 7.2.2.
Elevated railroad on Sixth Avenue, station at 23rd Street, wood engraving 1878

105-122) Within two decades, overhead railroads dominated the metropolis. In the eyes of both city governments, further expansion needed effective and general regulations to avoid conflicts between the developers, private parties and the public in general. The governments of both cities continued to allow tracks to be constructed over the public streets, yet since the 1870s under several conditions. Firstly, all related structures would apply to general specification concerning dimensions, such as a maximum width or a minimum elevation height. Secondly, houses and platforms of the stations were allowed to extend over track lines, but then additional rules applied, as no part of the stations should be "in front of any private property without the consent of any private owners thereof". If so, thirdly, stairways, for access to the stations, were allowed to be erected on the sidewalk; yet again under similar additional general regulations. Lastly, and in this reasoning crucial, on all footbridges passing over the railway or connecting staircases, iron screens and substantial railing on each side of the footway had to be provided and in all these places, passengers should have ample space with tight storeys and, particularly, always 'under cover'. The later resulted in a motley series of covered footbridges. The fast increasing amount of elevated railway lines catalysed this process, as each affiliated company composed and constructed its stations and footways in a somewhat different way. With that also, each layout and structure depended on an often unique embedding in the existing urban fabric. Additionally, the public government obliged the different transit companies to connect adjacent elevated stations directly and above street level, and likewise, city planners proposed new covered footbridges to interconnect elevated train stations to for example neighbouring pedestrian bridges crossing rivers. (e.g. The New York Times 1879, 20 July; 1880, 8 January; 1884, 9 December; and 1894, 16 September) Although all together the layout and construction of the different footbridges showed a broad range, their style was quite similar. The footbridges of the stations of the Sixth Avenue elevated could be considered as forerunners in design, because those of the first elevated railroad merely had any covering when the line opened. Jasper Francis Cropsey,[675] who envisioned its new stations in a Neo style known as Gothic Revival, designed simple steel footbridges with wooden storeys, iron screen parapets and basic structured roofs embellished with ornate copper

[675] The American Jasper Francis Cropsey (18 February 1823 – 23 April 1900) was trained as architect, but soon he made fame as landscape painter. The design of the elevated stations in the 1870s coincided with a precipitous decline in sales and prices of his paintings.

rooflines. Stylistically, it echoed the initial Gothic style of the Gilbert's elevated railroad. (Walker 1918: 107-108) The concept for the elevated was downscaled, as was it for its stations, but the Gothic influences remained.[676] The covered footbridges of among others the Sixth Avenue Elevated Railway Station at 14th Street was one of the exemplars. Subsequently, the successive engineers imitated Cropsey's design. One would compose and construct them usually more or less the same, using similar light-weight construction materials and simple A-frame roofing, yet often with less ornaments. Footbridges would cross platforms and tracks, they would connect stations and they would abridge staircases and even elevators. One of the spectacular applications of the later was seen in the design of Ninth Avenue Elevated Railway Station at 110th Street. At this point, the line was over a hundred feet above the street. In its sinuous course in mid air crossing the valley, a covered footbridge at its station had to reach at same height. High above street level it linked to a five-story tower with passenger elevator.[677] (Scientific American 1879, 25 October; The New York Times 1891, 13 May and 1927, 31 January) Given these trends, in 1887, the Board of Railroad Commissioners of the State of New York interfered with local developments and proposed a connection to be established between the Grand Central Depot[678] and the neighbouring station of the Third Avenue Elevated annex. Within three years, the depot provided "a stairway and convenient entrance on a plane with the Forty-second street station of the Manhattan Elevated railroad". With this covered link, local passengers and commuters from the suburban areas could easily shift to the long-distance passenger trains. It was a very welcome link because public transit elevated in the air had increased rapidly to an average of thousands of passengers daily.[679] (Board of Railroad Commissioners

[676] A view through the eyelashes might recall the covered bridges, with standard trusses, designed as early as the thirteenth century in the south of the Holy Roman Empire. Those covered wooden (toll) brides enabled the traveller to cross the rivers safely during stormy or icy weathers. One can found examples in for example Wünschendorf, Elster in contemporary Germany, Bad Säckingen on its border with Switzerland and in Baden, across the Swiss border. (Exact construction years are unknown.) Other later famous – and tourist – examples are the Kapellbrücke, near Lucerne, Switzerland, built in 1333, and the more Romanesque Ponte Coperto or Ponte Vecchio in Pavia, Italy, built in 1354. Cropsey travelled in Europe from 1847 to 1849, visiting among others Switzerland, and Italy.

[677] The American railroad developer and speculator Jason Gould, called Jay, (27 May 1836 – 2 December 1892) was responsible for this part of the line.

[678] See Book 3.

[679] The Manhattan Railway company constructed the covered foot bridge between the elevated terminus and the Grand Central Depot after 1887. A potential 15,000 passengers used it daily in 1923. In this year the elevated terminus and its footway were demolished.

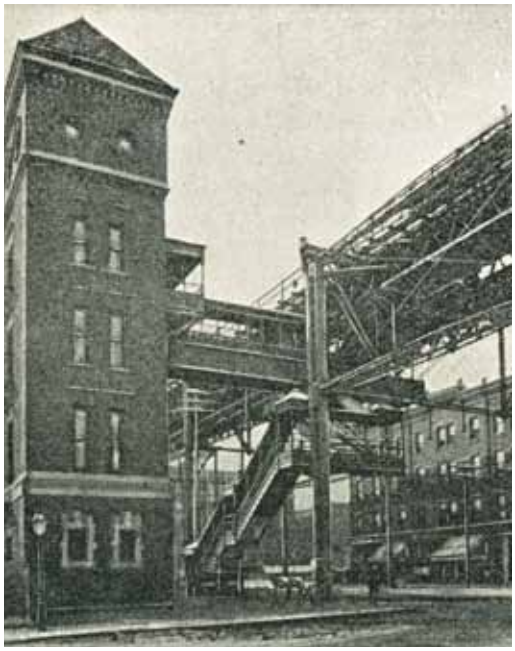


Figure 7.2.3.
Public elevator, elevated walkway and railroad station at 116th Street, New York, 1900s

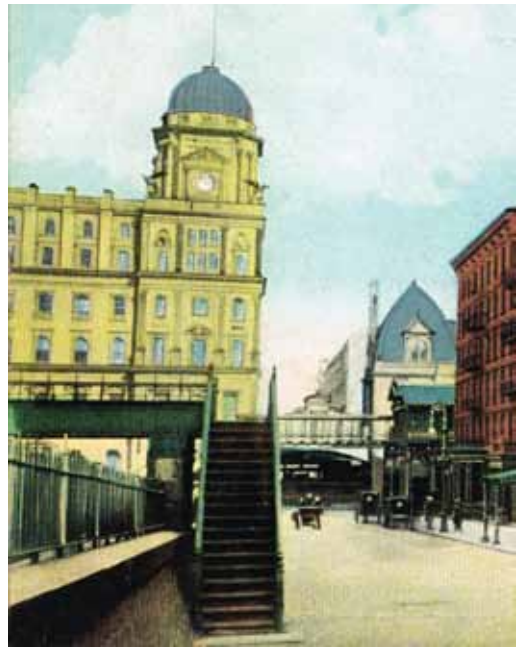


Figure 7.2.4.
The elevated walkway between Grand Central Depot (left) and Third Avenue Elevated annex (behind the red building), 1900s

of the State of New York 1887: 213; The New York Times 1923, 7 December) The same was going on in Brooklyn. Here the new elevated Brooklyn terminal of the Brooklyn Bridge connected the Kings County Elevated by means of an overhead pedestrian brigde too.[680] (Harper's Weekly 1895, 15 June; Engineering News 1895, 4 July; The New York Times 1895, 30 September)

When other cities like Boston and Chicago followed New York and Brooklyn[681] with the introduction of elevated railroads, covered overhead footbridges were widely applied at their stations. In the last years of the nineteenth century, engineers and architects designed them in a somewhat familiar Late Neoclassic style. Again, all of them chose similar lightweight and inexpensive materials and none of alterations to the original utilitarian concept were huge. In Boston, mainly the usage of copper stood out. The people reached the stations by means of simple iron stairways covered by a running copper canopy that was ribbed like the station roof. Copper panels sheathed the platforms and overhanging copper-panelled ridge roofs, supported on simple posts, capped it. A finial in the same material decorated the edge of the roof. Even the wrought iron balustrade enclosing the stairway on either side was decorated with scrolls and copper panels. The stations just below track level were finished in wood.[682] In Chicago, the first generation of stations, designed in red brick, terracotta and with red-slated roofing and wood interiors, stood out because they were located on the ground directly under the girders of the track. In addition, also differently to New York, the stair- and footways were not covered, although the elevated platforms were, with an ornamental A-frame roof supported by cast-iron columns. The second generation of stations distinguished themselves from others in a different way. Mainly, they did by their simple utilitarian stairways and footbridges, which contrasted with the design of the elevated stations. Their decorative pressed sheet-metal cladding with Corinthian pilasters and wood bead-board panelling was unique.[683] Still, as said, de facto, the designers imitated the successful New York concept. Particularly, for Boston engineers it seemed save to do so as an early different kind of experimental elevated line proofed to be not very

[680] The American civil engineer Charles Cyril Martin (30 Augustus 1831 – 11 July 1903) designed the two interconnected stations in 1895.

[681] In 1893, one introduced an elevated railroad also in Baltimore, one of the other most populous cities of the US in the period 1870s-1900s. (The Baltimore Sun 1893, March 20)

[682] The American architect Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow Jr. (18 August 1854 – 16 February 1934) was awarded with the commission for Boston Elevated Railroad stations in 1898. Construction of the elevated structure and its first stations took place between 1898 and 1901.

[683] The American civil engineer Robert Imlay Sloan, Sr. (23 February 1837 – 3 March 1901) was chief engineer at the Metropolitan-Manhattan Railway before he began planning of the elevated Chicago and South Side Rapid Transit Railroad in 1890. The American architect Myron Henry Church (18 October 1852 – 17 January 1929) was responsible for its stations, which opened in 1892. It would be the city's first elevated railroad line, soon nicknamed the Alley El, and it ran to the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Later in 1893 trains began running on the Lake Street Elevated Railroad and in 1895 on the Metropolitan West Side Elevated, all more or less the same. The English-American architect Alfred Hedley, Sr. (born October 1870 – death after 1925) designed the second generation of stations between 1895 and 1897. He was most likely the younger brother of Frank Hedley (9 January 1864 – 16 July 1955), who was a general superintendent for rapid transit in Chicago untill 1902 when he was assigned in New York. The stations served the Union Elevated Railroad, which was incorporated in 1894 to construct a loop around the central business district connecting the three elevated lines that until then ended at individual terminals. Both elevated as encircled area would become known as The Loop.

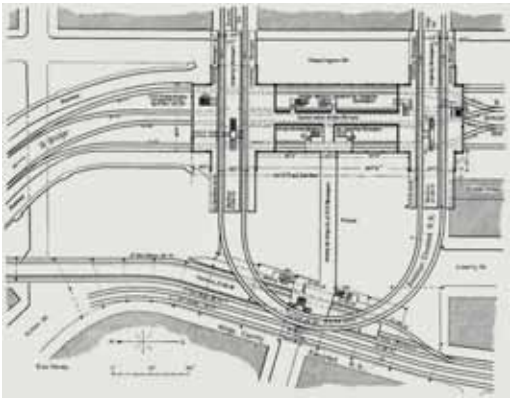


Figure 7.2.5a.
The design drawing of the elevated Brooklyn Bridge stations by Charles Martin, 1895

Figure 7.2.5b.
The interior of the new elevated Brooklyn Bridge terminal with connection to the Kings County Elevated, wood engraving by G.W. Peters, 1895

successful as it made its last run already within a few years after its introduction. From typological point of view, slightly innovatively however, the designers of the new elevated made use of New-York style footbridges to interconnect two of its stations with existing interregional rail terminals in their proximity. The first link as such opened in 1901 to South Central Station on the south of downtown and the second in 1912 to the North Union Station and on the north side.[684] The footbridges facilitated an easy transfer, which seemed to follow the prime intention to plan the so-called Atlantic Avenue Elevated deliberately as shuttle between the two terminals.[685] Both footways again were covered and constructed in such a way that pedestrian traffic could easily and conveniently flow from one platform to another. They served the passengers changing tracks on a mezzanine level: above street level, where the long-distance trains arrived, and one storey down from the elevated platform level. The advantage was that carriages, coaches and cars could easily pass under and that there was no conflict with the people crossing the street. One could reason that these covered bridges in themselves were not unique; one could bring many non-specified examples to the table to show older examples. This variant however would develop to one, which served the people by linking buildings, enforcing indoor public ramps or stairs to the elevated levels.

In this epistle, the year 1901 marked this change. A New York trained architect, called Frank Furness, brought the principle to his hometown Philadelphia.[686] He would use the concept merely to cross one of the many narrow and probably most congested streets of his city to ease access to Broad Street Station, not to connect to another station. The argumentation to do so was simple: By the turn of the century, already over several million people arrived and departed here, and the City assumed an average annual increase of ten per cent over each following year. With this future in mind, one concluded that it was "scarcely possible, particularly for women and children, to cross Market or Broad street to any of the entrances to the station, without serious risk and danger, and at the same time the blocking or stopping of much of the traffic on the streets". Therefore, seven years after finishing the design of Broad Street

[684] Somewhat similar footbridges were completed in London in 1878 and Paris in 1889: resp. between Grand Hotel at Charing Cross Station and an new annex by design of Edward Middleton Barry (see Book 5) and Gare de Paris Saint-Lazare to hotel Le Concorde Opéra Paris by design of the French architect Jean Just Gustave Lisch (10 June 1828 – 24 August 1910). North Union Station, or North Station, included the old Boston & Lowell Station, built between 1873 and 1878 by design of the American architect Levi Newcomb (8 February 1822 – 1 October 1898) and son Edgar Allan Poe Newcomb (23 April 1846 – 1923). It was extended in 1893 by the American architects George Foster Shepley (7 November 1860 – 17 July 1903), Charles Hercules Rutan (28 March 1851 – 17 December 1914), and Charles Allerton Coolidge (30 November 1858 – 1 April 1932). The entire station was demolished in 1927, to make way for a new one. Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge designed South Central Station, or South Station too, between 1896 and 1899. The Atlantic Avenue Elevated stopped service in 1938: the elevated footbridges and south terminus were demolished. The north terminus closed in 2004.

[685] The American engineer Howard Adams Carson (28 November 1842 – 26 October 1931), at the time chief engineer of the Boston Transit Commission, designed the Atlantic Avenue Elevated, not to be confused with its namesake planned in 1879 and opened in 1888 by the Brooklyn Elevated Railroad.

[686] The American architect Frank Heyling Furness (12 November 1839 – 27 June 1912) designed both Broad Street Station, opened in 1894, and the adjoined Arcade Building, or Commercial Trust Building, opened in 1902. The buildings have been demolished in respectively 1953 and 1969. He had attended the atelier of fellow countryman Richard Morris Hunt (31 October 1827 – 31 July 1895) in New York from 1859 to 1861, and again in 1865, after serving in The American Civil War, until he formed his own firm in 1867.

Figure 7.2.6.
Link to South Central Station in Boston, 1900s

Station, Furness presented a spectacular plan to introduce an arcade building with stairways, which would form an easy and ample ascent to a long covered footbridge, now called footway, linking the train platform level. It might echo the design of the elevated station at 110th Street in New York. Yet additionally, in the Philadelphian design, the type had become more than just a covered pedestrian bridge to the service of one or two stations. The whole would be "primarily designed for the accommodation of the general public", because likewise, the result would create more space that is pedestrian and it afforded "a footway covered and protected as well from the storms of winter as from the sun of summer" and it would give "the opportunity to avoid the danger of crossing congested Market street". One explained at the time that the introduction of the arcade system to the overhead covered footway obtained better public accommodations on the crowded thoroughfare, in keeping with the advances made in European cities. The bridge, which eventually spanned Market Street between two buildings, was again of light ironwork. However, it became more then just a mere functional addition. Furness paid every attention to the architecture of the so-called Pennsylvania Railroad Bridge across Market Street in order to make it in harmony with the two adjoined buildings. The lower levels of the terminal and arcade buildings had porticoes, if not they were heavy and rusticated, whereas the facades of the upper stories were of red brick, stone and terracotta. The overhead footway connecting the upper level completed a most agreeable picturesque Late Neoclassical effect, as it was ornamental in the same manner. In addition, Furness glassed it. This made a public footbridge or overhead footway completely enclosed for the first time. This would be more convenient during stormy weathers than its predecessors while at the same time glass was still the slightest possible obstruction to the view. This addition definitively formed the first true interior overhead pedestrian way. (The Railway International Passenger and Ticket Agents' Journal 1901, March; The Philadelphia Record 1902, 2 April) The ordinance to improve the facilities for safe pedestrian traffic and convenient public travel by authorising the construction of an overhead footway across a busy street was the next step in common practice in the United States.

Figure 7.2.7a.
Market Street arcade building and skyway in Philadelphia, 1900s

Figure 7.2.7b.
Skyway and Broad Street Station in Philadelphia, 1900s

> "To improve the facilities for and safety of public travel by authorizing the widening of certain streets south of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's Broad Street Station, and the construction of a bridge across Market street connecting therewith. First. This Ordinance is primarily designed for the accommodation of the general public, because it is quite possible for the Pennsylvania Railroad to erect its new buildings without in any way widening Fifteenth street. It could rest content with merely erecting a bridge over Market street, and all of its legal responsibilities to the public would be ended. Second. It is apparent, however, that within a few years the narrow sidewalk on Fifteenth street (already congested with travel) will become almost impassable, and the railroad management, looking to present comfort as well as future absolute necessity, wishes to make its improvements keep pace with the public requirements. Third. As an evidence of these requirements, the following facts are given: In the year 1899, over 15,000,000 people arrived and departed from Broad Street Station! Based upon past experience, it is safe to assume an average annual increase of 10 per cent over each preceding year. This enormous number of people (which at present averages over 43,000 per diem) bids fair to increase to gigantic proportions. Fourth.

> The same argument which applies to the widening of Fifteenth street applies equally to the necessity for a bridge over Market street. It is designed and intended to save the general public from the dangers and difficulties of crossing Market street at grade. The number of trolley cars which now use the street is annually upon the increase, and their tendency is towards greater speed and the use of larger vehicles. The coupe and hansom systems are rapidly growing (a number of new lines having been established), and the general freight, express and delivery business of the large department stores is throwing hundreds of new business wagons upon Market street. By the erection of this bridge the railroad company co-operates with the city in protecting the general public, and meets an absolute necessity. Any measure which concerns 43,000 people daily certainly rises to the dignity of a public benefit. [...] Eighth. The introduction of the Arcade system into Philadelphia is in keeping with the advances made in European cities, and affords a hint as to means of obtaining better public accommodations on all crowded thoroughfares. [...] Tenth. An objection has been urged that the proposed bridge will obstruct the view of the Public Buildings from Market street. The single span of light steel and glass will not obstruct the view to any appreciable extent. It will be an ornament in the daytime rather than an obstruction, and at night, with its brilliant electric lights, will actually relieve the sombre surroundings of the City Hall." (The ordinance as passed by the City Councils of Philadelphia, as quoted by The Railway International Passenger and Ticket Agents' Journal 1901, March)

By then, another New York engineer in Philadelphia would apply similar principles for the design of some stations of the Market Street Elevated and the Delaware Avenue Elevated.[687] The design of the type did not change fundamentally. Especially the covered footbridge to the upper decks of the Pennsylvania Railroad Ferry[688] of the latter line even recalled images of his hometown. Nevertheless, such regulations introduced another way of public involvement, for the benefit of the people and by representation of the local government. Due to the American developments in elevating roads of all kinds, especially railroads, the covered way in the sky, as envisioned by French utopians, became part of the image of the real city. In merely three decades, the type was full-grown as an enclosed public gallery above street level.

[687] The first ideas for the line were posed in 1902. The American engineer George Huntington Thomson (21 December 1846 – 7 February 1910) worked for the New-York Central (and Hudson River) Railroad Company and for the New York based American Elevated Railroad Company. He planned and constructed the Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway between 1904 and 1907. It was mainly built elevated to carry the line across the Schuylkill River just northeast of Market Street, the city's main east-west axis. The line ran between its terminus at 69th Street and 22nd Street, where the line went undergrounds and was known as the Market Street Subway. (See Book 8) When in 1908, the subway was running to 2nd Street, the railway was extended in two more phases, again as an elevated track. The next section allowed trains to come to the surface and up again, curving south along the Delaware River to Market-Chestnut station and the adjoined ferry terminal between Market and Chestnut Streets. The last section, for the time being, ran along the quays, wharfs and piers to South Street station, linking a second ferry terminal. From Chestnut Street, the elevated railway was called the Delaware Avenue Elevated, or the Ferry Line. This elevated structure and the elevated part between 22nd and 46th Streets were removed in 1956; a year after the opening of the submerged substitutes. Since then the line is known as part of the Market–Frankford Line.

[688] The double ferry house and terminal of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in Philadelphia is probably designed by the American architect and civil engineer Joseph Miller Wilson, abbreviated to Jas, (20 June 1838 – 24 November 1902) who was appointed engineer of the railroad company. In 1899, after the merge of the Camden and Philadelphia Ferry and the West Jersey Ferry companies, the building was also known as the 'Pennsylvania R.R. Ferries' terminal. The railroad connected Philadelphia, to Trenton, New Jersey, for access to New York City. The ferry transported passengers to and from Camden, New Jersey, before the first bridge spanned the river in 1926. Service was suspended in 1952.

Figure 7.2.8.
Covered footbridge to the upper decks of the Pennsylvania Railroad Ferry, 1900s

Chapter 3 Past Cities of Tomorrow

Back in Paris, the concept of the familiar overhead street galleries had faded with the executions of the Commune's representatives, but it did not disappear completely. In the dawn of a new century, we could discover two kinds of followers in France. On the one end of the spectrum, designers would lay the emphasis merely on its technical possibilities and see whatever industrialisation might bring society, while on the other end, designers and engineers kept placing themselves in service of a socialist ideal and they continue to use elevated overhead galleries in their vision of the future to be created. The Parisian city-architect Eugène Hénard[689] and successor of Haussmann could represent the first fraction, as he would like to transform the existing city in a pure engineering way. In his study on the further transformation of Paris, he proposed multiple layered streets to overcome the increase of mobility. These ideas were clearly in line with Borie and Moilin, yet without any socialist approach. It seemed that he had not got his fingers burnt to the delicate issues of the past. His city of the future would be one imbued with Haussmannian rationality. By proposing 'wide roads', 'superb towers', 'underground streets' and 'elevated platforms', Hénard simply hoped that "The Cities of To-morrow" would "be more readily susceptible to transformation and adornment than the Cities of Yesterday". (Hénard 1905, 1909, en 1911: 345-367) On distance of the reclaimed French capital, this was quite different. In Lyon, for example, Tony Garnier[690] could represent the second fraction of visionaries, upholding the socialist ideals. He was able to do so, also because the political environment in the Rhône-Alps region was different. Here, radical-republicans, socialists, communists and anarchists still would count on considerable support among the local people. The mayor of Lyon, under whose auspices Garnier often worked, was even one of the national radical-socialist leaders.[691] It seems no surprise that in his avant-gardistic 'Une Cité Industrielle', Garnier explicitly looked for "a situation to better satisfy the material and the moral needs of the individual". In this idealistic study, this led to the creation of rules for road use, hygiene and so on. He used engineering again to aim for a better society: a society responsible for its members' well-being, as Garnier put it, and again, overhead galleries would be part of the construction of these new cities, that is to say only modestly. (Garnier 1917 and 1920)

While in time French urbanists, divided by a focus on either humanity or pure technology, started to search for other spatial answers then overhead galleries,[692] one could discover disciples of the same old school utopian reasoning and imagination just abroad the southeast French border in North Italy and in Switzerland at about the same time as Garnier. Yet, for those designers, elevated street galleries would represent simply the 'new' city and 'new' architecture without any additional connotation. Utopia would become the future. The work of Antonio Sant'Elia[693] was exemplary for the Early-Modern

[689] The French architect Eugène Alfred Hénard (22 October 1849 – 19 February 1923) was the 'architecte gouvernemental', or city architect of Paris and successor of Haussmann as supervisor of the town planning.

[690] Tony Garnier (13 August 1869 – 19 January 1948) was a French architect and urban designer.

[691] Between 1905 and 1957, the mayor of Lyon was Édouard Herriot (5 July 1872 – 26 March 1957), an influential member of the young 'Parti Républicain, Radical et Radical-Socialiste'. Herriot became President of the Council of Ministers during his tenure in 1924, after the electoral victory of the left-wing coalition with the French Section of the Workers' International (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière), and with intervals again in 1926 and 1932. He had been replaced as mayor several times since.

[692] See for example Lefebvre's ambition illuminated in Book 1.

[693] Antonio Sant'Elia (30 April 1888 – 10 October 1916) was an Italian architect. He was killed taking part in an assault in 1916.

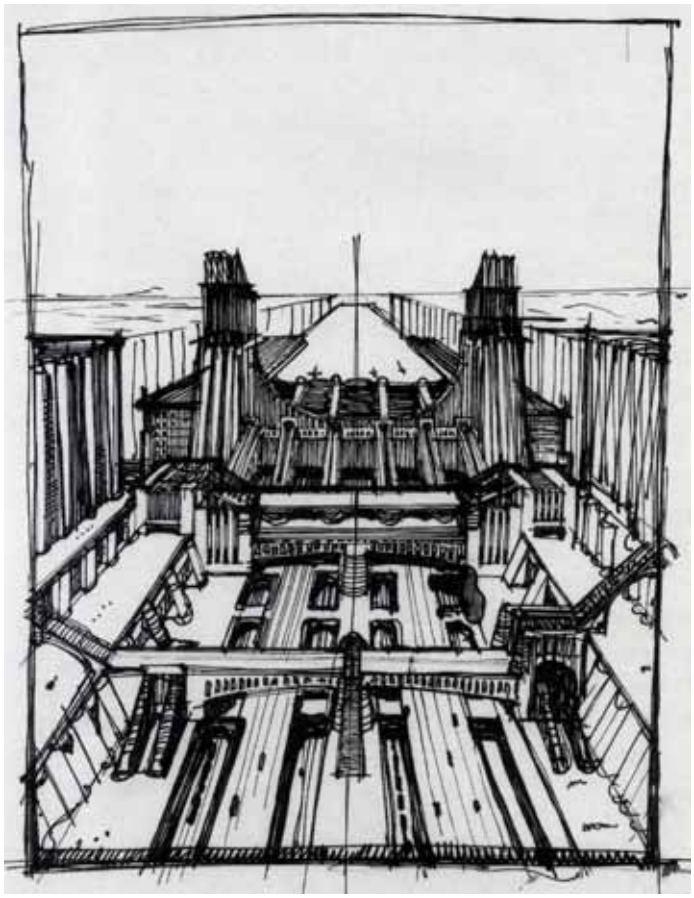


Figure 7.3.1.
Stazione Ferroviaria of La Cittá Nuova by Antonio Sant'Elia, 1909/14

architects on the south side of the Alps. Sant'Elia included overhead streets of all kinds in his renowned 'La Cittá Nuova'. Although new for him, it should be very credible that these ideas came not out of the blue. Apart from the fact that Garnier was an internationally noted architect and planner, the Italian art collective, which was dubbed 'Nuove Tendenze', had direct ties with Paris. One of the founding members, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti,[694] was educated in the French capital, where the prestigious French newspaper Le Figaro had published his manifesto on futurism in 1909. As such, Sant'Elia's ideological forerunner shared the idea that art should focus on modern life; speed, mobility, cars, trains et cetera… (Marinetti 1909, 20 February) In fact, it had become the fundamental idea, which dominated the work of every member of the collective. Between 1912 and 1914, Sant'Elia made several designs of which he displayed sixteen at an exhibition, together with work of his colleague Mario Chiatone, and five painters, a sculptor and a textile decorator.[695] Without an overall urban concept, they drew a series of visions for future Milan and, in every one of them, they made the old utopian concepts more useful for a future implementation. Thus, it seemed reasonable to subtitle the exhibition in line with Moulin's book: 'Milano l'Ano Due Mille': Milan in the Year 2000.[696] The expo included highly imaginative drawings and plans, which would be adaptable for all cities of the future. Sant'Elia and Chiatone showed renditions of high-rise buildings with public spaces on

[694] Filippo Tommaso Emilio Marinetti, born as Emilio Angelo Carlo Marinetti or some documents say Filippo Achille Emilio (22 December 1876 – 2 December 1944) was an Egypt-born Italian poet. The French newspaper Le Figaro, which had published his founding manifesto, introduced him as an Italian and French poet.

[695] Mario Chiattone (11 November 1891 – 21 August 1957) was an Italian architect, painter and decorator, died in the southern tip of Switzerland, bordering Italy.

[696] The exhibition was called Nuove Tendenze, Milano l'Ano Due Mille. It was open from 20 May to 10 June, in the gallery of Famiglia Artistica, on Via Agnello 8, Milan.

several levels, linked by funiculars, elevators and overhead streets, footways to be precise. In none of the drawings and sketches are an indication if conventional streets. In the 'messaggio', or manifesto, which was published in the exhibition catalogue, Sant'Elia makes explicit why.[697] According to him, most contemporary designs kept "stubborn with the rules of Vitruvius, Vignola and Sansovino".[698] Architects, having the publications of Germans in their hands, reprint "the old image of imbecility on our cities, which should be the immediate and faithful projection of ourselves". They should embrace Modern life and invent and rebuild the city, because the "tremendous contrast between the ancient and the modern world is determined by everything that was not there before". The 'futurist' city, as he would later call it, would include covered markets and bright galleries. For him the street would be no more than a stretched area leading to a predella-like platform. It was more like a concierge level, sunken into the ground to host the urban traffic. To serve the pedestrian, again a variant on the overhead footways would be the solution. He envisioned metal 'gangways' as fast moving walkways. (Sant'Elia 1914, 20 May and 1 August)

> "Noi dobbiamo inventare e rifabbricare la città futurista simile ad un immenso cantiere tumultuante, agile, mobile, dinamico in ogni sua parte, e la casa futurista simile ad una macchina gigantesca. Gli ascensori non debbono rincantucciarsi come vermi solitari nei vani delle scale; ma le scale, divenute inutili, devono essere abolite e gli ascensori devono inerpicarsi, come serpenti di ferro e di vetro, lungo le facciate. La casa di cemento di vetro di ferro senza pittura e senza scultura, ricca soltanto della bellezza congenita alle sue linee e ai suoi rilievi, straordinariamente brutta nella sua meccanica semplicità, alta e larga quanto più è necessario, e non quanto è prescritto dalla legge municipale deve sorgere sull'orlo di un abisso tumultuante: la strada, la quale non si stenderà più come un soppedaneo al livello delle portinerie, ma si sprofonderà nella terra per parecchi piani, che accoglieranno il traffico metropolitano e saranno congiunti per i transiti necessari, da passerelle metalliche e da velocissimi tapis roulants." (Sant'Elia 1914, 1 August)

In addition, also the work of his contemporary Le Corbusier was exemplary.[699] He grew up north-west of the Alps and similar to his

Figure 7.3.2.
Ville Contemporaine by Le Corbusier, 1924

[697] The preface in the catalogue of the exhibition, called '*messaggio*', borne only the name of Sant'Elia.

[698] Giacomo Barozzida Vignola, also known as Jacopo and/or Barocchio (1 October 1507 – 7 July 1573) and Jacopo d'Antonio Sansovino (2 July 1486 – 27 November 1570) were Italian architects.

[699] See Book 2 and 6.

Italian colleagues he tended to be more pragmatic than the visionary predecessors were. To him, there was no need to be hypnotised by a utopian dreamer to feel the tremendous pressure, which in all countries lead to the search for more harmony and the hope of a better living. He stated that designers and artists should embrace the latest innovations and apply these for public utilisation: new facades and new streets. Together with the French painter Amédée Ozenfant,[700] in whom he recognised a kindred spirit, he wrote and published a manifesto on the future of arts too. In a typical Early Modern way, they aimed to 'inoculate artists with the spirit of the age'. (Jeanneret 1910, 14 May; Ozenfant and Jeanneret 1918, Le Corbusier 1923, July) His renowned 'Ville Contemporaine' of three million inhabitants was the continuation of these thoughts, then superimposed on an imaginary city. He designed a three-dimensional city dominated by high-rise towers and overhead streets in the tradition of Hénard, yet huge green intermediaries separated both. He proposed two great overhead arterial roads running north and south, and east and west, and forming the two great axes of the city. In the centre, a platform on a second level, would serve air traffic. At the ground storey level of the buildings there would be the complicated and delicate network of ordinary streets taking traffic in every desired direction. Belowground there would be the street for heavy traffic. (Le Corbusier 1924: 164 and appendix)

> "Trois sortes de rues, les unes au-dessous des autres:
> a) En sous-sol (1), les poids lourds- L'étage des maisons occupant, ce niveau formé de pilotis laissant entre eux des espaces libres très grands, les poids lourds déchargent ou chargent leurs marchandises à cet étage-là qui constitue en vérité les docks de la maison.
> b) Au niveau du rez-de-chaussée des immeubles, le système multiple et sensible des rues normales qui conduit la circulation jusqu'e ses fins les plus déliées.
> c) Nord-Sud, Est-Ouest, constituent les deux axes de la ville, les autodromes de traverses pour circulation rapide à sens unique, sont établis sur de vastes passerelles de béton de 40 ou 60 mètres de large raccordées tous les 800 ou 1.200 mètres par des rampants au niveau des rues normales. On atteint les autodromes de traversée en un point quelconque de leur course et l'on peut effectuer la traversée de la ville et atteindre sa banlieue, aux allures les plus fortes, sans avoir à supporter aucun croisèrent."
> (Le Corbusier 1924: 161)

He also adjusted the concept of smaller overhead street galleries of Borie and Moilin. They would be current in the residential quarters, but more part of the built making real interior streets. For example, in his concept for the 'Lotissements Fermés à Alvéoles' or 'Immeubles-Villas', one could enter each housing block by freestanding service stairs and elevated 'corridors', both 'penetrating into the air'. All together, in these multiple-level designs, the ground storey was left - not to the dogs -, but for all kinds of services, ordinary streets and green. Le Corbusier also relied on the early ideas of Garnier. They had met in Lyon in 1907 and since they had corresponded over a period of eight years.[701] In presenting these plans to the Parisian public at the Salon d'Automne 1922,[702] as in his words, he would bring the utopian city to life by means of prefabrication and mass-production. He underlined that Paris was (again) ready for reconstruction, now by the illustration of several newspaper cuttings on present car-traffic incidents. In his next plan, dubbed

[700] Amédée Ozenfant (15 April 1886 – 4 May 1966) met Le Corbusier early 1918.

[701] The intensity of the correspondence between Le Corbusier and Garnier is a matter of contention: there is evidence in one single letter from Tony Garnier to Jeanneret dated 13 December 1915, and a next letter by Jeanneret, signed as Le Corbusier, to Garnier, dated five years later on 14 May 1919. The first one is clearly a reply to a probably lost letter, appearently written by Jeanneret 'seventeen months' before; that is in July 1914. This would be written just after a visit of his to Garnier's exhibit of 'La Cité Moderne' on the 'Exposition Internationale Lyon', which ran from 1 May to 1 November 1914. The second letter is the earliest known saved letter by Jeanneret a.k.a. Le Corbusier. (Garnier 1915, December 13, Le Corbusier 1919, May 14)

[702] Salon d'Automne 1922 was open from 1 November to 20 December 1922. Le Corbusier exhibited his urban plan together with the 'Citrohan House', evoking Citroën cars, a house intended to be prefabricated and mass-produced.

'Voisin', he would reconstruct the larger part of the centre of the capital to replace the existing fabric for his new ideal including more overhead footways,[703] but abridging the old French ideas and like the New York elevated tracks, these footways would be mostly outdoors again. (Garnier 1915, 13 December; Le Corbusier 1919, 14 May; and 1924: 119-133, 205-213, 263-274; Le Corbusier 1937: 9)

While many concepts of Le Corbusier had been continuations of previous utopian and futuristic ideas, they showed a relatively more down to earth approach to overhead footways: He introduced grade separation and multiple-level public space in close proximity of the street level. If we would compare the work of Ludwig Hilberseimer,[704] a third visionary outside France, one could find another futuristic vision on 'new architecture' and 'new cities', but once more it included overhead footways. He presented his view on the future for the first time in Karlsruhe, in the autumn of 1924, as part of his 'Hochhausstadt'. This scheme for a skyscraper city presented an extremely sober Modernistic image of a terraced arrangement of high-rise building bocks. The overhead footways linked high in the air, on the sixth level as classic futuristic relics. The whole was set in a dreary street-level space filled with cars. The metropolis, said Hilberseimer, had become an entirely new creation of large-scale industrialisation, without historical precedent, and thus, like Corbusier, overhead footways as demonstrated in Garnier's concepts fascinated him. Yet, differently, the outdoor space should be less a park-like open field in which overhead footways would run freely. In Hilberseimer view, Le Corbusier was not radical enough. In short, he posed critique on the way of solving the traffic problems and density. In his vision, the overhead footways of the 'contemporary city' should interconnect an 'Oberstadt'. Again, echoing past utopian thinkers, "It was an answer for a man not any more subjective and individual but objective and collective." (Hilberseimer 1927: 18-19, 93; 1944: 64-66, 129-136; and 1964: 75, 164)

Both Le Corbusier and Hilberseimer had included futuristic overhead footways in their theoretical urban schemes. Both also, like some of their predecessors, used New York as a mirror. Already in his early days, Hilberseimer was attracted to the 'strange beauty of big American cities', as he writes in 1922 that one could find

703 Le Corbusier exhibited his plan 'Voisin' in the l'Esprit Nouveau pavilion, at the 'Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes', or the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts, a World's fair held in Paris, from 28 April to 8 November 1925. He had named the plan after Gabriel Voisin (5 February 1880 – 25 December 1973), a French industrial designer, and one of the world's earliest aviation pioneers. He went to school in Lyon, nearby his home village, and in Paris.

704 The German-American architect and urban designer and planner Ludwig Karl Hilberseimer (14 September 1885 – 6 May 1967) made his first schemes in Karlsruhe, in the south-west of Germany.

Figure 7.3.3.
Hochhausstadt, Ost-Weststrasse, by Ludwig Hilberseimer, 1924

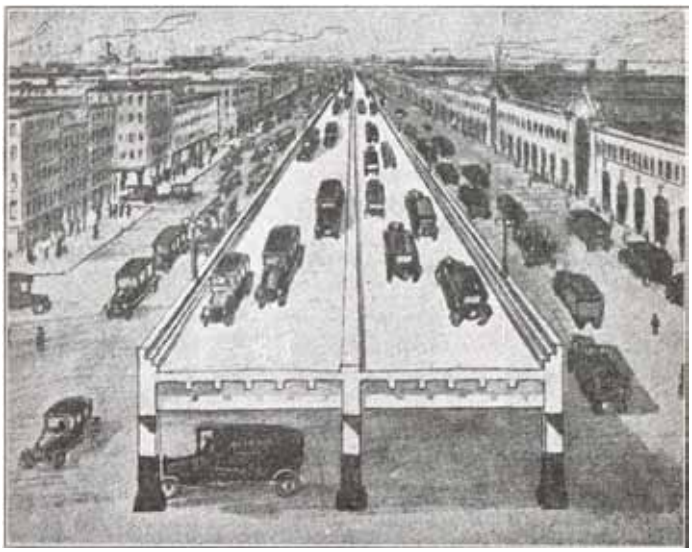


Figure 7.3.4.
The great elevated Motor Track as published in The City of To-morrow and its Planning of Le Corbusier, 1929

the materialised spirit of that time in its most powerful expression in the mountainous houses of New York. While in Europe, this hypertrophy was limited, the unbridled speculation drive with the high-rises of American cities has created 'something almost fairy tale'. (Hilberseimer 1922, October) Le Corbusier would call this common esteem 'the discovery of the New World'. In contrast, his personal adoration was less; "It has been made subject for the poet, inspiring enthusiasm and admiration. As for beauty, there is none at all. There is confusion, chaos and upheaval." Although he qualified the skyscraper itself as a noble instrument, for him the city stands for narrow streets and congestion. On the one hand, he used the elevated railways to illustrate the potential of a layered city, while on the other hand, his concern in this seemed mainly concentrated on the way New Yorkers ordered and sized their public space. (Le Corbusier 1924: 43, 144, 152, 165, 173-176) The introduction to the first English translated edition of Le Corbusier's 'Urbanisme', old school futuristically named 'The City of To-morrow and its Planning', underlined exactly this. Copiously, translator Frederick Etchells[705] referred to 'a great elevated Motor Track or highway', which was actually being constructed in New York at the moment. This overhead road ran along the Hudson River over a distance of five miles and it would be set in a transformed urban area rearranged on a 'gridiron' plan.[706] All crossings had been eliminated, because it was meant for express car traffic driving 30 miles an hour and over. At the time, The Committee on the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs[707] had explained that in the case of traffic in the street, public safety required the separation of grades of speed. Etchells referred to the Proposed Christie-Forsythe Parkway, a street widening project, which was part of the committee's vision to rebuild Manhattan's Lower East Side. It was the proof case for Corbusian solutions for congestion. Together with the superhighway on the Newark-Jersey City Viaduct and a 1913 'circumferential elevated driveway' that allowed Park Avenue traffic to traverse around Grand Central Terminal and bypass 42nd Street,[708] New York showed that elevated roads were indeed a contemporary answer to the problem. They were able to benefit the effective

[705] Frederick Etchells (14 September 1886 – 16 August 1973) was an English artist and translator of some of the books of Le Corbusier. Later he also got involved in architecture himself.

[706] The elevated road, now known as West Side Highway or New York State Route 9A, was set on the former Penn Yards. In 1917, the drawing of a contract between the City and the New York Central Railroad Company for the 'west side improvement' had completed. The city reclaimed the vacant freight rail yard to redevelop. However, apart from the elevated road, plans to transform the area have been for eighty years in the air. After construction of the elevated road, Robert Moses proposed a new plan in 1934. Amalgamated Lithographers Union – a local labour union - proposed 'Litho City' in 1962. The Polish-American developer Abraham Jacob Hirschfeld, called Abe, (12 December 1919 – 9 August 2005) proposed 'Lincoln West' in 1979 and 1981. Donald Trump proposed 'Television City' in 1985. Finally, six civic organisations proposed another alternative, now known as 'Riverside South' in 1989. This plan, a bit adjusted, is under construction since 1997. The elevated road will be relocated to grade and covered.

[707] This planning endeavour was privately organised by businessmen and financiers and it was funded by the Russell Sage Foundation. The plan envisioned New York with twenty million people by 1965.

[708] See Book 2.

movement of traffic in areas of congestion and the safety of the pedestrian. Thus, while elevated roads were still theory in Europe, the biggest city of the United States demonstrated that they could become real, or as The New York Times concluded at the time: "The metropolis of the New World may yet have something more prepossessing to show the traveler from Europe than the mean street of the present waterfront". (Poore 1928, 26 August; Committee on the Regional Plan of New York and its Environments 1929: 399; Le Corbusier 1929: ix-xiv) By learning from New York, futuristic ideas could be become real was the implication. New York was a city of possibilities and - in that capacity - it attracted a young generation of Modernists, like the Swiss-born William Lescaze and his assistant Albert Frey.[709] Frey had worked in Le Corbusier's atelier from 1928 to 1929. It is an exemplar of how the exchange of ideas was set, the more because Lescaze and Frey made a model for the iconic Christie-Forsythe project in 1931. A year later, their design appeared together with projects of Le Corbusier and Hilbersheimer at the Museum of Modern Art, in the famous and influencial exhibition called 'Modern Architecture, International Exhibition'.[710] (Hitchcock and Johnson 1932: 154) The United States would provide a next generation of Europeans an almost practical image of the city of tomorrow.

Figure 7.3.5.
New York in the Year 2000 by Harvey Wiley Corbett, February 1924

American designers seemed to reason in the opposite direction. They enriched their pragmatic approach with ideals as developed by European utopists and futurists. Especially in the New York of the Roaring Twenties, the prevailing vision of the Modern city would incorporate many characteristics of a city far beyond that which was current. The renowned New-York architect Harvey Wiley Corbett[711] was leading in this new American vision, as he had proposed triple-decked streets for traffic relief a few years before Le Corbusier published his French book on urbanism. (The New York Times 1924, 3 February) In 1927, and together with a few other scientists,[712] he contributed to the image of 'New York in the Year 2000', another prophetic vision on a future city. Corbett imagined a city of 30,000,000 inhabitants, where some buildings would be 'far taller than the world knew that day'. Many would be at least larger. Forty stories high and covering an entire block, would be nothing unusual. In all probability, of all metropolitan problems transportation matters was seen as most pressing – just as they where those days. The 'sidewalk bridges' or elevated sidewalks would be constructed hundreds of feet above the streets. In this vision for the magic year 2000, these would join not only building to building for blocks, but even for miles. In addition, roads would cross the street from side to side, not like the early ideas simply elevated by a viaduct, but high in the air. In the best advantage, according to Corbett, probably they would run across the housetops to optimise daylight distribution. As to the present-level streets, the sidewalks would probably be raised to the second story level to permit a full stream of one-way traffic, utilising all the space between the buildings. His multi-layered streets had evolved into five levels. Although on could recognise an echo of Moilin's vision, according to his own explanation, examples in his own city inspired him, as well as similar systems to meet future traffic problems supported by the Detroit Rapid Transit Commission. (Stearns 1927, October; The New York Times 1929, 8 October)

[709] William Edmond Lescaze (27 March 1896 – 9 February 1969) and Albert Frey (18 October 1903 – 14 November 1998) were both Swiss-born American architects.

[710] Modern Architecture International Exhibition ran at Museum of Modern Art from 9 February to 23 March 1932. It was at this event, which would become the museum's first travelling exhibition, that the term 'International Style' was born. It was shown across the country in museums and in a department store over a period of two and a half years. Nevertheless, the Christie-Forsythe Parkway was never built. Land between the two parallel streets was originally acquired to by the City of New York in 1929 for the purpose of the parkway, but was instead used for parkland in 1934. The park was dedicated to Sara Delano Roosevelt (21 September 1854 – 7 September 1941), mother of the U.S. President in office.

[711] Harvey Wiley Corbett (8 January 1873 – 21 April 1954) was an American architect.

[712] Among them were the American biologists Raymond Pearl (3 June 1879 – 17 November 1940), of the Johns Hopkins University, and Harry Steenbock (16 August 1886 – 25 December 1967) of the University of Wisconsin, concerned with the future food production and supply, and the German-American mathematician, electrical engineer and inventor Charles Proteus Steinmetz (9 April 1865 – 26 October 1923).

> "Sidewalk bridges hundreds of feet above the streets may be used in this New York of 2,000. We can already see their first beginnings in the occasional high bridges across street chasms, from one office building to another in lower Manhattan. Building permits have already been granted that will mean more of these, further uptown, in the immediate future. From the fortieth story, or perhaps the eightieth, men of 2,000 A.D. will walk straight to the corresponding storey of the building across the way. It is likely that, with thirty- or forty-story buildings, continuous sidewalks 400 to 500 feet in the air will join building to building for blocks, even miles. Roadways will probably cross the street from side to side, high in the air. Already an Englishman, Lord Montague, has proposed viaducts running 200 feet above the present street level for London. But this development would shut off too much light from the street below, and render the chasm itself practically useless. New York's elevated railroads now seem doomed for this reason. In their place the huge automobile highways of the future city will probably run across the housetops. As to the present-level streets, the sidewalks will probably be raised to the second story level to permit a full stream of one-way traffic, utilizing all the space between the buildings." (Stearns 1927, October)

Indirectly boosting also the concept of Grand Central and the many elevated lines in his city, Corbett spoke with authority and knowledge, having built many renowned skyscrapers and being the President of the Architectural League of America.

Yet, days before the Wall Street Crash of 1929,[713] the government saw little practical value in these plans. Only the chief engineer of the Board of Estimate, of all responsible for budget decisions, endorsed the plan, though in parts. The chair of the New York Transit Commission as well as the deputy Police Commissioner in Charge of Traffic led a strong opposition. In result, also the public media was on their side. They questioned: "Does Mr. Corbett believe that the growing concentration in mid-Manhattan, for example, is consistent with health, with ease of movement, with light, with air, and with accessibility?" (The New York Times 1929, 8 October) The project ended and in practice, plans as such stayed on the board for another ten years. Still in research, more and more professionals embraced the overhead footway to envision a future city in which the type would channel the increase of fast motorcar traffic and avoid conflicts. Even across the border Canadian academics underlined that those ways in the sky would "substantially decrease the accident rate in contiguous areas and offer high economic advantages over the older types of thoroughfares". In time, also the establishment of the American Transit Association showed a record of its advance on the fifth National Conference on Planning.[714] (Low 1938, Spring: 102 and Gordon 1939, 15-17 May)
In the same years, Norman Bel Geddes[715] would continue the legacy, revealing himself as a true American futurist. That is to say a pragmatic too. He had included Corbett-like "double-deck streets", in one of his earliest predictions of the world "Ten Years from Now", published in 1931 by the Ladies' Home Journal. (Bel Geddes 1931, January) Two years later, he would work directly for Corbett in an advisory capacity, as Corbett was the chair of the design commission of the 1933 World's Fair, located in Chicago.[716] In addition, again some years later, he would exhibit an urban model, in which he used grade separation at a larger scale. Probably inspired by Le Corbusier, he had named the model after his translated book 'The City of Tomorrow'.[717] (e.g. Bel Geddes 1937,

[713] The New York Stock Exchange collapsed on "Black Tuesday", 29 October 1929.

[714] The fifth National Conference on Planning was held from 15 to 17 May 1939, at Boston, Massachusetts.

[715] The American designer Norman Bel Geddes, born Norman Melancton Geddes, (27 April 1893 – 9 May 1958) was involved in a wide range of futuristic products and concepts. His designs extended to theatre scenes, consumer products, cars, trains, buildings and visions on the future city.

[716] The 1933 Chicago World's Fair, named "A Century of Progress International Exposition" opened on 27 May 1933 and was planned to close at November 1st, but it did so on November 12th. The expo was reopened to run from 26 May to 31 October 1934.

[717] This model featured in the advertisement made by Bel Geddes for Shell Oil Company in 1937 on assignment by the American advertising firm J. Walter Thompson Agency.

11 October) Eventually in the end of The Great Depression, the 'Futurama' exhibit for General Motors at the New York World's Fair[718] gave him the opportunity to build the past future envisioning double-decked streets. Not really in real, but constructed as a life-size model. In a remarkable pavilion, designed in collaboration with architect Albert Kahn,[719] Bel Geddes presented his urban vision for a city on a distant future, one of 1960, instead of the every time returning year 2000. The city with everywhere double-decked streets and thus overhead footways had to become within reach. In line with previous views, he based his application of the type on the continuously expected increase of mobility. In his design, movement was everywhere. Once inside, visitors step onto a moving sidewalk, and from this, they were seated in comfortable upholstered chairs. Spread below them they saw the Midwest Metropolis model, showing fifty-thousand miniature cars in a possible high-density high-rise downtown, with half a million of buildings. It was a spectacular display and the beginning of a tour along mountains, valleys lakes and streams, villages, towns and cities, industrial and university centres, as they probably would look in two decades. A superhighway crossed over a suspension bridge and entered a gigantic metropolis. Climaxing the ride, visitors returned outdoors at the particular double-decked intersection, dubbed The Avenue of Transportation. Together with a small-scale model, it demonstrated how pedestrians and motorcars could continue moving without interference because of the introduction of overhead footways: "a free-flowing movement of people and goods across our nation is a requirement of modern living and prosperity". The exposure was enormous. Nation-wide newspapers and magazines reported on the expo and in the end, the tour attracted no less than five million people. (Time 1929, 4 March; Pettey 1929, 3 May; New York World's Fair 1939: 214-216, General Motors Corp. 1940, Bel Geddes 1940: 10, Bush 1975: 154-163, 204) The project also reached Le Corbusier, as among all those visitors was the French artist Fernand Léger, one of his best friends.[720] Léger sent him two postcards from the exposition, one of which specifically showed the General Motors Building. The partially preprinted card explained in a nut shell how one would "travel over super highways and into the 'city of tomorrow'" and it read that the tour was "climaxed by

[718] The New York World's Fair 1939 was dedicated to the "Building the World of Tomorrow". It opened on April 30, 1939 with the slogan "Dawn of a New Day" for two seasons and it was officially closed on October 27, 1940.

[719] The German-American architect Albert Kahn (21 March 1869 – 8 December 1942) was responsible for the pavilion housing The Futurama exhibit, named the Highways and Horizons Building.

[720] Joseph Fernand Henri Léger (4 February 1881 – 17 August 1955) was a French painter, sculptor and filmmaker. He met Le Corbusier in 1920, the start of a life-long friendship.

Figure 7.3.6a.
The 'Futurama' exhibit for General Motors by Norman Bel Geddes, 1939

Figure 7.3.6b.
Detail of the double-deck streets at the 'Futurama' exhibit, 1939

a full-size street intersection, showing the architecture, motor traffic and pedestrian facilities of the future". "*Tu vois Lancelot!*", Léger added, and with a big arrow: "*Reçu catalogue – Bon, mais n'oublie pas d'architecture*". (Léger 1939i and 1939ii)

In the evolution of the skyway, still called an overhead or elevated footway, Chicago was the place where futurism entered modernity. Like shown in the expo, one would study and predict possibilities, which seemed to be needed in a Modern city. Foremost, the systematic and concrete use of elevated footways was new. It had been part of the American city already for quite a while. Also in Chicago, it was, and the El was not the only precedent in the city proofing its usability. On the other side of downtown, another project was remembering the American utilitarian experiences with the concept, this time as it was developed in Philadelphia. Since 1929, here an enclosed overhead footway linked an arcade with a terminal building too. It connected the then new Chicago Daily News Building with the Madison Street terminal of the Chicago & North Western Railway. The architects John Holabird and John Root, Jr. designed the overhead or elevated footway for the convenience of some 60,000 commuters,[721] who "in the past were forced to wait many minutes daily in crossing Canal St." This street carried a heavy burden of truck and taxicab traffic. The bridge spanned 125 feet, or 38 metres, connecting on one side with the terminal waiting room and on the other with the Daily News Building concourse and its arcade. The entrance of the arcade was at the south end of a plaza on the other side of the building. Here, the pedestrian would enter, ascend a gently inclined ramp, pass though a marble concourse lined with shops, cross Canal Street and find him- or herself a few steps from the trains. The overhead footway followed a Modernistic trend in design. Allegheny metal, a pioneer stainless steel product based on chrome-nickel iron, covered the facades to give the exterior a glistening, silver-like finish. It was practically impervious to the corrosive action of the elements and it would withstand severe weather conditions without losing its highly polished finish. (The New York Times 1928, 3 March and 1929, 7 July, Engineering and Contracting 1929, September) As such, it matched the streamlined Early Modern Art Deco design of

[721] The American architects John Augur Holabird (4 May 1886 – 4 May 1945) and John Wellborn Root, Jr. (14 July 1887 – 24 October 1963) designed the Daily News Building, later also known as Riverside Plaza, and its skyway to the Chicago and North Western Terminal in 1929. Their colleagues Charles Sumner Frost (31 May 1856 – 11 December 1931) and Alfred Hoyt Granger (31 May 1867 – 3 December 1939) designed the terminal in 1911. In 1984, the terminal was demolished and replaced by the Richard B. Ogilvie Transportation Center, which was designed by the German-American architect Helmut Jahn (born 4 January 1940). Jahn also redesigned the skyway.

Figure 7.3.7a.
Enclosed overhead footway between the Chicago Daily News Building and the Madison Street terminal of the Chicago & North Western Railway, 1929

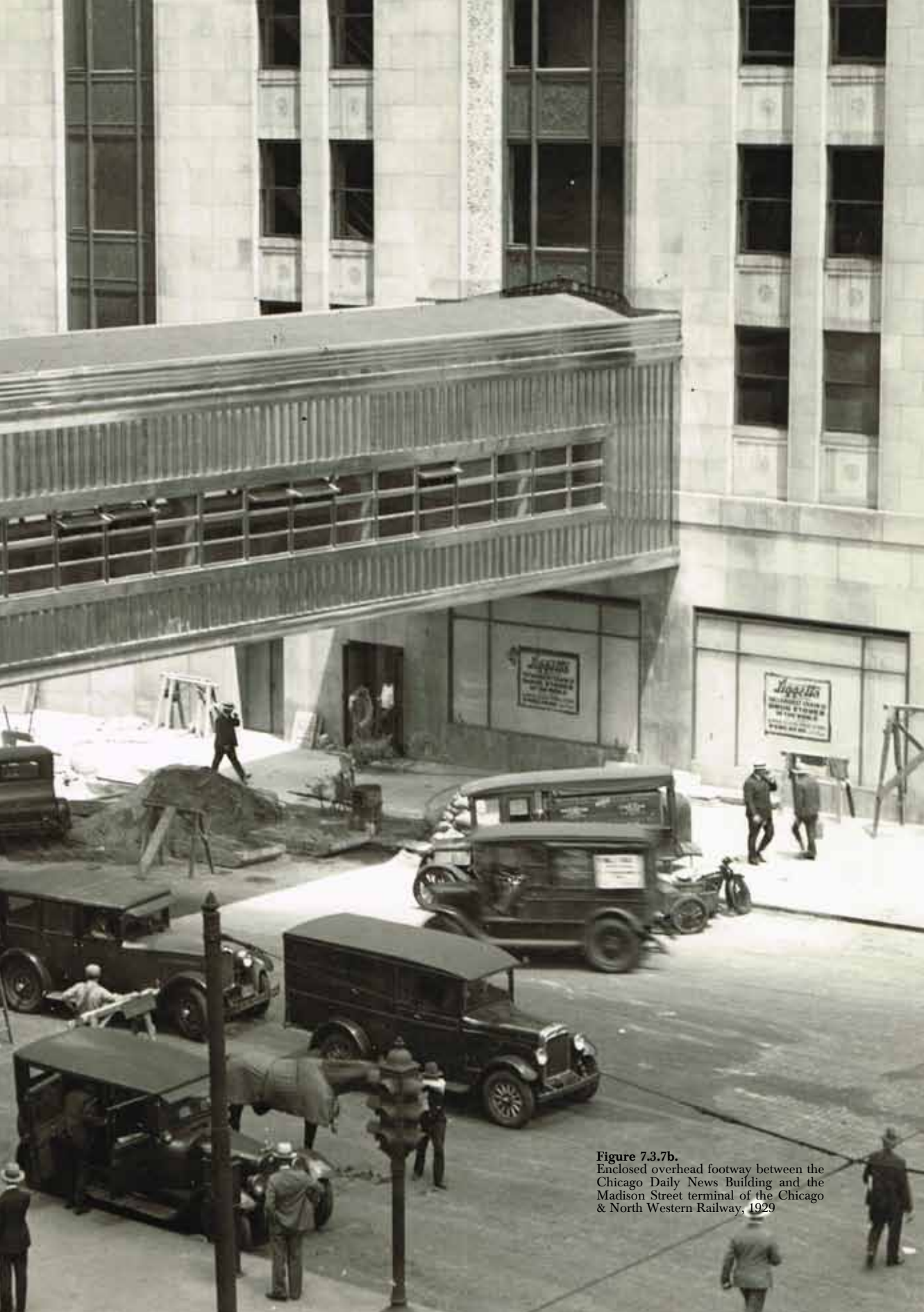


Figure 7.3.7b.
Enclosed overhead footway between the Chicago Daily News Building and the Madison Street terminal of the Chicago & North Western Railway, 1929

the newspaper's headquarters, dominated by its limestone facade with decorative metal spandrels and flower-inspired medallions evocative of the period.

The city of tomorrow had become the city of today. Hilberseimer migrated to Chigaco in 1938 and started teaching. Overhead footways - covered or not - had become part of the image of the Modern city. In daily life, he could find them when travelling the railways or walking on street level and looking up. When opening a newspaper or popular magazine, others could find similar footways as a requirement of a modern city, and within the profession, for representatives of mainstream on both sides of the ocean grade separation as such had become the accepted consensus to tackle the increase of mobility. In the 1950s, Peter and Alison Smithson,[722] late hardliners of the Modern movement, reasoned that popular ads and public exposure of "the plates that first presented to the public the Wonder of the Machine Age" could cause the aimed change, a final revolution.[723] (Smithson and Smithson 1956, November) While indeed elevated walkways could be found in contemporary glossies around the world, they would be proven right.

[722] The British architects Peter Denham Smithson (18 September 1923 – 3 March 2003) and Alison Margaret Smithson, née Gill, (22 June 1928 – 14 August 1993) were married since 1949. For the Berlin competition they workedf together with the Hongarian-born Dutch architect Peter Sigmond-Wonke (born 21 May 1932).

[723] As a teenager, Alison clipped ads from among others the Ladies' Home Journal, posted to her from the US. (Colomina 2000, Fall) This magazine had introduced the ideas of Bel Geddes to the larger audience.

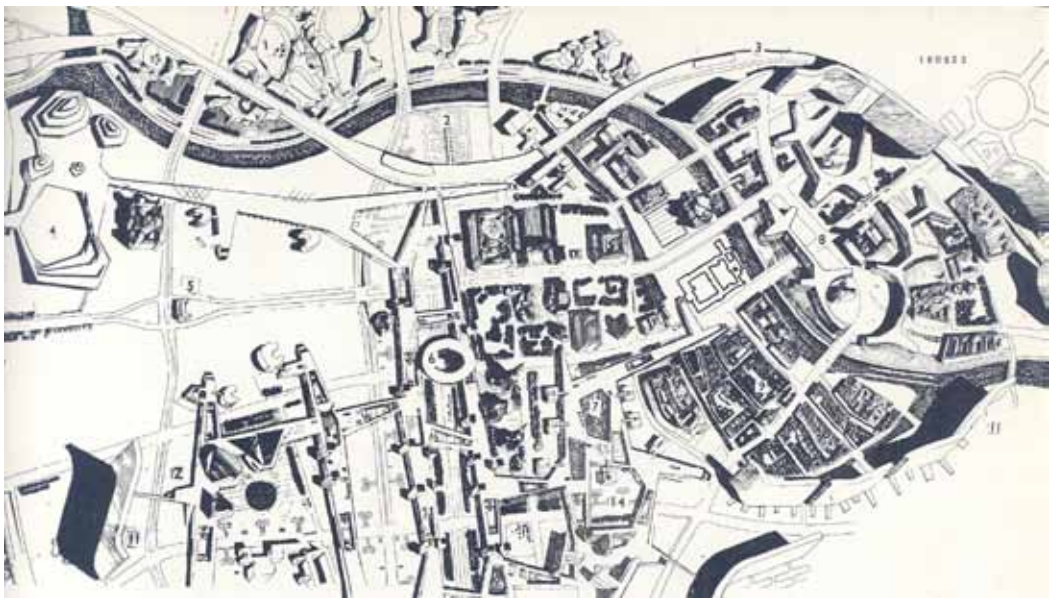


Figure 7.3.8.
A project for the Berlin Centre competition by Alison and Peter Smithson and Peter Sigmond Wonke, 1958

Chapter 4 Northstar Skyways: Realising an Urban Utopia

While the idea of elevated and overhead footways had become a common and popular concept to represent a desired future modern city, even built in several cities, apparently suddenly it was actually there on unprecedented scale. Without much (inter-)national attention at that moment, a covered overhead footway system was introduced Minneapolis in the North Star State. Likewise, without many words, one would call it a skyway system and as such, finally, '*skyway*' was introduced in the vernacular in its connotation as 'an aerial walkway between two buildings' (Simpson and Weiner (eds) 1989v: 637).[724] Uniquely also, the first two Minneapolis skyways connected buildings, of which neither one served public transport. Above all, where Neoclassic futurists always foresaw the application of a skyway as an outcome of an extreme urbanisation process, here Modernists would plan, design and construct them to counteract suburbanisation and to re-urbanise downtown. The city faced a serious decline and skyways would be *the* instrument to make downtown attractive for car traffic as well as for pedestrians. Like Manhattan in the same years, downtown Minneapolis was not urbanising, flourishing or prosperous in any sense, but 'perceived as dying'.[725] Similarly, there was no densification or increase in mobility, yet instead, the flight of businesses and residents from the inner city was extreme, perhaps to greater extends than in New York. The historic core of the city, the so-called Gateway District, was the city's most visible example of urban blight. Pawnshops, cheap hotels, brothels, nightclubs and bars took over some of the abandoned buildings. The city government concluded that they needed to redevelop the depopulated area and, as they saw it as an undesirable slum, they chose for total destruction. In 1957, a hundred buildings were demolished spread over seventeen square blocks, with which about forty percent of the city's historic central business district disappeared. The new federally supported programme proposed a 'broad sweep'.[726] (Mason 1960, 22 September, Rosheim 1978, Martin and Goddard 1989: 60-64) The plan was the brainchild of the local architect Robert Cerny, who had been one of the "progressive promoters of modern city planning" urging the City to adopt a comprehensive improvement plan.[727] New towers and parking areas set in green would replace the old building blocks and it would widen the existing streets and avenues. Shortly after the end of World War II, he had begun to advocate this ambitious scheme for revitalising the lower loop and, when Cerny served as the executive secretary of a group of improvement-minded business leaders called the Civic Center Development Association in the early fifties, the City Planning Commission incorporated the concept. (Wirth 1945: 190, Progressive Architecture 1948, March; Cerny 1955, 25 July; and Minneapolis Tribune 1952, 19 September, Mack 1991, May/June)

To change the tide in the rest of downtown, the collaboration

[724] In some cities, people use 'skywalk' to indicate a pedestrian skyway. Yet, no printed dictionary of the English language, including the twelve volumes premier dictionary of the English language, The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, or the Oxford English Dictionary Additions Series, adding its three extra volumes in 1993 and 1997, have ever included this lemma, let alone dictionaries of etymology. Thus in this research, if not being a name, I use the more generally used and accepted *skyway.*

[725] See Book 3 and 6.

[726] The Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal programme of the Housing Act of 1949 provided funding for cities on a per project basis. It did so for locally generated plans for the demolishment of slums and redevelopment of blighted areas. (US Public Law 81-171)

[727] Robert George Cerny, called Bob, (11 June 1908 – 31 January 1985) was an American architect.

with Minneapolis city officials continued in the form of an officially recognised central business district association. This Downtown Council formed a temporary Nicollet Avenue Survey Committee to study options for the area just to the south.[728] Again, this committee consisted out of the major building owners and managers. In contrast to the north, they advised to preserve their buildings and invest in the public space. Point of departure was that if the central avenue would be improved, the whole of downtown would benefit. In line with this recommendation, the City of Minneapolis Planning Department set goals for central Minneapolis and it formed a permanent committee continuing research. This committee detailed the early recommendations and proposed to invest in public transit, to pedestrianise the central area, and to encourage private investment promoting retail. (City of Minneapolis Planning Commission 1959, May) Every step so far was a settled agreement between entrepreneurs and the urban planners of the public government. Together they were committed to make downtown a place for people to walk and shop. The former chair of the survey committee Leslie Park and his partner architect-developer Ed Baker had created an urban design for main street Nicollet Avenue.[729] They gave form to their shared ambition, yet rigorously following the latest Modern ideas as proposed by the Smithsons, who on the one hand, in their admiration of Le Corbusier, repeated the suggestions for a better road system and 'streets in the sky',[730] yet on the other hand stated that new systems could not neglect the existing city. (CIAM 1953, July; Vago, Pierre 1958: 40-47; Costa, Korn, Lasdun, et al 1958: 437-441; and Koolhaas 1959a: 794-800 and 1959b: 830-836) Similar to the prize-winning submission for the 1957 Berlin Hauptstadt competition, Park and Baker proposed a huge pedestrian 'platform net'.[731] In their view, this could revalue the existing surroundings like the committee had advised and it was an alternative for the approach of Cerny. Facing the Downtown Council in 1959, they presented the idea to introduce such a mammoth structure, fourteen feet or four metres above Nicollet Avenue. The couple proposed to stitch an overhead pedestrian plaza too into the existing urban fabric. Vehicles and pedestrians could move about as usual below, but four street-corner escalators would transport part of the walkers, strollers and shoppers from street-level up. They could go to new gardens, boutiques and restaurants above. The Downtown Council did not endorse these ideas, and Minneapolis' planners tried to obtain political approval for planning goals before further developing their Central Minneapolis Plan. As those parties rejected the raised plaza plan, an alternative plan to serve the pedestrian would include a proposal for a street-level mall.[732] Still, the two partners persisted with their second-level concept and they fleshed out a different logistics. As such, they adjusted the proposal and passed it over another street, perpendicular to Nicolett. The elevated platform would span the heavily trafficked intersection of Seventh Street and Marquette Avenue. As such, it would connect different building blocks and link some of their own buildings. Accepting the planned Nicolett Mall, in their view, the plan would introduce a next phase of pedestrianisation in Minneapolis. It would provide easy links between a proposed new sixteen-story building and two existing buildings on their facing corners. It became a prestige project with facilities, like a restaurant, on the elevated level. As

[728] A collaboration of businessmen constituted the Downtown Council of Minneapolis in 1955, which made it one of the oldest of the nation. They formed the Nicollet Avenue Survey Committee in May 1957.

[729] Leslie Cecil Park, known as Les, (5 October 1901 – 23 November 1977) was a local property owner, developer and late president of what was then Baker Properties. Edward Frank Baker, called Ed, (24 May 1926 – 15 June 2006) was an American architect, and, since 1959, chairman of the Minneapolis Zoning Committee and member of the Downtown Council, Minneapolis. As such, he became also a member of the Downtown Skyway Advisory Committee. He was not connected to the real estate company baring the same name.

[730] They presented these ideas among others at the 1953 CIAM conference in Aix-en-Provence. It was a concept, which they articulated a year earlier in their design proposal for the Golden Lane housing complex in London.

[731] In this specific Berlin case, most other winning and purchased plans accommodated elevated walkways, elevated pedestrian platforms and pedestrian bridges. The separation of traffic had become part of the requirements and the consistency to which the designers introduced this issue determined the selection of the winning assignments.

[732] The City and the council hired Lawrence M. Irvin, called Larry, (5 June 1915 – 24 February 1984), an American planner and administrator, for the new position of Planning Director in 1958. He developed the Central Minneapolis Plan, which came into force by 1959. Nicollet Avenue became car-free, apart from public bus transit, at the end of 1967 when it was renamed Nicollet Mall. The American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin (1 July 1916 – 25 October 2009) was commissioned for its design. A 2005 pilot programme made the mall also bus-free at night during summer.

Baker said himself: "its unique and striking design, tying together […] the finest real estate in downtown Minneapolis, will attract nationwide interest". (City of Minneapolis Planning Commission 1959, December; The Christian Science Monitor 1960, 18 March) Although this time, convinced by the arguments, the City approved their plan, the two never realised their second idea. Property restrictions and other red tapes surrounding the corner's fee-holders limited the plan. "To avoid rewriting ground leases, we decided to connect at the middle of the block instead of at the corners", the architect explained in one of his last interviews. In a third round, also the idea of a restaurant above the street bit the dust. The Chicago-born Baker[733] reduced his ideas and what remained was the old idea of overhead footways. The third design was in a way similar to the connection between the Daily News Building and the Chicago & North Western Railway Terminal. Whereas all supporting facilities went indoors, the so-called skyways were two simple glass-enclosed overhead footways of 3 metres or 10 feet wide, each crossing a street. Who was responsible for the rediscovery of the type is unclear. The Downtown Council claimed that the city government insistently pushed for this enclosed alternative after

[733] Baker moved to Minneapolis already in 1932, but he must have had relatives in Chicago.

[734] See Book 6.

Figure 7.4.1.
Northstar Center, linked by skyways, 1970

the nearby Southdale Center opened in 1956.[734] Architect Baker remembered it differently. "The Downtown Council didn't have anything to do with the first skyway," he once stated: "The Northstar developers, specifically principal developer Park, came up with the idea." (Beach 2002, 13 May, Clements 2004, November)

> "I made a sketch on how to connect all four corners of the Seventh and Marquette intersection with a plaza, making it light and airy, and with a restaurant at the second level over the street, so that people could walk on the second-storey level." The driving idea, Baker explains, was to alleviate the traffic on the street by putting the pedestrians on the second storey. As it turned out, however, Baker could never have built a restaurant above Seventh and Marquette, because the City of Minneapolis, which owns the actual streets, would have charged exorbitant fees to allow retail to occur above them. "So we went with bridges connecting the buildings across the streets with walkways that became skyways," Baker says, adding that connecting that block cost $26 million. (Clements 2004, November)

Figure 7.4.2.
Northstar Skyway opening; attended by Minneapolis officials and women representing various downtown buildings, 1963, photo by Walter S. Norton (21 July 1894 - 17 July 1968) and Clifford Earl Peel (29 October 1894 - 1 December 1987)

Anyhow, finally in 1962, the mayor of Minneapolis could open the first public indoor skyway in Minneapolis. It reached across Marquette Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets and when it opened to the people on August 27, it would interconnect the public indoor concourse of Baker's new Northstar Center with that of the neighbouring Northwestern Bank building.[735] These interiors gave access to a variety of facilities, among which the bank, shops, restaurants, small services and parking facilities. The skyway itself simply was purely a functional link, not only as seen earlier in Philadelphia and Chicago, but in outlook also somewhat familiar to a wide range of covered conveyor belts as present in the city's flour milling plants and the industrial mining plants on the nearby Iron Range. The facade design of the skyways was in harmony with both connected buildings. Both the Early Modern Art-Deco building and the new High-Modern one were somewhat minimal in their expression, geometric in their composition and greyish light brown in colour and material. From the outside, similarly tinted limestone along the skyway roof covered the actual bridge construction, a metre-high truss in steel. It carried the storey by means of a series of dark steel beams, welded in a U-shape and dominating the sight. A similar series of storey-high vertical windows emphasised the same rhythm from the inside. Baker embellished the interior public space with a light marble storey, with low grey-painted systems for heating, ventilation and air conditioning on each side, wooden handrails and a white lowered ceiling with spotlights. In a way, the plan also followed the design of an older and less publicly used elevated way built in the neighbouring city of Saint Paul. This one opened already in 1956 without any fuss. It ran between the old Golden Rule department store and its then newly built parking ramp.[736] This skyway bore standard shaped trusses painted green. It had a plain concrete storey, a metal deck, foggy fibreglass panes and no heating or air-conditioning. (El-Hai 2000: 66-67) Although the Golden Rule skyway crosses the outdoor street too, functionality linking two built structures, it was one of those links which were used primary to extend built programme. In this case, it served the costumers of one store only. Yet, by nature, both the store and the parking ramp were open to a large group of store visitors and car owners. Thus, on a corresponding gradient, this skyway was open to the people by use, whereas Baker designed the

[735] The Northstar Center included The Northstar Inn and Cargill Building (today known as Northstar West). It opened officially in 1963, construction started two years earlier. A destructive fire severely damaged the building in 1982 and demolished the first skyway. The gutted building was eventually imploded two years later. The American architects Ernest Robert Graham (22 May 1868 – 22 November 1936), William Peirce Anderson (20 February 1870 – 10 February 1924), Edward Mathias Probst (24 February 1870 – 9 January 1942), and Howard Judson White (21 February 1870 – 24 May 1936) designed the Northwestern National Bank Building. It was built between 1929 and 1930.

[736] The American architect David Jackson Griswold, called Dave, (8 July 1918 – 12 June 2006) designed this skyway. He designed the skyway together with the parking ramp in 1955. It opened a year later, crossing Eighth Street, between Minnesota and Robert Streets; now renamed Ford Road or East Seventh Street. In the early days, The Golden Rule department store, already housed a renowned arcade, which was designed as part of a store alteration by Clarence Howard Johnston, Sr. (26 August 1859 – 29 December 1936) probably in 1910. So, in a way an interior network was extended. The department store and adjoined structures were transferred to Donaldson's in 1961. In 1983, the skyway and parking ramp were demolished and the store was converted into office space.

Figure 7.4.3.
Northstar Skyway, 1969, photo by designer and politician Linda Lee Berglin (born 19 October 1944)

Minneapolis skyway intentionally to be used publicly; for all. The interior concourses on both sides of the skyway gave access to a variety of public facilities, rather than just one store, as was the case in Saint Paul. More so, as said Baker planned his skyway as a part of a series aiming to regenerate a larger part of downtown. Within a year, the second planned Minneapolis skyway had opened. The new skyway would cross the busy artery of Seventh Street to the for-this-occasion redesigned Baker Center. Albert Larson and Don McLaren had designed this building in the past for another Baker.[737] Officially, the firm Lang & Raugland designed the skyway, but probably Austin Lange did so, because he was also associated with Ed Baker at the time of the design.[738] The design was different yet still familiar to the previous ones. On the one hand, like the pioneering example in Saint Paul, the designers made the steel truss visible from the outside, so that the height of its outdoor facades could be less than the neighbouring skyway, but construction would dominate its image. On the other hand, the vertical windows and the interior design were about the same as the skyway designed by Baker. Yet, additionally, on each of the glass facades, the designers hide four of the nine sets of braces behind artistic steel grilles.[739]
It was the last piece to make the complex as planned. Since decades, one was able to erect a downtown building block successfully to utilise space in a more common type of development. The now adjoined Baker Center was Northstar's rare local precedent in this. Years before downtown decay started, it had introduced a mixed programme, which included parking and interior public space. (Buildings and Building Management 1927, 26 September) Now tide had turned. Downtown business people were proud. Many Minneapolis officials and entrepreneurs attended the opening of this skyway. Women representing various downtown buildings accompanied them as beauty queens. 'Miss Pillsbury'

[737] American architects Albert Oliver Larson (24 August 1893 – 18 October 1974) and Don Andrew McLaren (18 April 1891 – 15 November 1950) designed The Baker Center between 1926 and 1927, for the local American real estate developer Morris Thiodore Baker (17 October 1890 – 22 September 1959). He had a Norwegian-born father, whereas Ed Baker came from Chicago. The centre originally included The Baker Building, The Baker Building Annex, The Baker Garage, The Baker Arcade (Building) and The Roanoke Building, all owned by Baker Properties. The buildings were together with local American businessman and department store owner George Draper Dayton (6 March 1857 – 18 February 1938) and several other investors. The Roanoke Building underwent a facade reconstruction in 1963-64, when it became part of the skyway system. The proposed link to Marquette Bank, diagonally across the intersection, was never realised.

[738] The American architect Austin Harold Lange (5 April 1910 – 22 June 1978) was the partner of Baker and worked for the American architects Arnold Ingram Raugland (6 December 1893 – 22 August 1966) and the late Oscar Theodore Lang (28 August 1888 – 10 December 1960).

[739] The grills have been removed.

stood next to 'Miss Northwest Bank Building' and others, together representing the new *élan* of the city. The glass-enclosed skyways united buildings, which previously the public had neglected. Although here still the car was welcome, planners did not have to widen the streets, because simultaneously, the interiors introduced lively pedestrian areas. The newspaper cheered: "Minneapolis has something today what other cities will have someday". A new kind of public interior space got ground after ages of visions and dreams. "Northstar Center is a city-within-a-city that offers a complete spectrum of business, dining, lodging, entertainment, parking and service facilities – something for everyone – with the conveniences of everything tied together under one roof." The public would have never a worry regarding the weather outside. This would apply for the thousands of employees, like bankers, brokers, lawyers, doctors, dentists, insurance men, druggists, florists, barbers, writers, artists, cooks, secretaries, mailmen, you name it. Particularly, shoppers had been "delighted with the 'skyways' that give them access to the city's finest shops and department stores in a four block area as well as the many outstanding stores in the center itself". By using the skyway, one could virtually walk for miles indoors, the observation was.[740] (Minneapolis Sunday Tribune 1963, 20 October)

Figure 7.4.4.
Interior view towards Baker Center, 2006

[740] It is said that also tunnels run under the same two streets and under Second Avenue to the Minneapolis Athletic Club. (Minneapolis Sunday Tribune 1963, 20 October)

Figure 7.4.5.
View from 2nd Avunue, 1970s


BAKER BLDG.
Building Restoration Corporation

Chapter 5 Layering the Twin Cities

The optimistic news on the Northstar Center and the benefits that skyways brought Minneapolis spread back to Saint Paul instantly. Could this bring some prosperity in the twin city too? One entrepreneur in particular got the wind and accelerated enthusiasm for the concept. Developer Watson Davidson[741] encouraged all those concerned to commit to a skyway plan for the entire financial district. After seeing the initial success in Minneapolis, he was convinced that Saint Paul needed to have skyways too. Together with Park, he had drawn an outline for a proposal for St. Paul's business centre, which for the occasion they dubbed into Capital Center. Their plan was comprehensive. By the placing of their last rather popular concept over the whole of downtown, they implied that it would work also on the larger scale. A newly introduced skyway system would connect several city blocks by public concourses on the second story of the existing buildings as well as it would link street level. With this, they had introduced a master plan in a High Modern way, similar to the Minneapolis Gateway plan, but without demolishing every building block. The plan had a fair share of controversy when other developers were not interested. Why would the city need skyways? Davidson was persisting and found other ways to realise his vision. In the first place, he could because his family corporation owned many buildings in downtown, more than Baker did in Minneapolis. Therefore, he could largely act alone when it came to interior redesign or the introduction of the overhead connections. (Kaufman 1985: 18-21) In the second place, he succeeded to convince the City to co-invest in the skyway system. With help of a Federal Grant,[742] the city would pay for the skyways, own them and publically maintain them like any other street. Individual developers would fix the precise location and configuration of their own segments of the system, but the public authority needed to approve. As a result, the skyway plan, approved in 1964, became a blueprint in the hands of the public government and the skyway had become part of common strategic planning. Moreover, elaborating on the idea of a Capital Centre, the integration of skyways into the development became top priority. The St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority hired Hammel, Green and Abrahamson Inc.[743] to develop skyways, uniform in nature but able to link through all existing buildings under consideration. This approach did not escape the professional world. A 1968 Architectural Forum issue, specialised on urban transportation, brought the proposed 'integrated system of bridges and concourses' to the attention of a large number of urban designers, planners and architects. The magazine explained the design concept thoroughly: "At interchange points and the frequent access points, a concentration of amenities is planned - benches, news racks, telephones, planters. A node will generally occur in the center of the block at the crossing of two corridors. Some interiors will lend themselves better to other arrangements, though, such as two nodes in a block, each of them T-shaped. Design continuity for

Figure 7.5.1.
Variety of skyways in St. Paul

[741] Watson Pogue Davidson, Jr., called Wat, (9 October 1909 – 27 February 1980) was a local American property owner and developer.

[742] The adaptation of this federal grant-in-aid to local needs was arranged in The Model Cities Act, provided by Title 42 Of The United States Code, Chapter 41, Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Program, Subchapter I, Comprehensive City Demonstration Programs, §§ 3301–3313. It arose out the Housing Act of 1949, but additionally it was requiring participation by locals both in the planning and in the implementation of a model cities program. (Public Law 89-754)

[743] Hammel, Green and Abrahamson Inc. was the firm of the American architects Richard Frank Hammel, called Dick, (20 May 1923 – 28 January 1987), Curtis Harlan Green, simply called Curt, (29 March 1925 – 3 November 2002), and Bruce Arnold Abrahamson (21 July 1925 – 11 November 2008).


















graphics and street furniture is an important part of the Skyway, giving it a continuous image and ready identification." At the time of publication of the magazine, the first major skyway projects were already underway. The first one already linked the new Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse with a neighbouring parking ramp across the street and the adjoined Pioneer and Endicott buildings.[744] The entire renewal project was expected to complete in 1972. (The Architectural Forum 1968, January/February) Yet, the system continued to grow afterwards. Even, more skyways were built between 1978 and 1984 than in the years since 1962. The design of the skyway itself was simple, minimal and foremost functional. The designers envisioned a static frame of dark brown steel beams, without cross braces, with large windows divided by one horizontal bar and one vertical. The roof was thicker to strengthen construction and the ceiling was lowered to give place to installations and lightning. The interior design introduced grey natural stone on the storey and silvery white metal panelling on the ceilings. All skyways that followed were basically the same. Sometimes roofs would be thicker, vertical divisions in the windows might miss, storeys sloped to abridge level differences or a skylight was there. Design modifications would be required simply because all existing buildings and distances between them differed, but in essence the image of the skyway was one of uniformity.

Pedestrians in both cities had discovered the skyways soon, as their shared indoor environment was pleasant and very welcome during its first summer. August heat was typical for the humid continental climate, whereas conversely, temperatures during the winter months might often be colder here than in any other major city in the United States. Especially the year of the first Minneapolis skyway opening, was a year of extremes.[745] "Weatherproof Skyways keep Twin Citians united in their diversity. Outside temperatures vary more than 120 degrees within a year and Minnesotans are braced for discomfort. But Skyways have changed some of that…" Skyways became popular rapidly. That's to say, the system as a whole, thus including public concourses, became beloved, especially in Minneapolis. One could park the car, shop and dine, without setting a foot outside. Pedestrian traffic would multiply,

[744] In 1966, the American architects Donald Sydney Haarstick (2 June 1915 – 19 January 1980) and Louis Robert Lundgren (18 November 1899 – 21 November 1989) designed the Warren E. Burger Federal Building & United States Courthouse. The local American contractor Walter Butler (30 January 1925 – 10 May 2006) was responsible for construction. Hammel, Green and Abrahamson designed its skyway, which was opened in 1967. On the other side the skyway was positioned exactly between the facades of the Endicott Building, designed in 1891 by Cass Gilbert (24 November 1859 – 17 May 1934) and James Knox Taylor (11 October 1857 – 27 August 1929), and the Pioneer Building designed in 1889 by the American architect Solon Spencer Beman (1 October 1853 – 23 April 1914).

[745] Minneapolis had faced heavy snowstorms and unusually cold weather during January, February and March 1962. On 1 March, the temperature was minus 32°F or minus 35°C, whereas during the day of the skyway inauguration it was 90°F or 32°C.

Figure 7.5.2.
Skyway across Sixth Street South near intersection of Sixth and Marquette Avenue, c.1975

with all its consequences. Among others, the value of the second-story property increased greatly. This did not escape the notice of other downtown business leaders. Before, merchants had shown little or no interest for this level if they had interest in downtown anyhow. Now soon, four of the neighbours,[746] all involved in the financial sector, held a series of discussions and planning sessions to develop a new skyway over Sixth Street South, so they could link their offices to the Northstar Center too. In 1967, this group of skyway proponents commissioned Cerny, experienced in strategic planning, to develop new skyways and to rearrange the interiors of their buildings. (Kaufman 1985: 8-9, 39) The plan did not result in a large-scale demolishment or reconstruction like in their Gateway project, nor did it follow the blueprint approach of Saint Paul. After two years on the drawing boards, just one skyway opened. It linked the Minneapolis financial institutions to the vibrant maze of Northstar. Another quite High Modern connection was born. It connected the Rand Tower[747] in the centre of the facade, matching the symmetrical classic Art Deco architecture. Milo Thompson,[748] who was then with Cerny Associates, designed a skyway constructed by a static frame of beams, - similar to the Saint Paul case - without cross braces. It was widening expressively at the joint to the existing buildings. The dark steel matched the material used in the Northstar as well as the scrim of dark metalwork framing the windows and entrances on street level of the Rand tower. The interior design was pleasing the passers-by with sculptures, planting and deep rich carpeting. The later was stretching from wall to wall, including baseboards and some ceilings. This all was a novelty, which seemed to offer comfort and some soundproofing; however, it had to be hard to clean. Thompson introduced also directory boards near the elevators and escalators to help pedestrians find their way and he located benches for resting and chatting strategically along the route. He set new standards for designing skyways. Even the managers of the shabby Golden Rule skyway had put two benches to please their customers.

The concept popularised and more skyways saw light in the same year. Two blocks west from the original cluster, another group of businessmen imitated the success of a second story skyway system. The owners of the majestic Radisson Hotel and Dayton's

[746] To be precise, representatives of First National Bank, Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Minnesota Federal Savings and Loan, and Dain, Kalman and Quail, Inc., a brokerage and investment-banking firm, came together.

[747] The Rand Tower, or alternatively Dain Tower, was designed by the American architects John Augur Holabird (4 May 1886 – 4 May 1945) and John Wellborn Root, Jr. (14 July 1887 – 24 October 1963) between 1928 and 1929. Skidmore Owings and Merrill designed one Financial Plaza, or First National Bank, in 1960. In 2001, Shea Architects redesigned the interior public space of both buildings.

[748] The American architect Milo Henry Thompson (born 28 May 1935) won an award for this skyway.

Figure 7.5.3.
Skyway between Radison Hotel and Radison Mart, 1979

department store joined forces after the architects Albert Larson and Don McLaren, former employers of Ed Baker, had finished remodelling both premises in High Modern style.[749] In the past years, the designers already interlinked both buildings by means of arcades. Now they had to take a next step. Each owner developed a new building on the other side of the street, facing their property, and a skyway plan needed to be designed to link everything. This happened. A new skyway across Seventh Street would connect the hotel to the so-called Radisson Mart and a skyway across Eight Street would connect the store to the new Dayton's La Salle Court.[750] After completion, the 'all-weather' system connected a variety of facilities, again of mixed use and inviting a variety of people. It gave access to commerce, hotels, offices, parking, meeting rooms and two convention or exhibit spaces. (The New York Times 1968, 26 May)

Now two influential systems of interior public space had become reality, with more plans on the roll. The people returned to the downtown. Thus, while initially governmental focus was on the outdoors as they enlarged outdoor urban space in the Gateway district and they prioritised the construction of the proposed mall in downtown, in the meantime the revitalisation strategy of the local private owners seemed to work too, maybe better. Thus, although the public government never formally adopted the original Central Minneapolis Plan, it needed reconsiderations. It needed to epitomise private initiative in public space and acknowledge its success. The plan was renamed "Metro Center '85", it was issued as a fancy hard cover issue, and it was elaborately illustrated. More important, skyways had become a key element of the redressed plan. The governmental planners based the document "on a realistic evaluation of this areas strengths and weaknesses". One of the most important parts of the plan, or even said the strongest link between the diverse functions of downtown, was the so-called 'Circulation Framework': In this framework, Metro Center '85 would be accessible by "car, bus, or rapid transit, with an internal circulation system of minibuses" and explicitly "pedestrian skyways". The goal to invest in public transit and pedestrian area, while encouraging private investment and retail, still stood. Yet now, like the Saint Paul plan, it was all about skyways. The planners explicitly supported the businessmen and showed particularly gratitude to the Downtown Council and its various committees. It was the outcome of a search for new agreement among those involved, before planners would enter the political arena. (Minneapolis Planning and Development 1970, March: 2, 67 and 156) They needed success and with a monster coalition politicians had to go along. Most likely therefore, and in contrast to its neighbouring city, the further development of Downtown Minneapolis and the growth of its skyway system was more one under direction of many, than a blueprint.

Figure 7.5.4.
Detail of the above model showing the skyway from parking to Teen Center, 1969

[749] Baker had joint Larson and McLaren between 1950 and 1955. They had designed new additions to the Dayton's department store in 1937-1939 and 1946-1947, for which they incorporated neighbouring built structures. Early plans for contemplating remodelling the Radisson Hotel began in the 1947. They completed the remodelling and extension in 1961 following their 1958 plans. Originally, Charles Sumner Sedgwick, abbreviated to Chas, (9 May 1856 – 12 March 1922) designed Dayton's between 1901 and 1902 and extended it in 1907. The American architects Franklin Bidwell Long (3 March 1842 – 21 August 1912), Lowell Andrew Lamoreaux (23 December 1861 – 1 February 1922) and Louis L. Long (11 March 1870 – 19 May 1925), son of Franklin, designed the Radisson Hotel in 1909. Their firm ultimately became Cerny Associates.

[750] Radisson Mart and the Radisson skyway opened in 1969 by the design of Larson and McLaren, the previous employer of Baker. They shortly lived: In 1983, they were demolished. Initially, Dayton's LaSalle Court was designed by Welton Becket (August 8, 1902 – January 16, 1969), to be continued under the leadership of MacDonald George Becket (born 2 November 1928), Welton's son, after his death in 1969. They designed the project in collaboration with Enco Associates, Inc. They could have designed Dayton's LaSalle skyway too, some suggest it is done by Dayton's in-house designers. (Kaufman 1985: 125) Since its opening in 1970, the building had various names, including LaSalle Court, The Conservatory, Highland Bank Court and Residence Inn by Marriott.

Figure 7.5.5.
Proposed skyway over Hennepin Avenue, 1970

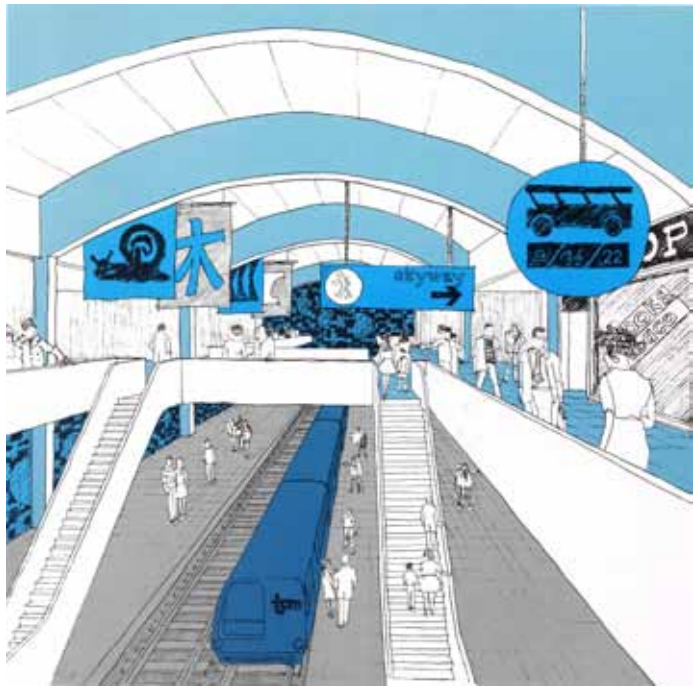
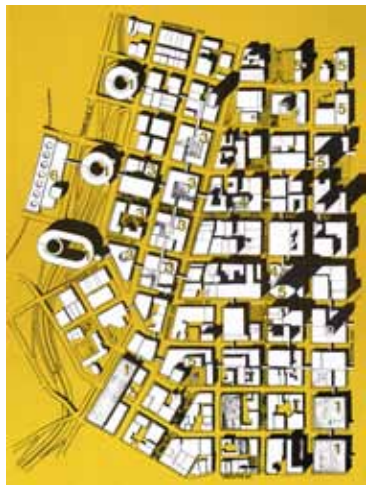


Figure 7.5.6.
A proposed skyway connection to an unrealised public transit station, 1970

It was to the heart of Baker Properties, which by then was a wholly-owned subsidiary of Investors' Diversified Services Properties.[751] The company had devised another skyway plan. Its developer wanted to build four skyways from the proposed complex to the adjacent blocks. It would integrate Donaldson's department store into the network as well as another parking ramp. Additionally, at one stroke, this project would also interconnect Baker Center, and thus Northstar, with Dayton's and the rest. Two systems would become one and the success of the overhead street-galleries was continued to build on. One of the proposed skyways would cross Nicolett Mall. With this, the developer offered its new parent, the financial services company IDS, a difficult choice. In the past IDS did much for the financing of this mall and by permitting this

[751] Baker Properties, Inc. was affiliated with Investors Diversified Services, Inc. (IDS), at least since 1958, when it financed mortgage loans for the improvements needed for the skyway plan. In 1967 when new skyway plans were developed, Baker Properties became part of Investors' Diversified Services Properties.



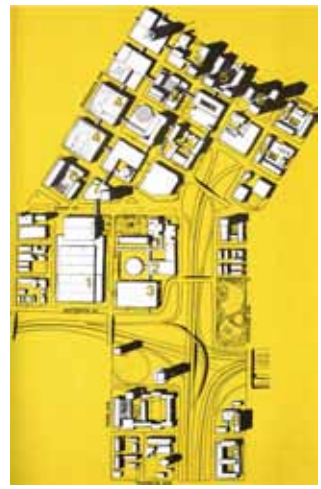


Figure 7.5.7a.
Left: Metro Center '85: Illustrative site plan of the office, retail, and entertainment districts, including fringe parking ramps (1), the so-called Third Av. N. distributor (2), entertainment (3), retail (4), office (5), transit station (6), 1970

Figure 7.5.7b.
Right: Metro Center '85: Illustrative site plan of the auditorium and hotel districts, including an auditorium expansion (1), central Lutheran church (2), parking (3 and 4), and hotels etc., 1970

Figure 7.5.8.
IDS Center, artist impresion made by Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Minneapolis

concept land value along the mall could drop again in favour of the second story and the interior. When going public, their decision would go far toward determining whether the mall was preserved or whether it would be crossed by a skyway that is considered to be a building that would reach higher and farther than any other in the Twin Cities. Officials made it apparent that permits for the skyway were an essential prelude to construction. In support, Minneapolis planners qualified the construction of this building as an indication of the continuation of the further redevelopment of downtown. (The New York Times 1969, 16 March; Minneapolis Planning and Development 1970, March: 71) Officials permitted the development and the developer continued plans. The design commission went to Philip Johnson and his partner John Burgee. Edward Baker was on their side. Their collaborate plan included a configuration of buildings covering the entire city block, highlighted by the new fifty-seven-story headquarters of IDS and anchoring a central glass-roofed indoor public atrium. In line with the rediscovered optimism, the skyscraper outstretched the Foshay Tower,[752] another icon remembering the past Roaring Twenties, and the IDS atrium was imposing like no predecessor shown before in town. Crystal Court, as it had come to be known, was 1.850 square metres and soared to eight story height of the tower. It featured a canopy of cube-shaped glass skylights and zigzagging windows. A waterfall, dropping several storeys from the glass roof into a pool below, triumphed in the midst of four skyways, coming together at the second level. These skyways were particularly spacious. They were 9 metres or 30 feet wide, their glass facades reached from storey to ceiling and their roofs consisted out of series of semi-transparent pyramidal skylights. Johnson and Burgee had made it into a heart of the skyway system. With the involvement of architects of international stature, the emerging skyway system of Minneapolis and its concept got a wide spread attention. Once completed in 1972, after almost four years of construction, the project was proclaimed "one of Johnson's more interesting variations on the glass-and-steel tower" by no less than Paul Goldberger, the architecture critic of The New York Times.[753] Already in the past, a reporter of the same newspaper showed his enthusiasm for the new system of pedestrian skyways that link the heart of downtown Minneapolis. In a city where temperatures never stray far from zero in the winter and where spring is often very late, a secretary could "leave her coat in her office closet and do her employer's errands over a seven-block area". Alternatively, accoding to the review, she could "go 11 buildings away for lunch, or stop off eight buildings away to shop without ever straying into the cruel air or defying the automobiles". In the same line, the next architecture critic appreciated IDS Center too. He based his opinion on more than just its architecture: In terms of planning, the complex gave downtown a much-needed focus and the covered centrepiece had been proven a sensitive urban design. (King 1970, 17 January; Goldberger 1978, 14 May) Many celebrated the success of the skyway system, not in the last place the locals. With help of the Minneapolis Tribune, local businesses and a public relations agency, a "new publication for skyway people" was born: Skyway News.[754] The editors felt there would be "enough excitement (in the skyway system) to fill a newspaper". Its first issue reported on the popularity of the skyways among the local users, planners and businesspersons. In small announcements, it enlightened how

[752] The French-American architect Léon Eugène Arnal (14 May 1881 – 23 February 1963), chief designer for the firm Magney & Tusler, Architects designed the Foshay Tower. It was completed in 1929, just months before the stock market crash.

[753] For Paul Goldberger see Book 3.

[754] Skyway News started with 2000 copies, and grew to about 30.000. It was renamed Downtown Journal in 2005.

Figure 7.5.9.
Skyway, Minneapolis, 1980s, photo by David John Nordgren (16 September 1951)

the public adopted the interior. For example, young artists sat on the storey sketching the view from the skyway during Christmas holidays, and the people selected a Miss Skyway! (Skyway News 1970, 21 January) One could find similar admiration worldwide, mainly by professionals. The New York Times stood also in line with the professional press, represented by A&U, Architectural Forum, Interiors and the national oriented journal called Urban Land and ditto AIA Journal. Respected by many, it got the 1975 'Honor Award for Design' from the American Institute of Architecture. Yet, more noticeable was the spinoff. The amount of studies on the skyway system as a whole began to increase rapidly. (A&U 1973, April; Architectural Forum 1973, November; Interiors 1975, April; The Urban Land Institute 1975, September; Cooper Marcus 1978, August) In just a few years, skyways had become one of the alternatives in designing for pedestrians.

At the time, the two oldest skyways in the Twin Cities were used by an average of 7,000 people per day in summer and 18,000 per day in winter. Some researchers expected more people in 1985, when the entire Minneapolis skyways plan would be completed; then eventually 76 envisioned skyways would link 64 blocks on the second level. They prognosticated that the amount of users would grow to a stream of 40,000 pedestrians as soon as the government laid out large parking lots on the edge of the city core. Having in mind that the pioneering skyways were barely ten feet wide, one could conclude this would be too crowded. Thus, planners should evaluate the existing skyways before designing more of them. (Fruin 1970, June and 1971: 190) So did the government. They state that skyways indeed "should be as unobtrusive as possible and follow specific design standards". Adopting general recommendations, their list of principles included standards for width, height, comfort, openness and signage. The network as a whole should be designed as a system of continuity, convenience, safety, comfort and delight. It should not be confusing for the pedestrian, but surprise, happenings and exhibits were welcome. Still, could they demand all this? Private parties had developed the existing skyways in the past, and if the government were to continue to expand the skyway network, they might not be able to rely entirely on private funds. As a result, The City introduced stimuli. Initially, skyways could

be publicly financed, because a new tax could return benefits. (Minneapolis Planning and Development 1973, January) Yet, other researchers warned that new pedestrian facilities should be designed on the basis of qualitative as well as quantitative factors. The success of future skyways depended on more than just serving circulation effectively. The reasoning was that governmental planners should incorporate a quality check too. (Uhlig 1979: 86 - 89) In this line, the City Council had established a so-called 'City Skyway Policy' in December 1979, which stated that a newly established Skyway Advisory Committee should review all actions and policies relative to the skyway system. Although recommendations of this committee were advisory, review of skyway projects was mandatory. A variety of new questions concerning its public quality guided committee review of skyway proposals, as for example: How would the use of glass be handled in the proposal? If a grade change was necessary, what were the various ways in which this could be handled? Would there be design features, which could lend themselves to seating? Are there other public utilities? What about relationship to the street, handicap access and opening hours? What was done to guarantee interior clearance, maintenance, climate control and the prevention of dead-ends. Generally, the question was what was the public benefit? (Minneapolis City Planning Department 1980, 23 October) A series of comprehensive publications on skyway studies followed. What is it and why does it work? How did the type evolve? – In itself, questions already known, but as overall study emphasising growing interest in the phenomenon. (Jacob and Morphew 1981, 4 April; Irvin and Groy 1982, January)

Clearly, the design of Johnson had catapulted the skyway concept around the world. He regarded his Crystal Court proudly as the epicentre of the successful Minneapolis system of enclosed upper-level walkways. It was a serendipitous surprise to him that a department store decided to transfer their impulse front door items to the second storey. With this example in his hand, he glorified the Minneapolis skyway system. The city was "always one of the more delightful cities of the world", now perhaps it also was "one of the most walkable cities, one of the easiest to move around in, one rewarding movement with varied experiences and encounters". As

Figure 7.5.10.
Crystal Court, 2006

such, he underlined that the new interior was a real public space and above all 'an architect's dream'! (Johnson 1973, November)

> "The plaza is dead: Long live the climate controlled court! More remarkable: Minneapolis, being already a two-level city, our central court is a two-level affair, consequently fed by eight entrances rather than the traditional four, two entrances on every block frontage, one above the other. It is all architecturally delightful since it allows people to walk around the edge of the court above the main square, observing life below, and also giving the off-street pedestrian a pleasant feeling of being part of the crowd because of the ring of walkers above." (Johnson 1973, November)

At the turn of the 1970s and the 1980s, one asked if the concept of skyways would "lead to heaven" and if they would be "prototypes for the nation". Minneapolis was again one of America's ten most liveable cities. The city stood for "the enclosed cities of the future" and many such centres were already underway, Edward Baker concluded. (Frutig 1975, 14 May, Baker quoted in The Baltimore Sun 1975, 7 September; Rodolske and Heglund 1975, October/December and 1976 September; Jacob 1979, July/August) Given the exposure, indeed, the skyway system was a hit.

Figure 7.5.11.
Map of realised skyways in Minneapolis, 1976

Chapter 6 The Sky is the Limit

What has had a preamble of a century, suddenly took a broad sweep. In a high speed, the skyway type spread to other cities. Barely two years after the first skyways opened in Minneapolis, skyway systems had started to be built in Cincinnati, Rochester and Calgary. Since the late 1950s, like in the Twin Cities, their planning commissions had been responding to the increase of car mobility and motorised traffic, the suburbanisation and the emergence of blighted downtown areas, and similarly the concluding answer was grade separation by opening-up the upper storeys for the pedestrian and strategically establishing overhead links. In all three cities, the public government was responsible for a 'master' plan. Generally, made by urban professionals, this was cheered by the public media and supported by the owners of the private buildings needed to be changed.

In Cincinnati, first ideas would suggest one-way loops with a series of built parking facilities around the centre, from where by using traditional overhead footways the public could walk into the inner city without any conflict. Planners called these footways 'pedestrian conveyors'. They were to be constructed "at the second or third storey level of the garages, passing over the traffic thoroughfares and descending to the street level in the Core". Yet, early plans centred "on the decision that pedestrian circulation should be retained at the street level within the core" and consequently it advocated several pedestrian plazas and malls to revitalise downtown. (City of Cincinnati, City Planning Commission 1958: 108-115) In its follow-up, the commission assigned Victor Gruen, who had worked near Minneapolis on the first interior mall, to detail the plan. He proposed concurrent traffic improvements and he elaborated on the idea to rehabilitate public gathering places, similar to his earlier designs for Fort Worth and Kalamazoo.[755] The idea of overhead footways was adopted, but not explicitly elaborated on. Plan drawings reveal that three of them were planned to cross Elm Street, among others to connect a planned convention centre with parking facilities. When the plan was detailed, right after Minneapolis had opened its comprehensive skyway system, Rogers and Taliaferro Architects,[756] responsible for the new draft, decided

[755] Respectively, they opened to the public in 1956 and 1959.

[756] The American architect Archibald Coleman Rogers (29 September 1917 – 6 December 2001) worked together with the French-born Francis Tournier Taliaferro (born 20 January 1922) since 1949. In 1968, they had become partners with the American architect Charles Edwin Lamb, Jr. (born 17 May 1926) and the Americanised Shanghai-Russian urban designer George Eugene Kostritsky (born 13 Juli 1922). Together the four formed RTKL. Most probably, the later was responsible for the Cincinnati draft.

Figure 7.6.1.
The 'pedestrian conveyors' in red, as one of the major elements of the proposed circulation plan by the Cincinnati City Planning Commision, 1957

not to spare the core of the city. On the contrary, they reinforced the idea and planned the roof-covered overhead footways in such a way that they would penetrate downtown. (Gruen 1962, City Planning Commission 1964, December: 8-9, 45) Simply, by crossing one extra street, the first realised segment could link the new Cincinnati Convention Center[757] and its parking facilities directly to the city's old focal point, the widened Fountain Square. Like Saint Paul, the fundamental design concept became that each portion of the skyway system was part of an integrated walkway system with unifying design characteristics, rather than isolated individual elements. Professionals would appreciate the limitations in the system's form, scale, materials, finishes, colours, lighting and other physical qualities to provide continuity; creating a consistent network. It would establish a Modern identity. (Barnett 1966, May, Fruin 1971: 188-192, The Urban Land Institute 1979, October-December) According to The New York Times, the plan blended old and new spirit remarkable. It gave the city brightened designs of the second-story skyways. The private owners, by name of the Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, would agree. In the same cheerful spirit, they talked about a Downtown Renaissance. (Vecsey 1972, October 9; Warren 1975, October)

In Rochester, New York, one started to introduce skyways in the same year. At the time, as the metropolitan area grew, the problems of the so-called Central Business District multiplied. Numerous stores and businesses moved to other locations as downtown land prices were high, its buildings obsolete, traffic congested and parking problematic. Like the other cities, for some years the challenge had been to "trigger a rebirth of Rochester's entire downtown area" and to give downtown similar on site advantages as suburbia. One had concluded that the vitality of the area could only be preserved by "assuring the automobile an unimpeded access to its stores and offices". The local newspaper enthusiastically announced that when it came to downtown revitalisation, Rochester was doing "more than worrying", it was "boldly redrawing its commercial face". Likewise Architectural Forum raved that "conservative Rochester" was charging forward with "one of the most imaginative, well-rounded urban renewal programs in the U.S.". Again, the word renaissance was used. The new vision for downtown Rochester was formalised in a comprehensive master plan. The Rochester City Planning

Figure 7.6.2.
Xerox Building and Skyway seen from Clinton Avenue in Rochester, New York, 1970s

[757] The local American architect Harry Hake, Jr. (20 May 1902 – 18 November 1968) designed the convention centre and its skyway, which was called skywalk and named Convention Way. The later was constructed between 1967 and 1975. Twice the centre was expanded effecting the skyway: Firstly, in 1986, by design of CRS/Sirrine and, secondly, in 2006, by the joint partnership of GBBN Architects, Cole + Russell Architecture & Design and BHDP Architecture, rededicating it respectively as the Dr. Albert B. Sabin Convention Center and Duke Energy Convention Center.

Figure 7.6.3.
Skyway to the Cincinnati Convention Center, 1967

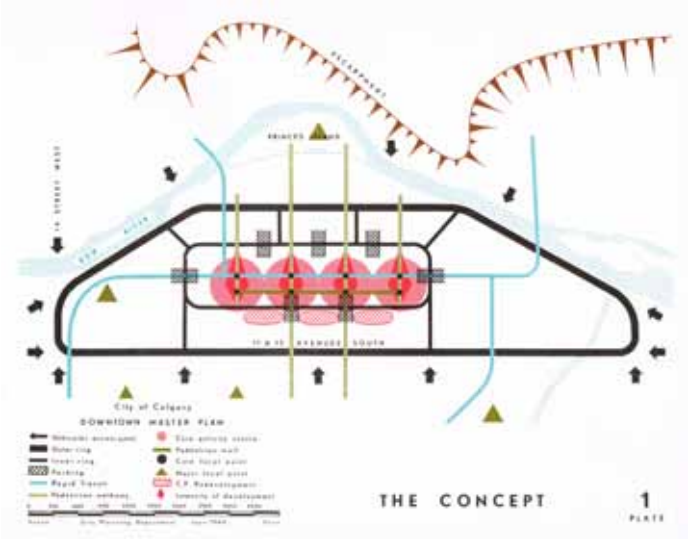


Figure 7.6.4.
The concept of Calgary's Downtown Master Plan by the City Planning Department, 1966

Commission presented a plan, which advocated the segregation of different traffic flows and the construction of new facilities. While Minneapolis was displaying more and more implemented skyways, the City of Rochester opened its doors to skyways too; "Extension of the idea of pedestrian courts and arcades to other areas and to other types of use might also prove highly effective provided they link areas which have a functional relationship." Skyways, as such, were not named in the text, but the illustrative site plan would show 'second level walkways' linking several blocks along Clinton Avenue. (McKelvey 1957, July; Spezzano 1958, 26 September; Porter 1959, 5 February; Tanner 1959, July; Rochester City Planning Commission 1964, 11 March: 78-80 and appendix) Midtown Plaza,[758] designed by Gruen, would become the pivotal element in this scheme. Not only – most literally – it was located in the heart of the city, just like Baker Center, but also, already it had introduced similarly a multi-level pedestrian interior. As Gruen emphasised in the professional press, his redevelopment project was already focused on 'upgrading downtown' by improving car-accessibility, circulation and parking, next to the encouragement of a productive use of the inner city, a reintegration of commercial and non-commercial use, and a return of the qualities of its lost activity, variety and visual enjoyment, to be complete. (Architectural Record 1965, June) Nevertheless, Gruen did not design skyways here; Welton Becket[759] did, when he designed the neighbouring Xerox Tower. Adapting pioneering successes from elsewhere, an above street connection seemed the way to get a comparable outcome. As soon as the skyway opened, the newspaper illuminated that now the public could easily park in the multi-level underground garage and use facilities on both sides of East Broad Street, without worrying crossing it.[760] (The New York Times 1967, 26 February)

In Calgary, Minneapolis was once more the illuminating example to revitalise the city. Following the lead of American urban renewal, more then a decade ago, a national council had been formed to combat the spread of slums and rundown neighbourhoods in Canadian cities and towns.[761] (The Calgary Herald 1956, 27 July) Some years later, planners in Calgary targeted the eastern

[758] See Book 6.

[759] As elaborated on in Book 6, also Becket could be considered as an expert in pedestrianisation.

[760] Construction began in 1967 and was finished in 1968, when the skyway opened.

[761] The council, to be known as the Canadian Urban Renewal Board officially was set in motion in 1956.

downtown area, including the Canadian Pacific Railway Station, for their first urban renewal scheme. According to the local newspaper it manifested 'chronic sickness'; "just as the ugly blotches of a skin disease, in empty stores, blighted decrepit buildings, ugly parking lots, choking traffic and in poverty and social breakdown of its residents". (The Calgary Herald 1966, 7 February) Calgarians kept looking over the national borders to find a successful contemporary strategy, as The United States had some decades of experience in downtown regeneration. Illuminated by their own master plan of 1966, called The Future of Downtown Calgary, they adapted common strategies to introduce a car traffic loop with parking facilities and a pedestrianised core centred by a mall. Also here, in the long term, it was considered to be "not only desirable but necessary for a raised network of walkways to radiate from the Avenue mall, to overpass the railway tracks and main traffic thoroughfares." (Planning Advisory Committee 1966: 52) The City Council of Calgary chose to adopt the overall strategy in which both an entire skyway system and a pedestrian mall[762] were proposed to eliminate the conflict between auto and foot traffic. The first 'Plus 15', as the skyways were dubbed,[763] appears between Calgary Inn and the two-level mall of Calgary Place.[764] It crossed Fourth Avenue West, between Second and Third Streets. (The Calgary Herald 1965, 8 June and 1968, 18 March) Formally, this skyway was not the earliest one in the city. That was the Bay Skyway, which ran from the department store to the Parkerade a few years earlier. Yet, like the Golden Rule Skyway in Saint Paul, this one was not part of a system, nor intended for the large public. Also, in the development of Plus 15, it was considered to be too high to be included in a larger network.[765] (Potter 1969, 12 February) Nevertheless, planners hoped that within 20 years every downtown block would be linked in this manner, so that pedestrians could "spend all their time in landscaped malls instead of walking beside automobiles belching fumes at street level." Also parking garages and the train terminal would be connected. Thus even this link would become part of The City's overall downtown strategy to introduce a network of combined elevated walkways and plazas. Like in the other cases the plan was supported by federal grants and urban renewal funds, yet in addition, here, planners favour direct control and created strict regulations not only for the design of the skyways but also for the adjoined concourses. As the Calgary Chamber of Commerce had criticised these bylaws, being perceived as too detailed, they introduced a New York style bonus incentive to compensate restrictions and speed up the aimed grade separation. (The Calgary Herald 1968, 20 August and 1970, 22 January; The City of Calgary Planning Department 1970, March and 1971, April)

The public strategies seemed to work. Now also showcased by the cases of Cincinnati, Rochester and Calgary, the skyway had grown out to a part of urban planning to revitalise and modernise downtown as a whole. Together with the pedestrian mall, a Modern skyway system could give the public a place to walk safely, while indulging them with improved circulation and car accessibility. Rochester had a slow start, but the systems in Minneapolis, Saint Paul, Cincinnati and Calgary gloated over the city. Again, nothing but good it seemed. Calgary was even praised by a national award for excellence in the urban environment[766] for initiating "a brilliantly simple solution to the problems of traffic conflict".

Figure 7.6.5.
Bay Skyway between The Bay and Parkarade, Calgary, 1966

[762] The Canadian architect and planner Harold Arnold Hanen (4 November 1935 – 3 October 2000) worked for the City of Calgary Planning Department from 1966 to 1969. He was the main advocator of the skyway project. The Canadian architect Gordon Atkins (born 5 March 1937) designed Eight Avenue Mall.

[763] The skyways were named Plus 15, or +15, because the majority of them were 15 feet above ground level.

[764] The Canadian-Italian architect Reno Celestino Negrin (13 June 1928 – 26 June 1997) designed Calgary Inn, now The Westin, between 1963 and 1964. He added four extra storeys between 1967 and 1968. An extra tower came between 1974 and 1975. Canadian architect Jack Abugov (7 May 1925 – 17 April 2008) and Canadian-Northern-Irish architect and painter Maurice Sunderland (23 July 1926 – 20 August 2002) were responsible for Calgary Place. This included the skyway, the two office towers and the central common two-level shopping mall. They designed the complex between 1968 and 1969. In 2005, the firms WZMH Group Architects and Gibbs Gage Architects redesigned Calgary Place.

[765] The Canadian civil engineering Seth Reed Nelson (17 July 1923 – 31 October 1985) designed this glassed-in reinforced concrete skyway in 1956. It crossed Seventh Avenue. As such it connected the five story parking garage, designed by him, with a Hudson's Bay Co. store, which had been designed in 1913 by the Canadian architects Edmund Burke (31 October 1850 – 2 January 1919) and John Charles Batestone Horwood (19 March 1864 - 1938) and the British-born Murray White (5 August 1869 – 3 November 1935).

[766] The Vincent Massey Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment.

(The Calgary Herald 1971, 8 December) A whole generation of pioneering skyway propagators had stood up. In the nineteen-seventies, not the design of the skyway itself was illustrative for the gradual change, it was the systematic approach that determined a new way of thinking. Gruen, convinced by what he started to call 'three-dimensional planning', learned from what he had seen. Following the line of the Calgary planners, in his view, this three-dimensional tabulation could not be created by laissez-faire planning. It needed guided planning. His next design in Newark[767] would only be one of the many examples to underline this. To turn urban blight around, he introduced a complete skyway system at once covering an entire urban renewal area on the edge of downtown to interconnect new office towers and a hotel with the existing train station. (Gruen 1973: 102, 106, 120) Seemingly, within a blink, a variety of projects would serve as the next exemplars in the profession. "The sky is the limit for sidewalks in a growing array in U.S. cities", as the American Institute of Architects reported. In such diverse cities as Reno, Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta, Denver, San Francisco, Springfield Massachusetts, and Washington D.C. skyways were completed, under construction, or proposed by the year of 1970. A tripling or quadrupling of skyways was expected

[767] Gateway Newark, New Jersey was developed from 1967 as part of the 'New Newark'. The first phase, marked by Gateway One and Gateway Two, was constructed between 1971 and 1972. Across the Hudson River, the former president of Gruen Associates, César Pelli (See Book 3), would design a skyway in New York City between 1981 and 1987 to connect his World Financial Center to the World Trade Center (WTC), which was designed by the American Architect Minoru Yamasaki (1 December 1912 – 7 February 1986) between 1965 and 1966, completed in 1972.

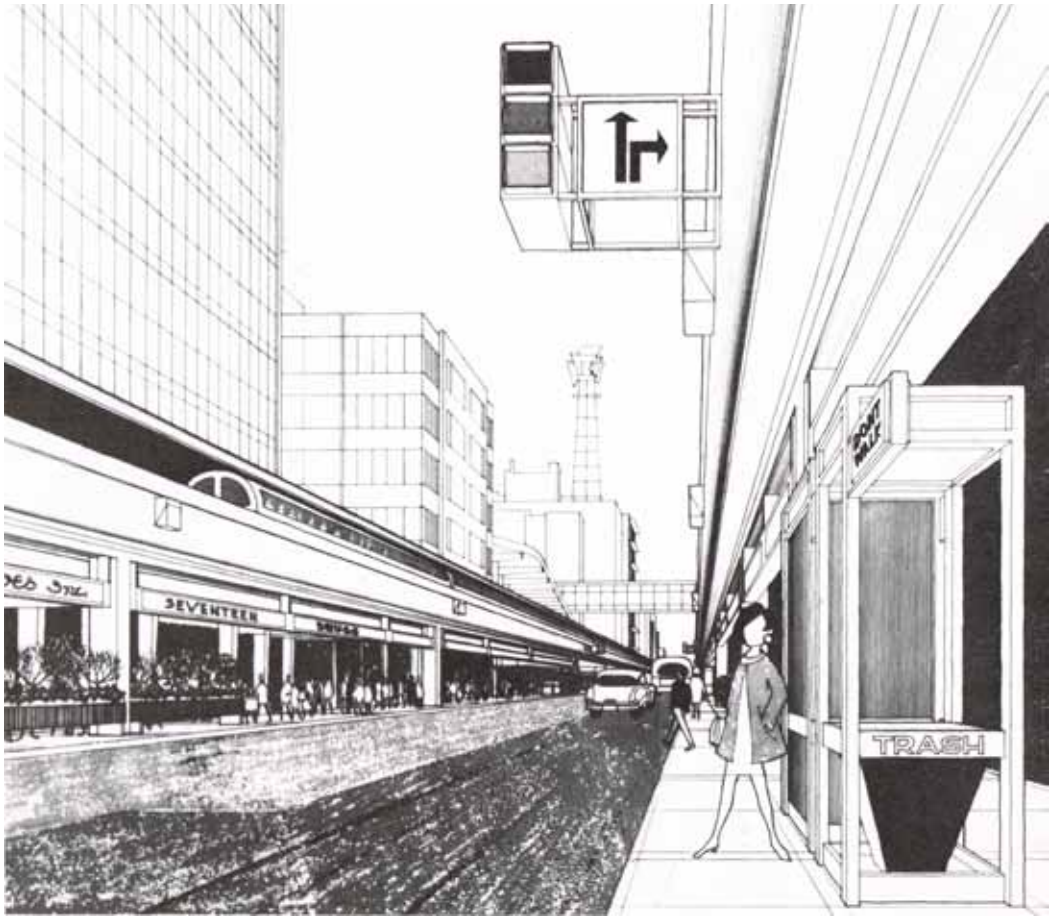


Figure 7.6.6.
Skyway proposal for Seventh Avenue South, Calgary, 1966

in this country in the next decade. The national institute, saw four major trends as the cause for spurring construction: a marriage of private owners and city planners to jointly plan downtown renewal, the growing use of air rights, efforts to ease congestion on streets, and a tendency to treat urban developments as super block, district, or zone in stead of a collection of individual buildings, which may not relate to each other efficiently. (The Hartford Courant 1970, 28 June, Fraser 1970, December) Abreast therewith, other skyway plans were presented to the public too. It might be hard to map all these, because not all would be realistic. For example, how serious were the widely published plans of the New York Plan Association to propose skyways for Midtown Manhattan?[768] One could think that the association's urban design team imagined the far future, rather than proposals for the current situation, because their visions included rather conceptual schemes, which explicitly followed past futurists like Sant'Elia. That is to say, public circulation would be improved by so-called 'skyscraper sidewalks', which were seen as mini systems composed out of the characteristic Modern skyways, yet now on several levels up to high in the air. Alternatively, one could think that it was a high start to investigate the revitalisation of Grand Central area as illustrated by a detailed sketch of a new skyway system, which seemed to follow contemporary Modern urban planning and design. (Architectural Forum 1968, January/ February; Progressive Architecture 1968 February; Regional Plan Association 1969) And, what about the less exposed plan for a Central City Elevated Pedway System in Los Angeles? It could have been to be a very realistic attempt to extent the network of overhead footways and one skyway, which was under construction at Flower, Fifth and Hill Streets.[769] Yet, while the planning department acknowledged that the skyways were expensive to construct, especially for owners of existing structures as they have to remodel so as to provide access, they did not involve them. The owner's say, including unfavourable reactions, was arranged only after presenting the plan, and by means of participation of the Chamber of Commerce.[770] Even though the public media rhetorically questioned if Los Angeles boasted any buildings "as intricately stylish as the IDS Center in Minneapolis", the grand skyway plan never came from the drawing boards. Was it the governmental top-down approach why it did not work? (Department of City Planning, Bureau of Engineering 1971, September; Pastier 1973, 12 March) For the line of reasoning of this research, it might be not relevant if plans were important, weighty or critical in the urban development, or even so, why they nevertheless failed. What did matter was that even the big metropolises were considering skyways as sequel to their massive slum-clearance projects and in solving emerging problems in circulation.

Most skyways opened in places where cold weather was a problem. General research performed in assignment of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) underlined this. One of the conclusions was that the increase took place especially in cities that had to battle the harsh climate, whereas other cities only faced the advantages of a revitalised business district. (Jacob and Morphew 1984, Progressive Architecture 1984, January) More in-dept case study research showed that on a cold day the percentage of people in a variety of cities preferring the skyway system over sidewalks was close to

Figure 7.6.7.
Skyways in Des Moines, 1984

[768] An exhibit on this study, which included 42nd Street and Bryant Park, was presented 21 February – 15 March 1968. A local non-profit society for architectural study, called Architectural League of New York, sponsored it.

[769] The elevated walkways were outdoors and part of the twin Atlantic Richfield Plaza towers, or Arco Plaza Towers, designed by architect Albert Carey Martin, Jr. (3 August 1913 – 30 March 2006) between 1967 and 1969. The skyway, crossing South Hill Street, connected the Occidental Life Insurance Company headquarters with its addition, designed by the American-Portuguese architect William Leonard Pereira (25 April 1909 – 13 November 1985), respectively between 1961 and 1965, and 1968 and 1969.

[770] The Chamber Task Force reviewed it as Central City Los Angeles Preliminary General Development Plan 1972/1990, at their first meeting on 17 May 1972.

Figure 7.6.8.
Two-story skyways, Seventh Avenue, photo by Harold Hanen, 1990

100%.[771] (Robertson 1994: 107) Additional pedestrian counts in Minneapolis gave a similar image in terms of seasonal variations in traffic volume. The percentage of people actually moving through the interior would more than double in comparison to an average day. For example, in the IDS skyways the volume could increase to 25,000 on one day, whereas on the outskirts it would be probably no more than a few hundred people. Also, exceptions over the years were supportive. The unusual nice weather in 1994 caused a remarkable decline in traffic volumes. So, skyways were popular in cold places and during cold days. Minneapolis stayed an exemplar, because with these new facts, the success of its skyway was evident over the years. Each year more and more people walked though the skyway, but also over the outdoor mall. Skyways brought back the public in downtown, even if there was not so much reason to walk around there in the past. (Minneapolis Downtown Council 1992, January; 1993, January; 1994, January; 1995, January) As written in the local newspaper more recently, in winter, about two-thirds of pedestrian traffic is in the skyways and a third on the streets. In summer, the proportion flips. In fact, this was not very different to the mid seventies, when in winter the actual average use of the skyways was three-quarter of all downtown pedestrians, while in summer it was almost half of them. (Mack 1997, 13 February; Podoloske and Heglund 1976: 3-12)

As the amount of skyway systems enlarged, the reason to apply them elsewhere shifted.

This shift might have started in the end of the 1960s. While finally approaching the millennium horizon, the effects of human activities on the environment as a limited resource became a hot topic. A so-called Commission on the Year 2000 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences emphasised that "a host of problems caused by elements competing for this limited resource" would call for the three-dimensional city, including 'interbuilding walkways'. A book called Canada 2000 A.D. agreed. As such, the public would "continue to pursue various activities in the agreeable atmosphere of a perfectly controlled micro-climate", and thus 'covered pedestrian walkways' would multiply. (Perloff 1967, Summer: 791-792; Desmarais 1969: 140) New interests extended the understanding and application of skyways. They could be designed to create 'a liveable winter city'. More so, they ought to become the most desirable feature to protect the public from adverse climate and they combated depression associated with winter, thus effecting people emotionally. "We have built broad piazzas and boulevards which have no place in northern cities, and that the design of the northern cities should be roofed in the form of the north, not of the Mediterranean", was the credo. (Githeim 1979, February; Pressman 1988: 44; Lu 1988: 368, 374)

En masse, the chilly cities around The Great Lakes followed the current trend. One after the other project announcements in these cities contained the promise of enclosed skyways. Middletown was in the lead.[772] In Iowa, Sioux City rejuvenated downtown with a skyway in 1975. Waterloo and Dubuque followed in 1979. The skyway systems in Des Moines and Cedar Rapids began respectively in 1982 and 1985. Redevelopment swopped back to Minnesota too. The neighbours of the Twin Cities, Rochester, Minnesota, and Duluth fashioned skyway systems respectively between 1979 and 1981, and between 1986 and 1988. Fargo in North Dakota

[771] A cold day was defined as 20°F or -7°C. The conclusion was based on circa hundred respondents per city.

[772] With Middletown, I refer to a Midwestern city with a "community as small as thirty-odd thousand", which in the past often had been seen as typical of the entire United States. (Lynd and Lynd 1929, January: 8) Of course, these cities strongly differ from other places as well as from each other, but located in the same larger region, they share more or less the same climate.

announced a plan to create its second level system in 1979. In Manitoba, across the Dakotan border, skyways would warm up Winnipeg from 1974 on. In the state of Wisconsin, Milwaukee unveiled its skyway system proposal in 1982, three years after having introduced one between a museum and its theatre. Across the lake, in Michigan, Grand Rapids got its skyway not before 1985. Detroit, the largest city of Michigan, already built its first skyway in 1977 as part of the Renaissance Center,[773] but most of Detroit's twenty 'tubes' had been built since 1983 and many of them had been demolished again by now. In Ohio, north of Cincinnati, Columbus started with the development of skyways in 1983. More to the lakeside, Akron did in 1985. In the same wave, finally also Rochester, New York, rejoined the leading group. In 1984, the City Council adopted an ambitious plan for the development of skyways throughout the downtown area. "The Framework for Skyways in Rochester" became part of the city's comprehensive plan and, like elsewhere; a true skyway committee would review skyway proposals and oversee the development of the overall skyway system. (Department of Community Development 1984, 25 September) Syracuse and Buffalo, the two closest neighbours of Rochester in upstate New York, had joined the party with small skyway interventions already in 1970 and 1972. In Ontario, just across the New York border, from 1983, Ottowa accompanied with the redevelopment of the Rideau Area in its centre.[774] Nearby London and Hamilton introduced skyways in 1970s and 1985.

The skyway was popular also on the other side of the continent, away from the Great Lakes Region. In the state of Saskatchewan, a less urbanised region, Saskatoon and Regina caught up with Late Modern fashion as early as 1970 and 1981, as did Edmonton in Alberta and Spokane in Washington respectively in 1979 and 1972.[775] All these cases, mostly in cold weather cities, illustrated the impact of skyways as part of planned systems.

Simultaneously with this boom, Calgary and Minneapolis had taken the next level. The first two two-story skyways would link the "World Inside" Oxford Square, Calgary, with its surrounding buildings. Already in 1976, the complex had introduced a +30 level next to the +15. (The Calgary Herald 1976, 1 November)

[773] The conception for the Renaissance Center was presented by Henry Ford II (4 September 1917 – 29 September 1987) in 1970 as a way to stem the tide. John Calvin Portman, Jr. (born 4 December 1924) in collaboration with Skidmore, Owings and Merrill designed it.

[774] Between 1978 and 1979, the Canadian architect and planner Lloyd P. Sankey (data unknown) designed the Rideau Area Project, aiming to revitalise the eastern half of Ottawa core. Under his supervision, the plan was implemented between 1981 and 1982. Skyways linked the new indoor shopping mall of Rideau Centre to the new department store of The Bay across Rideau Street.

[775] The Bay Skywalk crossing Second Avenue in Saskatoon was demolished in 2004, prior to demolition of the Bay Parkade.

Figure 7.6.9a.
Inside the skyways on the fourth level, Minneapolis

Figure 7.6.9b.
Skyways on the second and the fourth levels of Wells Fargo Center, Minneapolis

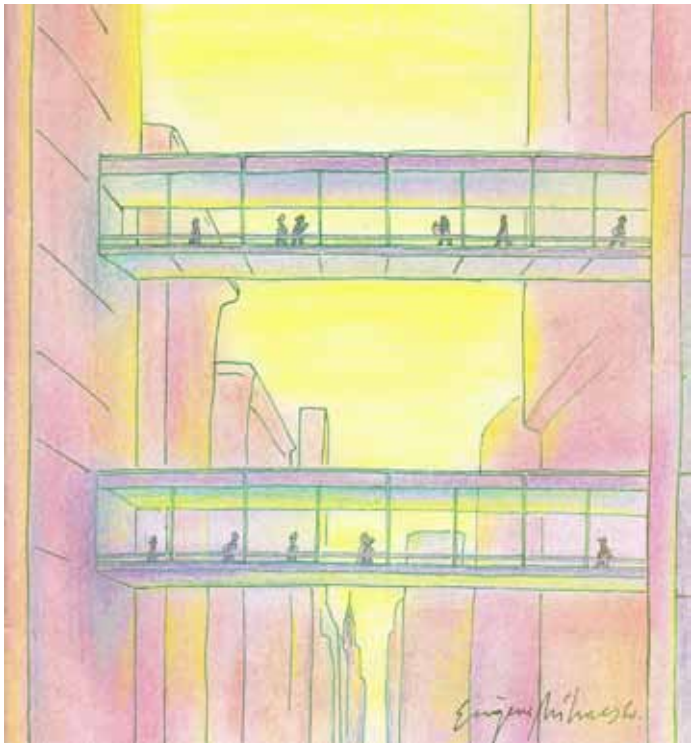


Figure 7.6.10.
Skyways over Lexington Avenue in New York City, cover of The New Yorker, 1985, by Eugène Mihaesco, or Eugen Mihăescu (born 24 August 1937)

In essence, the skyway constructions were again a truss, yet now higher and introducing two storeys. They were embellished with a Late Modern glass facade, glass A-frame roofs and glass semi dormer-windows. The double-layered skyways opened doors to a new system juxtaposed over the old one. Soon new upper links in the city followed. In the meantime, in 1989, an extra skyway level had opened in Minneapolis. Pelli designed again skyways, now on the second and the fourth levels of Wells Fargo Center. The upper skyway was elevated one more storey above the existing overhead level. This concept seemed to follow the design of lower and upper skyways as featured in a major expansion of Hunter College, which was completed in 1986 in the heart of his hometown and which featured among others on the cover of the New Yorker.[776] (Mihaesco 1985, 4 March) Skyway design slowly moved away again from the simple truss. Especially the design of Pelli's upper skyway was distinctive because it introduced green suspension beams and ditto sculptural bay-windows. Although, in the Twin City, the new level would be restricted to one incident, two years later, it might have inspired the designers of the Calgary Eaton Centre to go one level higher. WZMH Architects introduced two colossal three-story skyways to connect the annexes across the streets. Outdoors, these skyways caught the eye with a somewhat heavily use of travertine with bleu mirror glass and stretched dormer-bay, as if they were raised intermediary buildings. Its unprecedented width, of 145 feet or 44 metres, allowed small shops to flank the route. Yet, the extolled gadgets, sweets, health products and beauty accessories not only darkened outdoor street level but also the interior.[777] Skyways doubled, tripled and widened. Nothing seemed impossible or out of reach.

[776] In a major expansion of Hunter College of City University of New York (CUNY), the German-American architect Ulrich Joseph Franzen (born 15 January 1921), a student of Pei, designed two new buildings for the college across Lexington Avenue from one another and connected by skywalks.

[777] The Oxford Square in Calgary shared basement of the Home Oil Tower and Dome Tower. A year later, it was renamed to TD Square. As planned by Canadian CPV Group Architects and Engineers Ltd, skyways would link two buildings on two levels, among which the department store of T. Eaton Co. across 3rd Street, designed in 1929 by the Canadian architect George Allen Ross (24 October 1878 – 21 January 1946) and his Australian-Canadian partner Robert Henry Macdonald (7 March 1875 – 16 December 1942). In 1990, the Eaton store was relocated in the Calgary Eaton Centre, for which the most of historic Eaton's facade was stripped, labelled and stored. The Canadian firm WZMH Architects, formerly known as the Webb Zerafa Menkes Housden Partnership, designed the new complex with main structure, tower and annexes across 4th and 3rd Street SW and all three-level skyways. Together with TD Square the complex is now part of the so-called CORE Shopping Centre. Cesar Pelli & Associates Architects designed Wells Fargo Center in Minneapolis and its skyways. The skyway to Northstar West was designed by Iranian-born American sculptor Siah Armajani (born 10 July 1939).

In the end of the nineteen-eighties, now supported by numerous other systems, the skyway seemed more than a design solution for the defenceless pedestrian, the rising car mobility and the regeneration of downtown. It was the answer for winter cities. Still, new questions rose: "In cities that have skyways or concourses what will become of the street? Will it be relegated to cars, buses, and trucks? Or will it become no man's land of service zones and parking? Do skyways and concourses as privatised pedestrian systems relegate the streets to social outcast?" In search for answers, Late Modernists dove in history. Interior pedestrian places that could relate well to street level were "those that contribute to the tradition of continuity in a city's pedestrian system". The Ponte di Rialto, in Venice, was compared to a skyway that crossed a trafficked street, linking two commercial areas and ideally, creating a 'place and pause'. (Bednar 1989: 145-146) In a particularly contemporary way, Colin Rowe had opened the search in a two-day conference devoted to the design and use of skyways in America.[778] Associatively, he referred to the early and actually constructed enclosed elevated, and partly overhead, covered passage between Palazzo Vecchio and Plazzo Pitti in Florence and its precedent in Rome, a pedestrian viaduct between the Vatican and Castello Sant'Angelo.[779] Overlooking visions of Borie and Moilin, or best practices of Furness and for example Holabird and Root, He associated skyways with secrecy

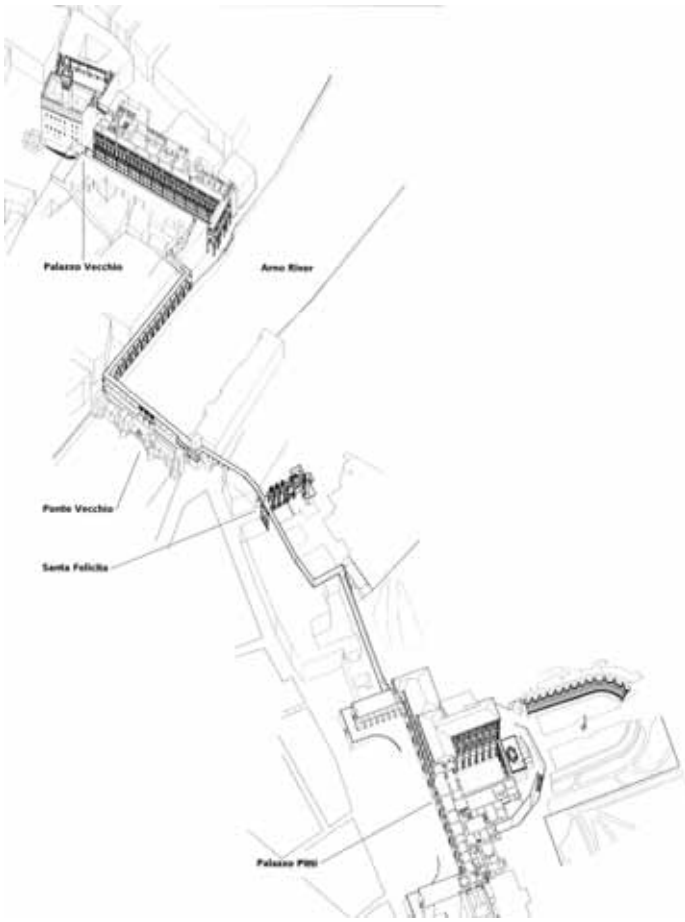


Figure 7.6.11.
Enclosed elevated, and partly overhead, covered passage between Palazzo Vecchio and Plazzo Pitti in Florence as drawn by Colin Rowe, 1985

[778] Philip Johnson seemed to have commended already in March 1969, that Minneapolis skyways had given a character to the town that, 'except for Venice', couldn't be repeated. (Kaufman 1985: 48) Yet, Rowe opened the search for a broader audience on The Conference on Skyways, Tunnels and Streets, which was held in the Walker Art Center and University of Minnesota, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs and Center of Urban and Regional Affairs, on April 13-14, 1985.

[779] The Florentine artist-architect Giorgio Vasari (30 July 1511 – 27 June 1574) designed the elevated passage or Corridoio between the two palaces in five moths of 1564 and 1565. One of his predecessors from Florence, Arnolfo di Cambio, whom he called Arnolfo di Lapo, (c.1240 – 1300/10) had designed Palazzo Vecchio in 1299. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377 – 15 April 1446) was proposed by Vasari to be the architect of Plazzo Pitti, assisted by his pupil Luca Fancelli (c.1430 – after 1494). Credits today go only to the later. The Passetto di Borgo, or simply Passetto, was erected in 1277 by Pope Nicholas III, born Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (Rome, 1210/1220 – 22 August 1280) and studied again by Vasari. (Vasari 1568) It connected the Vatican with the Mausoleum of Hadrian, which was erected between 135 AD and 139 AD and converted by the pope to Castello Sant'Angelo. From the sixteenth century on, taking decades for construction (1509-1590), it would connect to the newly erected Basilica Sancti Petri, or Basilica Papale di San Pietro in Vaticano, which was designed by many.

and privacy, because the one had been restricted to the papal court and the other to the ducal court, and occasionally both had been used to escape a rebellion or invasion. His lessons from history obviously were unfavourable: as in his view both had been negative controlling spheres, thus they should be avoided today. Talking in a stream of consciousness, he stated that a newspaper image of a section of the Minneapolis skyway strongly reminded him to the opening of the fourth canto of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, a lengthy narrative poem written by the poet George Gordon, Lord Byron[780]: "I stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sights, a palace and a prison on each hand…" For an audience of two hundred planners, architects and city officials, Rowe explained that his paradoxical apprehension – palace and prison – was also based on experience. Once, he had found himself 'dreadfully disoriented' in the Cincinnati skyways while he saw streets below 'painfully degraded'. Similarly, in Charlotte, North Carolina, he saw the streets being degenerated due to the upstairs 'bourgeois boutiquesville'. In sum, his quick survey seemed to underline that communication between the levels were not many. Even when he referred to an early design proposition of Leonardo da Vinci, introducing multi-layered streets differently,[781] and he agued that it could reveal a then uncovered vision on highly complex cities, still it was considered to be arbitrary. (Rowe 1985: 8-10, Byron 1818, 2 January) Others

[780] Lord George Gordon Byron, later changed to Noel, (22 January 1788 – 19 April 1824) was a British poet and Baron Byron. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage was published between 1812 and 1818.

[781] The Florentine polymath Leonardo di ser Piero da Vinci (15 April 1452 – 2 May 1519) proposed 'Strade Nobile', a multileveled street in an idealised city, in the 1490s, in his last years in Milan.

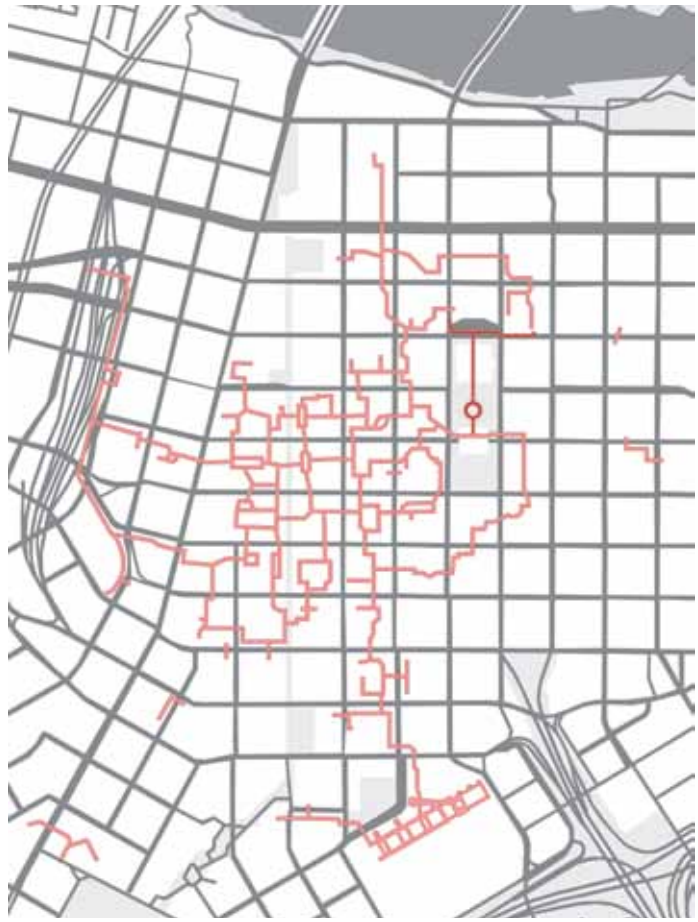


Figure 5.1.12.
Skyway Systems in Minneapolis

attending the conference, outside the profession, would more or less agree on these concerns. To name a few: An architectural historian concluded that the skyway system introduced a second city as a way to avoid the problems of the first city. A lawyer would add that these controversies gave birth to concerns on skyway civil liberties. Legal doctrines in other cases demonstrated how a legitimate desire for the specialisation of space had overstepped its bounds. The courts in New Jersey, for example, were ruling against segregationist or exclusive zoning, whereas the courts in Minnesota were doing the opposite.[782] A third critic added that also from an economic point of view skyways were questionable. They had become a self-proving and self-fulfilling prophecy. Once a system had been built and the public was moving upstairs, the pressure to expand the network was created. That is to say, not necessary would kill the streets. It depends on the city. (Willensky 1985, Warner 1985, Dillon 1985, and Supreme Court of the United States 1974, 1 April; Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey 1975, 24 March; Supreme Court of the State of Minnesota 1976, 2 April)

Ergo, tide was turning. As illuminated before, in Late Modern thinking anti-revolution became the new revolution.[783] By introducing histories of all kinds of bridges, the future of the skyway was settled. As fast as the type boomed, it was loosing its popularity. Even the international news magazine Time adopted the general conclusions of the conference. With the statement that by going indoors people escape the city and that the skyway was not a way of democracy, the image of the skyway type was revised to the negative. The message was simple: No more skyways for the big cities (Andersen, Hequet et al 1988, 1 August)

> "Back in the 1960s, when spick-and-span, won't-the-future-be-fab urban schemes were still regarded with automatic enthusiasm by almost everyone, and when suburban malls were suddenly sucking shoppers away from central cities, the idea seemed perfect: build enclosed bridges – skywalks! – between the upper stories of downtown office buildings, stores and hotels, and nobody will ever have to go outdoors at all. Fortunately, most such future-a-go-go notions of the era – moving sidewalks or 300-story apartment towers – never came to much." (Andersen, Hequet et al 1988, August 1)

More strongly, William Whyte stated that: "The war against the street gained forces". According to him, what these cities sorely needed were more people on the streets, not fewer people. But they put in concourses and the skyways and then they wonder why the streets had become deader than ever. The skyways of Minneapolis had 'dullified' the streets, also the city of Charlotte showed that street level had not done well, and for Cedar Rapids it was the same. In the example of Dallas, Whyte even talked about 'surrogate' streets, because although it was a dynamic city, on street level one would not say so. Yet of all, he dubbed Saint Paul the "blank-wall capital of the United States". He blamed both planners and architects for taking principal functions from the street and putting them in skyways, and aesthetically, skyways were a mixed bag too, Whyte adds. Exception might be Calgary, because while they added even a Plus 30 and Plus 40 System, the city never had turned its back on the streets. By means of incentive zoning it actively supported street level activity. In the winter the skyway systems had made downtown

[782] A New York municipal ordinance restricted land use to one-family dwellings, defining the word 'family' to mean: "One or more persons related by blood, adoption, or marriage, living and cooking together as a single housekeeping unit, exclusive of household servants. A number of persons but not exceeding two (2) living and cooking together as a single housekeeping unit, though not related by blood, adoption, or marriage shall be deemed to constitute a family." After owners of such a house in the village, who had leased it to six unrelated college students, were cited for violating the ordinance, this action was brought to the Supreme Court of the United States to have the ordinance declared unconstitutional as violative of equal protection and the rights of association, travel, and privacy. The court held that the ordinance was a constitutional restriction on the use of land. A next series of New Jersey Supreme Court cases known as the Mount Laurel Decisions established that municipalities were also constitutionally mandated to provide low- and moderate-income housing. The plaintiffs challenged the zoning ordinance unsuccessfully. Out of these decisions came the Mount Laurel Doctrine. The series of Minnesota Supreme Court cases ruled against the principle of exclusive zoning. While a comprehensive zoning plan imposed a moratorium on a certain development, a municipal special-use permit was authorising plaintiff to develop dwellings. This case granted the plaintiff the relief he sought.

[783] See Book 2.

Figure 7.6.13.
A peripheral skyway, running through the Pence Building in Minneapolis, 2006

simply better walkable and in the summer streets were still attractive and populated (Whyte 1988: 193-205, 228) The skyway systems were promoted as "devices to beat the environmental extremes of heat, cold or humidity that make conventional streets unbearable", and thus they seemed "mere tools, value-free extensions of the existing urban realm", as architectural critic Trevor Boddy put it.[784] Yet, in the same line as Whyte, he disagreed and called them 'a simulation of urbanity'. In his view, outdoor public space had become a 'periodic reminder' enforcing 'civic domain'. Streets, which used to be crossed to go from building to building, now were by-passed by skyways. They connect them to overcome the streets. Also in Boddy's vision an analogous or surrogate one had replaced public life. The public quality of a skyway was associated with a substitute, as it was said to have been put in the place of another. (Boddy 1992: 124-125) Issues related to a problematic accessibility, opening hours, orientation and safety strengthened the concerns. Several studies commended on the difficulty of locating the entrances to the skyway systems, especially those found within buildings not detectable from the outside or, in many cases, even upon entering a building. In the same line, the accessibility needs for elderly and physically handicapped people constitute another worry. In Des Moines, most interior doors had been eliminated, or provided with a push button, to be at their beck and call, but it was an exception. Secondly, opening hours often would vary from block to block, set by the private owner. The call for synchronising grew as well as extending hours to allow night-time use. In Minneapolis, a newspaper editorial asked to continue hours to serve theatres, concert halls, restaurants, bars and stadiums. Thirdly, once inside one could face an uneasy ability to negotiate the system. One would conclude that all skyway systems resemble a maze, as a St. Paul Pioneer Press headline indicated: "Skywalker: How do I get out of here?" Lastly, harassments, personal assaults, rapes, and rape attempts in the skyways, though not frequent, made the headlines of The Wall Street Journal. So, one researcher would question if the skywalk systems were "downtown's great hope or pathways to ruin?" (Morphew 1984, March; Lublin 1984, 11 July; Jacob and

[784] Trevor Duncan Boddy, abbreviated to Trev, (born 7 March 1953) is a Canadian critic, curator and historian of architecture and consulting urban designer.

Morphew 1984: 24-35; Robertson 1988, July; 1993, June and July, and 1994: 91-95)

Across the oceans, the growth of skywalk systems within the cores of North American cities had been irresistible too. In Europe, incidentally urban designers had continued to plan overhead walkways in the CIAM tradition. Covered skyways could have been the next step. Deutsche Bauzeitung had introduced the type to the Germans already in the seventies. Roughly it elaborated on the advantages for contemporary cities: "…auch Gro städte können Wege finden, die City wieder attraktiv zu machen. Ein erfolgreiches Beispiel bietet Minneapolis in den USA" The skyway had just solved the conflict between pedestrian and car, while all shops could remain accessible for both. Similarly in those days, the Italian design magazine Domus headed: "La città di Minneapolis ha risolto il problema di separare il traffico perdonale da quello automobilistico in modo molto brillante e orginale". Minneapolis had 'simply elevated its pedestrians', the magazine revealed. In sum: It had attracted people from the suburbs who find it more convenient to shop in this new zone rather than in their own suburban shopping centres, it had gave a simple solution for the separation of pedestrians from vehicular traffic, and it created an interior public space for 'rendez vous', leisure, clubs and cafés in extreme climates. (Deutsche Bauzeitung 1976, March; Domus 1978, January) However, on some rare exceptions to overcome a heavy traffic road in for example Essen, Cologne and Stuttgart, skyways never really set foot on the continent. Maybe, it did not, because almost synchronic to the admiration also criticism reached Europe. Planners' attitudes were ambivalent towards skyways. While asking if the skyway systems were "ein Vorbild für unsere Städte", Bauwelt illuminated both pros and contras, and in line with the magazine, academic research reviewed traffic advantages, downtown revitalisation possibilities more in-depth, as well as the concerns on crime and public quality. (Hanen 1990, 9 March, and Hahn 1990, 9 March and 1992)

In Australia, skyway systems were not discussed publicly, until the Japanese developers of the Victoria Central Project in Melbourne had proposed one. Japanese architects and planners had been working with the idea of skyways for some years by then.[785] Like many examples in the past, the project's skyways would provide pedestrian access between a new shopping centre, on top of the railway station, and a parking garage with a flagship store on the other side of the street. In the face of the City Council opposition, the Minister of Planning[786] at the time justified his approval for the plans for the largest development site ever in an Australian downtown, as it would revitalise the core of the city. The local newspaper stated that the proposed skywalk would be "a bridge to a rather daunting future". Experts explain that with one skyway further expansion was inevitable. The public would be transferred to privatised spaces while the outside streets would face blind walls and parking entrances, abandoned by the pedestrian. By referring to Minneapolis, Saint Paul and Calgary, all contemporary concerns were passed in this review too. (Stevens 1988, 5 August) Still, the skywalk concept emerged in Australia, as it was the year of Bicentennial Celebrations. The Melbourne skyway was constructed as planned and would soon extend as prospected.[787] Also in Sydney

[785] See Book 1.

[786] At the time of planning Thomas William Roper (born 6 March 1945) was first Minister for Transport (1985-1987), then Minister for Planning and Environment and Minister for Consumer Affairs (1987-1990).

[787] Spanning Little Lonsdale Street and Lonsdale Street skyways link Melbourne Central Shopping Centre, Melbourne Central Smartpark and the department store Myer. The original design of the shopping centre, office tower, railway station and one skyway was by Kisho Kurokawa (See Book 1). He made the plans between 1986 and 1988 in cooperation with the local firms Bates Smart + McCutcheon and Hassel for the Japanese developer Kumagai Gumi Co., Ltd. (株式会社熊谷組). With the opening Victoria Central was renamed as Melbourne Central. In 2005, the architectural firm Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM) refurbished the complex. Since 2007, skyways also pass over Little Bourke Street to connect the redeveloped Myer and David Jones stores with their new annexes. The Australian architect Roger Nelson (born 29 April 1957) from NH Architecture redesigned part of The Myer Emporium. The British-born Australian architects and brothers Henry William Tompkins, called Harry, (March 1865 – 21 January 1959) and Frank Beauchamp Tompkins (abt.1866 – c.1952) had designed this department store. They immigrated from South-African, wher they spend part of their yought, and they had worked for the Russian-Australian entrepreneur Elcon Baevski Meyer (4 December 1875 - 18 February 1938) since the opening of the store in 1925 and extended it in phases until 1940. Harry Tompkins had also been mayor of Kew near Melbourne in the late 1910s.

a skyway project was opened in that same year. Darling Harbour, situated on the western outskirts of downtown, had been a decayed part of the city, which, according to the government, needed to be redeveloped when no private party would do so. Thus, it was seen as 'a troublesome thing' to do by The City. In collaboration with the same developer as in Melbourne, the wharf was transformed in an area with a convention and exhibition centre, a shopping mall, strip stores and some gardens. Skyways would open-up the site as pedestrians had to cross a busy freeway encircling the harbour. They also would connect to several monorail stops and link hotels, some office towers and a public aquarium.[788] In difference to Melbourne, urban designers and planners in Sydney, represented by members of The Royal Australian Planning Institute and the School of Town Planning of the University of New South Wales were supporters of it. (Bailey 1985, 16 April; Shields 1986, 5 November; Duek-Cohen 1986, 18 November) In both Australian cities, skyway systems did appear. Nevertheless, instantly the concerns and the questions raised in North America were adopted: "Should we burn our Bridges?" (Flannigan 1989, September)

Having a broad scope, the European-Australian architect and urban designer Barry Maitland[789] underlined that in general skyways carried "great risks for the street-level environment of host cities". However, the degree of proliferation and the diversity of generating factors suggested that a reassessment was necessary. Unlike most others at the time, in a down-to-earth attitude, he suggested to develop a new strategy needed to guide the development of city centres in which the primary pedestrian level is no longer on the ground. The 'hidden cities' or 'interior cities' should be uncovered and displayed. (Maitland 1992, August) and that would be exactly what would happen back in the cities around the Great Lakes. Denise Scott Brown was one of the few American coevals having a similar approach. In her work on Minneapolis, she approached the skyways with what she would call 'a new openness in her mind and eyes to help her ideals to be pragmatic ones and her utopia to be humane'. Although the skyways envisioned in the plan were private constructions, she acknowledged that their image was all-important to the public, as many people were served by the skyway system. "However, with the privilege comes responsibility to effect the crossing in a suitable and civic way", she stated. To her they were more then important links in a pedestrian network. They formed

[788] Much of the land of Darling Harbour, formally known as Cockle Bay, had been the site of the NSW Railways central marshalling yards and freight consolidation centre. The project was largely developed between 1984 and 1988, when formally opened by Queen Elizabeth II. Todays Metro Monorail was formerly Sydney Monorail, and originally TNT Harbourlink. The Australian architects Philip Sutton Cox (born 1 October 1939), John Richardson (born 9 October 1946) and Philip Taylor (born 4 July 1942) designed the Sydney Exhibition Centre and Sydney Aquarium. John Hamilton Andrews (born 29 October 1933) designed the Sydney Convention Centre. The Harbour Festival Market Place, now Harbourside Shopping Centre, is a joined design of the firm Architecture Oceania and RTKL. Novotell was added in 1992 and IBIS Hotel in 1995. In 1998, a new restaurant and entertainment complex at Cockle Bay Wharf was constructed, the exhibition and convention centres were expanded and the shopping mall was refurbished.

[789] Barry Semple Maitland (born 14 October 1941) is a Scottish-born Australian architect and urban designer. He has been professor and dean of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Newcastle, Australia. Today, he is also known as crime writer.

Figure 7.6.14a.
Hennepin Avenue, a design proposal by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 1981

Figure 7.6.14b.
Hennepin Avenue, a design proposal by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 1981

gateways to the outdoor street. (Scott Brown 1981, 1983, June, and 1990: 67-69)
In her plea for the recognition of 'crowds that invariably fill them', in 1993 also Margaret Crawford puts forward the skyway system of Minneapolis. Like Scott Brown, she defines the skyways as interior public spaces in a complex and divers network of public spaces. In this line, she challenges professionals to design and review them as such: "Words, phrases or concepts describing the new spatial conditions need to be created as tools to confront this new design challenge. There are signs that a dialogue between architects attempting to reconfigure space and critics trying to reconceptualise it is the beginning to produce these concepts." (Cenzatti and Crawford 1993, January – February)

Figure 7.6.15.
Sign near Convention Center, Minneapolis

Today, Credit Crunch or not, city officials blame the skywalks for the ghostly still sidewalks and ground-storey vacancy rates. Many cities cooled on the concept. Some have limited the expansion of its skyways. The older skyway cities are exemplary. Although downtown Calgary does not face big problems and skyways continue to be part of the plan, still, city planners are being careful when approving new constructions. They follow the Late Modern critique questioning if the city is able to support both a vibrant street life and a vibrant Plus-15 environment. What is continued to be heart most often also is the repetitive sentiment on the city's cold weather: "Considering Calgarians live in one of the coldest countries in the world, you'd think making the best of winter would be a hot topic of conversation". It's an endless struggle, as today's local newspaper sums up. Team 'It's Freaking Cold Outside' is facing off against team 'Downtown is Dead'. (Babin 2010, 19 December) In the case of downtown Rochester the situation is more severe, because it has been experiencing a major decline since more than a decade or so. Therefore recently, it has adopted a new comprehensive plan: The Renaissance 2010 Plan. Remarkably, the issue of skyways is not addressed in that document. (Rochester Bureau of Planning 1999, January) They won't be part of the future. The city has purchased six buildings in the heart of Rochester marked by empty storefronts and vacant offices to rejuvenate downtown within that new framework. Because of this project, Midtown Plaza and several skyways are torn down. The city's skyway system is now reduced to a few minor connections between existing hotels and parking garages. (Alexander 2006, 26 November; Chao and Orr 2007, 17 October) Cincinnati has approved a plan to tear down pieces of its thirty-year-old skyway system too. But, here the public opposes. En masse, Cincinnatians say the skyways should remain as they are. They are part of the city's culture. Questionnaires reveal that according to the local people the interior may not be the problem, as a majority would visit problem areas more often if there were more restaurants, stores and bars. (Alltucker 2003, 1 June; Healy 2005, 3 August) Urban critics decry the lack of public life on the streets, but the skyways haven't starved the city of life, a journalist has put forward. The public life just has moved upstairs and indoors. During the lunch crunch, Minneapolis skyways are packed, as crowded as New York's Fifth Avenue, some brag. Nevertheless, the outdoor space does well too, that is to say in the centre of the city. Pedestrian traffic volumes have increased along the Nicollet Mall. The Minneapolis network may have grown enormously, it may have dead ends, dark

stairways, narrow passageways and loops that go nowhere, and it may be a rat maze to those who don't know it intimately. Yet "ever been lost": since 2010, there is the Minneapolis Skyway app to help you out. All together skyways do offer a unique culture, as the local newspaper promotes. "Downtown has everything the mall does and more - doctors, lawyers, hairdressers. If it wasn't for the skyways, I wouldn't be living in Minneapolis," one resident says. Locals want improvements on visible and appealing connections between street and skyway levels, not destruction. "What's Minneapolis without skyways? […] Let's improve what already works" (Mack 1997, 13 February and 9 March; Haga 1997, 9 March; Bruce 2000; Ewoldt 2005, 3 March; Stovall 2008, 17 January) People have their own memories up there: bad ones, like remembering a fatal accident, or good ones, memorised by Miss Skyway. "If you walked the whole system, you'd go 5 miles, cross 62 bridges, and pass almost 200 stores, 34 restaurants and dozens of coffee shops and ma-an-pa operations. From the skyway you can get to 1.500 apartments or condominiums, 4.000 hotel rooms, almost 200 million square feet of office space, and about 2.5 million square feet of retail space." The skyways intrigue people. They think it is cool. Daily users are privileged to be high above the city. Evidence is purely anecdotal, but people like to overlook downtown, be Cloudboy, walk the glass midair – the hamster tube, feel like floating, or simply continue business, interact, exchange, coexist …be part of the community. (Kate Thomas, Nancy Russell, Lisa Ferguson, M.A. Taft-McPhee, Johannah Bomster, Cloudboy, Stephanie Anderson, Kiandra Franzen, Anna Marschalk-Burns, Anne Dimock, Katrine Holmes, Paul Picard, Patricia Salwei, Grant Henry and Linda Byrne quoted in Opie 2001: 8-31)

Since the early days, the skyway has been standing for the imagination of future possibilities, either good or bad. Past idealism and the preference for tomorrow's socio-spatial transformation has always been a reflected sound. The dreams to travel up in the air, constituted in early concepts of the overhead street gallery, form the basis of today's experience. Elevated railroads have made this dream real in the first place. Our predecessors constructed tracks, stations and terminals over the public streets, efficiently bypassing the crowd like imagined in the utopian three-dimensional city. Its access stairways brought people up and its footbridges allowed them to go from one elevated train station to another without touching the ground. Roofing to protect the public from the effects of weather were part of the design of these convenient links long before planners talked about winter cities. The nineteenth-century actuality in New York and other cities had balanced early Parisian hopes for people to move up in the air. The covered footbridges of the Sixth Avenue elevated resembled the virtuously desired bridges over the boulevards of the Aérodomes across the ocean, but here simply bringing the commuter from train to train. The elevated station platforms were a necessity as well as panoramic terraces. At the same token, these embryonic skyways established answers to traffic conflicts and adequate solutions for congestion. Today it is all there. Representing elevated railroads and early covered footbridges, the theorems and concepts on grade separation and multiple-level public space of Early Modernists, like Corbett, Le Corbusier and Hilberseimer, have evolved. In essence, the skyway


Marshalls
Dole

Figure 7.6.16.
Nicollet Mall with an IDS Skyway

highway is not very different to elevated railroads or any elevated highway of today. Likewise, the Calgarian double or triple skyways and Minneapolis lower and upper skyways are the double-deck streets of today. People use them every day, foremost to change from place to place, but users are not cargo on conveyor belts in assembly lines or a crowd channelled in tubes, pipes and conduits. Especially in pedestrian skyways, along the way, one will encounter downtown workers rushing for their favourite lunch spot, families going to the doctor, dentist, lawyer, accountant or travel agent, and shoppers hunting for a good bargain. People throng though the skyways to chart the course to a variety of public facilities, many of which are not accessible from street level at all. Alternatively, they may set direction to the concourses accommodating access to their apartments, offices or hotels. In comparison with the arcade, the difference is that the skyway by nature only serves as interconnection, by means of a bypass, and thus like the mall it has a somewhat autonomous position. Public validation will be based on the attraction and quality of adjoined concourses and its accessibility. In search for understanding the phenomenon, skyways often have been corresponding to something else. They might bear some resemblance to for example traditionally used streets, pedestrian viaducts, enclosed elevated and overhead covered passages, or ditto bridges. Yet, with these ample analogies, critics describe them as poor streets and restricted and controlled spaces. A variety of emerging problems in the systems seem to underline current negativism. Skyways would symbolise the decay of public spirit. Thus, Late-Modern urban theorists would disapprove further expansion of the network. It may remind us of the opposition to the arcade and to the mall in their booming years. If one takes in account the typological change in its inherited traits, setting and use, by matter of course today's problems derive from mutating pre-existing designs. For example, the design of the demolished Pennsylvania Railroad Bridge by Frank Furness is equal to one of the Northstar Skyways of Ed Baker, the putative inventor of the completely enclosed skyway, in many ways but four. Firstly, the access to the Philadelphian skyway is wide open to the streets, sloping up, whereas the Minneapolis skyway is accessible by doors, elevators and staircases only. Secondly, the one has been designed to connect a newly designed construction, specifically serving the goal of pedestrian movement, whereas the other connects a transformed building with some limitations. Thirdly, the earlier one has been planned to benefit the effective movement of traffic in areas of congestion and the safety of the pedestrian, whereas the later one was part of a strategy to bring the public back to downtown. Additionally, the later has become part of an extensive and intricate elevated network. It is not to been said that the contemporary skyways will, or will not, work due to these alterations, only it is to foresee righteous adaptations acquired during their future existence. Nowadays in some cases, the public adores skyways, it echoes the culture of the city now, while urban designers and planners abhor them. Yet, what was the future in the past is present today. We will continue, but of course the years to come for the skyways are unknown at this point. Still, history shows that within this line of evolution nothing really has been impossible or out of reach.

Toronto, 2006

“On June 7th 2006, I entered Toronto. Like always after my arrival at the airport I used public transport to get into town. A short bus transfer was taking passengers from the airport in Malton eastbound into north Toronto, including Yorkdale. At this point, I took the T T C subway train to King, the station close to my hotel. Nineteen minutes later, I exited the underground station. I wasn't outside: I arrived almost immediately in the pedestrian subways of Scotia Plaza and thus I got a view of the case to be studied: The underground walkway system of Toronto, also known as the P A T H system. I saw a few shops along Scotia's subways, among them a dry cleaner, a paper boutique and a dental care. Soft grey carpet and black and white tiles on the edges led me to a small food court. I could have taken the doors to the brightly lighted and impressive red marble multi-level atrium of the Bank of Nova Scotia, but I turned to exit at Young Street. When I was finally above ground, I realised that most likely similar to many other people would have experienced, the first view I had of downtown was one of down the surface. During the week, further investigation brought me figuratively and literally to all edges of the system and from there on to among others the cities of Montréal, New York and in time and space; back to London.”

The Subway

Photo of a subway in Thomson Concourse in Toronto, 2000s

Chapter 1 Early Underground Corridors

When describing the evolution of subways one could open a confusing epistle for two reasons. First, the notion *subway* may refer to both a subterranean and a subaqueous way. Second, in English, the notion *subway* may be a synonym for an underground railway. Thirdly, it may even refer to a whole rail system, for which one may also use *tube*, *underground*, or *metro*.[790] This research shows there are typological relations between subways, subways and subways, but in essence it does not focus on all types within the broader linguistic meaning. From the point of comparison with bazaars, arcades, malls and skyways, the subway type illuminated in this research mainly forms a tunnel under a road primary for use of pedestrians. (Simpson and Weiner 1989ix: 699, 1989xvii: 89, and 1989xviii: 640-642 and 966, Barnhart and Steinmetz 2006: 1086) As such, and as a last example in this series, the epistle is again focussed on the network of public space as a whole, the interior system as well as its components, and the relation between the type and the exterior, aiming to clarifying the role of the subway in the contemporary city.

Subways are by nature interiors. They are often completely enclosed except for the openings for egress, in essence, as any kind of tunnel. That is to say, that the design of any tunnel provides an underground connection, as does a subway. As a phenomenon, one could compare a subway with a skyway: Whereas skyways overcome barriers on street-level by an overhead connection, a subway in essence does the same, but by matter of course by underpass connections. Yet, differently, this type subsumes a number of less general categories, simply because it is a *sub*-way, constructed underneath the streets, roads, and ways of the city. Subways are used for all kinds of communications and transportation, each having its own characteristics.[791] As this includes pedestrian movement, unlike the majority of tunnels, subways are not always purely utilitarian. In certain circumstances, pedestrian subways do not have smooth

[790] A *tube*, in the connotation of an underground passage is first attested in 1765. Originally the passage was constructed by means of a tube shaped tunnel. An underground, as shortened from underground railway is used from 1887 on. *Underground railway* itself is attested from 1834. A *metro*, meaning a rapid transit rail system is borrowed in 1904 from the French abbreviation of '*Chemin de Fer Métropolitain*', metropolitan railway.

[791] Sub- is a prefix derived from Latin, meaning 'under' or 'below'.

Figure 8.1.1a.
Scotia's subway entrance, 2006

Figure 8.1.1b.
Scotia's subway councourse, 2006

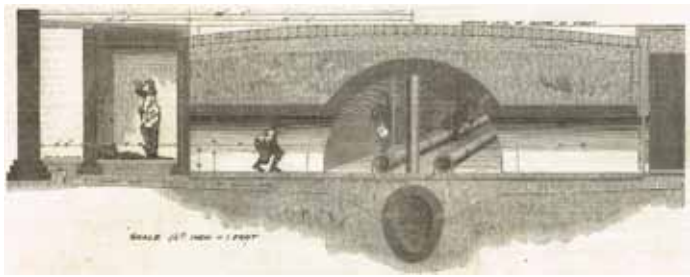


Figure 8.1.2.
A utilitairian subway with sewer beneath, 1861

floors and blind walls, focused only on an efficient connection. When people could enter by foot, subways may act like streets. They are roads in an underground part of town, for example, giving access to the basements of buildings. Sub-surface facades may be windowed and subway-facing compartments, in which a selection of a store's merchandise is displayed or a lobby or reception area is located may be seen. In fact, they can give access to the underground level of all kinds of buildings, and thus to all kinds of facilities, businesses and even dwellings, which previously had access only from the above world. Conversely, the public is able to enter these subways at the sides, via the basements of the connected buildings. Hallways, staircases, escalators and elevators in the buildings bring the people from the streets down, almost in the same manner as a person would enter his cellar. Consequently, the subways establish subterranean connections between basements and as such they open new ways of communications between the buildings, beyond being a simple underground passageway. A publicly-used building on one side of a street could easily be linked to another on the opposite side. In addition, subways may also create conditions for urban facilities unique for the specific underworld. Exemplary are the many underground newsstands, cafeteria and flower shops. These are only accessible from the underpass connections and often located on the busiest subways of a larger underground system. In the same line also, a demand for extra exits and entries may create conditions for new and unequalled urban structures within building blocks or, for example, autonomously located along the outdoor streets. Thus, although all tunnels in general have shared physical characteristics, subways particularly have several features distinguishing the type from other tunnel types.

Plans for the first subway came to the surface in 1822. Yet, it would be for one which would be all but publicly accessible. It was proposed in a meeting held in London, for the purpose of canvassing the merits of a project to prevent the frequent removal of pavement and carriage paths for construction and maintenance of the underground utility pipes. John Williams, a British engineer, suggested to construct *subterraneous* ways underneath the pavement to prevent the frequent breaking up of the streets.[792] Road construction in the British metropolis, crowded anyway, was a great inconvenience arising to the public at the time, especially at those days of industrialisation, when many new gas and water companies were forming.[793] 'Sub-ways' would remedy the inconvenience so often complained, and they could control the enormous expenses going hand in hand with this. From these subways, work-people might access also to the sewers, drains, springs, wells of water,

[792] The John Williams in question, presumingly the third, (no data known) was apparently a British stationer of Cornhill, London. His patent was sealed 18 October 1822. (The Proprietor 1838: 60) He was part of a family of booksellers and stationers. His plan was announced publicly on 4 November 1822, by a Prospectus at a Public Meeting, called by advertisement at the City of London Tavern, at Bishopsgate Street 17. Shareholders would be incorporated in a new company, to be called The City of London Patent Sub-way Company. The British civil engineer and architect Henry Willey Reveleyand (c.1788 - 27 January 1875) detailed the plan. (see Williams 1928: 2, 114, 155-156) In execution, tunnel constructions in Ancient Rome had given an example. One could make an association with the catacombs, yet more explicit one referred in the reference material to the underground water system. In difference, this subway would be a dry tunnel.

[793] In the inner-city wards Ludgate Hill and Walbrook particularly, the inconvenience was felt, and was likely to be so, as new Gas and Water Companies were forming. Among others London hosted the New River Company, the Grand Junction Company, the Chelsea Water Works Company, the Incorporated Gas Company, and the City of London Gas Company.

et cetera. “In making the Sub-ways, it was proposed to open the ground at the required depth, perhaps of ten feet; to lay a course of bricks, stones, or iron, on the ground, five feet, with drains to go into the sewers; upon this course he would raise a wall on each side, five feet high, and arch it over, so as to leave the height, in the centre of the passage, seven feet and a half clear.” The formation of new piping and reparation would be much easier. One could enter the subways at the sides, by doors and passages, from the buildings in the streets. Workmen might place the main pipes on iron cradles, or otherwise, and the service pipes conducted from the mains would go through the openings in the side-walls, to the respective houses. In this plan, the expense, though great in its formation, would ultimately repay itself, and reduce the public taxes. That it must be a public work seemed undisputable at the time. (The Morning Herald 1822, November 5; The Times 1824, March 20; Williams 1828: 2-5, 52) So, although the early subways would not be accessible by the general public, they would serve the public and they would be publicly owned. In the next decades, some of these subterraneous ways were proposed and slowly the type would become an invisible but consistent part of the underground city. As such, the embryonic type got quite some publicity among the common people and the professionals, mainly British civil engineers and architects. The Metropolitan Board of Works had the merit of initiating this movement. In 1857, it organised a design competition “determined to offer prizes for designs showing the best mode of laying out the surface and subsoil of the streets”. An opportunity was offered to the public of forming their judgement upon the merits of all the candidates envisioning these subways. Iconically, this expo took place on the site of the Adelphi Terrace, already famed for its wharves beneath the streets.[794] One competitor after another showed a subway designed like a narrow underground corridor, ‘large enough for a man to walk in’. Their widths would be for example 9 to 15 feet, say 2,74 to 4,57 metres. Often they were proposed under the centre line of the streets. And, in any case the goal was to unify the system. (The Times 1857, 21 October, and 29 October) Due to this event, the new notion was formally introduced in the public media:

> “ ‘Highways and byways’ used to be a phrase comprehending all the ways of a country, but a third kind of way is now likely to come into use, and not before its time. We are to have “subways,” and no living person in this city will deny the want of them. Half the business of London appears to lie five feet underground, and there is at present no way of getting at it except thought the pavement.” (The Times 1857, October 29)

Within two decades, the type had also been proposed for different public purposes. Second in line of London evolution, a new variant of the subway was proposed in 1846, now to serve public transit. If subways could serve public utilities, transporting gas, water, sewage and electricity, it could as well serve shared passenger transportation, one might have thought. A series of railway tunnels, also in urbanised areas, had been realised in the past. Often landform determined their construction. This subterranean railway too, partly to be formed by tunnelling and partly open cutting, was planned down the streets of a valley, as it would run under Fleet Valley in London.[795] However, now it would be part

[794] The competition was organised in January 1857 and the exposition was in October. It took place in the theatre of the Society of Arts, John Street (now 8 John Adam Street), Adelphi. This building had been part of the innovative Neo-Classical Adelphi Terrace scheme, which introduced eleven large houses fronted a vaulted terrace along the river Thames, with wharves beneath the streets. It was designed between 1768 and 1774 by the Scottish brothers Adam. Robert Adam (3 July 1728 – 3 March 1792), architect to the Board of Works, worked with his brothers John Adam (5 March 1721 – 25 June 1792), and James Adam (21 July 1732 – 20 October 1794) both architects too, and William Adam (2 August 1751 – 17 February 1839), was a Scottish Member of Parliament (MP) in the British Parliament and subsequently a judge. The Adelphi Buildings were demolished between 1936 and 1938.

[795] Like many tunnels constructed in the past decades to enable passenger services across hills, the proposed subterranean railway might relate to the Edge Hill Cutting, or Cavendish Cutting, near Crown Street Station in Liverpool. The English engineer George Stephenson (9 June 1781 – 12 August 1848) formed this section of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway between 1826 and 1829, in a similar way as the Fleet Valley Tunnel by both tunnelling and open cutting. (Priestley 1831: 415-416) Particularly a single track section, commonly called Edge Hill Tunnel or Wapping Tunnel, could be considered as the first railway tunnel constructed under a city. Still, in difference, the proposed Fleet Valley Tunnel of 1846 would not be bored through a hill, but it would run along the River Fleet, one of London’s largest rivers, which was built over during an early growth of the metropolis. The old culvert, made in 1737, in the northern part of the river and the semi-covered ditch, made in 1769, in the southern part, could rather easily be transformed into the aimed sub-surface railway track by diverting the water.

of a new railway system encircling the metropolis and connecting the five separate railways approaching the city on the north and south sides, and between them and the docks. The idea of a circle line and thus the new subway variant was the outcome of a special committee of the House of Lords. It was considered to be the best means of enforcing one uniform system of railroads "whereby a greater accommodation and safety may be insured to the public". Like the other subways, this system would solve congested traffic, in this case, between the current railway termini. (Canning, Dalhouse, Johnson, Herries and Smith 1846, 27 June and The Times 1846, 1 July) As, more termini were forecasted,[796] as a matter of course, transit between them would increase. The cheap buses, which ran between the termini, did so in all but continuous streams. New voices pleaded for a circle line completely underground, as the nuisance of traffic jams could "only be cured by the creation of two levels, for the upper and lower level". In the same line, Charles Pearson, solicitor to the City of London and a street reformer,[797] suggested a "railroad in a subway, connecting railroad with railroad and suburb with suburb, and uniting the two hemispheres of the metropolis by passing through its centre". The underground railway would be the main artery for circulating passenger traffic by day, and bulky and weighty goods by night. (The Times 1852, 2 November, and 1853, 20 September, Pearson 1858, 3 December) Thirteen years had passed, when, in 1859 – while the Metropolitan

Figure 8.1.3a.
The Metropolitan Railway constructed between the Paddington and Farringdon stations in London, April 1860

Figure 8.1.3b.
Proposed station at Baker Street, 1860

[796] There were five separate railway termini located in the London area by 1846: London Bridge station had opened in 1836, probably to the design of royal engineer Lieutenant-colonel George Thomas Landmann (11 April 1780 – 27 Augustus 1854), Euston station had opened in 1837 and was designed by civil engineer Sir William Cubitt (1785 – 18 Oct 1861) and architect Philip Hardwick (15 June 1792 – 28 December 1870), Shoreditch station, later known as Bishopsgate had opened in 1840, by an unknown engineer of the Eastern Counties Railway (ECR). Nine Elms station and Fenchurch Street station were designed by architect Sir William Tite (7 February 1798 – 20 April 1873), respectively in 1838 and 1841. Tite also designed Waterloo (Bridge) station, in 1848, as extension of the Nine Elms line. The architect Samuel Beazley (6 July 1786 – 13 October 1851) would redesign London Bridge station between 1847 and 1850. The next station, named King's Cross, was planned under the direction of the Scottish engineer George Turnbull (2 September 1809 – 26 February 1889) in 1848, and detailed by Lewis Cubitt (29 September 1799 and 9 June 1883) between 1851 and 1852. The latter was not directly related to William. Civil engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel (9 April 1806 – 15 September 1859) and associate architect Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (28 July 1820 – 21 May 1877) designed Paddington station in 1854. In the 1860s, more would open.

[797] Charles Pearson (4 October 1793 – 14 September 1862) was solicitor to the City of London, a reforming campaigner, foremost street reformer, and briefly Member of Parliament for Lambeth.

Board of Works was constructing utility subways everywhere – the parliament passed a bill giving green light for underground public transport. A year later, the construction of this subway began. Again it was no more than an underground corridor, large enough for a train to run through. Its height was eleven-and-a-half feet and its width seven, thus about three-and-half to two metres. The line more or less followed the originally proposed subway track. The first section of the so-called Metropolitan Railway[798] connected the Farringdon and Paddington stations. On the day of opening in 1863, every station was crowded with anxious travellers, who were admitted in sections. Many thousands were enabled to indulge their curiosity in reference to this subway and this "mode of travelling under the streets of the metropolis". In addition to the actual subway, Sir John Fowler, engineer in chief,[799] designed relatively modest surface station buildings. The structures were only one storey, in Classicist style and detailed in stucco. A few of them had pitched roofs or cupolas, yet most buildings had flat roofs with ornamented balustrades. The stations were free to enter. Below the streets the public took their tickets, ready "to descend into the underground life of London". Paddington, Edgware-road, Kings-cross and Farringdon-street had platforms in open cuttings flanked by brick retaining walls and covered by vaulted iron-and-glass roofs. Gower-street, Portland-road and Baker-street[800] had true sub-surface platforms, which were covered by a brick barrel vault. The interior was lit by globe gaslights. At Baker-street and Gower-street, a series of deep lunettes, lined with white glazed tiles, pierced through the vault. Each of these had a thick glass cover at surface level to supplement lighting, and intergraded ventilation apertures enclosed by railings.[801] (The London Gazette 1858, 26 November, The Illustrated London News 1862, 27 December, The Times 1863, 10 and 12 January) It would be the start of the desired underground circle line, which eventually was finished in 1884. Other kinds of pioneering subterranean rail lines using pneumatic tube transport had failed by then. Built in 1861, to move people in small cylindrical containers propelled by compressed air, it did not survive. So, subway train transport would become the de facto standard for underground passenger travel in London.[802]

During the first construction years, in 1861 too, also a third variant on the subway was proposed. It would be a subterranean carriageway. This subway, proposed under Hyde Park, would benefit of a better traffic flow similar to the subway for trains, but it would create an underground corridor for public travelling in vehicles or on horseback, by-passing slow traffic above-grade. Omnibuses, coaches, cabs, carriages, wagons and riding horses, all could use it. Simplified, the subway would create an 'express lane' between the north and south sides of the park under the present road, because that one was not sufficient to accommodate traffic anymore. Yet, unlike the other two schemes, this subway variant would not be constructed. When the concept was presented in a public meeting, people doubted if ever they would use such an underground connection. "The public would never be satisfied with an underground subway (hear, hear)", as the newspaper quoted the opposition. (The Times 1861, 27 November) Still, aiming about the same two years later, the Metropolitan Traffic Relief Company, Limited was established. Most probably, it was responsible for two

Figure 8.1.4.
Thames Tunnel flooded, May 1827

798 The Metropolitan Railway originally was called North Metropolitan Railway. (The Times 1853, September 20)

799 Sir John Fowler (15 July 1817 – 20 November 1898) was an English civil engineer.

800 Gower-street station is renamed Euston Square station in 1909. Portland-road station became Great Portland Street station in 1917.

801 None of the stations survived other than as fragmentary remains.

802 In 1861, the London Pneumatic Despatch Company constructed a prototype on the south side of the River Thames. This tubular tunnel, or tube, was a thirty-inch wide cylindrical construction on open ground. Two years later, a similar sized tube was put into service undergrounds, followed in 1865 by a tube four feet in diametre. It ran from Euston station to the General Post-Office and Holborn. The second pioneering pneumatic railway in London was far more visible to the public, as it was a model demonstrated at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations of 1864. The elliptical tube was nine feet by eight, and six-hundred yards long. As such it aroused great interest, and promoters formed the Waterloo and Whitehall Pneumatic Railway and began to build a Thames crossing, but the project failed in 1868. (Beach 1868) These experiments led to the term 'tube, as synonym for an underground railway constructed in a tunnel by the use of a tunnelling shield, usually deep below ground level, or – mainly in London use – an underground railway system as a whole.

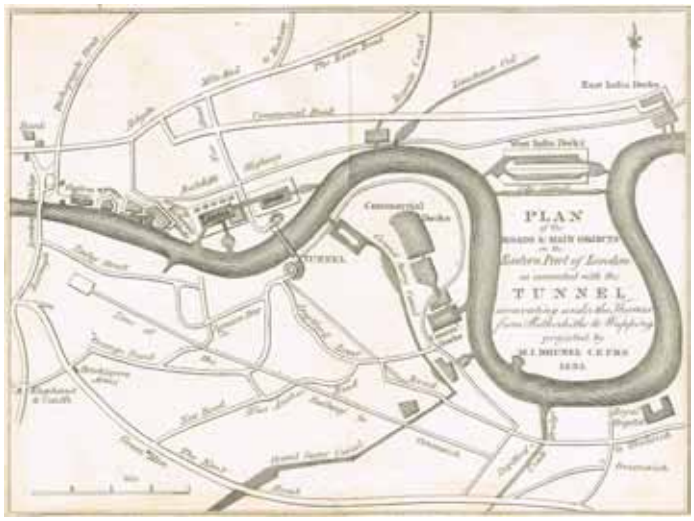


Figure 8.1.5.
Thames Tunnel, planned to serve vehicles and riders on horsebacks, 1835

sectional views of a proposed network of subterranean carriageways in the City of London. Still, no subway of that kind came and in 1882, the company was struck off London's register of joint stock companies. (The House of Commons 1875, 31 December; The London Gazette 1882, 30 June)

In the meantime, the people of London had been introduced also to the idea of a *subaqueous* way, which would form a connection for similar public travelling between the two sides of the river. It would be the first of any subaqueous tunnel in the world. (Beckett 1980: 153) Given the great number of the ships constantly passing, it would be a sufficient alternative to a new bridge, allowing "a convenient communication by land from shore to shore at a part of the river Thames". In difference to the subterranean tunnels, this so-called Thames Tunnel would be publicly accessible from scratch, yet privately owned, and more than the first subways, the project, without yet being opened, dominated the newspapers for decades. The first attempts by different engineers to tunnel the Thames turned out to be unsuccessful: A tunnel at Gravesend was put forward in 1799, but the scheme was soon abandoned. This was followed by the scheme of a tunnel at Rotherhithe in 1804. After a year, problems with water influx made the end shafts sink and three years later a second attempt was stopped at two-thirds as the built part was flooded.[803] (Thames Tunnel Office 1840: 5-6, Brunel 1870: 6, Trevithick 1872: 249, 259-284) Marc Brunel and his son Isambard, both engineers experienced in mining techniques, designed a new tunnel at about the same place in 1823.[804] Their underwater connection comprised two arched carriageways, divided by a colonnade and each with small walkways aside. The carriage descent was planned to be circular and its slope wouldn't be steep. The embellished architecture of the entrance would somewhat resemble that of the metropolitan arcades, and, in aiming to serve vehicles and riders on horsebacks, the tunnel was designed much bigger than the utility subways. To be exact, 37½ feet wide 1,290 feet long and 22 feet high; thus, a little above eleven metres wide, almost four hundreds metres long and almost seven metres high. (The Penny Magazine 1832, September, The Mirror

[803] The first attempt was done in the years 1805 to 1807 by Robert Vazie, Jr. (baptised 20 January 1754 – 7 Jun 1830), mining engineer, in order by the newly formed Thames Archway Company, together with John Rennie, Sr. (7 June 1761 – 4 October 1821) and William Chapman, Jr (7 March 1749 – 19 (29) May 1832) both civil engineers. Between 1807 and 1808, at the second attempt, Richard Trevithick (13 April 1771 – 22 April 1833), a profound British inventor and mining engineer, joined Vazie.

[804] The Thames Tunnel was designed and built between 1825 and 1843 by the Anglo-French engineer Sir Marc Isambard Brunel (25 April 1769 – 12 December 1849) and his British son Isambard Kingdom Brunel (9 April 1806 – 15 September 1859), in order of the Thames Tunnel Company. Today, it is part of the East London Line of the London Underground.

Figure 8.1.6.
Engraving of the Thames Tunnel, 1852

of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction 1837 July, Brunel 1870: 12) The public media was excited. Numerous references could be made. Yet, following the construction carefully also the Brunels were not able to avert five floods. The insecurity of success, also apparent in the minds of the designers, might have contributed to increasing anxiously. After triumphing a first flooding Brunel junior wrote in his diary: "…a disaster may still occur. May it not be when the arch is full of visitors!" After the second, Mr. Brunel's diary reports: "Tunnel is now, I think, dead." (Brunel 1870: 27, see entry on 13 May 1827, Rolt 1957: 40, see entry on 6 December 1831) Nevertheless, these designers were persevering. After another near seven years, they continued work and cleared the tunnel of water, and more then before, the general public exhibited great enthusiasm for this triumph. More so, soon the project was part of the public attention around the globe. Exemplary is an article of 'The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction', a popular international magazine with reports of the different parts of the British Empire. In 1837, the magazine reports an unabated increase of the interest for the completion of the tunnel "by the intelligent portion of Europe, nay, of the world". (Brunel 1870: 38, The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction 1837: 33)

The persistence of the Brunels influenced the tunnel type. Due to the high costs, the plans had to be revised.[805] The underwater way became pedestrianised and the ramps were replaced by tall circular staircases in rotundas with a diametre of 50 feet, about 15 metres, on each shore. Thus, somewhat like the utility subways, one would enter the tunnel from a building. Entrance would be not free of costs. Part of the increased costs should be gained back by the revenues of a new tax: Each person had to pay a penny to pass through. This would not restrain the public at all. Toll was common. When finally, in 1843, the underwater space was opened to the public, it was an immediate hype. From scratch, the Thames Tunnel was extremely popular. People from all over the globe came to see the new wonder. Even a group of Ojibway came to the site.[806] (The Illustrated London News 1844, 16 March) It was a major tourist attraction: On an excursion on the Continent, an American state commissioner,[807] wrote the illustrative line: "The world has heard

[805] After almost half a century of engineering, the costs of the tunnel were increased to 2.2 million US dollar; ca. 450.000 British pound sterling. Carriage access would cost about fifty percent more. Still, in the 1850s the bridges over the Thames would cost double the total sum. (see Drew 1852, 9 August)

[806] The Ojibwe (also Ojibwa or Ojibway) or Chippewa (also Chippeway) are among the largest groups of natives north of Mexico, and live in an area divided between Canada and the United States.

[807] William Allen Drew (11 December 1798 – 2 December 1879) was a reverend, editor and commissioner of the State of Maine, bearing upon the Industrial Interest of the State. His English letters, as referred to, were written as editorial communications for his paper The Gospel Banner. Later, he was the first editor of the Maine Cultivator and Hallowell Weekly Gazette, a small newspaper devoted prominently to agriculture and the mechanic arts.

of the Thames Tunnel". And like others at that time, he regarded the subway commendably as the "eighth wonder of the world. […] No one goes to London without visiting the Tunnel". And that was what was happening. In the first year after opening, the number of pedestrians passing was about two million people, as he reported. The public gathered in large numbers and like in the cases of other types shown, soon the popular space attracted trade and all kinds of public activities. In the shaft, one could listen to the notes of a huge organ that occupies a part of it, discoursing "excellent music". Downstairs, lighted with gas, the space hosted stands for the sale of papers, pamphlets, books, confectioners, beer, souvenirs, et cetera. There were alcoves near the walls in which were all sorts of contrivances to get your money, from Egyptian necromancers and fortune-tellers to dancing monkeys (Drew 1851, 9 August):

> "Now look into the Thames Tunnel before you. It consists of two beautiful Arches, extending to the opposite side of the river. These Arches contain each a roadsted, fourteen feet wide and twenty-two feet high, and pathways for pedestrians, three feet wide. The Tunnel appears to be well ventilated, as the air seemed neither damp nor close. The partition between these Arches, running the whole length of the Tunnel, is cut into transverse arches, leading through from one roadsted to the other. There may be fifty of them in all, and these are finished into fancy and toy shops in the richest manner – with polished marble counters, tapestry linings, gilded shelves, and mirrors that make everything appear double. Ladies, in fashionable dresses and with smiling faces, wait within and allow no gentleman to pass without giving him an opportunity to purchase some pretty thing to carry home as a remembrancer of the Thames Tunnel. The Arches are lighted with gas burners, that make it as bright as the sun; and the avenues are always crowded with a moving throng of men, women and children, examining the structure of the Tunnel, or inspecting the fancy wares, toys, &c., displayed by the arch-looking girls of these arches ... It is impossible to pass through without purchasing some curiosity. Most of the articles are labelled – "Bought in the Thames Tunnel" – "a present from the Thames Tunnel." (Drew 1851, 9 August)

The hype lasted two decades. In the end, the attraction of being under a river faded, the construction lost its shine and the interior lived on as a gloomy corridor at great depth. Like in the pioneering arcades, the vendors with a commercial spirit had been replaced by obscure businesses. At that point, the economised design was criticised. The tall circular structures giving access to the long tunnel seemed too deep. So, in "the chill, misty air-draught of a cloudy day", when showers of rain may spatter, their glass-domes were

Figure 8.1.7.
Commemorative medals, 19th century

poorly lighting the stair cases. (Hawthorne 1863: 289) Underground the climate more and more turned out to be unpleasant and the large public left and stayed away. The American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne[808] described the situation in the Thames Tunnel since then most strikingly:

> "The circular building covers the entrance to the Thames Tunnel, and is surmounted by a dome of glass, so as to throw daylight down into the great depth at which the passage of the river commences. Descending a wearisome succession of staircases, we at last find ourselves, still in the broad noon, standing before a closed door, on opening which we behold the vista of an arched corridor that extends into everlasting midnight. In these days, when glass has been applied to so many new purposes, it is a pity that the architect had not thought of arching portions of his abortive tunnel with immense blocks of the lucid substance, over which the dusky Thames would have flowed like a cloud, making the sub-fluvial avenue only a little gloomier than a street of upper London. At present, it is illuminated at regular intervals by jets of gas, not very brilliantly, yet with lustre enough to show the damp plaster of the ceiling and walls, and the massive stone pavement, the crevices of which are oozy with moisture, not from the incumbent river, but from hidden springs in the earth's deeper heart. There are two parallel corridors, with a wall between, for the separate accommodation of the double throng of foot-passengers, equestrians, and vehicles of all kinds, which was expected to roll and reverberate continually through the Tunnel. Only one of them has ever been opened, and its echoes are but feebly awakened by infrequent footfalls. [...] All along the corridor, which I believe to be a mile in extent, we see stalls or shops in little alcoves, kept principally by women; they were of a ripe age, I was glad to observe, and certainly robbed England of none of its very moderate supply of feminine loveliness by their deeper than tomb-like interment." (Hawthorne 1863: 292-293)

In sum, the poor accessibility, the obscure and moist space and its use by prostitutes did not make underground connections, as the one proposed under Hyde Park, very popular. In 1865, already two decades after opening, the Thames Tunnel closed in silence. The subway was bought by the East London Railway Company and in four years, the company transformed the tunnel to the use of a rail connection between Croydon, New Cross and the city.[809] The through trains departed every ten minutes in each direction to accomplish the distance from end to end in thirteen minutes, at a rate of fares which it was "said will compete with those of the

[808] Nathaniel Hawthorne, born Hathorne (4 July 1804 – 19 May 1864) was a nineteenth century American novelist and short story writer. In his years serving as the American Consul in Liverpool, England, from 1853 to 1857, he kept voluminous journals. Also in the years after, he wrote many essays on England.

[809] The connection to Wapping opened in 1869. In the following years, the subway was extended and in 1876, it connected to Liverpool Street terminus, designed by the English architect was William Neville Ashbee (29 Feb 1852 – June 1919). The London and Croydon Railway built New Cross rail junction and station in 1839. In 1923 it was renamed New Cross Gate.

Figure 8.1.8a.
Wapping Station, 1862

Figure 8.1.8b.
Wapping Station, 2011

cheapest omnibuses". The new service was seen as an immense convenience to the public. (The Times 1861, 30 November) It would be imitated in a variety of ways. While the work of converting the Thames Tunnel was going, the work of a second tunnel beneath the river had been constructed. This so-called Thames *Subway* was not a brick archway, but a circular tube.[810] The engineer Peter William Barlow constructed a tube from mixed cast and wrought iron. It was only 7 feet, or 2 metres, in diametre and meant for a tramway, which could bring people to the other side in only two, three minutes. Rail service in a subway seemed more popular, but not like that. The service lasted just a few months. It lacked in a customers, capacity and proper connections to the streets. People would enter the subway by its small brick shafts with passenger lifts only. Down the shaft in a cramped space, a cable car, called omnibus, could accommodate only fourteen people at a time. The experimental subway was subsequently converted to a walkway. In contradiction to the Thames Subway, foot traffic was successful here. An unlimited numbers could pass through, and the expenses would be much less than with the use of machinery.[811] (The Illustrated London News 1869, 30 October; The Times 1870, 31 March; Barlow 1871, 18 January) The improved shield methods of tunnelling and the lack of other activities kept the space more publicly beneficial.

In the end of the nineteenth century, the continuation of the public engagement was by matter of course related to all the recent experiences of the pioneering subways. The euphoria for being underground shrank. Further development would be more related again to the utility or usefulness of subways. Within years, numerous subterraneous and subaqueous connections had opened, and although for example the Thames Subway continued to be popular as underground pedestrian link, foremost its popularity was related to the success of the first underground railway. This application was the driving force behind the boom of subways. A year after the opening of the Metropolitan Railway, the District Railway was established to complete the circle line. Its subways opened in 1868. Fowler was again the chief engineer. When, after the London financial crisis of the late sixties once again, proved to be both profitability and popular, plans had been formed for the underground City & South London Railway. The design of its subways, including a tunnel under the Thames, was a joint venture of Fowler and James Henry Greathead, who had assisted Barlow while working on the Thames Subway. The line opened in 1890 and featured the tube tunnelling technique. It had its own track and stations and it crossed the previous underground lines on a deeper level. As such the new subways remained independent from the others. With this experience in underground railway construction, Greathead continued to design similar subways. He drew the plans for the Central London Railway, the Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway and the City and Waterloo Railway, all owned by different companies, all supposed to be independently constructed and all having their own stations.[812] When, thereupon, the Great Northern and City Railway was established, a new self-standing subway for rail use was not approved, the more because the owner targeted on a stop near the Bank of England, just like others. The public government permitted multiple stations at this

[810] Engineer Peter William Barlow (1 February 1809 – 19 May 1885) designed and built the Thames Subway, or Tower Subway, from Tower Hill to Tooley Street, in 1869. He worked with James Henry Greathead (6 August 1844 – 21 October 1896), a South-Africa-born English engineer.

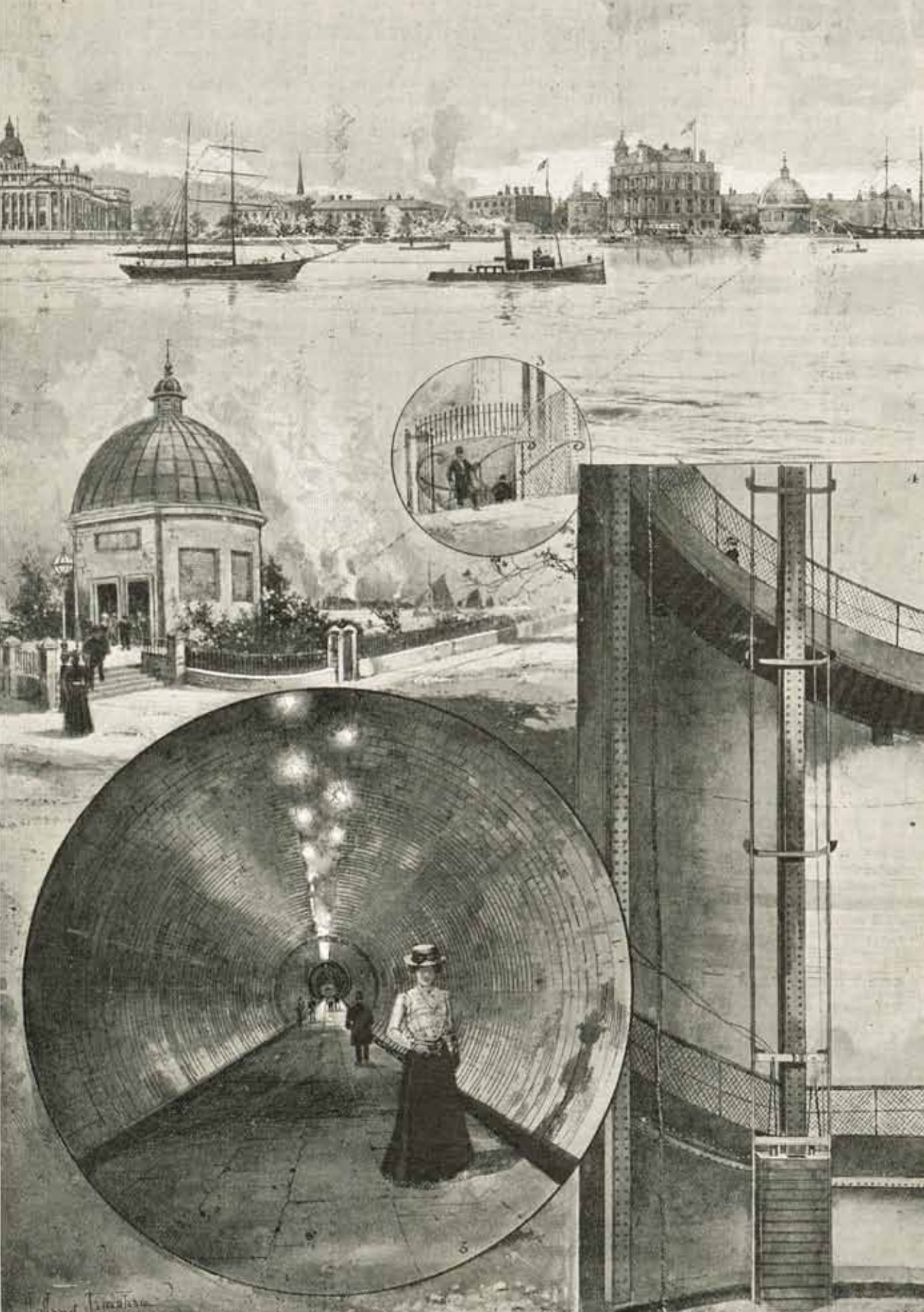
[811] After being converted in a walkway, the tunnel closed to serve a hydraulic power network in 1898. Since 1940, when the tunnel was compressed by a bomb, it continued to serve as utility subway, yet for conventional pipes and cables.

[812] Fowler was assisted by Sir Benjamin Baker (31 March 1840 – 19 May 1907) in the cases of the District Railway and the City & South London Railway, opened in respectively 1871 and 1883. A Waterloo and Whitehall Railway had been approved in 1865, yet never opened due to the financial downturn in 1866 London. It would have been a subway for a pneumatic rail connection. The Central London Railway was established in 1889 and its subway, also known as the Twopenny Tube opened in 1900. The Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Railway and the City and Waterloo Railway, respectively established in 1891 and 1893 and opened in 1907 and 1898. In the first case, architect Leslie William Green (baptised 13 May 1875 – 31 August 1908) was in charge of the design of its surface buildings. In the later, Green collaborated with William Robert Galbraith (7 July 1829 – 5 October 1914). The subways of the City & South London and Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead railways were connected between 1923 and 1926. The companies merged in 1933, to become known as the Northern line, part of the London Underground, from 1937 on. Also the Metropolitan line, District line, which combined in Circle line, and Central line became part of the London Underground by then. City and Waterloo line followed in 1994.

spot *only* if underground pedestrian links would be created. Law enforced collaboration. Under special powers conferred by an Act of the House of Commons in 1892 and by arrangement with the local authorities, the new railway company was encouraged to connect its stations to the ones of Central London Railway and City and Waterloo Railway. Therefore, at own costs and in negotiations with the other companies, Greathead, now with Douglas Fox, constructed a 'public subway for foot passengers' at Bank station.[813] This pedestrian subway link would be 15 feet wide and 10 feet high, 4.5 to 3 metres. It ran right to a large central round hall, in which the booking-offices were placed. Five shafts, lined with cast-iron plates, rose to the booking-hall from the platforms of the station, 60 feet or 18 metres deep. A steel trough roof covered the subway, laid on it a bed of concrete with a layer of asphalt for the surface pavement. In the centre the roof rested on steel girders and columns, while at the side it was upheld by brick walls set in concrete. It would be a characteristic London design. The walls of the subway, like those of the approach staircases and the tunnel leading to the City and Waterloo Railway, were lined with white tiles, which, with the incandescent electric lamps hanging from the centre of the roof, combined to give the whole place a bright and pleasant appearance. This underground footway would link not only the platforms served by the two companies, but also the whole station with its surrounding streets. It was an extremely advantageous position, which had not been conceded without "a substantial quid pro quo, taking the form of a public subway connecting the numerous important points of crossing at this overcrowded centre", and so it would create a new kind of underpass. Numerous indicator boards were affixed to the walls for the guidance of the public, so that there could be no possibility of confusion in the traffic through the subway. There were not very many stairs, and the rise was in every instance easy. There seemed no reason why the whole of the passenger crossing traffic should not be conducted through the subway, thus "completely removing a constant source of danger to life and limb and at the same time greatly facilitating the passage of vehicles through the streets". (House of Commons 1892, 30 May and 1897, 6 August, The Times 1898, 26 August and 1899, 23 November) While more underground railways followed, more subway links followed, and while they made it possible to share stations or connect tracks, the network of public underground spaces – by matter of course interior – expanded in a fast mode: A pedestrian subway system was born.

Figure 8.1.9.
The circular tube of the Thames Subway, 1879, illustration by artist and civil engineer Joseph Holland Tringham (October 1861 - 26 March 1908)

[813] Sir Charles Douglas Fox (14 May 1840 – 13 November 1921) was a British engineer. Construction of Bank station started in 1900 and the subways opened in 1904. The Central London Railway received permission in 1891, the Great Northern & City Railway had received permission in 1892.



Chapter 2 Underway in the Metropolis

In the wake of the subway developments in London, the cities along the East Coast of the United States followed the trend. Creating tunnels under the streets was a new possible way to avoid the public inconvenience of traffic conflicts arising in most big metropolises at the time, and the English reading Americans were the first to adapt the idea. Yet again, as a matter of course, in another city and subculture the idea was adapted to its specific environment and as such the type evolved, in all its variants.

In 1853, less a year after the subway was proposed for the use of underground rail transit in London, William Rossiter was probably the first one to introduce the London idea of a 'subterranean roadway' abroad.[814] With his plans, this New Yorker reacted to plans for a railroad in his city on Broadway, which had been presented by a Special Committee of the Board of Alderman. He publicised his alternative in the newspaper: "It is evident that railroads on the streets have so many opponents, that the mere mention of a projected one brings out a legion of assailants: that those above streets have almost as many: and it appears to me that the only rational and feasible way is locomotion *under* the streets". He was exulted in the knowledge that, unlike London and other great cities, the city could grow only in one direction – following the shape of Manhattan, thus north. So, as the number of inhabitants would grow anyway, every year the city would augment the difficulties of transit between north and south, until the present streets would be completely inefficient. Therefore, he pleaded to accommodate the increasing amount of travellers sufficiently undergrounds. The proposed subway would run from Battery to Fourteenth Street and from there up Forth Avenue as far as may be required. To convince the public, he referred to the successful and nearby Cobble Hill Tunnel in the City of Brooklyn.[815] He opposed any objection to presumed noise, as well as smoke and darkness in a railway tunnel. There would be no smoke, no noise and ideas of gloominess would be banished by bright gas-light, pleasant cars and cheerful company. (The New York Times 1852, 13 October; Rossiter 1853, 5 February) The plea was ardent, yet the response was zero.

A second proposal for a subway in New York came during the American Civil War, in 1864, again about a year after the London underground Metropolitan Railway actually had opened. A businessman, called Hugh Willson,[816] formed the New York Metropolitan Railway. In imitation to its namesake, the company was established to create a subway system under the streets of Manhattan, likewise for the use of passenger steam trains. The plan would more or less follow the previous one, as the subways would run under Broadway from the Battery to Central Park. The public could "travel in comfortable, well-ventilated carriages, where they could read the morning or afternoon papers, the time so spent might not be altogether lost". According to Willson, otherwise the passengers were "forced to ride in stages or street cars, packed to

[814] The letter is written in 1853 by the unknown William H. Rossiter form Laurel Factory, Maryland. It was a company town, with a school, and shops, for cotton mill workers, and nowadays it is known as Laurel.

[815] The Cobble Hill Tunnel served the Long Island Rail Road, which linked the waterfront of Brooklyn and the South Ferry to downtown New York with Boston, via another ferry connecting Greenport on the North Fork of the island to Norwich in Connecticut. In 1844, the railway tracks were removed from the western part of Atlantic Avenue and a tunnel was built instead (The Brooklyn Eagle, and Kings County Democrat 1844, 15 January).

[816] At the time, the Canadian-born American Hugh Bowlsby Willson (15 September 1813 – 29 April 1880) was a well-known transit advocate and railroad entrepreneur. He also attained fame as barrister, author and journalist, mostly focussed on the developments in the transportation industry.

Figure 8.2.1.
Cobble Hill Tunnel in the City of Brooklyn

suffocation", where they were "subject to all kinds of annoyances". Or, they had "to walk, rain or shine, several weary miles". This road interfered with nobody, it conflicted with no vested rights, and it touched no man's property. Above all, as stated, it was very welcome especially for anyone who had undergone the experience of recent winter. The design proposal, for which he had hired Asa Robinson,[817] was quite detailed: The subway was to be of brick, 25.5 feet wide and 16 feet high, respectively nearly 8 and 5 metres. It would be ventilated by means of hollow ornamental iron columns, 15 inches or 38 centimetres in diametre, standing upon the edge of the above sidewalks, at a regular distance on each side. The entire tunnel was to be paved to avoid dust. At suitable intervals the subway was designed to widen the tunnel for stations. This would give a spacious platform on each side. The ingress and egress to the tunnel would be by a building on either side of the street, where would be provided all the usual accommodations of a railway station. Like London, passengers would pay as they entered, and would then descend a spacious staircase to the platforms under the street. Special designs are suggested for two stations, standing directly on top of the tunnel. These structures were to be of iron and glass, so that the platforms below would need no artificial light during the day. Stations would be approached by convenient, well-ventilated and brilliantly-lighted staircases. It seemed that Willson had learned from the obscure staircases of the Thames Tunnel, or at least he was informed of the new features in the design of London's underground circle line. He was warranted in saying that the work would be proceed without delay, the moment the necessary legislation was obtained. Yet, exactly this was the problem. Flatly opposed by the State Senate, represented by among others General Thomas Van Buren, the project ended in quarrels.[818] (Bailey 1864, 15 February; Robinson 1865, 1 January; Wilson 1864, 12 April; 1866, 21 and 27 March; Van Buren 1866, 27 March; and The New York Times 1865, 6 March)

Eventually, Van Buren's support for subterranean railways was gained. Convinced by the success of the so-called sub-London railroad, the Legislator became in favour of 'sub-City railroads', under a few condition of which one is remarkable from the point of view of public interest. The Police Commissioners got the power to make regulations "giving the greatest convenience and comfort to the public" They could compel for example the proper lighting of the stations and cars. (The New York Times 1866, 22 November; Scientific American 1867a, 5 January) The green light came too late for the New York Metropolitan Railway, but the next year, another proposal popped up. Again following London's latest fashion, in 1869, Alfred Beach designed a tunnel which moved people in a pure utilitarian way.[819] He began constructing a pneumatic rail tube beneath Broadway instead to the English example designed eight years earlier. The tube was seen as a simple innovative and successful way to serve passenger transport. Yet, again, the government disagreed on this mode of travel. They would like to see a larger system. When in 1873, the City did grant right to actually carry passengers, the company lacked finance, failed and its tube was closed. (Beach 1868; Slade 1866, 1 November; Scientific American 1867b, 5 January and 16 March, and 1870, 5 March; The New York Times 1870, 8 March, 1873, 10 April and 1 November)

[817] Colonel Asa Peter Robinson (1822 – abt. 1882) was an American civil engineer, and the first mayor of Conway in Arkansas. He personally secured the land for this new town site, originally known as Conway Station, while he was the chief railroad engineer for the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad.

[818] General Thomas Brodhead Van Buren (20 June 1824 – 13 October 1889) had practiced law and he had served his government in many positions. He was a nephew of ex-President Martin Van Buren (5 December 1782 – 24 July 1862), to whom a town north of Conway was named.

[819] Alfred Ely Beach (1 September 1826 – 1 January 1896) was an American patent lawyer, inventor and writer. The tube was built in only 58 days and completed in 1870. It was 8 feet, or 2.4 metres in diametre, and it ran under Broadway from Warren Street to Murray Street, thus at a length of 312 feet, or 95 metres. The first public trial of the Pneumatic Railway took place at the American Institute in the fall of 1867, when many thousands of passengers enjoyed the ride.

In these years, elevated and overhead railroads had started to dominate the metropolis.[820] The newly-born success of this system undercut other modes of rapid transit in the city for decades and by the turn of the century, other cities in the world had overtaken New York. The people of Budapest, Glasgow, Boston, Paris and Berlin had witnessed the opening of a subterranean railway in their city, years before New Yorkers could go undergrounds.[821] Eventually, in 1904, a subway did open in New York, and it was not just a subway. Police arrangements were made and guards and patrolmen were put in service. On its first day, 150,000 people travelled through the tunnels. At night, an average of 25,000 an hour was reached. The space was crowded, waiting lines were long, narrow stairways jammed. Not everything went smooth, women were shrieking and men were shouting and although that day the public was also introduced to other unpleasant new phenomena like the darkness of the subway, its noise, smell, wind, and disorientation. Still, also this system was an instant success and a popular place and long celebrated experience: "Down in the Subway. Oh, what a place – Under the isle of Manhattan speeding though space – Just the place for spooning, all the season 'round – Way down, way down in the subway, underneath the ground.".[822] Again, instantly, future subways were under consideration. (The New York Times 1904, 27, 28 and 28 October; Jerome and Schwartz 1905, 5 March)

Figure 8.2.2.
Down in the Subway, music sheet

William Parsons[823] designed the New York Subway in an elegant Late-Neoclassic style, flirting with Beaux-Arts using ornaments, decorations and mosaics while introducing modernity with all kinds of new materials and features. The entrances to the underground stations were enclosed by kiosks of cast iron and wire glass with ticket booths of oak with bronze window grilles and fittings. Passengers could enter the body of the station without paying fare. The train platforms were separated by railings and reached by stairways of reinforced concrete. At three of the early stations, elevators were provided to reach the platforms at 90 to 100 feet below the surface, thus about 27 to 30 metres deep.[824] At twenty of the underground stations vault lights were used in such a way that very little artificial light was needed. The station floors were of concrete, marked off in squares and at the side walls a cement sanitary cove. Ceilings were either flat, following the steel and concrete of the roof, or arched between roof beams and girders, exposing the lower flanges. Ornamental mouldings and rosettes separated the ceilings into panels. The walls were of glazed tiles, like in London mostly white. The bases were buff Norman brick and the cornices were faience or terra-cotta. Characteristically, ceramic mosaic was used for decorative panels, friezes, pilasters, and name-tablets, giving each station a different decorative treatment and a distinctive colour scheme. (Interborough Rapid Transit Company 1904: 32-36)

Yet, it was not only the subway's popularity or its style that was remarkable or evolutionary. Similar remarks might be worth notifying in the cases of the so-called 'underground railways' of Budapest and Berlin, the 'subways' of Glasgow and Boston, and the 'metro' of Paris, all following London. Each was having its own architectural style and all were very popular amongst the common people. In addition, the New York Subway introduced a new and distinct variant on the type. Public pedestrian subways were here

[820] See Book 7.

[821] The 'Millenniumi Földalatti Vasút' (Millennium Underground Railroad) of Budapest opened 2 May 1896. The 'Glasgow District Subway Company' opened its subway on 14 December 1896. The 'Tremont Street Subway' in Boston opened on 1 September 1897. 'La Compagnie du Chemin de Fer Métropolitain de Paris', shortened to 'Le Métropolitain' or 'Métro de Paris', opened its underground service on 19 July 1900. The 'Gesellschaft für elektrische Hoch- und Untergrundbahnen in Berlin' opened the 'Berlin Untergrundbahn' or 'U-Bahn' (Berlin Underground Railway) on 15 February 1902. And, the New York Subway opened on October 27, 1904. - In Glasgow and Boston 'subway' was introduced in the vernacular to denote an underground railway system as a whole and with the opening of the metropolitan railway in Paris 'metro' came into the English language to do the same.

[822] The American actress May Augusta Yohe (6 April 1869 – 28 August 1938) sang this ode probably at The New York Theatre, at Broadway.

[823] By origin, William Barclay Parsons, Jr. (15 April 1859 – 9 May 1932) was an American civil engineer. He worked together with Solomon Le Fevre Deyo (17 December 1850 – 18 Augustus 1922), who was in charge of the construction. Deyo was chief engineer of the subway division of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and the Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company.

[824] These stations were 168th Street station, 181st Street station, and Mott Avenue station.

Figure 8.2.3.
The John Wanamaker's Store and Annex, with Goblin's Subway under the street, 1900s

more than connections in-between underground stations.

It all started at The John Wanamaker's Store, which was instantly popular.[825] Only a few years after its opening in 1896, its owner, John Wanamaker,[826] made plans to extent the department store. Extension possibilities within the city block were limited, because his establishment covered the whole block already. He bought two four story brick buildings across the street, 80-86 East Ninth Street, and made them the store's Annex.[827] The buildings and in-between street were all located on the same leasehold, formed by the exploitation of an old estate, so presumably without governmental interference basements could easily be linked. Between the main store and its annex, a branch toy store, a subway link was opened in 1900. This corridor was designed in a children's theme and as such it was dubbed 'Goblin's Subway, the wizard's gate way to a veritable fairyland of toys'. (The New York Times 1899, 26 October; Rubien 1900, 4 October; New-York Daily Tribune 1900, 1 November)

> "The Wanamaker Subway is open. It doesn't go to Harlem or the Battery or Long Island or Jersey; but the Battery and Harlem and Long Island and Jersey and all regions round about will come to Wanamaker's Subway, or they will miss one of the great pre-holiday sights and features of New York. From the Wanamaker Basement you go through the wizard's gate way to a veritable fairyland of toys! How the children's eyes will snap and sparkle as they seethe realization of fairy- tale dreams of the giant's cave with the blaze of a "really righty" Fairyland bursting forth at its farther end! Of course you can enter the New Toy Stores at 770 Broadway, or 76 East Ninth street – across Ninth street from the Wanamaker Store. Older folks will do that frequently; but if the children are along, don't rob them of the dream of Aladdin's Lamp, but come through the Goblin's Subway, and give them a real fairy tale to dream about. And what a display of toys is here! Five storerooms are thrown into one, and are filled to overflowing with the creatures and creations of the Nursery world. What marvelous dolls! What wonderful horses and wagons, cows, sheep, donkeys, and hundreds of other animals. Toy houses, furniture, soldiers, drums, wagons, sleds, games – and the Toys "that do things!" What a busy hum in the Mechanical Toy Store, with trains running, factories working, clowns acting and real righty Automobiles racing around, and everybody can have an automobile, for some cost as little as half a dollar – the newest toy of the year. But we must stop talking – come and enjoy it all. "(New-York Daily Tribune 1900, 1 November)

[825] The American architect John Kellum (27 August 1809 – 24 July 1871) designed The John Wanamaker's Store, which had opened in 1862 as the dry goods store A.T. Stewart & Co. The building was commonly also known as 'Cast-Iron Palace'. Kellum also designed an 1870 extension. In 1896, the building was acquired by John Wanamaker & Co.

[826] John Wanamaker (11 July 1838 – 12 December 1922) was an American retailer from Philadelphia.

[827] A representative of John Wanamaker has bought the building 80 East Ninth Street, former Randall Lane, in January 1898. The building on 86 East Ninth Street was bought in October 1899. The buildings, together with dozen lots and houses, were built by Sailors' Snug Harbor leaseholds, later to be officially called The Trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor in the City Of New York. The leasehold was founded in 1801 by the bequest of the New Jersey-born American Captain Robert Richard Randall (c 1750 – 5 June 1801) to help seafarers through the charity he directed to be formed by the exploitation of his estate, a lucrative piece of Manhattan property bounded by Fifth Avenue and Bowery and 8th and 10th Streets.

The annex was soon too small. Negotiations for a new block-size annex started in 1902. Some old buildings would not be torn down, but incorporated in the new structure, as was the corridor. Although, the landowner could agree on the leasehold, Wanamaker pended the plan to secure the construction of another link, which would create a direct underground passageway from the Rapid Transit station at Astor place. (The Sun 1902, 23 December) Eventually, after a year, direct access from a station to a building was allowed. The Board of Estimate and Appointment[828] granted authority to connect the New York Subway with "an arcade to run under the Wanamaker store". The department store would have entrances on street level, but next to that, access would be afforded through the basement of the store to the subway station at Astor Place. In fact, the rail tunnel had to make the curve from LaFayette Place, or Street, to Fourth Avenue. It had to be constructed underneath a new larger Wanamaker's Annex.[829] Where in general, buildings would be removed, if the course of the underground railway would not lie under the avenue but under the present built premises, an exception was made for this new building.[830] In 1903, Daniel Burnham[831] was engaged to design this building and thus its subways. What arrangements Wanamaker or Burnham had made initially with the subway builders is unknown, but Parsons had reported in favour of granting the request at a meeting of the Board of Rapid Transit Commissioners, and the contractors expressed a willingness to make the desired connection, so the permission was granted. Also and most remarkable, during that meeting, the commission gave Parsons authority to grant permits alike to building owners making similar requests in the future. Where his judgement would be again favourably inclined, the board would determine the terms on the permits so granted. This action was taken after a similar request had been received by the board from the Trustees of the Mercantile Library,[832] one block south on Astor Place, but had been rejected by the initial controller. He objected to this permit, which, under the past charter, could be granted only by the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Estimate and Appointment. For the cause changing procedures, in a fast tempo new requests were granted. In each case, the consent of the present construction and operating companies was necessary to create the New York Subway. (The New York Times 1902, 4 May and December 21; 1903, 24 July)

The new headquarters of The New York Times would follow.[833] The property on which the new building was to stand had been acquired by the Subway Realty Company already. However, it was passed on by purchase to Adolph Ochs[834], publisher of The New York Times. The plot was triangular in form and the built figure ground itself was trapezoid. The trains of the underground railway would run through the basement of the new building, turning at a curve at Forty-Second Street up Broadway. Its station would give immediate access to trains without leaving the building. The newspaper stated that it would be possible, therefore, at the early morning hours when the newspapers were printing, "to put the printed copies of the paper on board of the cars standing a few feet of the presses, for distribution to various parts of the city". Where the roadbed crossed private property, a large part of the basement floor was given up to the subway station. The ground floor and the basement, or 'subway level', was thrown open for booths of all sort. The pedestrian subway, or underground arcade, led to

828 Until 1898, The Board of Aldermen of New York was the governing executive. The Charter of Greater New York of 1897 changed this, as it renamed and revamped the local board, which was a direct result of the unification of the various communities lying in and about New York Harbor, including the City and County of New York, the City of Brooklyn and the County of Kings, the County of Richmond, and part of the County of Queens. Reducing powers of the newly-formed New York City Council, the charter added the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment with certain administrative and financial powers, among others responsible for land-use decisions. This Board was composed of eight ex officio members: the Mayor of New York City, the New York City Comptroller and the President of the New York City Council, each of whom was elected citywide and had two votes, and the five Borough presidents, each having one vote. In 1938, its name was simplified to Board of Estimate, and in 1990 the board was dissolved and powers were delegated to the council.

829 Officially the building was named The John Wanamaker's Annex, it was also known as Wanamaker's South and The New Annex Store. Apart from the subway, it would also interconnect the main store by a skyway, the so-called 'Bridge of Progress', over 9th Street between 4th Avenue and Broadway. In 1954, the store closed its doors and two years later Annex burned out, damaging the subways and skyway.

830 Still, in the final designs for the Annex, the building lot was trimmed anyhow.

831 See Book 6.

832 The Mercantile Library housed in the dismantled Astor Opera House, renamed Clinton Hall, since 1853. The American architect Isaiah Rogers (17 August 1800 – 13 April 1869) designed the building in 1847. In 1890, it was torn down.

833 The American Architects Cyrus Lazelle Warner Eidlitz (27 July 1853 – 5 October 1921) and James Cameron Mackenzie, Jr. (5 April 1887 – 10 February 1963) designed One Times Square. The building is and was also known as 1475 Broadway, New York Times Building and New York Times Tower. It was the Times headquarters from 1903 to 1913 when the newspaper outgrew the building and moved a few blocks north.
It is a 25 story, 395 foot (110.6 m) high skyscraper at 42nd and Broadway in Times Square.

834 Adolph Simon Ochs (12 March 1858 – 8 April 1935) was the publisher of The New York Times. He transferred the property to The New York Times Building Company.

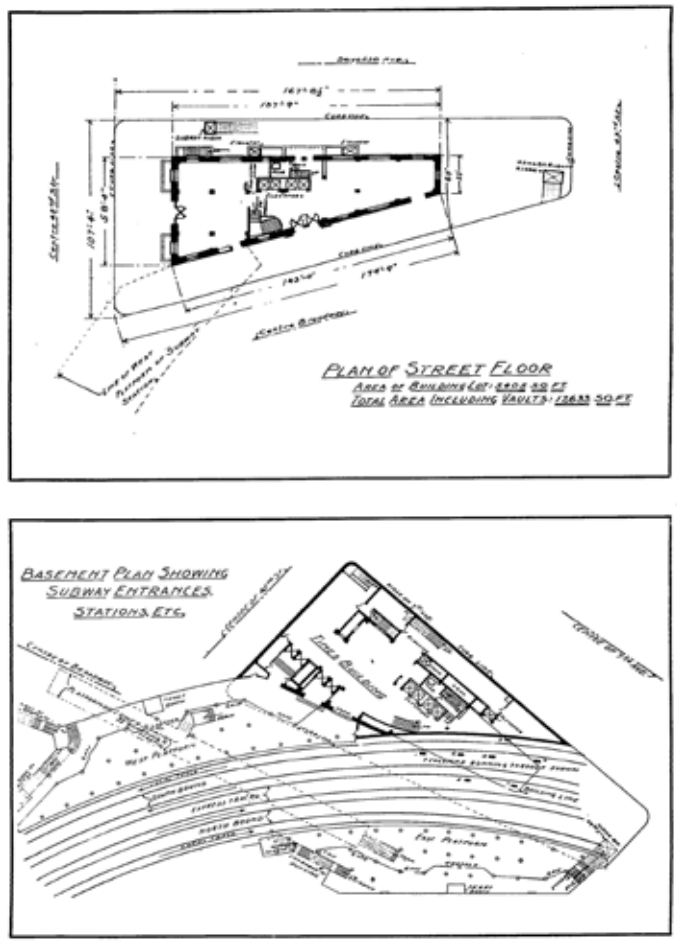


Figure 8.2.4a.
The new headquarters of The New York Times, 1905

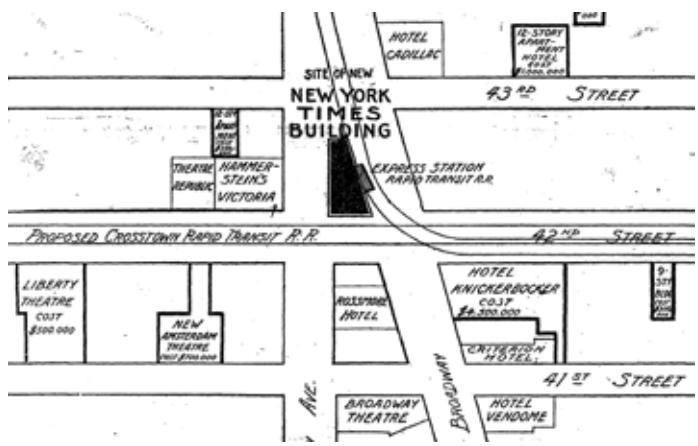


Figure 8.2.4b.
Development around the new Times building, 1902

Figure 8.2.5.
Entrance to Subway at Grand Central Terminal, 1912

the street level arcade both by stairways and elevators. Together, the so-called Times Building Arcades would host a drug store, a perfumery, a barber shop, a manicure and an optician. There would be a newsstand, telephone booth, telegraph offices, public stenographer and a photographer. Also, a variety of shops would be present. People could shop for stationery, umbrellas, clothing, confection, shoes, jewellery, cutlery, soda water, flowers, fruit, et cetera. A bazaar, known as The Bazar du Voyage, was present too. Long Acre Square was no longer an outpost, but a new centre, renamed Times Square. Hotel owners among others recognised this as many of them acquired property and built hotels a small distance from the subway station, and thus the rest of the city. Knickerbocker Hotel[835] was planned and designed in the same time. Again a pedestrian subway would connect the basement of a building with the subway for rail transit. This time, the New York Subway did not interfere with another's enjoyment of property. The link was simply convenient for the guest of the hotel. Below, what the press agent termed "this pulchritudinous floor of wider spread wonder", were grillrooms with its own bar, furnished in English oak. Also a chiropodist was said to be there, and a broker's office, barber's and manufacture parlours, and a kitchen. The subway leading to the station was a grand corridor furnished with settees and decorated with heraldic banners. The underground door to the hotel, still present on platform level, was designed with a frame of green glazed tiles and terracotta letters naming the hotel. (The New York Times 1902, 4 August; 1903, 19 July; 1904, 19 January; 1906, 12 August and 21 October; and New-York Daily Tribune 1905, 1 January)

Similar subway developments took place at the stations between Astor Place and Times Square. Midtown was transforming fast. At 14th Street station, a saloon and restaurant would like to open on the lower level. At 18th Street station,[836] the owner of the Florence House, a nearby apartment hotel,[837] requested to build again a pedestrian subway. At 23rd Street station, the owner of the new wing of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Building[838] would like to connect the basement of the extension. Lastly, at the Grand Central station, also 42nd Street, the new Grand Central Depot[839] had to build a pedestrian subway linking both railway stations. The terminal of Grand Central Depot would move partially below street-level as well as its tracks were being relocated underground, in the

[835] The American architects Samuel Beck Parkman Trowbridge (20 May 1862 – January 29, 1925), also trained as miner, and Goodhue Livingston (23 February 1867 – 3 June 1951) designed the Knickerbocker Hotel.

[836] The 18th Street station was closed in 1948, when the 14th Street station platform was lengthened, making it redundant.

[837] The Florence House, or simply Florence, was established in 1883. It came into prominence in the early '70s as one of the few old hostelries in the midtown hotel district. The architect is unknown. In 1908, the building was destroyed by fire together with the Parker Building across the street, which was designed by the American architect and writer William Harvey Birkmire (25 June 1860 – 9 February 1924).

[838] The American architect Pierre Lassus LeBrun (27 December 1846 – 14 February 1924) designed the new wing of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Building, which was known as The Metropolitan Life Tower or Met Life Tower. It was constructed simultaneously with the subway station. The tower was modelled after the Campanile in Venice, Italy and planned and built between 1902 and 1909. (The New York Times 1907, 29 December)

[839] See Book 3.

new Park Avenue Tunnel. The subway connection between the two subterranean railways, however, was not requested by the owner of the depot, but it was established by an early order of the powers that at the time officially granted all subterranean developments under the publicly-owned space. The Board of Estimate and Appointment recommended the "question of the connection with the subway and subway station at Forty-second Street be referred to the Rapid Transit Commission",[840] thus eventually Parsons again. Similar recommendations had been made before not completely new. (The New York Times 1902, 8 April and 16 November; 1903, 24 July; and Newman 1903, 10 January)

With the approaching completion of the subway system "a luxurious city of the underground" was springing into life, as the New York Daily Tribune described the growth of underground New York. With the opening of subway transit, subway stations, a subway restaurant, a subway saloon and subway entrances to a variety of offices or hotels, the city was changing. A sub-surface city was emerging. "The New-York merchant of a few years hence will not only have his address specified as to the East Side or West Side of the city, but the upper or nether side as well", the newspaper predicted, and as soon as the system would open, the people would see "the manifest advantages of such a system on a rainy day". The New York Times responded critically with a question to the public: "Would you live as a mole?" …" Well wait for the Subway", their answer was. (New-York Daily Tribune 1904, 28 February; The New York Times 1904, 8 May)

> "Another class of sub-surface adherents assure one that within a few years it will be possible to take a subway car, get off at a subway station, take a subway street to a subway store, then to a subway restaurant for a subway luncheon, possibly to a subway saloon for a subway - but perhaps that part of the trip is not essential. At any rate, these people assure one that it will soon be possible to spend an entire day thus, and get back home without having seen the tight of day, save in passing the subway station to one's own house. This, the advocates of the sub-surface city wish distinctly understood, is simply a possibility. There are no stores along the subway on the market yet. If half the predictions of these people come to pass, 'Little Old' New-York will be beside herself with the reversal of the order of things bound to follow. A rush for sub-surface stores is predicted, but as one man put it, 'What a 'come down' it would be for a man with an office on the top floor of the Flatiron Building to move into one of them'" (New-York Daily Tribune 1904, 28 February)

Indeed, the sub-surface network continued to expand. In 1906, six subways were built under the Hudson River. Two pair would give a national railroad direct entrance to the heart of Manhattan. The other pair would connect with trolley systems of Jersey City, Newark Hoboken and a score or more of Jersey suburban towns. Eight tunnels were constructed under the East River. Two were forming an extension of the subway, permitting people to travel from the tip of Manhattan to the residential sections of Brooklyn. Four would lead the railroad into New England, and the remaining two would be an inlet of the united trolley systems of the eastern end of Long Island. Additionally, six tunnels would run under the island itself. Two connected the north and east railroads. Two connected the trolley tunnels and carried the passengers uptown,

[840] This statement was made by William Henry Newman (6 September 1847 – 10 August 1918), president of the New York Central Lines between 1901 and 1908. (Newman 1903, 10 January)

and from this pair, another pair transferred passengers a mile further into downtown and somewhat to the east, again to connect with the present subway system. “These tunnels form an extension of the subway a wonder that is now a commonplace to the tens of thousands of New Yorkers who crowd into it and anathematize it morning and evening every working day of the year.” Within the next decade, the subway system under Manhattan would form a veritable gridiron and, in certain places, there would be at least two layers of subways. For example, the underground railroads and the cross-town subways, serving rapid transit, were planned would run below the first track of New York Subway. (The Crittenden Press 1906, 29 November; and e.g. The New York Times 1909, 18 July; New-York Evening Post 1909, 21 July) While the subterranean and subaqueous network for rapid public transit extended fast, the amount of pedestrian subways giving access to the stations, or interconnecting them, multiplied too. Also, more owners would aim for pedestrian subways which could link the basements of their new buildings to the emerging underground network. Gimbel Brothers Department Store[841] was following the Wanamaker example. Its new store was like the Wanamaker Annex designed by architect Burnham. A subway ran along the basement of the store beneath 33rd Street, from Broadway to Seventh Avenue. It connected the new station of the Hudson Tubes to Newark and Pennsylvania Station. When the store opened in 1910, it boosted its basement level. This subway store was said “so totally unlike any other in the world” that the public would never realise that you are in the basement at all. ‘The Subway Store’ at Gimbels’, as the basement was called, was two stories high below the street level. When eight years later, also the Herald Square subway station opened, the owners proudly advertised that it was “the most accessible store in New York”. (New-York Daily Tribune 1909, 2 May; Gimbel Brothers 1910, 5 October; New-York Tribune 1918, 31 March and 1920, 30 May)

[841] Gimbel Brothers Department Store, also known as Gimbel Bros or Gimbels, closed in 1986.

Figure 8.2.6.
Gimbel Brothers Department Store connecting the new station of the Hudson Tubes in New York, 1908

Chapter 3 Down-Town Connections

The latest trend in New York was related to plans which almost simultaneously had been made for the only two other American subway systems that would be developed for decades,[842] one in Philadelphia and one in Chicago. The influence between all cities was more or less mutual. As the New York Subway was the first to open, its influence was apparent; that was to say that final plans in both other cities were largely based on the recent experiences shown in the New York. Both subways opened only a few years later. Still, in reverse, subway plans on the drawing boards in Philadelphia and Chicago did affect subway development in midtown Manhattan even before its opening. Two names regular recurred in the exchange of ideas: Wanamaker and Burnham. They had found each other in planning the Wanamaker Subway, which, so to say, opened the way for others to follow. Their divided ideas however were older.

The first, Wanamaker was Philadelphian by origin. He had put forward his ideas on subway development in his hometown first. At the time, he was, besides retailer, the president of the Consolidated Transit Company, which would be responsible for a new rapid transit system. When here, in 1887, plans tended to go to elevated railways, he publicly favoured subterranean railways instead. The railway would run over the whole length of Market Street and thus it would skirt his first department store; the Wanamaker's Grand Depot.[843] Wearing two hats here, he argued that it would be best to go undergrounds in the city centre, because an elevated line would effect the real estate development along the line and might even damage the buildings. (The Philadelphia Record 1887, 15 June) In 1901, one year before Wanamaker announced his subway plans in New York, the die was cast in Philadelphia. Plans for the so-called Market Street Subway, as part of a further elevated line,[844] were definitive and came to the public. By then, Wanamaker was no longer involved in the decision-making process. Nevertheless, when the news came to him, he offered the City Council a big sum of money for the powers, rights, and franchises granted under the new rapid transit ordinances. In a leaked letter to the mayor, he stated that his sole object was "to assist you in the performance of this public duty". His offer was ignored. Mayor Samuel Ashbridge,[845] a personal and political enemy of Wanamaker, put it aside and "signed all the bills permitting a rapid transit raid by a syndicate composed almost exclusively of leaders of the Quay faction of the Republican Party of the city". (Wanamaker 1901, 13 June; The New York Times 1901, 15 June) After being waved aside in his hometown, Wanamaker targeted New York, where he assigned Burnham to design the extension of his store including the pedestrian subway to Astor Place station.

Burnham was the second leading man in creating subways, which also interconnected the basements of the buildings located next to

842 The agitation in other cities for subterranean railways was accumulating from time to time in the first decades of the early twentieth century, and, of all, Cincinnati actually built a new subway system, between 1920 and 1928. Yet, the Great Depression in 1929 threw a spanner in the works, and it was never put into service.

843 Wanamaker's Grand Depot housed in the abandoned Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, which was designed in 1852 by Stephen Decatur Button (15 June 1813 – 17 January 1897), an American architect. Wanamaker purchased the station in 1875. A year later, it reopened as department store.

844 The Market Street Subway was the only underground part of a railway, which for the larger part was elevated and known as the Market Street Elevated and Delaware Avenue Elevated and it is designed by George Huntington Thomson: See Book 7. It opened in 1907 and 1908 in two phases. The first section went underground at 22nd Street and linked a loop around the foundation of City Hall, and its only subway station at 15th Street. The second section prolonged the subway to 2nd Street, along the basements of the stores concerned. Somewhere between 2nd and 1st Streets, the line made some curves and went up again to continue as elevated south along the Delaware River. Between 1947 and 1955, the subway is extended along the river and between 22nd and 44th Streets to replace those parts of the elevated railway. The line is now known as part of the Market–Frankford Line.

845 Samuel Howell Ashbridge (5 December 1848, Philadelphia – 1 March 1906) was the mayor of Philadelphia from 1899 to 1903. He was part of the Quay faction of the Republican Party, supporting Matthew Stanley Quay (September 30, 1833 – May 28, 1904), an immensely powerful Pennsylvania politician, while Wanamaker had served under President Benjamin Harrison (20 August 1833 – 13 March 1901), the opponent of Quay. Wanamaker had been he was a member of the President's Cabinet as the executive head of the United States Postal Service, from 1889 to 1893.

Figure 8.3.1.
Intersection of the Chicago Subways showing loaded freight cars, 1900s

it. Burnham was born in upstate New York but raised in Chicago. Almost simultaneously with the developments in Philadelphia, subway plans came to the surface also in Chicago. In 1891, the City indorsed a proposition to create subterranean roads. The plan was made by Telford Burnham,[846] a first cousin of Daniel. As agent of the Illinois Central Railroad, he presented a new scheme for the redevelopment of the railroad tracks and yard, which were blocking the Lake-Front Park[847] from the water. He proposed to overbuild the rail yard, to submerge the main tracks, and to create a subway to connect two parts of the fragmented park and unite them with the lake shore. (The Chicago Daily Tribune 1891, 29 May) In 1901, the future alderman Honoré Palmer[848] campaigned for more subways, now for underground transit. During the elections, he promised the people a subway plan to relieve downtown from the street railways: "The streets belong to the public. They cannot be made too free for the use of the public." (Palmer quoted in Chicago Eagle 1901, 16 March) So, it happened, though in an obscure coup-like way. At first the City allowed an extensive subway system to be built by the Illinois Telephone and Telegraph Company, then it was transferred to the Illinois Tunnel Company and lastly the Chicago Subway Company was incorporated for the purpose of utilising the underground network other than for telecommunication.[849] It would serve underground transit eventually, but with one great difference to other subway systems. That in Chicago would carry no passengers. The new company did not ask new legislation and used an old franchise, granted to the previous owners, and as that expressly forbade the transport of passengers,[850] the new subway was intended solely for the transportation of freight. It would operate between half a dozen freight stations and the branch railroad lines. In line with the ambitions of Palmer, the public promise continued to be that the new subways would benefit the Chicagoans. They ran under nearly every street of that part of the city, which was constantly choked with tangled lines of heavy trucks and other vehicles working their way through them. Like in New York, but now at large, many of the merchants and other business men had connected their buildings with a subway, "with the intention of doing away with the old method of transporting freight from the railroad stations to their doors". Hereafter their merchandise would be deposited in their basements directly from the cars of the transit network below street surface. (Chicago Daily Tribune 1904, 29 January and 20 November; New-York Tribune 1904, 20 November; Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light of the City

[846] Daniel Burnham and Telford Burnham (23 October 1843 – 29 April 1923) were first cousins, because Daniel's and Telford's fathers were siblings, and thus they share the same grandfather; Nathan Burnham (26 Jul 1772 – 8 November 1862).

[847] Lake-Front Park, Lake-Shore Park, or simply Lake Park, was officially designated as a park in 1844. The Illinois Central Railroad Company built its tracks offshore from the park in 1852. After the Great Chicago Fire in 1871, the resulting lagoon was largely filled with debris. In 1883, the second Lakefront Park opened, and in 1896 the first would be expanded with further landfill. When finished in 1901, the two were renamed Grant Park. In 2004, the submerged railway was covered and redeveloped as Millennium Park.

[848] Honoré Palmer (1 February 1874 – 4 March 1964) was elected to the Chicago Board of Aldermen in 1901 and re-elected in 1903. He was the son of two American urban developers and business people. His mother, Bertha Matilde Honoré Palmer (22 May 1849 – 5 May 1918) was, as businesswoman and philanthropist, the chosen president of the Board of Lady Managers of the 'World's Fair: Columbian Exposition' at Chicago in 1893. His father, Potter Palmer (20 May 1826 – 4 May 1902), was as retailer, hotel owner and real-estate promoter, responsible for the development of much of the downtown Chicago and the Lake Shore Drive strip, after the city's great fire of 1871.

[849] The subways built by the Illinois Telephone and Telegraph Company in 1899 were transferred to the Illinois Tunnel Company in January 1904 and to Chicago Subway Company in November 1904.

[850] By the ordinance of 15 July 1903, the company could continue to construct and operate the tunnels already granted under the terms of the ordinance of 20 February 1899. Yet, it granted permission and authority to do so, not only for the use of wires and electrical conductors, but for any appliances or apparatus for the transmission or transportation of newspapers, mail matter, packages, parcels or merchandise. (Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light of the City Council 1908)

Council 1908) It was "connected at that level with chambers under many of the leading commercial and manufacturing establishments and office buildings of the city, from each of which freight elevators deliver goods to and from the shipping-rooms above". Thus when eventually in 1906, Daniel Burnham was asked to take charge of new planning for the city, he needed to respond on this development. He included the subways for handling freight and combined it with the old proposals of his cousin. In developing the so-called Plan of Chicago, Burnham worked together with Edward Bennett.[851] They carried out a complete system of underground distribution to tackle the overcrowding and congestion of traffic. They extended the two concepts with common subways for passengers, running under Twelfth and Washington Streets, and an early idea for double-decked boulevards on either side of the Chicago River, probably posed by Bennett.[852] Their new diagram of the city showed a complete system of underground circuits. (Bennett 1906, 31 December; Burnham, Bennett and Moore 1909, June: 65-66, 70-75) Unaware of the fact that underground public transit had to wait for decades in Chicago,[853] clearly Burnham had expanded his new expertise as he had brought it to other cities, as said, for example to New York.

It had taken three years of negotiations and plan making, when finally in 1906 the Wanamaker Annex in New York was opened to the public. The Neo-Classical facade was made of terra-cotta. Pilasters with arches formed the base, the middle part introduced sets of three narrow windows coupled with arches on top, and the crown in fact did the same, but then combining two windows in a plain but expressive wall. The New-York Daily Tribune concluded that it was "one of the most elaborately fitted up and furnished department stores in The United Stales, if not in the world". The interior was somewhat similar to that of the old store, with a void in the middle of the first floor, with balconies on every side overlooking the ground floor, where broad stairways led to the other floors. On the upper floors, there were rooms decorated in Louis XV, Louis XVI, Moorish, Renaissance and Empire, as well as Old Dutch. There was a piano department, including a self-playing piano and a theatre with organ. The basement level was displaying nothing but household utensils and its sub-basement was showcasing one of the largest in-house electric facilities in the city. (Architects' and Builders' Magazine 1905, June; New-York Daily Tribune 1906, 22 April) It was a Walhalla for its customers, window-shoppers and people who favour some musical entertainment. Nonetheless, by then, Philadelphia would take a sudden and pronounced lead in the campaign of the below-earth city. The Market Street Subway was developed as integral part of a larger underground network. Its subway stations, of which there were seven, were built like the tube itself; entirely of concrete and steel. Some of the train platforms measured a length of over three hundred feet long. Flanking these platforms, at several of these stations, department stores had put in enormous show windows where window displays could be made in exactly the same manner in which it is done in the street above. No less than five department stores created an underground entrance. Relatively small but significant pedestrian subway networks[854] would connect the stores of John Wanamaker, the Gimbel Brothers, Strawbridge & Clothier, the Lit Brothers, the N. Snellenburg & Co.

[851] Edward Herbert Bennett (12 May 1874 – 14 October 1954) was an English-American architect and urban designer. He began working for Burnham in 1903.

[852] The double-decked boulevard along the river was posed on 31 December 1906, on a day that Bennett spent New Years Eve at Burnham's house in Evanston, ten miles north of downtown Chicago. In a personal plan notebook of Bennett, he writes: "Dec 31st. The growing belt of iron made by the railroads gives an additional argument for this arrangement, and suggests as a logical development that the whole region for several blocks on either side of the river be constructed with double-deck." Bennett's additional sketch also cast light on the origin of this idea. (Bennett 1906, 31 December) It was completed in 1926, and named Wacker Drive after Charles Henry Wacker (29 August 1856 – 31 October 1929), the chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission. Twelfth Street was renamed Roosevelt Road, in 1919 when the elevated highway was erected on the street. Washington Street is known as West Washington Street and Boulevard.

[853] The State Street Subway would be the first when it opened to the public in 1943. (Shinnick 1943, 17 October)

[854] These subways still connect the station at 13th and 8th Street. Yet, John Arnold Bower, Jr. (born 22 April 1930) extended the subway system beneath Market Street, between 8th and 10th Streets. Based on the early success, Bower was assigned to design The Gallery at Market East. Subway, concourse and mall were constructed between 1974 and 1977. Between 1983 and 1984, a joint collaboration between Bower's firm and Cope Linder Architects designed the expansion of the complex.

Department Store and Frank & Seder Company.

At first, Wanamaker's was the only store aiming for a direct access to a station. In 1903, Wanamaker assigned Burnham again to design a new and enlarged Philadelphian Wanny's. It would have direct entrances to the planned 13th Street station.[855] Also this building was built in Neo-Classical style. Like its New York sibling, the exterior of the building was covered with terra-cotta elements. Its facade was again based on the use of pilasters, now with entablatures. The narrow windows of the upper-floors, this time two instead of three, bring out more emphatically the vertical dimension. The treatment of the crown, combining narrowness and depth by arches, intensifies the same effect and contrasted with a plain wall above. According to The Architectural Record this makes the Wanamaker store in Philadelphia, already in the completion of the first phase "more interesting than the Wanamaker store in New York". Still, in contrast, when the building was nearly finished, the public media foremost glorified the interior space. The walls were made of granite and its iconic central atrium was marble-clad. The floors were huge and the ground space and basement double high. The underground facade was as long as the station platform, more than a block long. It had two immense entrances into the store. "Six brilliantly illuminated show windows lining the Subway underneath the street will tell you when you reach Wanamaker's", as The Philadelphia Record informed the general public. The scene was as brightly lit as the noonday sun above the pavement. Hundreds of trains would pass daily and thousands of people would have the ability to enter the Wanamaker store 'under cover', as written proudly, directly from the two great steam railway terminals of the city.

At 8th Street station, rivals copied the Wanamaker concept. Strawbridge & Clothier and Lits did connect their basements to the north side platforms, while Gimbels did link on the south side.[856] However, as they were with three, a co-operative union was

[855] The new John Wanamaker's Store, or Wanny's, was designed between 1903 and 1906. Wanamaker replaced his Grand Depot in stages, and constructed a new, purpose-built structure, which was completed in 1911. The first part opened in 1906 and its subway connection opened in 1908. Since 1995, the store continued business as a Macy's Department Store, which is locally known as Macy's Center City.

[856] The Strawbridge & Clothier Dry Goods Establishment was designed in 1897 by Addison Hutton (28 November 1834 – 26 June 1916), also an American architect. It replaced their old three-story brick building. The Lit Brothers Store, or Lits, was of the hand of the American architect Charles M. Autenrieth, Sr., probably born Carl (abt.1828 – 30 March 1906), born in the Kingdom of Württemberg, within the German Confederation. He started designing for the chain in 1893 and the new flagship store opened in 1907. It grew to an assemblage of thirty-three buildings, built between 1859 and 1918. In time, Autenrieth joined them with a cast iron facade and he unified the interior. The department store for the Gimbel Brothers, or Gimbels, was designed by the American architect Francis Hatch Kimball (23 September 1845 – 25 December 1919), in 1900. Also this building was a replacement. The subway entrances of all three stores must be added in 1908, when the station opened. - Between 1928 and 1931, Grant Miles Simon (2 October 1887 – 4 May 1967) and Edward Paul Simon (1 June 1878 – 9 May 1949) designed a substitute of Strawbridge & Clothier, keeping its subway entrance. Eventually, all buildings got a different purpose: Lits closed doors in 1977, Gimbels in 1978 and Strawbridge's in 2006. Gimbels was demolished in 1987, leaving a parking lot at street level.

Figure 8.3.2.
Wanamaker's in the 13th Street Subway in Philadelphia, 1900s

necessary between them. From this cooperation, they developed the advantages of the subway to a greater extent. The created subways, which were required not only to connect store basements and train platform, but also the various store basements bordering the station. “A remarkable trade agreement was ratified, whereby all of the firms pledged themselves to contribute equally to the bargain campaign under the earth”. Suddenly, one could go from the one shop to the other without the necessity of ascending to the street at any point of the way. Between the stores cement ways were constructed with signs to the next store. A high iron fence built at the edge of the platforms would prevent accidents. Stairs and steps abridged level differences. Modern lamps illuminated the subway. Little revealed the above-ground ornate architecture that went along with the big department stores. The underground design was utilitarian and rather efficient. Only in its early days, small trees, like conifers, and some flags embellished the interior.

At 11th Street Station, soon a similar union was gratified. Here, on the south side of the station, Snellenburg’s and Frank & Seder Co.[857] joined together to enable that they both could have an entrance to the new underground station. When successfully developed it also could provide an underground bypass between their stores. Yet again, the application was slightly different. The subway station provided namely immediate access to the regional trains of Reading Terminal[858] across the street too, and thus the stores would have another benefit. In competition with the others, an ad of Snellenburg’s cheered the day before the subway would open: “Persons reaching the city by way of the Reading Terminal can come directly to our store through the Subway. This is the only store having direct communication with a great railroad depot”. It clearly helped in its popularity. After only a few years, in 1916, the neighbouring buildings in the rear were ousted to make way for their men’s store annex and subways and bridges would provide access to the new part of the store. (The Architectural Record

Figure 8.3.3a.
Strawbridge & Clothier in the 8th Street Subway, 1900s

Figure 8.3.3b.
The Lit Brothers in the 8th Street Subway, 1910s

857 In 1889, James Hamilton Windrim (4 January 1840 – 26 April 1919) designed Hood, Foulkrod, & Co., a wholesale dry goods house. In 1897, lease changed to the N. Snellenburg & Company Department Store, at the time commonly known as Snellenburg’s. (The Philadelphia Record 1897, 10 June) Windrim was also in charge of the remodelling. Likewise, The Frank & Seder Company Department Store, or Frank & Seder’s, opened their store in an old building of the unsuccessful Berg Brothers Department Store, or Berg Bros, which had been opened in 1907. Here the American architect-engineers and school mates Andrew Julius Sauer (born 8 December 1878 – 1 May 1940) and Frank Eugene Hahn, Sr. (22 June 1879 – 5 February 1962) remodelled the front and interior, between 1911 and 1915. The Snellenburg’s annex was designed between 1916 and 1918 by the Steele & Sons Company, run by the American architect William Steele, Jr. (12 April 1878 – 18 March 1964). His son, engineer William Steele III (22 January 1890 – 12 August 1960) most likely was general superintendant to the project. The Ballinger Co., Architects designed a replacement for Frank & Seder’s, between 1924 and 1925. This store closed in 1953, as the first of the six department stores, and the building was destroyed in 1959. Snellenburg’s closed three years later, in 1962. Between 1978 and 1984, after being cut down to the present two stories, its main building was redeveloped by the Philadelphia Department of City Architecture as the Center City Commuter Connection, part of the Reading Terminal project. The annex still stands. It has been reused by the Community College of Philadelphia between 1965 and 1973 and now it is used by the Family Court of Philadelphia, mixed with some shops on street level.

858 The American architect Francis Hatch Kimball (23 September 1845 – 25 December 1919) designed the old Reading Terminal between 1891 and 1893. The Wilson Brothers & Company engineered the train shed.

1906, March; The Philadelphia Record 1908, 29 June and 13 July; Snellenburgs 1908, 23 August; Commercial America 1908, September; Weir 1909, August; The American Architect 1912, 22 May; Evening Ledger 1916, 28 February; The American Cloak and Suit Review 1915, October; The Architectural Forum 1924, December)

In a short notice, the scope of subway stations became appreciated and the startling basement possibilities of a subway station location were made sharply apparent. The main street got an extra level below the surface. The networks to the stations, prepared for so notable an advance in transportation, were complete sections of city streets, many feet under the pavement, with bright shop-windows and artistic entrances to the store. While Philadelphia was building her own City Beautiful, the new subway model was making "her City Useful", as Wanamaker concluded. (Wanamaker 1911: 113, 203)

Figure 8.3.4.
The 11th Street Subway in Philadelphia, 1910s

Chapter 4

Rockefeller Concourse: Creating a City in a City

In the late nineteen-twenties, John Rockefeller, Jr.[859] acquired almost all premises and the leasehold on land located between Fifth and Sixth Avenues and 48th and 51st Streets in New York.[860] He would raze all old brownstone houses on the premises and build the next metropolitan centre north of Times Square and Grand Central. For those familiar to the case, it is known that the first plans for what would evolve to be Rockefeller Center started with the intention to build a new opera house. Yet, in addition, Rockefeller aimed to erect new skyscrapers, hotels, stores, apartments from early stage on too, and for the settlement of traffic, from scratch, also new streets were planned as well as, most interesting in this epistle, submerged roads and underground parking. The plan was ambitious, if only for its scale. Benjamin Morris was responsible for the tentative plans.[861] By means of lowered roads, he intended to divert local traffic, eliminate the usual congestion at the opera gates on important nights and create an area on street-level, which should become known as the finest and most exclusive shopping district in the world. On the avenue front, he envisioned a 'magnificent esplanade' for pedestrians, while supporting viaducts, designed in the futurist style of structural engineering, would take care of car traffic on a different level. It was a first draft for what was called Metropolitan Square. Rockefeller invited several architects to elaborate on the plan. He asked them to participate in a symposium, held in October 1929, and present detailed proposals. Two of these were noticeable. First, the plan of Morris himself was, as he described it, "a city under a single roof". In addition to the early plan, it called for a covered shopping gallery on the mezzanine level, bordering a plaza which would face the opera in the centre of the area. Second, the plan of Harvey Corbett was, because it elaborated on the idea of multiple level streets, aiming a system of subways and other vehicular tunnels, in line with his bigger picture of future New York.[862] It was the first serious plan where subways actually were part of a newly planned area to interconnect several buildings at once. It could have brought the next step in the typological evolution of the subway, yet no plan was realised. As known, in the same month the American stock market crashed most devastating, and most probably as a result, the Metropolitan Opera Company withdrew and the whole project needed reconsideration. By all means, Rockefeller, who had the leasehold until 1931, had to continue. Thus, he appointed Todd, Robertson, Todd Engineering Corporation to direct further planning. This firm had been already involved as a consultant to the project in the past, but now it had the responsibility of leading it through the crisis. Accurately, John Todd named his staff architects as being in charge.[863] The young designers Andrew Reinhard and Henry Hofmeister, who soon after would start their own practice, got the lead.[864] Morris and Corbett were advised to be engaged as consulting architects. Corbett's office, mainly partner Wallace

[859] John Davison Rockefeller, Jr. (29 January 1874 – 11 May 1960) was an American businessman, investor, developer and philanthropist.

[860] The land was deeded by the City of New York to Columbia University in 1814 in order to obtain funds to support the institution. In 1857 the university sold a part of the land between 48th and 49th Streets and in the years 1904 to 1913, it did so with land between 47th and 48th Streets. The larger portion remained their property and was used for rental.

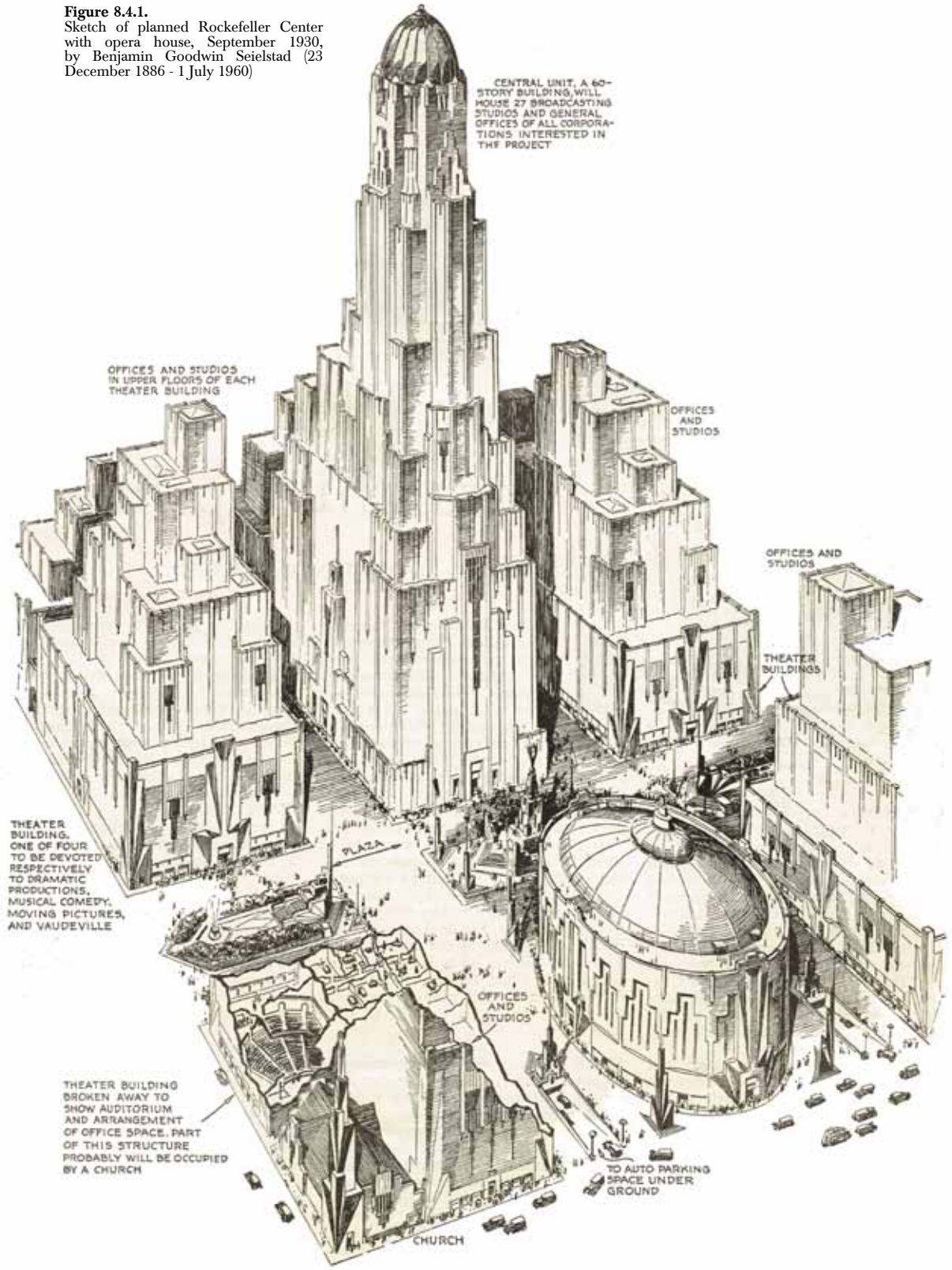
[861] Benjamin Wistar Morris III (23 October 1870 – 4 December 1944), architect of the Metropolitan Opera Company, drew up the preliminary plans for the site in 1928.

[862] See Book 7.

[863] John Reynard Todd (27 October 1867 – 12 May 1945) was a lawyer who went into partnership with his physician brother, dr. James Marcus Todd (12 October 1858 – 5 January 1939) and Hugh Sterling Robertson (15 August 1880 – 23 June 1951), a specialist in real estate and financial management, with whom he had been responsible for the planning, construction and rental of the Graybar Building. This huge building, completed in 1927, linked to Grand Central Terminal with corridors.

[864] At age 14, L. Andrew Reinhard (26 October 1891 – 8 February 1964) became an office boy for Benjamin Morris. At later age he was a junior designer with Raymond Hood. In 1928, shortly after Todd was involved in the project, he formed a partnership with his colleague Henry Hofmeister (3 August – 7 January 1962), who became the practical engineer and space designer as well as he supervised the working drawings for the Rockefeller Center project.

Figure 8.4.1.
Sketch of planned Rockefeller Center with opera house, September 1930, by Benjamin Goodwin Seielstad (23 December 1886 - 1 July 1960)



Harrison[865], accepted and continued advisory services. Morris declined.[866] (The New York Times 1928, 28 December and 1929, 6 December; Time 1928, 31 December; Hood 1929, November; Todd and Vogel 1947: 83-88)

After the turn of the year, Raymond Hood, together with his partner architects Frederick Godley and Jacques-André Fouilhoux, became part of the team of design firms instead of Morris.[867] Especially for this project, they united together with the other two offices in a collective, which would become known as the Associated Architects.[868] It would start immediately to make alternative plans, surpassing any ambition of the past. Rockefeller persuaded the Radio Corporation of America and Radio-Keith Orpheum to join the project after the leave of the opera. The idea, or hope, was still that probably the opera would open its doors on the site, next to the radio broadcasting companies. Thus, while keeping the rest of the programme more or less consistent and the site would not change, the association had to deal with a stupendous undertaking. They had to densify, combine and revise all preliminary plans. The result, a plaster model, was shown to the public in 1931. Several skyscrapers would rise in the midst of the brownstone houses. Two twin-towers would front Fifth Avenue with a set back to give space to the adjoined large buildings at their foot. One of these bases incorporated the present Neo-Gothic Collegiate Church of St. Nicolas.[869] An oval building, moderately higher, would stand in between to form the new central structure of the plan. It would extend to a garden plaza that cut through the three block development and ran parallel with Fifth Avenue from 48th to 51st Streets. In the back the highest skyscraper would stand, with some flanking high-rise on the side. The new plan caused a confused uproar among the New Yorkers. Its public commotion was most manifest in the local media. Some newspapers and magazines would be exited and anxious to see the new sensation in real. The New York Times, enthusiastically reporting on the project weekly and sometimes daily, called the new plan "a grandiose salute to the future both of invention and of the American people. […] The contemplated radio city obvious will set a standard for business architecture that smaller individual enterprise was not likely to give us". The result was a "radio metropolis". Outlook and Independent, a local weekly of current events, like-wise glorifying, called the project itself impressive and "the most ambitious private development undertaken in America". Other public media, however, clearly chose the opposition, a strong one. Long-time art critic Royal Cortissoz[870] of the New York Herald Tribune was one of them. In an editorial he stated: "The crux of the business is that Radio City is ugly. Its exterior is revolting and dreary". The New Republic, a journal of opinion, and The New Yorker, did the same. Both, by the pen of Lewis Mumford,[871] provoked too: "In the first glow of publicity one got the impression that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had leased this huge tract from Columbia University, had started out to do a handsome thing for the city. When the tomatoes and catcalls that greeted the project became visible and audible, a second barrage of publicity was laid down, to show that Mr. Rockefeller intended nothing of that kind". And, even more strongly: "This is the sorriest failure of imagination and intelligence in modern American architecture. If Radio City is the best our architects can do with freedom, they deserve to remain

[865] In 1929, Corbett (see Book 7) was the first of the firm to be involved. However, he left the project in a very early stage. His Irish-born partner William Hamoir Mc Murray (19 July 1867 – 20 February 1941) was the businessman in the firm and had little to do with the design of Rockefeller Center. Consequently, the young third partner Wallace Kirkman Harrison (28 September 1895 – 2 December 1981) was left in charge.

[866] One could interpret that Rockefeller intentionally passed over him when he assigned Todd, Robertson, Todd after the official withdrawal of the opera and allowed their staff architects to be leading.

[867] His partner Frederick Augustus Godley (10 June 1886 - 21 February 1961) was the architect concerned with the business affairs of the firm. He resigned the office in 1931 to teach at Yale. The third partner Jacques-André Fouilhoux (27 September 1879 – 20 June 1945) was a Paris-born engineer. Most probably, Hood did join the team on advice of Corbett, as they were working together in a commission entrusted with the architectural design of the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition of 1933. (see also Book 7)

[868] Thereafter drawings bore the three firm names in strict alphabetical order: associated architects Corbett, Harrison & MacMurray; Hood, (Godley, until he left the office) & Fouilhoux; Reinhard & Hofmeister.

[869] William Wheeler Smith (abt.1838 – 5 April 1908) designed the St. Nicholas Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, or Collegiate Church of St. Nicolas, between 1869 and 1872. The building was demolished in 1949 to make space for the expansion of Rockefeller Center.

[870] Royal Cortissoz (10 February 1869 – 17 October 1948) was an American art historian and critic for the New York Herald Tribune from 1891 until his death.

[871] See Book 1.

in chains". (The New York Times 1930, 18 June; Time 1931, 16 March; Mumford 1931, 18 March and 20 June; Cortissoz 1931, July) Either pro or con, the early commentary set the trend. The Rockefeller project got an enormous amount of attention exceeding the borders of New York City. The more details one would present to the public, the wider the audience seemed to have become. Every new plan, even every new bit, caused more and more new articles leading to an immensely large series of publications. The tumult immediately infected the professional presses. The editor's diary of Architecture called out: "This morning The Herald Tribune devoted its leading editorial to an architectural criticism of the Radio City, so called. Architectural criticism is breaking loose, and, once having broken loose, we shall probably have it in an over-abundance. The difficulty is, how are we to train critics. Every one crying 'A has! A has!' is not necessarily deserving of that title." "New York is now indulging in an April architectural madness", as the editorial director of The Western Architect likewise made known to its readers. Elaborately, The Architectural Forum too raised the question of Radio City from a professional point of view. Evenly their editor reviewed the opponents attacking on the grounds of aesthetic expression as well as the promoters countering with statements on traffic, light and air. In a project of this size, he concluded, it was necessity that the aesthetic approach related itself to the larger questions of social and economic importance. Also Architectural Record presented their view on the debate and pointed out that economic considerations were paramount. The Architect could tell that prominent architects had come to the fore with soothing words to the effect that the work was in the hands of well trained architects who know what they were doing. Like they believed that the designs could not go far wrong, the editors believed that the complex would loom unique and colourful. They predicted that it would be a future monument. In an editorial article, Pencil Points thought this position was doubtful. The magazine simply states "Radio City was not designed for beauty. Radio City was designed to make money." Personally, its staff members did not like the designs, but they declared that they were willing to withhold final judgment until the buildings become a reality: "Meanwhile the functionalists are here having their opportunity to prove or disprove their theories in a big way. Whether architecture in the future is to aim for utility only and let beauty come or not as it will or, as in the past, aim for utility and beauty both will depend largely on the outcome of the present struggle." American Architect concludes with the observation that city planners had argued similar developments as a necessity, from their point of view, as an aid to the salvation of cities particularly where skyscrapers dominate. They refer to Corbusier, who in his recent volume The City of Tomorrow, said that "the centres of our great cities must be pulled down and rebuilt".[872] The assembling of an entire area of the three city blocks in the heart of New York composing Radio City and Metropolitan Square, for this professional architectural monthly had been afforded "the first opportunity of putting into practice the theories advanced by both economists and city planners". (Architecture 1931, May; North 1931, April; Sherman 1931, May; The Architect 1931, April; Pencil Points 1931, May; Reinhard 1931, April and November; Le Corbusier 1929: 96, and 1932, 3 January)

Figure 8.4.2.
"The City Within A City" as designed by the Associated Architects, 1931

[872] The New York Times would frame a contribute of Le Corbusier by stating that Radio City, as its walls rose, presented "his picture of what modern city should be". (Le Corbusier 1932, January 3)

Although, in the tumult, plans for the creation of a subway system seemed to have been lost, nothing less was true. The innumerable amount of subsequent articles, that would review the project every time a new building was opened, merely departed from the building as aesthetic precedent of utilitarian design. Seldom had the media illuminated that what was among its most important innovations. The Architectural Forum was the exception. It did describe the revived subway plans. Vewy much in line with Corbett's first ideas, they included a mix of all subway types, which were emerging in the American metropolises. First, a vast concourse would extend below the full area of the development. These concourse subways, hosting shops and stores of every description, were going to pass beneath all the buildings and come together in the centre of Radio City. This concept worked on the newest manifestation of the type, interconnecting related buildings, as seen first in Philadelphia. Below this level would still be the parking and delivery level. Secondly, the new team seemed to continue on the typical contemporary pedestrian subway too. They had studied the pedestrian subways

Figure 8.4.3a.
Entrance to the Rockefeller Concourse, with facade of the RCA Building in the immidiate background, 1932, rendering by John Wenrich (3 May 1894 - 16 August 1970)

Figure 8.4.3b.
The Rockefeller Concourse, in the RCA Building, 1932, rendering by John Wenrich

leading to Pennsylvania Station, the Grand Central Terminal, the stations of Forty-second Street, Fifty-ninth Street and Times Square, and to other midtown points in their own city. Subways alike, also present in many other cities, were included in the Rockefeller plans. They would link the nearby present and future stations. At the time, it perhaps was also possible to use the second basement level for a bus terminal. (Sherman 1931, May) A few months later, showman Samuel Rothafel,[873] who had joined the project to realise two new theatres, revealed more subway plans. As he was the desired director of a music hall and picture palace, he had got a key role in all publicity concerning Radio City – even bearing the unofficial title 'the Mayor of Radio City' – and thus an insider's view to the plans. In addition to what was already known, he uncovered plans for a 'miniature subway' system, an underground shuttle system would link the city's main transport points. Although officially no such plans had been presented to the public and Todd refused any comment on the topic, it would use small open electric cars, mainly providing patrons a convenient transit. According to the testimony, this would be an endless chain system of small cars, similar to those connecting the Senate and House office buildings in Washington with the Capitol. It also recalled some images from the delivery system under the streets of Chicago. Pedestrian subways would connect the stations of this subway with his theatres. People could cross blocks and walk between the theatres or one of the other buildings and the public transit stations of the New York Subway. The vast underground system would be entered from Fifth Avenue by sloping entrances leading down to a sunken court. At this location, the type was steeping in the ground creating a more independent public pedestrian subway system at distance from the underground rail transit, creating subways for shopping, and interconnecting the future buildings. It introduced a gradually changing subway type. Rothafel, better known as Roxy, said he had been encouraged "to go on with my wildest dreams", and in his eyes he did. In addition to the subsurface plans, for example, he envisioned also a never-built system of escalators and moving sidewalks to connect Radio City with other points of congregation, such as Broadway, and the other main traffic intersections. It would serve those who wish to visit the centre and, in his statement, by means of concourse subways the location was ideally to handle the large amount of potential visitors. Hood already designed the buildings to house 100,000 to 125,000 people, with a moving population of 75,000 additionally, but as millions of potential users were living in the city and thousands were arriving at the nearby regional train terminals daily, in Roxy's vision serious precaution should be planned to prevent congestion. (The New York Times 1931, 4 December) He had adopted and represented old plans of Cobert, Morris and the others as his.

While the design of the first treasure houses of the Modern age had been completed and the so-called RKO Roxy Theatre, Radio City Music Hall and adjoined RKO Building[874] were open to the public, work on the underground proceeded. It took almost two years, until the plan to create a subway system under the high-rise project was official. Officials of Rockefeller Center petitioned for approval by the City of a franchise, lease or other rights needed in the construction and maintenance of the tunnels and The Board

[873] Samuel Lionel Rothafel, known as Roxy, (9 July 1882 – 13 January 1936) was impresario for and manager of many of the great New York theatres and picture palaces. In 1932, he left his eponymous Roxy Theatre Company, named for him, to concentrate fully on the newly opened Radio City Music Hall and RKO Roxy theatres.

[874] The RKO Roxy Theatre and the Radio City Music Hall were planned by the associated architects, who employed the American architect Edward Durell Stone (9 March 1902 – 6 August 1978) to design the exteriors. The interior design was given to Donald Deskey (23 November 1894 – 29 April 1989), through the direction of Abby Rockefeller, wife of John Rockefeller Jr. and born Abigail Greene Aldrich (26 October 1874 – 5 April 1948). Already in 1934, the RKO Roxy Theatre converted to present Broadway plays and musicals. It was then renamed the Center Theatre. After being redesigned in 1940, it reopened as an ice theatre. In 1950, it became used as a NBC broadcasting studio, until the demolishment of the building in 1954. The Radio City Music Hall changed hardly. RKO Building had been known subsequently as Americas Building, American Metal Climax Building, Amax Building and now 1270 Avenue of the Americas.

of Estimates presented the plans in public. These tunnels would serve pedestrian and vehicular traffic to relieve traffic congestion in the three blocks occupied by the midtown project.[875] A detailed subsurface plan made provision for more than three-quarters of a mile of air-conditioned corridors for pedestrians, a large part of which would be flanked by basement shops. This level would be called The Concourse. The concourse subways would be sixteen feet wide and fourteen feet high, roughly about five to four metres, and they would connect to all buildings. Focal point of this system would be still a sunken court, now called sunken plaza. One floor down, at second basement level, the scheme included a network of corridors for subsurface delivery, intended to take trucks serving the Rockefeller buildings of the streets and enable the estimated daily population to circulate freely in the area above grounds. These subterranean roadways were designed wider; double the size, with about the same height. A width of thirty-two feet or nearly ten metres accommodated four lanes of traffic, which would bring traffic to a large central space from where again all buildings could be served. (Wenrich 1932, The New York Times 1933, 7 October)

In 1934 the basement or concourse level of what was known as the Forum of the RCA Building opened. It was basically the first floors of the highest skyscraper of the complex and the adjoined west building. Next to the planned shops, eating establishments and a post office opened under the ground too. All efforts had been in the direction to stimulate public use. In early stage for example, local artists had an own show, as the museums of the city prepared a first and free 'municipal' exhibit in the concourse supported by the Mayor. Later that year, a towering Christmas tree found in a grand winter scene in the sunken plaza engaged that same aim.

[875] The underground system would be handled by Underock, Inc, a newly organised subsidiary of Rockefeller Center.

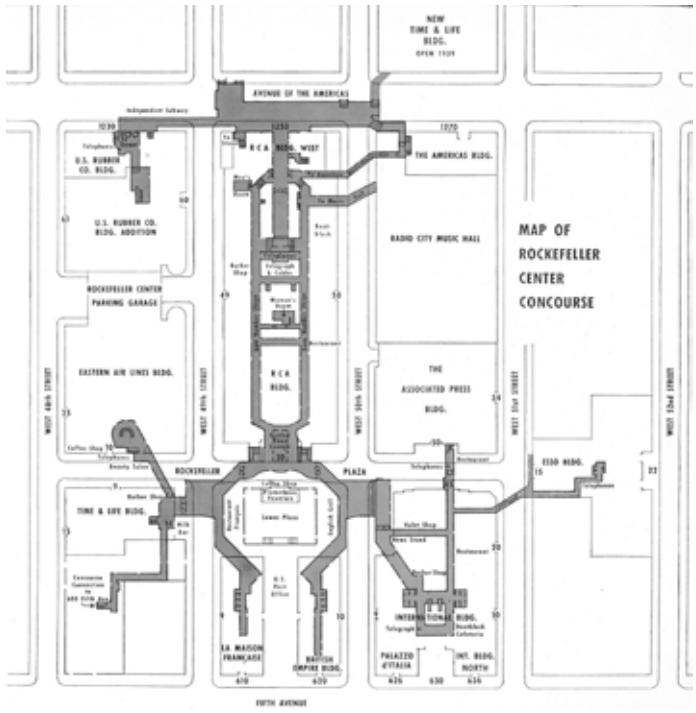


Figure 8.4.4.
Map of the Rockefeller subways drawn by Raymond Hood, c.1933

During the holiday season the lower level would stay the focal point of many New Yorkers. The next year, finally, the first series of subways opened. The first north subway cut under 50th Street near Sixth Avenue. With a width of only seven feet, two metres, it was the smallest of the system. It joined the RKO Building with the Forum. The central subways linked the same RCA Building with the sunken plaza and the British Empire Building and La Maison Française in the east. These two identical buildings came in stead of the originally proposed oval building on Fifth Avenue. In the midst of the project, down the plaza, another subway led northeast to the International Building and adjoining east buildings also on Fifth. This building would be the uncompleted half of the planned twin skyscrapers.[876] The northeast subway was the widest of all. It measured sixty feet, thus eighteen metres. About a week after the first ones had opened, a next north subway opened under 50th Street. It ran parallel to the first one to connect the Forum also to the Radio City Music Hall. (The New York Times 1934, 23 and 29 January, 19 December and 1935, 4 May) The Rockefeller Concourse was a must see for tourists and first visitors. The sunken plaza, with its iconic bronze and granite Prometheus Fountain, formed the prelude to the subway level.[877] The famous ice skating rink at this place opened on Christmas Day in 1936. It was one of many events making the plaza that centre of the development. As such, it formed the main entrance to the emerging underground network, devoted principally to stores, which aimed to satisfy almost everyone. Together with the greatest concentration of offices in midtown Manhattan, the concourse created an "easily accessible array of de luxe shops", and contributed to "a center of great interest for a casual visit, a guided tour, or a whole day of recreation and amusement"; "The City Within A City". (Rockefeller Center Weekly 1934: 5-6, 12 and Rockefeller Center, Inc. 1936: 5, and 1939: N.P ~ pp. 5-7)

> "Escalators in the R C A Building and International Building are also of the latest type and join the mezzanine and concourse or lower levels of both buildings to the ground floor. Pedestrian tunnels connect the central and north blocks. With these facilities, the huge concourse, ground floor, and mezzanine areas of Rockefeller Center are knit into a great merchandising and display unit through which pedestrians may pass with minimum effort. Within this area are spread more than two miles of shops where articles to satisfy almost every customer's needs may be found." (Rockefeller Center, Inc. 1936 : 5)

The Associated Architects designed every subway in an Early Modern style, characterised by austere severity without much of ornaments or plasticity. In the same unifying tone as the exterior mass, which was designed in Indiana limestone with aluminium spandrel panels, below ground the interior facades were faced with silvery French marble. The floor was made of white smoke terrazzo with dim gray framing and inlay. Windows, doors, racks, stair, railings, furniture, and art display area were all bronzed, matching the Art Deco lamps and some indoor murals and other art decorations. As part of the first phase of the system, the design of these concourse subways was a representative precursor for the rest. In the north, the subway system would expand with the opening of the Associated Press Building and, across 51st Street, the Esso Oil Company. A set of subways was constructed underneath the streets

[876] The RCA Building, later known as 30 Rockefeller Center and GE Building, and the the British Empire Building and La Maison Française, as well as the Rockefeller Plaza opened in 1933. The International Building, including Palazzo d'Italia and the adjoined International Building East, opened in 1935. The lamps were removed and two new huge windows on both sides of Prometheus were added in 1999, by design of the architectural firm Beyer Blinder Belle.

[877] The Prometheus Fountain was designed by the American sculptor Paul Howard Manship (24 December 1885 – 28 January 1966) in 1934.

and through their basements to link the system to the lower level of the International Building. In the south, where largely symmetry would be abandoned, one subway did correspond to the other side. This subway in the southeast, wide as well, would include the lower level of the new Time and Life Building in the system. Other subways were constructed from here to Eastern Airlines Building and U.S. Rubber Company Building, and between the Forum and the RKO Roxy Theatre in the south.[878] The endless cars of the proposed underground shuttle system never came, but instead the City developed the Sixth Avenue subway line, replacing the elevated at that place. The first basement of its 47-50th Street/ Rockefeller Center station was connected to the Forum and the rest of the concourse subway system outside the fare control.[879] In difference to previous examples, the underground station came afterwards, as an off-spin of an independent pedestrian subway development.

In the nineteen-forties, the design of Rockefeller Concourse was accomplished. Much had changed. Corbett's office was hardly involved in the project anymore, Hood had passed away, and new partnerships within the Associated Architects had been formed. The complex had evolved, leaving most of the originally planned arrangements behind. The subterranean design changed too, not in materials but mainly in lay-out. Eastern Airlines Building, one of the last, might serve as an exemplar for this change. It differed from its predecessors that it was a garage, occupying several storeys under street-level, as well as an office building. Car traffic increased, the pedestrians needed a place. A second feature which set it apart were the shops, two story units with all glass fronts, for the most part, offering the utmost flexibility for renting purposes, as The Architectural Forum would observe. The indoor programme diversified. More was desired under the ground than just shops. Thirdly also the main lobby, and thus the entrance to the sublevel got other characteristics. Spaciously, the associated architects Reinhard & Hofmeister and Harrison & Fouilhoux[880] designed an open well around a curving stair "giving prominence to the now-existing network of underground stores and passages". Accessibility through a building improved and signage became integrated in the design. Straightforward silver letters on a bronze utilitarian floor edge read: "concourse to all buildings". The whole project stood for 'beauty plus utility', as Todd reviewed in the Architectural Record. (The Architectural Forum 1940, January; Todd 1943, October) According to Sigfried Giedion, a powerful advocate and leading light of the Modernism,[881] the concourse was part of what

[878] In the north, Associated Press Building opened in 1938 and Esso Oil Company in 1947. Alternative names for the Esso Building were subsequently Warner Communications Building and Time-Warner Building. In the south, Time and Life Building, which had also been known as 1-9 Rockefeller Plaza and General Dynamics Building, opened in 1937. Eastern Airlines Building or Building No. 11 did in 1939 and U.S. Rubber Company Building, later Uniroyal Building and Simon & Schuster Building, did in 1940. The latter was constructed on Center Theatre.

[879] The Sixth Avenue subway was already proposed two months before Roxy revealed his ideas (The New York Times 1931, 8 October) The Independent City-Owned Subway System constructed the line between 1935 and 1940, when it opened.

[880] After Hood's death, in 1935, Fouilhoux became partners with Harrison, who left Corbett's office. Harrison exerted an increasingly strong influence on Rockefeller Center's architectural form.

[881] Sigfried Giedion (14 April 1888 – 10 April 1968) was a Bohemian-born Swiss architectural historian and design consultant. He mainly practiced in the USA, where he became the Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry at Harvard University. His first lecture series, held between 1938 and 1939, constituted the basis of Space, Time and Architecture, The Growth of a New Tradition. As the first secretary-general of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, he was closely involved in the development of Modern architecture.

Figure 8.4.5a.
Plaza and entrance to Rockefeller Concourse, 2009

Figure 8.4.5b.
Indoor entrance to subway system, 2009

Figure 8.4.5c.
Looking outsite to the plaza, 2009

Figure 8.4.6.
The headquarters of several magazines linked to the subway system, 1930s

was inevitable in a new scale of planning. In his influential book Space, Time and Architecture, The Growth of a New Tradition, he reasoned that Rockefeller Center expressed an urban scale, which could not be embraced in a single view or at one moment. Its conception, part of a long line of tradition, was a precursor of a new period. (Giedion 1941: 845, 852, 876)

> "The Civic Center: Rockefeller Center, 1931-39 The great cities of the future will contain civic centers, public places which, like the agora of Athens, the Roman forum, and the medieval cathedral square, will form a community focus and popular concourse. The first major civic center in which large buildings stand in a many-sided relationship to one another was the Rockefeller Center in New York, 1931-39, with later extensions." (Giedion 1941: 845)

Immediately after, Rockefeller Center featured as the frontispiece of the first issue of the Introductory Series to the Modern Arts, introducing Modern architecture, published by the Museum of Modern Art, it was incorporated as a representative model in a C.I.A.M. publication, and it was weighed by Le Corbusier.[882] It had become a symbol of the Modern time. In the project complexity had been increased "in order to meet the needs of a great number of people". The assignment suggested "a new approach, pointing the way toward the treatment of a group of buildings on a new basis", in which efficacious provision could be made for traffic needs and for the creation of open spaces for recreation or other purposes. The site was qualified as the "most intensive point between the Pacific and the Atlantic worlds", where people gathered without "uncomfortable crowding". In admitting the element of height, the Rockefeller Concourse became an example of planning as "a science based on three dimensions, not two". (Mock, McAndrew and Miller 1942: i; Sert 1942: 148-150, 249; United Nations Headquarters Commission 1946: 24 and 34; Le Corbusier 1947: 18 and 42)

To a greater degree, the opinion was changed. One could not get around Rockefeller Concourse. National broadcasting companies, producers of film and television entertainment and the magazines Time, Life and Fortune moved their headquarters to an office building linked to the subway system. Even the popular monthly The Architectural Forum did. Rockefeller was entertainment,

[882] It should be said that the idea for The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) was developed in 1928 and primarily by Abby Rockefeller. At the time of the circulating exhibition, upon which the Introductory Series to the Modern Arts was based, her son Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller (8 July 1908 – 26 January 1979) was so-called 3rd vice-chairman of the board of the museum. This is generally known at the museum. A second remark is that Giedion was influential in defining Modern architecture. He was one of the organisers of the first Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, held in his home country in 1928, and from then on to 1956, he served as its first Secretary-General. In this function he signed the introduction of the C.I.A.M. publication. During this period, he worked together with his compatriot Le Corbusier on a regular basis. A third and last point of notice is that the analyses performed by Le Corbusier were done in preparation to the design of the new headquarters of the United Nations, at a moment just after his work had crowned an exhibition in the Radio City Hall, in November 1945. Le Corbusier was in a board of design consultants, nominated by the French government and Harrison was named as chief architect and director of planning. So, until the U.N. Headquarters were opened in 1952, Le Corbusier worked closely together with one of the designers of Rockefeller Center.

Figure 8.4.7.
A model of the new McGraw-Hill Building with second lowered plaza, April 1969

news, global business and general interest. Millions of people from all parts of the United States and all quarters of the globe surged through the lower parts of the monumental group of towers. The people seemed to have forgotten about all that was in the past. Their only interest seemed "the topless towers of Radio City". When John D. Rockefeller Jr. drove the last rivet of the last building, he had dedicated 'a self-contained city' whose structural form had finally emerged, as son Nelson[883] concluded: "The Center is now complete. The Center really begins". The president of the Radio Corporation of America added that the project sounded the keynote "for all the cities and buildings of tomorrow's better world" and, in the same line, the Mayor of New York City asked for more centres as such. (Brown 1936: vii, Rockefeller, Sarnoff, La Guardia, 1939, November 1, quoted in Rockefeller, Rockefeller, et al 1940: 22, 35, 45, see also 27-28) "Never had such a cluster been decreed before", Time wrote: "Back in its beginnings, a wit had cracked: The only thing Rockefeller Center will be used for is a bird sanctuary." Fourteen slab-sided tombstones would up-rise, dominating the neighbourhood, drawing in tenants like a sponge, emptied offices in many another building. It did not. New people came. In the nine months before the dedication, the number of visitors had traipsed 8,200,300, "roundly enough to populate London, Paris and Manhattan". One hundred and ninety-one elevators sped this population up & down. "Without stepping off the twelve acres of the Center a visitor could go to dentist, doctor, chiropodist, osteopath, could have a massage, exercise in a gymnasium, study languages, book passage to Tahiti, get a passport, could dine, drink and dance. Only comfort and convenience not to be found there was a place to sleep. Only bird sanctuary was a bird shop in the RCA Building's cellar". (Time 1939, 13 November) The Concourse made the City in the City.

In 1942, Life announced "a grandiose plan to extend Rockefeller Center five blocks". (Busch 1942, 27 April) It took some years, but the complex did add an outpost. Between 1956 and 1959, Harrison, the last practitioner of the association, designed a new Time and Life Building across Sixth Avenue in the northwest. In its massing and vertical lines, it would relate to the old part, but for the most part, architecturally, one would see it as a separate entity. Nevertheless, in the following years, throughout the early seventies, four similar towers would open doors to the subway system. All but one tower was designed by the heirs of the association, including new partners Max Abramovitz and Michael Harris.[884] It did seem not much good. As if history repeated itself, the new part brought back controversy; again both in public and in the profession. The local weekly New York talked for example about a 'slaughter on Sixth Avenue', a judgement in the footsteps of the critical New York Herald Tribune, of which it used to be a supplement, and the American Institute of Architects, of all bodies, wrote in its Guide to the New York city: "The assorted annexes to the Center along the Avenue of the Americas (Sixth Avenue) are of lesser stuff: posturing, bulbous boxes built in the 1960s and 1970s, grabbing onto Rockefeller Center name, organization, and underground passages but sorry their neighbors to their parent buildings." Still negative criticism was much less, most commentary was neutral, factual and nonpartisan. It was perhaps because the older and

883 Since, 1937, Nelson Rockefeller was involved. He would become the chairman of Rockefeller Center, Inc and he was the 41st Vice President of the United States, between 1974 and 1977.

884 In 1940, Max Abramovitz, or Abramowitz (23 May 1908 – 12 September 2004) joint Harrison and Fouilhoux, and after the death of Fouilhoux, Harrison & Abramovitz continued working on the site. They designed the new Time & Life Building. Together with Michael Marcus-Myers Harris (8 September 1907 – 16 August 1982), again a new partner, the two also designed a new Esso or Exxon Building, a new McGraw-Hill Building, and Celanese Building, now used by News Corporation/Fox News Channel. (The old McGraw-Hill Building on 330 West 42nd Street was designed by Hood in 1931) The new Rockefeller buildings, all in a line south of Time & Life, opened in respectively 1971, 1972 and 1973. One block north of Time & Life, Emery Roth & Sons had designed Sperry Rand Building in 1961. This building was subsequently known as Sperry Corporation Building, AXA Financial Center and 1290 Avenue of the Americas.

larger part designed by the association was re-valued as 'an island of architectural excellence'. It might also be because, although architecturally different, in terms of public space the effort to make both parts one was accomplished according to the critics. On street level, the designers created a 'pleasant seating area', and under the avenue, the designers aimed to expand The Concourse. For this, Rockefeller Center Inc. had got a lease to enrich the 47-50th Street/Rockefeller Center subway station, as it should serve as the link between old and new. The company beautified its mezzanine level, took over its maintenance and cleaning, and connected it to a new pedestrian subway system under the five new skyscrapers. The underground network was one of the mayor advantages of the new site, as Architectural Record summarised. The Sixth Avenue subway already had entrances between 48th to 50th, and the old Rockefeller Center's complex itself brought along its "unique system of underground pedestrian passageways linking all of its buildings". These concourse subways allowed walking from building to building without interference from Manhattan traffic, and the new buildings were planned to link directly to them. One of them was a new McGraw-Hill Building. In front of its base, the designers introduced a second sunken plaza, which could expose the lower network another time. Two large outdoor stairs would lead the people up, or down, more or less imitating the previous Rockefeller concept. The subway system had been recognised as a mayor contribution to urban planning, dozens of downtown centres followed the Center's lead in placing shops, services and restaurants below grade level, where people could move about unimpeded by vehicular traffic. (Katz 1958, 10 February; Blake 1969, 12 May; Architectural Record 1969, April; Fowler 1970, 4 October; Allen 1974, March; White and Willensky 1968: 132-133 and 1988: 272-273) Rockefeller Concourse was the next leap in subway development. Whereas previously, underground networks emerged subway by subway, in this case, a subway system was planned as a whole, and enlarged by a second system.

Figure 8.4.8.
Rockefeller Center with the four new towers in the back, July 1976

Chapter 5 Making the Crowd go Down

The Rockefeller Concourse and its subway systems had been designed as integral parts of large scale developments, allowing new prodigious programs in the city core. As published as widely as it was – more and more respecting the endeavour and supported by the larger public and leading lights of the Modern Movement –, it should be understandable that the complex became a Modern exemplar. A few years after the last tower on the old system was added and plans for more Rockefeller annexes were made public. Others would make plans to create similar semblances in a different city. The neighbouring East-Coast cities envisioned similar new hearts to be rising from disused or razed midtown areas. "'Radio City' on 23-Acre Pittsburgh Slum", The New York Times headed in 1949, and in some years later; "A 'Rockefeller Center' for Boston Projected" and "Philadelphia gets a 'Radio City' soon". These were the first public notices of respectively Gateway Center, Prudential Center and Penn Center. In the same slipstream, more projects followed. Baltimore got a downtown plan too, and tried to renew itself in the same Rockefeller way: "Within weeks, Charles Center, still on the drawing boards, was compared with existing central city projects, like Philadelphia's Penn Center and New York's Rockefeller Center. The speed which the plan met the approval of city government was startling." The proposals would be called 'unique', 'an upgrade to the city', 'outdoing New York' or, in the Philadelphian case, even 'a rival to Rockefeller Center'. (The New York Times 1949, 22 September, 1957, 24 January and 1958, 28 March; Fentona 1953, 13 February; Weart 1953, 3 May and 24 May; Connolly 1959, 12 January; Knowles 1959, 7 July) The projects also resemble in architecture. Otto Eggers, who was responsible for the buildings in the Pittsburgh plan, designed aluminium and glass curtain walls, dominating the complex. After he was finished, Charles Luckman did more or less the same for his configuration in Boston. In Philadelphia, Vincent Kling used added light gray limestone. Nevertheless, again, shiny glass and silvery frames were again the most preponderant part of the facade design. In Baltimore, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe detailed the buildings and, as one could expect, he used his trade-mark dark coloured steel.[885] In all the projects, towers and slabs set in around an open plaza influenced the outlook to great extent. Most buildings had twenty storeys or more, and without exception, they were High Modern glass edifices with rigidly ordered with facades. Unlike the Rockefeller towers, horizontal lines prevailed, which in their way were emphasising the height and the urban horizon as they were appearing to meet at a distant point.

Penn Center however could be defined as an exception, perhaps New York's true rival. Not for its architecture, but for its adaptation of the subway concept, as The Architectural Association had carried it on and as they had developed it to an integral planned system for the benefit of the pedestrian. In the original 1952 proposal for this

[885] Otto Reinhold Eggers (4 August 1882 – 23 April 1964) was a New York based American architect. Gateway Center opened in 1952. Charles Luckman (16 May 1909 – 26 January 1999), though educated as designer, used to be a businessman in New York first. During the years of his presidency of Lever Brothers, from 1946 to 1950, he was involved in planning the Lever House. Hereafter he became practicing architect. His Prudential Center or, colloquially, The Pru, was opened in 1964. Country-fellow and colleague Vincent George Kling, Jr (born 9 May 1916) was based in Philadelphia. Penn Center opened in 1968. Charles Center, designed by Mies van der Rohe opened in phases between 1962 and 1969. For Lever House and Mies van der Rohe: See Book 3.

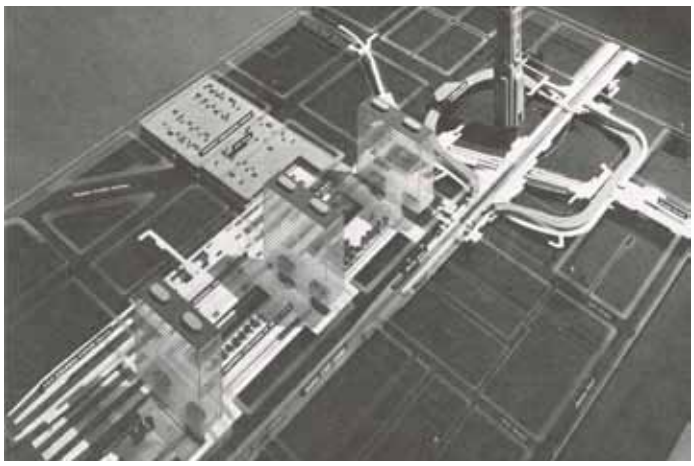


Figure 8.5.1.
The original proposal for Philadelphia's Penn Center by Edmund Bacon, 1952

area the dominant pedestrian movement occurred below the street on the plane labelled 'Shopping Concourse in Penn Center'. It was planned to be located north of the famed Market Street Subway, west from City Hall, and in that perspective, it continued the same concept as pioneered east of City Hall, at Wanamaker's and the other stores. Likewise, it would link its next underground station at 15th Street. Yet now the City Plan Commission was in charge, and learned from New York, its executive director Ed Bacon,[886] would bring the idea to the next scale level. Together with all the interventions above grounds among which were the design of the Independence Mall, he envisioned a whole system of pedestrian subways too. Bacon was "thinking of the flow of space as one totality, interior and exterior". One would be able to walk under the full length of three building blocks and to reach not only the Market Street station, but also the underground Suburban Station of Pennsylvania Railroad,[887] a bus terminal and a parking garage; all without crossing a street. It would be a fundamental principle or leading theme around which much seemed variable, because even after some serious alterations in 1953 and 1966, the essence of a huge planned subway system still stood. Foremost, the configuration of buildings and the plan definition changed. Again the exposure for a Modern subway project was quite large and persistent in the professional press. (Philadelphia City Planning Commission 1952, April; The Architectural Forum 1952, June; 1955, July and 1956, December; Architectural Record 1955, August and 1957, May; Progressive Architecture 1957, June; Bacon 1967: 231, 250-263 and 1974: 272-293) The plan evolved to what it was at its opening in 1968. In the midst of the high-rise, sunken plazas would give a view from the street down or from below to the sky and assure some daylight on the lower level. Extra glassed entrance points would do the same, as did the double-storeyed atria within the slabs connecting lowered lobbies with their upper entrances. Electric lamps were doing the rest. Together with Tennessee marble floors, walls in the same cream-coloured tone, reddish marble plinths, ornate-bronze decoration and gold-coloured fixtures, these lamps made the interior ambiance warm. At the time, the interest in pedestrian networks was rising and occurred in many cities. With Penn Center governmental planners got an alternative way to facilitate foot-traffic.

[886] See Book 2 and 6.

[887] Suburban Station replaced the old Broad Street Station, in 1952: See Book 7.

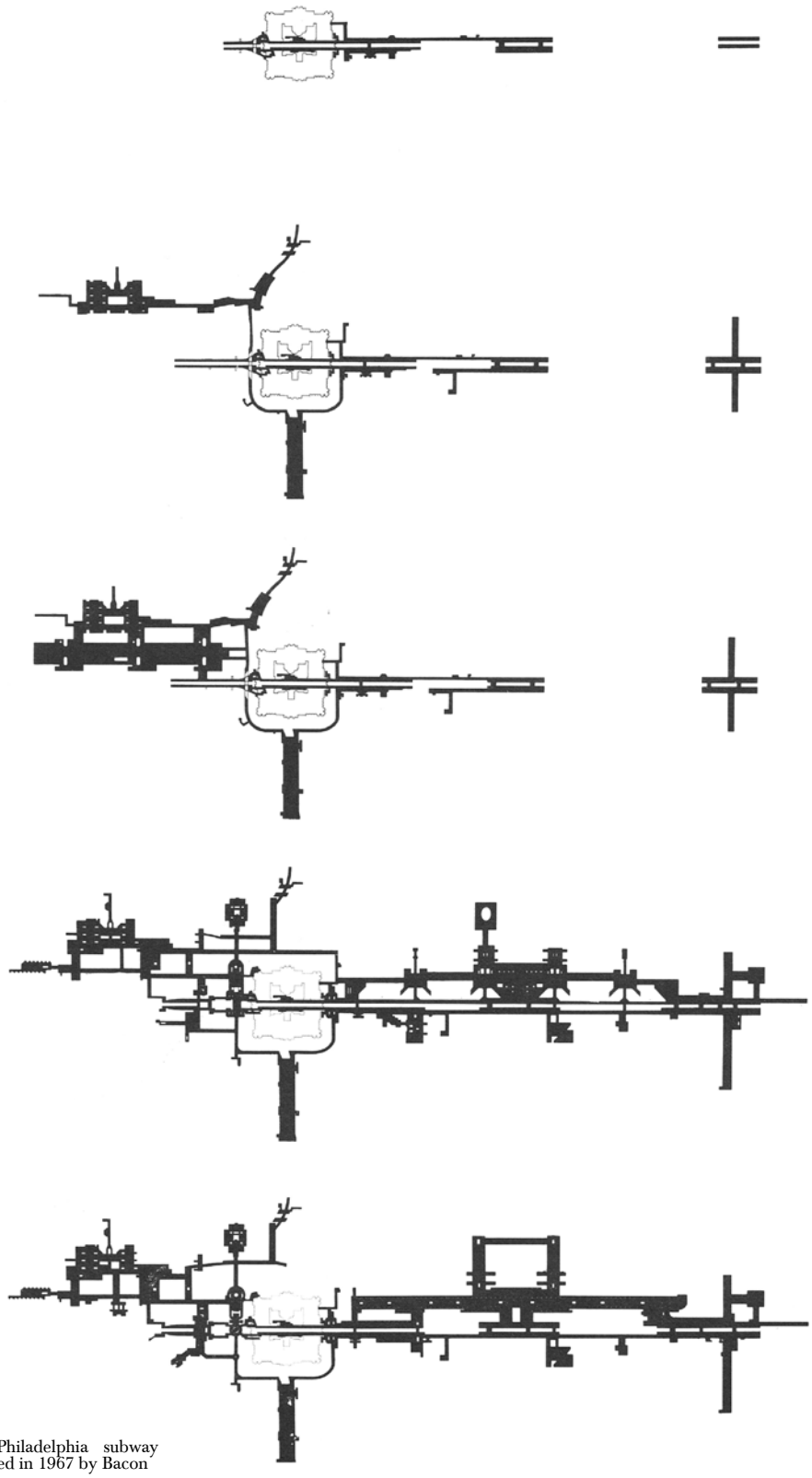


Figure 8.5.2.
Growth of the Philadelphia subway system, as envisioned in 1967 by Bacon

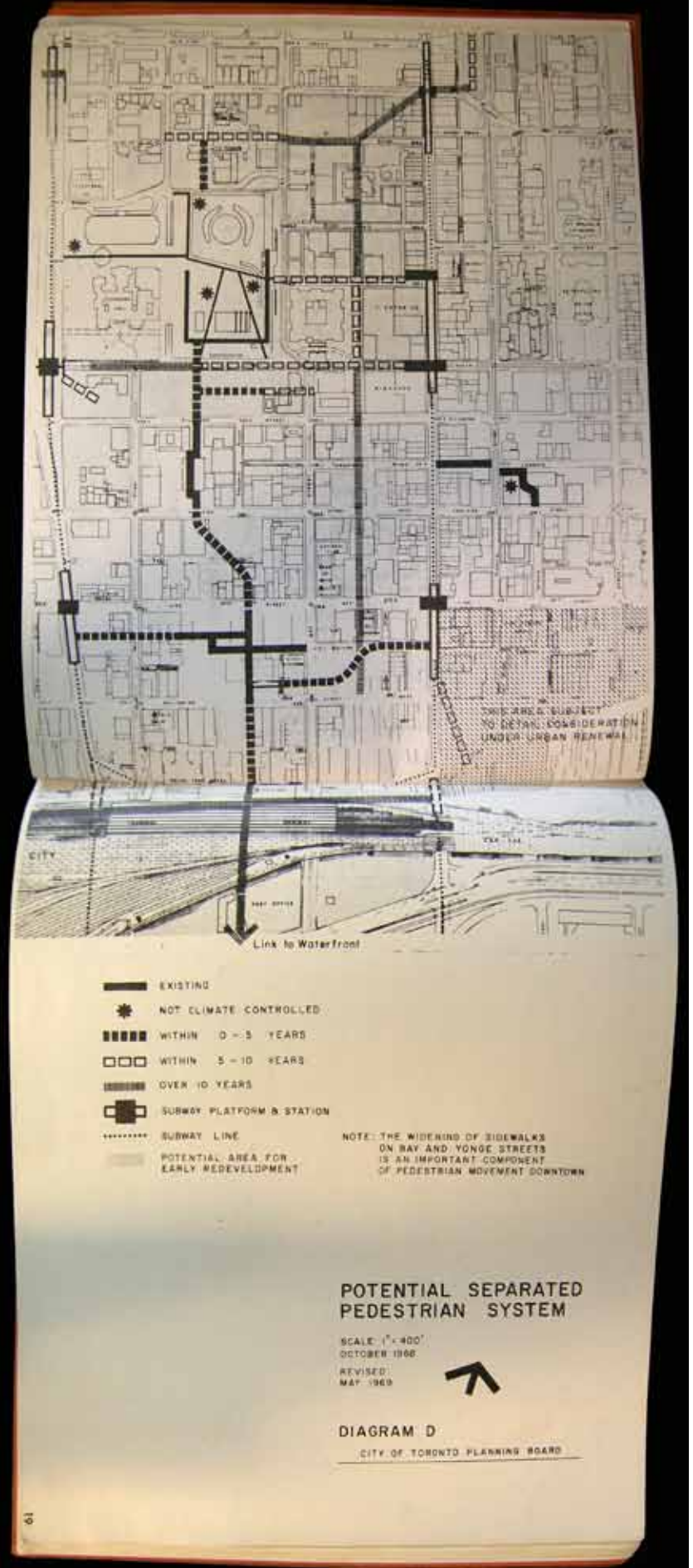


Figure 8.5.3.
Toronto in Ontario, Canada, too. The 'Committee on Public Works' started a study

In the late nineteen-fifties, the topic of pedestrianisation got the attention from the officials of Toronto in Ontario, Canada, too. The 'Committee on Public Works' started a study focussed on the possibilities. The design for their new City Hall in 1958 was an immediate cause. The plan created room for the pedestrian without eliminating car traffic. It envisioned overhead footways, which would link a rectangular base for two towers with an unspecified building across a new civic square and some roads.[888] Following this proposal, the committee requested the city's planning board to prepare a preliminary report on the provision of pedestrian malls in downtown Toronto. In their observation, the existing sidewalks would not fit future pedestrian volumes and vehicular traffic would be interrupting its movement. An alternative, like a pedestrian mall, was needed. Going beyond the instructions, the board explored also other design solutions. They scrutinised the recent designs for an interior mall for Rochester, New York and skyways for Cincinnati[889] and they went thoroughly through the plans of Rockefeller Center, Charles Centre and Penn Centre. These and others were "making serious attempts to reduce the conflict between vehicular traffic and the pedestrian", they stated. Indoor malls, subways and skyways were put forward as part of a set of imaginative solutions, next to the proposed outdoor mall, "to complete a plan for downtown Toronto which will bring about a more attractive and efficient city core". The board had introduced a broader view and concluded that, in essence, there were two basic solutions which could be applied to the problem. Either the City could apply selective improvement of existing streets and sidewalks by developing a one-way system for vehicles, widening sidewalks, providing new pedestrian ways and, possibly, reserving streets for solely pedestrian use. Or, the City could introduce complete separation of vehicles and pedestrians. The first "would lessen the present conflicts but not completely remove them" and the second "would involve a combination of vertical and horizontal separation throughout the selected area". Clearly the board had a preference for the last option. Particularly, they promoted the Philadelphia case, because likewise "it was thought that something of this nature might be developed in conjunction with the Civic Square". Vertical separation would connect this square conflict-free with its surroundings. This was considered as most important, because the square would be the place for public assembly as it was in the heart of the city. People might "congregate to witness civic, religious or public functions". Pedestrian subways "should be encouraged in the downtown area" for one extra reason. The city already had pedestrian subways and people were already used to these. (City of Toronto Planning Board 1959, 6 October) One could find three kinds of pedestrian subways under the streets of Toronto: linking a department store to its annexes, linking an underground station to the basement of a public building, and linking a subway station to the streets.

The first kind of pedestrian subway present in the city was built already in 1900, in the uptown area next to where later the new City Hall was planned. It linked the department store of T. Eaton Co. Limited with one of its annexes.[890] Like department stores in American cities did before, Eaton's subway allowed customers to cross a street without any traffic conflict. In an urge for expansion,

[888] The Finnish architect Viljo Revell (25 January 1910 – 8 November 1964) envisioned the plan, which in its definitive form would be constructed between 1961 and 1965. The originally proposed bridges were realised only partly.

[889] See respectively Book 6 and 7.

[890] In 1883, the department store of T. Eaton Co. (Limited) or Eaton's moved from a corner building at 178 Yonge and 1-7 Queen Streets to bigger premises on 190-196 Yonge Street. This block had been designed in 1856, by the English-born Canadian architect and Alderman Joseph Sheard (baptised 7 March 1813 – 30 August 1883). Eaton's eviscerated the interiors, changing it to three storeys and enlarging the windows. A year later the in-store Timothy Eaton Mail Order service was opened. In 1886 the Eaton store was extended to 10-12 Queen Street in an L-shape. Between 1890 and 1892, 21-25 James Street was added as a factory. The expansion was followed by new buildings, designed by the Canedian architect Robert McCallum (13 Augustus 1851 - 2 Augustus 1916). These opened on 15-19 Albert Street and 14-20 Queen Street in 1893, on 9-11 Albert Street in 1896, and on 27-29 James Street and 202-210 Yonge Street in 1897. In 1903, McCallum designed also a new Mail Order, which was the first to cross streets when it moved to an annex on the north side of Albert Street. It was followed by the Trinity Square Factory in 1909. Again crossing roads in 1913 and 1919, new annexes were opened along Louisa and Alice Streets. These buildings were mostly warehouses and factory buildings, with some stable facilities on Orde Street. The Irish-born American industrial architect and constructor William Steele (22 February 1839 – 19 May 1908) designed these. The first subways were erected in accordance with Trussed Concrete Steel Co. of Canada Limited by The Crescent Concrete Co., both of Toronto, and most likely under supervision of the architect in charge. From 1904 until his death, the English-Canadian James Robert Barlow (abt.1881 - 30 November 1949) worked as staff architect of T. Eaton Co. Many of the designs for stores and warehouses, and alterations, can also be credited to him.

owner-operator Timothy Eaton[891] had first approached the Toronto City Council for permission "to construct a subway for the Company under Albert Streets" from the present buildings to the proposed factory on the north side. In the years 1898 and 1899, therewith to be subject of the approval of the City Engineer, he gained consent to excavate the subway. It was formally intended to be a utility subway. Yet also, it would be "to allow for easier movement between company buildings", as he put forward himself. Indeed, it had to be a crowded underground connection, as this subway had to serve thousands of people each day.[892] At the time, sales were multiplying and a new cross-country mail-order service turned out to be so successful that new distribution buildings had to be planned to keep pace with the demand. Likewise manufacturing moved from a little room inside the main store to a series of large factory buildings. Business was booming and, leaving behind all the precedents, one after the other annex arose in the proximity. The subway proved to be an efficacious contribution in the distributing of people and goods between buildings. Five more under-street connections were constructed, though not all open for the public. Little is known about their design, but as revealed by an archival photo, they were cut-and-cover constructions of trussed concrete and one subway was about 6 metres or 20 feet wide, with straight walls and a slightly curved roof. Most probably, their plan was practical and their finishing unornamented, as that would match the utilitarian design of the glass and brick facades, having only modestly decorated capitals. By 1917, these subways connected the basement levels of the main store and annex, the catalogue store, the mail order warehouse and annex, the offices, manufacturing places and factories, and the store's delivery facilities, like its stables. Eventually the whole complex covered several building blocks, dominating the site of Toronto's old city hall and encircling a nearby church.[893] (The City of Toronto Licenses 1896, 4 May; City of Toronto, City Council 1898, 12 October and 1900, 16 April and 21 September; n.a. ca. 1912; The Scribe 1919: 143-149)

The second kind of pedestrian subway had been planned in 1907 at Union Station.[894] In order that it would "not be nessasary for any passenger to cross any track a subway 50 feet in width" was provided. It was located opposite the centre of the station, so that any platform could be reached "by means of easy stairways with landings". (The Railway Age 1907, 15 February) It would be a degraded way to reach the trains. Inspired by Grand Central Terminal of New York, the terminal featured grade-separating

[891] Timothy Eaton (March 1834 – 31 January 1907) was an Irish-Canedian businessman.

[892] In the end of the 1870s, between 300 and 1500 people visited the store daily. At the turn of the century when the tunnels were built, the daily number of customers (or sales per customer) was unknown, but sales grew enormously, by sixty times as much, and in the first decade it quadrupled again. In line with these numbers, it is most likely to suppose that the amount of visitors grew too. (Santink 1990: 79, 81, 230, 241 footnote 63)

[893] The Church of the Holy Trinity was designed in 1847 by the British architect Henry Bowyer Joseph Lane (8 Augustus 1817 – 30 September 1878). Lane was born in the United States of the Ionian Islands, and probably he was baptised a month later in England. He worked part of his life in the United Canadas and died in the Colony of Victoria.

[894] The Quebec architectural firm of Canedian architects George Allen Ross (24 October 1879 – 21 January 1946) and the Australian-born Robert Henry Macdonald (7 March 1875 – 16 December 1942) designed Union Station between 1906 and 1907. The Canadian National Railway Company had assigned the American-Canadian architect Hugh Griffith Jones (3 December 1872 – 16 February 1947) and his Irish-Canadian colleague John MacIntosh Lyle (13 November 1872 – 19 December 1945) to assist in the design.

Figure 8.5.4a.
Eaton's main store in Toronto with its Annex, Mail Order and Factory Buildings, 1910s

Figure 8.5.4b.
Constructing an Eaton Subway under Albert Street for Eaton's, c.1912

areas for arrival and departure, interconnected by many ramps and stairs.[895] Differently, the building had to be shared by two railway companies. This influenced the design. Yet, it took years before construction began and plans altered in the meantime. On street level, departing passengers could access two grand porticos at either end of the main facade, the one labelled 'Canadian Pacific', the other 'Canadian National'. In the final design, tickets booths, cloakrooms and parcel claim counters on each side served a different company. On the basement level, arriving passengers found an open-court debased driveway, especially for pick-up carriages, and slopes and moats at each side of the terminal, leading pedestrians to street level outside. Lay-out seemed symmetrical. However, on the lower level, the arriving people would find one other subway. It was positioned on the 'Pacific' side and linked Union Station with the hotel. The assymetry made sense, not only because the plot of the hotel was located on that side, but also because the hotel, part of a coast-to-coast chain, was Pacific-owned. In 1929 when the hotel opened and two years after the station opened, this subway opened too. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company had assigned the Canadians George Ross and Robert MacDonald to design both buildings including its direct connection under the street.[896] "The effort in planning was, as far as possible, to arrange for all portions of the station in such a sequence as to allow passengers to transact their business and pass to and from the trains with a minimum of cross traffic current or retracing of steps." The pedestrian subway was designed in Early Modern Art-Deco style, with marble walls, iron banisters and wooden doors. Inside, two levels of stairs, first down and then up, would bring the rail-traveller to the mezzanine of the hotel. Although the main lobby was upstairs, an additional lobby desk with baggage storage was added at the lower level next to the subway. (Ricketts 1924, March)

The third kind of pedestrian subway opened in 1954 under the east part of town and several at once. These subways were introduced at every underground station, serving the nation's first rapid transit line, and linked its platforms and street-level. The Toronto Transportation Commission, or TTC, had constructed them as part of a new rail system running under the street from Union Station up to the northern suburbs, passing Eaton's.[897] Like elsewhere, service on the subterranean railway needed to overcome present congestion of traffic on Toronto streets, which threatened "the very economic life of our City". Its welfare would vary with "the ease and efficiency with which people and goods can move throughout the city". At

[895] See Book 3. In organising the two layers the geomorphology of Toronto, having already a sloping surface, was beneficial.

[896] Ross and Macdonald designed also The Royal York Hotel across Front Street and the connecting subway. They did so in corporation with the Canadian architects and business partners Henry Sproatt (14 June 1866 – 4 October 1934) and Ernest Ross Rolph (21 Jan 1871 – 4 May 1958). Work began in 1924. The station opened in 1927 and the hotel, now The Fairmont Royal York, in 1929. At about the same time, between 1928 and 1930, Ross & Macdonald and Sproatt & Rolph, designed a new Eaton's store further north on the corner of Yonge and College Streets. In 1930, the Ross & Macdonald firm was awarded a Gold Medal by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada for its work on the station and Royal York. The designs of this subway and the lower levels of the hotel and station buildings have not changed much.

[897] The original Yonge TTC Subway line run under Yonge Street and was constructed between 1949 and 1954. It served between Union Station and Eglington, a town incorporated within the newly formed large municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The line served twelve underground termini, which were planned in 1944, and designed by the Canadian surveyor and transportation planner Norman Douglas Wilson (25 August 1883 – 2 March 1967), the American traffic engineer Charles Edmond Deleuw (3 July 1891 – 28 October 1970) and the Canadian architect John Parkin (see Book 6). They designed Queen Street Station in two levels, but the lower-level have never been used because a proposed Queen TTC Subway line was skipped. The Toronto Transportation Commission was renamed Toronto Transit Commission officially in 1954.

Figure 8.5.5a.
Union Station in Toronto, photo 1910s

Figure 8.5.5b.
The Canadian Pacific Subway, 2006

Figure 8.5.6.
The subway of the Toronto Transportation Commission, 1950s

Union Station, the lower level of the existing terminal was extended allowing people to transfer easily to the new underground stop. The rest of the underground network had immediate street access. In the original subway design, floors were terrazzo and walls had been tiled with an opaque pigmented glassy material in bright colours. Black signboards with white painted-on information directed the public northbound or southbound, 'load here', 'to busses', 'to street cars' and simply 'to street'. (Toronto Transportation Commission 1945 and 1954; Toronto Transit Commission 1953, December 21)

When, in the end of the nineteen-fifties, the City of Toronto Planning Board proposed more downtown subways to facilitate pedestrian traffic, it imagined that: "The Civic Square, for example, could have a pedestrian link connecting it with the Royal York Hotel and Union Station". (City of Toronto Planning Board 1959, October 6) Their vision included a series of pedestrian subways systems running under the city completely from uptown to downtown. In a time of metropolitanisation, it seemed an appealing concept for the City Council, and so they gave authority to the officials concerned to take the necessary action for its implementation. This turned out to be a matter of long-winded processes. It took almost a decade before only a first plan was presented officially. Nevertheless within the passing years, a second segment of the TTC Subway was constructed, and the new Richmond-Adelaide Centre and Toronto-Dominion Centre were under way. In 1963, the TTC added six extra stations on the west side of town, complementing those on the east[898] and a year later talks started on the planning of the two centres, which conventionally for such High Modern complexes would add underground concourses in midtown. The Richmond Adelaide Centre opened in 1966 by design of the Webb Zerafa Menkes Housden Partnership.[899] It comprised one single tower set back on a basement. Its underground concourse, mainly used as food court, was partly lowered. The entrance in the centre of the base was only sixteen steps down. Two revolving doors in a glass facade eased entrance to the concourse, while, on both sides of this, eight steps up led the public to a slightly elevated outdoor plaza. The two skylights on the base's roof related the lower level visually. Consequently, from outdoors, the entrance of the interior public space was highly visible and vice versa from indoors, the street was seen clearly. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe designed the Toronto-Dominion Centre, a few blocks south. It was much larger

[898] The Yonge TTC Subway line was extended with the University TTC Subway line, which curved north from Union station and ran under University Avenue. At first, the line added six extra stations in 1963, of which the Union Station connection was inaugurated in 1967. Between 1980 and 1981, this level was extended and in 2010 new improvements started, expected to be completed by 2013. Museum station was completely redesigned in 2008.

[899] The design process for Richmond-Adelaide Centre started in 1964. Richmond-Adelaide Centre was designed by the partnership of the British-Canadian architects Peter John Webb (born 17 April 1927), Boris Ernest Zerafa, Egyptian-born, (20 June 1933 – 2 November 2002) and Warwick Henry George Housden, called Rick, (born 30 March 1931) with the French-Canadian architect René Menkès (born 10 February 1932). The concourse and the initial tower of Richmond-Adelaide Centre were opened in 1966. The centre had been extended.

of size including several high-rise office towers on a common base. The first of which was opened in 1967. In difference to the other complex, this concourse was much larger, allowing a variety of uses and designed completely underground. Two minimalistic entrance pavilions modestly pop out of a plaza on street level. Like the Rockefeller design, straightforward silver signs would direct people into the well, where down the ground behind a set of black storm doors, one awaited a bright white marble interior with little sense of the above world.[900] Also the future of Eaton's was put on the map again, when in 1965, the store announced plans for an Eaton Centre. Douglas Haldenby[901] designed a massive new development east of the recently opened City Hall. In accordance with the ideas of planning consultants James Murray and Vincent Ponte,[902] the design would replace the old Eaton's buildings, including the nearby old City Hall. A contemporary centre would arise, introducing three skyscrapers, hundreds of metres or feet high, around a conventional plaza and a ditto below grade concourse where pedestrians again could walk freely through the subways. Members of the Metropolitan Toronto and City Councils were enthusiastic about the project, but municipal approval took years. (The Globe and Mail 1965, 17 September; Hanrahan 1966, 2 March) In this all, planners found more reasons to choose for the earlier proposed sub-surface option.

> "We have recommended the development of a pedestrian system which would aim at providing a continuous network of ways through Downtown blocks, connecting under and/or over streets and incorporating the primary transportation modes - subway and rail stations and parking. The system would be alternative and supplementary to the sidewalk system, and would incorporate climate control, a variety of open spaces, activities and amenities." (Board of Control 1969, June 18)

The Canadian Pacific Subway, the TTC Subways and the subways of the recently opened Richmond-Adelaide Concourse[903] and Toronto-Dominion Concourse would be incorporated in a new governmental plan for a 'potential separated pedestrian system'. This plan was presented to the public with the printing of 'On Foot Downtown'. The board now suggested that implementation was to be phased: Within the first five years, the existing subway systems

[900] Toronto-Dominion Centre was designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Design started in 1964 too. TD Bank Tower, TD Bank Pavilion and TD Concourse opened on Canada's 100th birthday in 1967. Royal Trust Tower followed in 1969, just after the death of Mies van der Rohe. (See Book 2 and 3) Lastly, Canadian Pacific Tower opened doors in 1974. John Parkin was again consultant, together with Sidney Bregman (born 9 April 1922), former architect for John B. Parkin and Associates, and his Canadian associate George Frederick Hamann (born 14 June 1928). The latter two added 79 Wellington Street West in 1985 and 222 Bay Street or Ernst & Young Tower in 1991.

[901] The Canadian architect Douglas Charles Haldenby (born 3 March 1925) designed this Eaton Centre in 1966. In 1967, this design was scrapped. The German-Canedian architect Eberhard Heinrich Zeidler, called Eb (born 11 January 1926) resuscitated plans in 1971, with Bregman and Hamann. The current centre opened in phases between 1977 and 1981.

[902] Eaton's retained the Canadian architects and planners James Albert Murray, called Jim, (2 July 1919 – 13 March 2008) and Vincent Ponte (27 October 1919 – 2 February 2006) as planning consultants.

[903] At some point, the Richmond-Adelaide concourse became known also as Richmond-Adelaide Esplanade, and The Lanes.

Figure 8.5.7a.
Toronto-Dominion Centre with street access to shopping concourse, photo by Ron Vickers (data unknown)

Figure 8.5.7b.
Toronto-Dominion Subways, photo by Ron Vickers

would be incorporated into one network. Downtown subways should connect Civic Square with Union Station and Royal York Hotel, via the concourse of Richmond-Adelaide Centre. In the east-west direction newly proposed subways would connect St. Andrew station with King station. The new Toronto-Dominion Centre was in the axis of both. In the five years following, the plan allowed more systems to be built. For example, subways could connect the underground Osgoode and Queen stations with the area in between. Finally, over ten years, a link to the waterfront, south of Union Station was envisioned, as was an additional north-south connection parallel to the other crossing the Eaton's site. Thus although officially in 1967 the project was scrapped, in the long run, new Eaton Subways could be part of the network too. (The Telegram 1967, May 18; City of Toronto Department of Public Works 1967, 6 June; City of Toronto Planning Board 1967, September and 1969, May; Board of Control 1969, 18 June; Commissioners of Development 1969, 15 December and 1973, 30 March; Commissioners of Development, Planning, Public Works and the City Solicitor 1970, December and 1974) It would be the next crucial step in the typological evolution of the subway, wherein governmental plans promote and regulated the planning of a network of pedestrian subway systems under the larger part of the city. Designs consistent with the scheme were accepted to be built.

Figure 8.5.8.
A model of the master plan for Montréal by William Zeckendorf, March 1957

Toronto's comprehensive subway planning did inspire officials in several Canadian cities. In Québec, Montréal followed Toronto's development most closely. When in 1958, the Place Ville-Marie project was proposed, it was still seen as another "project like Rockefeller Center", but when it was opened a few years after the Toronto plan, in 1962, its subway system came to the fore. The concourse of Place Ville-Marie, 'a city within a city', was connected to the lower levels of Gare Centrale and Hôtel Le Reine Elizabeth. It was put on a line of previous subterranean developments in the city, demarcated by the nearby sub-street railway, which had opened in 1912, and the adjoined underground station, opened in 1943.[904] (The New York Times 1958, 28 March; Knott, Comptois and Poisson 1962, September) For its concourse, the Quebecker Vincent Ponte was again acting planner. He had worked in the

[904] Tunnel Mont-Royal or Mount Royal Tunnel for railway was constructed under Rue Dalhousie or Dalhousie Street by the Toronto-based Canadian Northern Railway between 1910 and 1912. This company made plans for a new underground terminal since 1923. The Canadian architect John Campbell Merrett (26 August 1909 – 3 November 1998) was responsible for the design of Gare Centrale and Hôtel Le Reine Elizabeth, also known as Central Station and Queen Elizabeth Hotel, between 1938 and 1943.

Figure 8.5.9.
Design proposal for the concourse of Place Ville-Marie, late 1950s

offices of Webb and Knapp, developers of Place Ville-Marie, and Pei and Cobb, acting architects, from 1959 to 1963.[905] Under his direction, Place Ville-Marie became the start of the next multi-level core. The coming of the Métro de Montréal, two subways serving rapid transit, accelerated his plan for the city. It promised to make "downtown pedestrianism more comfortable than has ever been made in any North American city in his century". In the mid sixties, he proposed a new criss-cross network of 'climate-controlled promenades' to connect the various parts of the city. This subway network would be fed by among others the suburban trains and a new 'metro subway line', which alone would bring 500,000 people in. The scheme aimed to connect the subway systems of Place Ville-Marie project with the new subway stations. It opened new channels for the subterranean development of Place Bonaventure, on the south side of the existing network, and for Place Victoria, linking one station to the east.[906] To what they say, the planners of the 'new urban prototype' recognised the 'overriding importance' of the third dimension in Montréal's topography, in fact quite similar to Toronto. A simple sign, showing an encircled arrow pointing down, expressed the 'mouvement souterrain'. It would tell the public where to go. (The Architectural Forum 1966, September; Beaudin and Drapeau 1966, October; Prus 1967, July; Richards 1967, August) The Montréal subway network was a second Canadian example worthy of imitation. Ottawa in Ontario and Halifax in Nova Scotia started to develop their subway networks a few years after.[907] The development of respectively Place de Ville and Scotia Square in these cities were based on the Toronto and Montréal experiences. Edmonton in Alberta followed in the mid seventies with City Centre Place, within a larger Edmonton Centre development, revitalising downtown.[908] This project would again link a subway station: Churchill Station, to be exact, a stop on the future Edmonton Subway line. By nature all networks were completely enclosed, and thus climate controlled in both summer and winter. This asset would be of similar importance to the typological boom in Canada, as were they for the boom of skyways around the Great Lakes. The downtown subway networks were "most appreciated during the rigorous Canadian winter, allowing the pedestrian to avoid the cold and slush above". Add to this, that some studies showed a reduction in downtown-district pedestrian accidents had been noted since the inception, attributing to the reduction of pedestrian-vehicle conflicts, and evidence for the benefits of large networks of pedestrian subways was found. (Fruin 1970, June and 1971: 186; Pressman 1988)

Also outside Canada, the interest in the particular approach was apparent. Especially it was in the Sun Belt of the southern Great Plains, where cities had to cope with a wide variety of weather throughout the year, including very hot summers and often high wind speeds. In Texas, Dallas planners would copy Canadian strategy and induce the construction of a downtown subway network. The primary reason to go underground was again to buoy large-scale downtown development, despite climatic conditions above ground. The 1950s Republic Center, designed by Rockefeller architects Harrison and Abramovitz, would be among the firsts of several large complexes.[909] Most complexes alike introduced massive new programmes supported by underground

[905] Ieoh Ming Pei (see Book 3) had left the office from Webb and Knapp before Ponte did. Immediately after, between 1955 and 1958, he designed Place Ville Marie together with his American partner-architect Henry Nichols Cobb (born 8 April 1926). The project, in the early days sometimes abbreviated to PVM, was developed by Webb and Knapp under direction of Zeckendorf. (see Book 6)

[906] The Polish-Canadian architect and urban planner Victor Marius Prus (born 24 April 1917) designed the first Metro subway stations between 1962 and 1966. The Canadian architect Raymond Tait Affleck, called Ray, (20 November 1922 – 15 March 1989) designed Place Bonaventure between 1964 and 1967. The Italian architects Luigi Walter Moretti (2 January 1907 – 14 July 1973) and Pier Luigi Nervi (June 21, 1891 – January 9, 1979) designed Place Victoria with La Tour de la Bourse, or Stock Exchange Tower, completed in 1964.

[907] In Ottawa, the firm of the Canadian builder and land-developer Robert Campeau (born 3 August 1923) constructed Place de Ville I with concourse between 1965 and 1966. Campeau was also a member of the governmental task force on housing in Ottawa, discussing the future of downtown with the planning department. (Heward 1968, 17 September) The Campeau Corporation added Place de Ville II in 1971. In Halifax, the City Council accepted Scotia Square in 1966. It was submitted by Halifax Developments, Ltd., a group of prominent local businessmen. The American architect Carl Koch (11 May 1912 – 3 July 1998) designed a ground floor, which due to the sloping surface was partially undergrounds. Construction was ready between 1969 and 1974. The City Recreation and Convention Centre, later known as Metro Centre and World Trade and Convention Centre, was added between 1976 and 1978 by design of the local architects George Foster Harrell (29 August 1906 – 17 March 1980) and Earle Grady Hamilton, Jr. (born 22 February 1920) of Omniplan Architects.

[908] In Edmonton, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill designed Centre City Centre Place, opened 1974. In 1976, TD Tower was added. The underground stations of the Edmonton Subway or Edmonton Light Rail Transit were constructed in the meantime, between 1974 and 1978. Architect-engineer Beverly James Wensley, better known as Jim, (5 October 1930 – 15 October 2009) designed Scotia Place in 1982. It linked to Central Station, the original terminus at the south end of the Subway line. Between the two stations, the underground network extended since. In all three cites skyways were joined in as well.

levels and some subways. As traffic would increase because of the new High-Modern mastodons, the forecast was that pedestrians were probably soon up against the wall. Therefore planners suggested a pedestrian route, like Toronto's, connecting a future city hall site, the core of the city, Republic Center and some other complexes up north. It was not a hard-and-fast blueprint, more "a flexible suggestion or guide for road ahead". A climate controlled arcade could be on the route and if street crowds in downtown Dallas continued to grow, they suggested that underground walkways for pedestrians at busy street corners might be needed. Car traffic couldn't go underground, because the enormous utility complexes underground made any extensive service or traffic tunnel construction financially unfeasible, said planners. Yet, more efficient use of this space could provide room for pedestrian ways. The use of such pedestrian subways was emphasised in a plan made under the direction of Columbia University as means of eliminating any competition between pedestrian and vehicles. (Dallas Area Master Plan Committee 1961; The Dallas Morning News 1961, 22 January and 1962, 29 April) Despite this vigour, the idea would stay on the shelves for a few years until it was reanimated by no less then Ponte. He came to the city on the heels of Cobb, who had made proposals for the new city hall.[910] Having a portfolio which could show subway planning in practice, Ponte was able to convince the City Council to embark on programmes to establish entire networks beneath the city centre in 1968. His Dallas Central Business District plan would guide private investors to go below ground. Within a year, new subways building the network opened. As most interiors in the city, they were climate-controlled. So, the people could avoid not only car-traffic but also hot windy weather and its concomitant air-pollution, simply by going underground. (Ormsby 1966, 24 June and 1967, 16 December, also 1968, 11 and 18 June; Ponte, Gingrich, and Lois 1968, June; Ponte and Travers 1969, 15 August; Klinefelter 1970, 16 February) What had become popular policy in

Figure 8.5.10.
Interior public space of Place Ville Marie, 1973

[909] Republic Center opened in 1954 with the Republic National Bank Building (later known as Republic Center Tower I and now Gables Republic Tower) Republic Center Tower II, designed by the local American architects George Foster Harrell (29 August 1906 – 16 March 1980) and Earle Grady Hamilton, Jr. (born 20 February 1920), was completed in 1964. When the center extented in 1980, the below concourse would be connected to the subway network. RTKL Associates rehabilitated the complex in 2007.

[910] Cobb and Ponte started planning the Dallas Municipal Center in 1966. Construction began in 1972 and the complex was opened in phases between 1974 and 1977.

Figure 8.5.11.
Place Victoria, part of Montreal's underground city, 1979

the cold arctic winds seemed also a fortunate formula being adapted in the southern prairie.

Also in Oklahoma City, the subway network was planned foremost to avoid traffic conflicts while allowing large-scale downtown development. Yet, in this case, it did not built upon local subterranean developments. On the contrary, it was part of a new vision for downtown. The Urban Renewal Authority invited Pei to take charge of this. He envisioned an ambitious urban renewal plan, demolishing the larger part of downtown, in favour of the desired big developments and adjoined parking program. It was presented a year after Place Ville-Marie opened, so hardly surprisingly in this plan extensive studies to the underground development possibilities have been included. Two years later, he called for new transportation elements including "the provision of public spaces and all weather passages attractive to pedestrian circulation and separated from vehicular circulation to a maximum possible extent". The Montréal project resounded in Pei's plan. As the subterranean development became a consistent component and the City approved the plan, the planners took unambiguous direction in the inception of pedestrian subways. The implementation, however, had to wait for the early nineteen-seventies. By then, the subway network was spearheaded by a local banker and businessman named Jack Conn.[911] His bank had opened recently at Fidelity Plaza and the so-called Kerr-McGee Center was finished across the street. Both had introduced below ground public interiors and a once-aimed subway could link the two.[912] After realisation and experiencing the advantages, Conn asked Gruen Associates to prepare a detailed strategy to bring the larger subway plan finally into being. In 1975, when this was presented to the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority, it was approved and it would guide new "grade-separated, climate-controlled passageways". Oklahoma City 1964, 10 December and 1966, 3 November; Gruen Associates et al 1975, February: 47, 60-61)

[911] The American banker and businessman Jack Trammell Conn (19 November 1909 – 15 May 1991) was the chairman of Fidelity National Bank and Trust Co.

[912] Pietro Belluschi (see Book 6) designed Kerr-McGee Center, the later SandRidge Center. It opened in 1973. By means of a subway it was connected to the KerMac Building, the original headquarters of Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc. This company was owned by Robert Samuel Kerr (September 11, 1896 – January 1, 1963), Conn's law partner until 1929, and Dean Anderson McGee (20 March 1904 – 15 September 1989), the Governor of Oklahoma since 1949. Fidelity Plaza was designed by the architectural firm of Alfred Dodge Hill (30 October 1903 – 26 May 1980), Arthur Neil Hill (born 7 April 1926), Ray Richard Binnicker (born 7 November 1928) and Lee Sorey (30 July 1901 – 12 March 1973). They planned the complex, later renamed to Bank of Oklahoma Plaza or BOK Plaza, in 1968. It opened in 1972. The subway linking to Kerr-McGee Center opened in 1974. In this and the development of the larger subway network, soon to be called The Tunnel, Conn worked with architect and engineer Jack Michael Graves, Jr. (12 December 1926 – 1 July 2003). Between 1983 and 2007, Oklahoma City dubbed their subway network Metro Conncourse, in honour of Conn. Now it is known as UnderGround.

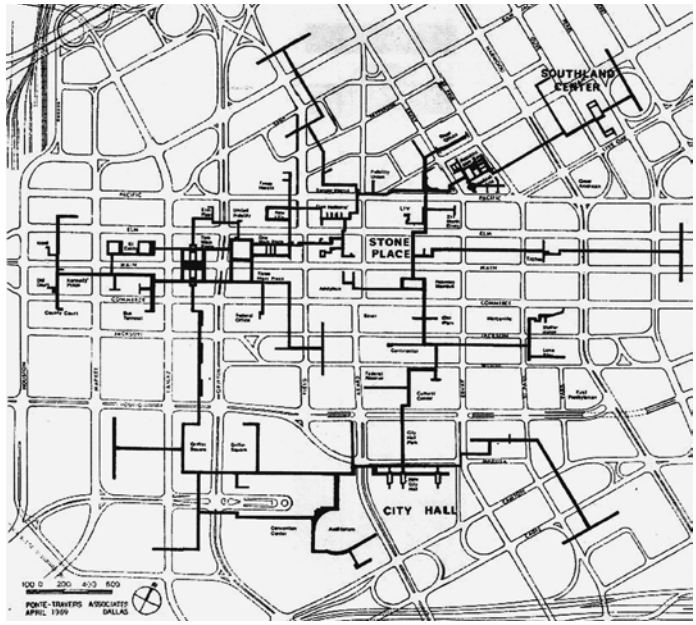


Figure 8.5.12a.
Proposed subway system after 1980 in the Dallas Central Business District plan, April 1969

In Houston, a plan to influence subway planning came rather late, but when it came it did go hand-in-hand explicitly with climate reasons from the beginning. It was drawn up in the late seventies, and at that time inclement weather had become a liable argument to design public interiors anywhere. By then the climatologic benefits of a subway network had been widely illuminated in the other case cities. Locally, a public interior network as such could provide "Houstonians a unique, all-weather alternative to the street-level circulation system" as the official 1977 planning's report stated. Inherently, the improvement of pedestrian circulation had been still a main purpose, but, more than the other cities, the envisioned network would be no more than a continuation of early subway developments in the city and thus the seemingly logic next step after the systems had emerged in the city. As early as the nineteen-fifties, the subway plan was pioneered by numerous projects like the Cullen Center[913] and a series of preceding subways linking buildings to annexes and parking garages as well as connecting one office structure to another. In the north of town, for example, Houston Club Building was linked to Gulf Building, the Esperson Buildings and the Bank of the Southwest Building each across a street. The later also shared a parking garage with another bank, namely the First City National Bank.[914] One could state that Houston was a southern forerunner in the development of subways systems. In 1964, record showed that fifteen subways run under the streets of downtown Houston, with four more in the planning. At the time inspired by these underground building links, the city did consider "a plan to build tunnels at major downtown intersections merely to speed traffic and insure pedestrian safety", but it did never effectuated this intention and instead subways continued to be constructed without an overall plan. When in the late seventies the overall network plan was presented, dozens of subways were already part of the city. (Morris 1964, June; City Planning Department 1977, October)

[913] Cullen Center was announced in 1959 as an estate honouring Hugh Roy Cullen (3 July 1881 – 4 July 1957), like Rockefeller a local American industrialist and philanthropist. The complex was planned and designed in the following years by Welton Beckett (see Book 6). The original towers and basements opened in 1962 and 1974. They were joined by skyways.

[914] Jesse Holman Jones (5 April 51874 – 1 June 1956) a local politician, entrepreneur and architect designed Houston Club Building in 1948. Three years later, a subway would reach out to the Gulf Building, which was designed in 1929 by the associated architects Alfred Charles Finn (2 July 1883 – 25 June 1964), Henderson Kenneth Franzheim, (28 October 1890 – 13 March 1959) and James Edwin Ruthven Carpenter, Jr. (7 January 1867 – 11 June 1932). When, in 1956, Franzheim designed also the Bank of the Southwest across the street on 919 Milam, he connected it to Gulf Building. The (Niels) Esperson Building and the nineteen-story annex, known as the Mellie Esperson building, were added to the system in the same year. The Austro-Hungarian-American architect John Eberson (2 January 1875 – 6 March 1954) designed them in respectively 1927 and 1941. City National Bank, designed by Finn again, was added in 1959, when the garage opened. The building was later known as Southern National Building, Texas American Bank Building and now 1001 McKinney.

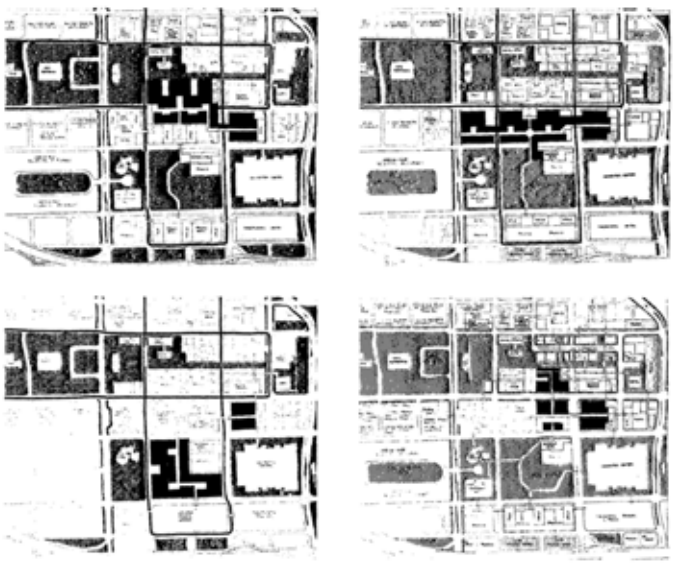


Figure 8.5.12b.
Left: Alternative 'physical design concepts' in the Central City Plan for Oklahoma City, February 1975

Figure 8.5.12c.
Above: The Texas Commerce Tower in Houston designed by I.M. Pei with subways, 1978

Chapter 6 Light, at the End?

In time, especially the subway networks of Toronto, Montréal, Dallas and Houston grew. The other networks remained relatively small. In comparison, the four bigger networks developed very different.

In Toronto, several subway systems or concourses had been in planning since 1969. They all followed the overall scheme of the government and slowly became one network. Viewed in this light, immediately questions had arisen on legal issues, the City's involvement in financing and management and its responsibility in the design process. On advise of the Board of Control, the City Council had decided to participate in the costs, up to fifty percent of the gross cost of constructing and for the portion of the pedestrian walkway within the street allowance, they provided a density bonus incentive of up to five times to which the developer contributed to the cost of construction. Policing of the subways would be the responsibility of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department. In return, the City would lease the subways. Ventilating, cleaning, lighting, heating, air-conditioning and repair was assigned to owners. They were also obligated to keep open the subways based primarily on the operating hours of the TTC Subway stations. Yet, each situation would be a matter of negotiation: the bonus, the lease, the management and the accessibility. (Board of Control 1969, 18 June; Commissioners of Development, Planning, Public Works and the City Solicitor 1970, December) These led to a series of agreements under which the subways could be built, and catalysed future development. A rather extensive subway network emerged. The plan was already there, but a patchwork of developments filling the area, densified the whole. Subways of all Modern styles, from almost dull functional to shiny ornamental, slowly became one network. The larger part would give access to all kinds of facilities. The subways of the Toronto-Dominion Concourse area were an exemplar for the central part. They gave access to fashion stores, newsstands, a printing service, a toy shop, jewellery, perfumery, drug stores, a barber and many restaurants. Childcare and consultant offices in various fields were nearby at the above floors. The neighbouring three-level First Canadian Place[915] introduced a medical centre, an optometrist office and dental clinics, beauty salons, banking and financial planning services, dry cleaning, shoe repair, a post office and a courier service, next to many more stores. The Exchange Tower,[916] connected to both subsystems mentioned, was not very different: another fifty stores and restaurants. Also Richmond Adelaide Complex, Adelaide Place, Scotia Plaza, Royal Bank Plaza, Commerce Court and BCE Place were about the same.[917] They all incorporated underground entrances to the offices and other buildings above. Throughout the system Late Modern designers tackled the introverted nature of subways and introduced spacious multi-level sky-lit atria. Examples are the marble or granite finished systems of One Finance Center in the east and The Atrium on Bay and Bell Trinity Square in the north. Often the upper street live is visible from these interiors. At

[915] Edward Durell Stone (9 March 1902 – 6 August 1978) designed First Canadian Place together with Bregman and Hamann. It opened in 1976.

[916] The Webb Zerafa Menkes Housden Partnership (WZMH) designed Exchange Tower, which opened in 1983.

[917] Douglas Charles Rowland, Doug, (28 December 28, 1921 – 4 March 2010), who continued John B. Parkin Architects since 1975, designed Adelaide Place. The concourse is opened in 1979 and it was extended three years later by the design of Harry Pellow (see Book 6). The WZMH was responsible for the design of Royal Bank Plaza, opened in 1979, and Scotia Plaza, designed between 1985 and 1992. Pei designed Commerce Court in 1972. BCE Place is again designed by Bregman and Hamann, in joined partnership with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. Santiago Calatrava Valls (born 28 July 1951) was responsible for the remarkable roof of BCE Place. The complex opened in 1990 and 1991.

Figure 8.6.1.
Sheraton Centre Hotel, Exchange Tower, Toronto-Dominion Concourse, Adelaide Place, Simcoe Place, MetroConcourse, Richmond Adelaide Complex, Bell Trinity Square, One Queen Street East, Commerce Court, 2006

Figure 8.6.2.
Subway System, Toronto

Legend

- subways and connected underground public space
- interior on the street
- additional skyways

N

MetroConcourse, wells with lowered gardens with some pine trees, bushes, rocks and large water basins allowed not only daylight to come in the subway system but more or less showed exterior on eye level, including common weather phenomena.[918] In the western and northern parts of the inner city, retail would be rarer. Here, one could enter the hotel lobbies of the Hilton or Sheraton, walk to the ticket windows of a concert hall or go on the escalators to visit the Canadian Broadcast Centre, the City Hall or use the back route to the coach terminal.[919] On the edges of the network the subways mainly connected parking, offices and condominiums. Main security and information desks were often located in a two level atria, linking the lowered levels with the outdoor streets.

In Montréal, new subway systems were planned less precisely to an all-encompassing scheme envisioned by the city administration. Apart from the ambition to create a pedestrian network, envisioned by Ponte, there was no formal development plan or guidelines for the system. The starting segment, the connection to Place Ville-Marie, did not need a permit for building and occupying the publicly-owned space. Place Ville-Marie was built over rail tracks which belonged to the Canadian National Railway Company, who already owned the station and neighbouring hotel. They were all the way within their own property.[920] The role of the public government in extending the system had been limited to reviewing development proposals. In short legal terms, emphyteutic rents were used for the new buildings around the subway stations elsewhere and like Toronto 'permis d'occupation du domaine public' were signed between the land owners and the City elsewhere. The City, by name of Service de l'Habitation et du Développement Urbain, acknowledged that it offered no clear incentives or disincentives for extension. Developers were responsible for construction, maintenance, and security. Nearly all pedestrian subway systems were designed in immediate connection to one of the stations of two initial subterranean rail lines, one of which roughly ran southeast of downtown and one northwest of it. Consequently, in general, the opening hours were the same as the operation hours of the rapid transit, 5:30 am to 1 am, but again without governmental rules. (Demers 1984: 53-60; Brown and Sijpkes 1985, March; Boisvert 2011: 18-19) Small first systems appear along the first line. When a new hotel on Place du Canada made an underground link to the old present Gare Windsor, it also interconnected the nearby Bonaventure station, and thus to Gare Centrale. People could transfer underground. On the same line, for example, the lobby of Banque Nationale[921] would join the subway systems near Place Victoria and station. These transport subways were, like the old subway links, mere functional connections. Along the second line, in difference, more facilities were located. The new multi-level mall of Place Alexis-Nihon could serve as an example. It offered numerous services, a variety of shops and superstores, and a food court, linked to Atwater station, where also the old department store of La Baie was connected. Two stops further at McGill station, the lower levels of the department store of Eaton's and the hundred-forty shops of Les Terrasses, joined in one system.[922] In between, the basement of Hôtel Mount Royal opened to Peel station. The kind of accessible facilities varied per station. For instance, at Place des Arts station, a subway extension served a new large-scale complex devoted to showcasing the performing arts. When it was accompanied by the

[918] The architectural firm Page + Steele Inc. designed The Atrium on Bay and One Finance Center, now Dundee Place. John B. Parkin Associates was responsible for Bell Trinity Square. BBB Architects designed MetroConcourse as part of MetroCentre, initially housing the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The buildings opened in respectively 1981, 1991, 1982 and 1992.

[919] Hilton International Toronto opened as Hotel Toronto in 1975, by design of Doug Rowland and Reno Negrin (see Book 7). Rowland also designed Sheraton Centre in 1972. Thomas Payne, called Tom, (born 1949) designed Roy Thomson Hall in 1982.
Philip Johnson and John Burgee designed CBC Broadcast Centre in partnership with Bregman and Hamann Architects in 1992.

[920] Instead, it was the City of Montréal who required a public right of way in order to realign the Dorchester Boulevard, permitting to build a bridge over these tracks and make the boulevard continuous.

[921] Québec architects Roger d'Astous (3 March 1926 – 5 April 1998) and Jean-Paul Pothier (7 October 1928 – 19 December 1968) designed Place du Canada 1, including Chateau Champlain Hotel, now the Marriott Hotel, in 1967. The original Gare Windsor, serving Canadian Pacific Railway, was built by the American architect Bruce Price in 1887 and 1889. (12 December 1845 – 29 May 1903) Webb, Zerafa, Menkes and Associates designed the Tour de la Banque Nationale, which opened in 1983.

[922] The Greek-Canadian architect Dimitri Dimakopoulos (14 September 1929 – 7 November 1995) designed Place Alexis-Nihon. Its subway and mall opened in 1967. George Ross and Robert Macdonald had designed Hôtel Mount Royal between 1920 and 1924 and the T. Eaton Company store between 1925 and 1927, and its extension between 1930 and 1931. The Scottish-Quebec architect Robert Findlay (12 May 1859 – 5 February 1951) designed probably the store of La Baie between 1891 and 1893 and a major addition in 1899. Until 1972, this Quebec branch of Hudson's Bay Company or The Bay was known as Henry Morgan & Company or Morgan's. René Menkès designed Les Terrasses, which officially opened in 1976 and closed in 1987. Peter Douglas Rose (born 1 August 1943), Quebec architect, designed Centre Eaton, which opened on this spot in 1991.

bigger system of Complexe Desjardins,[923] more fashion boutiques, restaurants, food counters and services of all kinds were added to the lower level of Montréal. Also the new buildings of a downtown campus of L'Université du Québec à Montréal included subway systems linking the nearby station.[924] Many of all these subway systems, including the rapid transit system feeding them from below the surface, were designed in the years prior to the Expo 67, during the period of widespread change and Quebec secularisation.[925] In the spirit of the age, glorifying technological advancement and new materials, a considerable part of the network was designed in a High Modern way. The austere style of most subway interiors influenced the network-wide atmosphere. So in contrast to Toronto the design of most subways is similar. They could be best described by their unadorned brick and concrete walls, tiled floors, dropped ceilings and overhead lights. A number of simple wall or floor claddings were used too. In origin, these subways formed quite independent systems. It took years to become really one network. Although most systems are still apart, some south-eastern developments could reach out to the north-western ones, and, in time, two dominant subway axes emerged. The first one did so in the early nineteen-eighties, when the Place des Arts and Place d'Armes stations in the far ends were connected by the new subway systems of Musée des Art Contemporaine, Complexe Guy-Favreau and Palais des Congrès in-between. The second one emerged in the mid nineteen-nineties, when the Bonaventure and McGill stations were connected with the opening of the pedestrian subway under the 1253 McGill College, a small missing link in the middle.[926] Various other parts of the network became one in the years after.

Also in Dallas, the third city in this row, new subway systems were guided or encouraged by the Dallas Central Business District plan of Ponte. Again there was no overall plan as seen in Toronto, and – also different to Montréal – in this case, there were no underground transit lines involved. Still, like Montréal, this network grew roughly around cores – not stations but Modern centres with concourses below grade. Respectively the subways of Dallas Corn Center, the early Republican Center, and Southland Center, built in the fifties and sixties, were the catalysts.[927] Also this patchwork slowly became one big network. The first part was created in 1974, when subways linked Dallas Corn Center to the newly opened Renaissance Tower and on to First National Bank Building.[928] The Dallas Corn Center included two open lowered plazas. The back plaza was embellished with an oasis of trees and a sitting area. It was not directly connected to the street, but the subway system connected the front plaza where concrete staircases led to the upper level in a characteristic High Modern way. In 1975, Philip Johnson designed a second part on distance of the first and next to Republican Center. He created here a circulation hub for a series of existing and future subways, together with his design for the triangular Thanks-Giving Square. Stylistically moving away from the functional approach, a variation of colours and shapes was used to guide the pedestrian. Yellow and red walled ways and a bright white coffered ceiling in diverse directions navigated people to the right subway. On the edge, a lowered pavilion and sloping paths bordered by irregular flow of grass would lead them up to the park. In the same line, a skyway system, originated in 1973, would be expanded by a subway seven years later. Skyways already linked

[923] Affleck and Dimakopoulos designed Place des Arts together with among others the Quebec architects and theatre consultants Guy Edouard André Joseph Desbarats (30 July 1925 – 30 August 2003) and the Polish-born David Froim Lebensold, better known as Fred David Lebensold, (19 November 1917 – 30 July 1985). Jean-Claude La Haye (1 April 1923 – 27 April 1999) designed Complexe Desjardins between 1967 and 1976.

[924] In 1970, the year after its founding, Dimakopoulos started the design of the campus of L'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Between 1974 and 1979, he also was responsible for the Judith Jasmin and Hubert Aquin pavilions, linking to the Montréal Metro.

[925] The 1967 International and Universal Exposition, commonly known as Expo 67, was the world's fair held in Montréal from 27 April to 29 October 1967, when Canada celebrated its centennial. By then, the independence movement in Quebec was in full swing. On 24 July 1967, the French President Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle (22 November 1890 – 9 November 1970) causes a political uproar, when he exclaims to an ecstatic crowd in front of Montréal City Hall "Vive le Québec. Vive le Québec libre… Vive, vive, vive le Canada Français. Vive, vive la France!"

[926] The architectural firm Larose, Laliberté and Petrucci designed the concourses of the Musée des Art Contemporaine and the federal government's main building Complexe Guy-Favreau in 1983 and 1984. The latter is designed together with WZMH. Victor Prus desiged Palais des Congrès de Montréal. Its concourse was inaugurated in 1983. Ross and Macdonald designed 1253 McGill College or Confederation Building between 1927 and 1928. The subway was open in 1995.

[927] The American architect Welton Becket started to design Southland Center in 1955, the year after Republican Center opened. It was inaugurated in 1959 and it included The Sheraton Dallas Hotel, the later Adam's Mark Hotel, and a link to a garage building. Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed Dallas Corn Center, also known as One Main Place, together with Harwood Knox Smith (14 Augustus 1913 – 8 December 2002). It was completed in the end of 1968.

[928] The American architectural partners George Francis Hellmuth (5 October 1907 – 5 November 1999), Gyo Obata (born 28 February 1923) and George Edward Kassabaum (5 December 1920 – 15 August 1982) designed the Renaissance Tower in 1974. In the same year a subway connected not only to the Dallas Corn Center but also to First National Bank Building, now Elm Place, which George Leighton Dahl (11 May 1894 – 3 August 1987) designed in 1965.

Figure 8.6.3a.
Subway to the former location of La Baie cossing Atwater station, 1967

Figure 8.6.3b.
A subway of Place Bonaventure, 2006

Figure 8.6.4a.
Southland Center in Dallas, 1960s

Figure 8.6.4b.
Subway under Thanks-Giving Square in Dallas, 2009, photo by Noah Jens Jeppson (born 21 May 1982)

Southland Center to Bryan Tower, One Dallas Centre and Plaza of the Americas and now the system would go underground. A first subway on this location would connect to the basement of the so-called Diamond Shamrock Building on the same premises as Plaza of the Americas.[929] Here too, within a remarkable short time-lapse, three extended subways systems had emerged in the urban fabric. Given these developments, twenty years after the adoption of the master plan, the City of Dallas would create specific policy on 'street crossings' below or above grade. It designated a primary network, which included the so-called inner pedestrian core area, and a secondary network. Like today, the land under downtown streets belonged to adjacent property owners. Under Texas law, the legal title to city streets consisted of a public right-of-way easement. The state had full control and authority over them, and the cities execute only such control and authority as has been delegated to them, as trustees for the public. Generally, this included underground rights (and aerial rights) so long as they were contemplated as being part of a city street, like utilities lines. "Yet, the control does not allow the city to exclude the owner from using the street in any manner which does not interfere with the use of the public." In Texas, this is not established by legislative law, but by case law. (Supreme Court of the State of Texas 1956, 24 October) Cities never provoked a judicial decision to reinterpret the easement, the public interest and their dedication in this issue. The network could grow, but it did so slowly. Restrictions did not come until 1981, when officials explicitly required permission for subways (or skyways) and defined development standards for those located in the core of the city. In return, the local government would participate in funding. (The City Council of the City of Dallas 1981, 28 March) These regulations would not slow down underground development; it just concentrated it roughly around those parts already there. In those days, benefitting from a burgeoning technology boom, several new complexes were developed and new subways were added to the early fragmented network. Especially, the central system of Republican Center became quite large in the next decade. Subway development boomed around the Thanks-Giving concourse. In the north, the subway of Energy Plaza, Lincoln Plaza and Fountain Place were added. In the west, the subways to First City Centre gave way to the older Corrigan Tower and some of the redesigned Early Modern structures on Elm Street and Main Street. In the south of the square, two bank buildings were joined by subways.[930] Their design was based on the single purpose of connecting. The new development standards, which were mandatory in the construction involving City participations, seemed to provoke this. Often, the walls of these subways were stuccoed in a light colour and their floors were carpeted or tiled. They would cross streets and integrate offices, parking and some commercial concourses in a very functional manner.

In Houston, the network emerged under the same Texas law, but in difference to the policy in Dallas, the local government initiated control quite early. Most important for this initiative is the legal work done by James Wiley Caldwell, a young attorney acting on behalf of the Bank of the Southwest.[931] In 1969, he reasoned that the local utility subways were a precedent for pedestrian subways. The ancient kinds of subways, early underground corridors, had been installed below the streets for many years under their authority too.

[929] The American architects and planning consultants Hugo Victor Neuhaus, Jr. (5 March 1915 – 21 July 1987) and Harwood Taylor (25 May 1927- April 1989) designed Bryan Tower between 1970 and 1973. Pei added One Dallas Centre, now Patriot Tower, between 1977 and 1979. It features an open lower plaza. Between 1978 and 1980, Harwood Smith also designed Plaza of the Americas. The Diamond Shamrock Building, later known as Maxus Energy Tower and KPMG Centre, and its subway opened in 1980.

[930] Thanks-Giving Square, including its Spiral-of-Life Chapel and Bell Tower above and docking truck terminal below ground, was inaugurated in 1976. In the north of the square, Pei designed Energy Plaza between 1980 and 1983 and Fountain Place between 1984 and 1986. Smith designed Lincoln Plaza in 1985 and 1986. In the west, WZMH designed First City Centre, or 1700 Pacific between 1980 and 1983, and a subway linking the altered lower levels of Corrigan Tower on 1900 Pacific. The later building was designed by Wyatt Cephus Hedrick (17 December 1888 – 5 May 1964) in 1952. Other subways would establish links to, among others: The Dallas Hilton, today Dallas Hotel Indigo, designed in 1925 by McKenzie Const, Lang and Witchell. The former department store of the Titche-Goettinger Building, designed by Herbert Miller Greene (23 June 1871 – 8 February 1932), Edwin Bruce LaRoche (2 September 1885 – 18 July 1944) and George Leighton Dahl (11 May 1894 – 18 July 1987) in 1929. And, The Tower Petroleum Building, designed by Mark Lemmon (10 November 1889 – 22 December 1975) in 1931. In the south of the square, Dallas Federal Savings & Loan Association and the National Bank of Commerce Building, or LTV Tower on 1600 Pacific, would join the network. These buildings were designed by respectively Dahl and Smith in 1957 and 1964.

[931] James Wiley Caldwell (14 December 1923 – 23 July 1995) was the former Assistant City Attorney. He worked for the law firm Fulbright, Crooker, Freeman, Bates & Jaworski, of which one of the partners Colonel William Bartholomew Bates (16 Augustus 1889 – 17 April 1974), was also board chairman of the Bank of the Southwest.

Thus, he motivated that the city had to give their permission. Only then and if the adjoining property owners also agreed, subways could be constructed. In this line, Caldwell drafted an ordinance to that effect, and the City Council approved it. (City of Houston 1968, 31 December, Tutt 1990, 17 November) Similar to Dallas, most of the Houston network was developed privately and on private property, crossing under a street only when necessary. Combined with a more laissez-faire planning approach, approval almost always came and the desired subways could go in anytime. In 1969, a new business centre appeared. The Shell Oil Company announced to open its headquarters in the city. The complex became known as One Shell Plaza. Within a few years, a subway would link an office parking combination building, known as Shell Two and providing extra space needed. From here a subway would run to the Esperson buildings and the rest of the underground network. Allied Bank Plaza was added some years later. It linked the Tenneco and Shell buildings. The subway type really boomed during the Texan oil-giddy glamour days of the nineteen-seventies, and the rapid growth of downtown Houston.[932] South of the new core, among others the Entex Building, the Hyatt hotel and Houston Industries Plaza created an appendicle subway system.[933] The same was happening to the multi-block developments of for example Allan Center in the southeast and Houston Center in the east.[934] Many more subways followed. Most of them had been simply stuccoed and tiled. Some form the exception. They had for example maroon carpet panelling or coverings likewise. They gave access to a variety of shops and stores, food courts and upper offices.

While growing, more people used these networks. More facilities opened doors underground and a greater variety, longer distances could be abridged among others to avoid extreme weather and more locations could be reached attracting a wider public. Locals and commuters coming in and out the stations, could spread themselves more and more over downtown using the subway network. On the one hand, they had turned into essential parts of their cities. So much that they became a brand, an asset of the city. Names, originally used in planning had become commonly used. The public would refer to the 'pedestrian system' or 'underground city' of Toronto, 'réseau piétonnier', 'souterrain' or 'ville intérieur' of Montréal, the 'pedestrian network' of Dallas and the 'tunnel system' of Houston.
On the other hand, the networks had become so big that the usual ways in which people could orient themselves did not work anymore. Being in a labyrinth below the streets, without any clue of walking east or west, it was not easy for people to navigate from place to place. Opposition rose, but it wasn't unequivocal. Texas Monthly illuminated that the towers in Houston were increasingly connected by subway, and as there were no zoning taboos, thus the city's environment was strikingly 'internalised'. It had "profoundly affected how the city builds and lives". (Huxtable 1976, May) In the same line but stronger, The Dallas Morning News stated some years later that the subways were a risky investment as they permanently alter the city. Would Dallas in the future have the sky above and the streets below? The newspaper referred to Edmund Bacon, a general supporter of alternative pedestrian systems who apparently called the subways in Dallas "stinky little holes in the ground". The

[932] The 1973 and 1979 Oil Crises, proclaiming oil embargos, caused for Texas oil to boom.

[933] In the new core, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed One Shell. Groundwork was laid in 1967 and the building opened in 1969. Shell Two opened in 1971. Together with the local architect - engineers Hermon Frederick Lloyd (9 October 1909 – 3 November 1989) and Arthur Evan Jones (born 4 April 1923) they also designed Allied Bank Plaza between 1979 and 1983. The complex was renamed to the First Interstate Bank Plaza in 1988 and redeveloped as Wells Fargo Plaza in 1993. The subway opened in to One Shell opened in that year. In the southern part, Lloyd and Jones independently designed the Entex Building, respectively renamed to Louisiana Place, United Gas Building and Total Plaza. In 1972, a year after the opening of the Entex Building, its basement linked the finished Hyatt hotel, which had been designed by the firm of William Wayne, or Bill, Caudill (25 May 1914 – 25 June 1983), John Miles Rowlett (23 January 1914 – 22 November 1978) and Wallie Eugene Scott, Jr. (29 September 1921 – 8 April 1989) in cooperation with Neuhaus and Taylor, both by then subsidiaries of JV III. In 1974, William Doyle Kendall, called Bill (11 July 1943 – 25 February 2013) and James Edgar Heaton (18 March 1926 – 4 July 1993) designed a subway to Houston Industries Plaza, later CenterPoint Energy Plaza or simply 1111 Louisiana.

[934] One Allan Center was designed in 1972 by the partnership of Fred Talbott Wilson (2 October 1912 – 26 September 1987). From here skyways continue the interior public network. Seth Irwin Morris, Jr. (1 September 1914 - 30 August 2007), Bluford Walter Crain, Jr. (31 January 1914 – 13 July 1995) and Ralph Alexander Anderson Jr. (1 January 1923 – 3 February 1990) designed both 1 Houston Center, which opened in 1978, and 4 Houston Center, including The Park Shops or The Shops in Houston Center, which opened in 1982. The later complex was co-designed with RTKL Associates Inc. The architectural firm of George Foster Pierce, Jr. (22 June 1919 – 5 March 1998), Edwin James Goodwin, Jr. (17 July 1926 – 23 August 1982) and Robert Victor Flanagan (28 May 1922 – 23 December 1985) was responsible for 2 Houston Center, which opened in 1974. In 1982, Caudill, Rowlett and Scott did 3 Houston Center, also known as Chevron Tower and later Fulbright Tower, and Harwood Smith designed 5 Houston Center and 6 Houston Center.

argument against subway networks rested on basic things; they were disorienting and scary. The only way to determine for sure where one was underground was by coming to the surface and scanning the horizon for familiar landmarks like a groundhog. Opinions as these influenced the public opinion and politics. “Dallas should not build any more underground systems, particularly if they involve public funds”, the parted Dallas director of urban design stated. Also the Mayor of Dallas publicly expressed his doubts to extent the subway network further. He wanted to see what the benefits would be for the people and het suggest that developers would pay for it themselves. The one kind what seemed to work was showcased in Montréal: systems were connected to a major subway station, which keep them in touch with the larger world. (Dillon 1982, January 31; Tatum 1982, April 1) Also, the City Council of Toronto stopped bonus density provisions for below-grade retail space and financial support for subway connections was no longer available other than in exceptional circumstances. The city also learned from Montréal. (City of Toronto, City Council 1986, February 24) But back in Montréal, the own approach was opposed. Its subway network was seen as “a loosely strung together federation of private fiefdoms, each with its own rules”. Developers were accused to offer as many stores as possible, thereby lengthening travel time and adding to an already confusing pattern of retail corridors. Was it the ‘anti-street’ as The Dallas Morning News would call it, or should we call them ‘surrogate streets’ as later William Whyte would call the Montréal subways? (Brown and Sijpkes 1985, March; Caron, Lachance, Rompré and Vaillancourt 1987; Whyte 1988: 194) Continuing on those thoughts, the Canadian architecture critic Trevor Boddy, prospected even a stratification of race and class accelerated by

Figure 8.6.5a.
Subway of 919 Milam in Houston, September 2005, photo by Carol McKinney Highsmith (born 18 May 1946)

Figure 8.6.5b.
Redevelopment proposal of Houston Club Building improving street connections, May 2013

the system. In his vision, this paradoxically degrades the very conditions the systems supposedly remedy – the amenity, safety, and environmental conditions of the public realm. Referring to William Whyte's 'surrogate streets', therefore, he calls these systems 'analogous' cities. (Boddy 1992: 124-125) It seems a proper forecast for Houston. The newspaper reported that many downtowners avoided Main Street, qualifying it as undesirable, perhaps even dangerous. Tough economic times and rampant drug problems in Houston had made the situation increasingly worse. Since the network did connect so many major buildings and so many office workers did use it, the subway network seemed to have resulted "in an obvious segregation of social levels". The Houston City Council's problem with the subways started like Montréal with the fact that most interiors were privately-owned, except for the ones under city and county buildings. The popularity of the network hurt above-ground downtown businesses and discourages development, and it was seen as discriminatory. Then, another journalist of the Houston Chronicle opposed and accused officials to exhibit a 'tunnel vision': "Would you rather do your shopping walking outside in one of Houston's frequent rainstorms or during its many days of summer - or do the same thing in the shops in the air conditioned tunnels. […] I see all sorts of people in my travels. Black, white and brown. The old, the young. Those dressed in $1,000 suits. Those - like me - dressed in jeans. None of them have any problem gaining access to the system." (Marshall 1990, 9 November; Barlow 1993, 27 April)

Figure 8.6.6.
Wayfinding Toronto's Underground City by eight zones, each a differnt colour, 1989

While lacking consensus on theorems that subways networks indeed were a substitution of the above streets, creating restrictions, limitations or segregation, public governments, urban designers and planners dealt foremost with the public opinion criticising the network's disorientating effect. They chose to upgrade the existing network. The City Council of Toronto adopted the first recommendations to unify wayfinding throughout what they saw as 'a maze'. A consistent use of signs and symbols had to help overcome disorientation. A corporation of owners should install and maintain the wayfinding system, and the City would provide funding for it. At the same token, branding the phenomenon and introducing a guide, marking out where the network ran, was considered to be an economic impulse. The proposed name for the underground network was "TO Below". (City of Toronto, City Council 1986, 24 February and 8 September; Newton Frank Arthur and Agnew Communications 1986, July) This new name was never adopted, but signs, maps and guides did appear. Toronto's Underground City was proudly presented as "the largest in the world". It was divided in eight zones, from Union Station in the south to Eaton Center and adjoined the bus terminal in the north. Each zone had a colour; yellow, blue, pink, purple, orange, brown, green, gold. In the Maps and Shopping Guide, distributed for a few dollars, the people could consult detailed maps of each concourse in the subway network. (Alexander 1989) In a few years, this logic substituted other colour-coded signs with simple directional cues. Wherever someone was, red always stood for south, orange for west, blue for north and yellow for east. Within the various subways and concourses, the public could find a so-called 'PATH' map plus cardinal directions on ceiling signs at crucial junctions. Graphic communication helped in decision making. A monthly

magazine, called PATH Logic, presented the network underneath Toronto as one of the most exiting features of the city. (Path Logic Magazine 1994, 20 July) Planners and designers would focus more on signage and wayfinding rather than growth. The City Council of Montréal desired similar improvements. When it adopted the first Plan d'Urbanisme in 1990, a regulatory framework said that no new subway systems could be developed and that no new segment of the pedestrian network could be added, unless it provided a direct connection between the street and a subway station. The City had to develop a detailed vision for the interior pedestrian network. This included among others the goal to predict extensions and to create physical development standards for natural lighting, normalisation of the path linearity and easy access to the street. Also it would define "les norms assurant l'uniformisation de la signalisation", to improve wayfinding. (Ville de Montréal 1992, 18 December) Uniform schematic maps found throughout the network, bearing today's RÉSO signage were found not before 2004.[935]

The City Council of Houston was less prescriptive. Yet, it did raise the issues of social segregation, physical disintegration of the network with the street surface, concerning all connections and accesses, and the general attractiveness of the subways. A noted extreme example in the case mentioned was to bring the subway system under jurisdiction of the City of Houston. Immediate cause of this discussion was an ordinance granting the permit of a subway connecting One Shell Plaza with Allied Bank Plaza, redeveloped as Wells Fargo Plaza, which was on the agenda. The system needed to be made public, so the people who were getting the advantage of the subways and facilities ought to be obligated to participate in the cost in some way. Some money should be coming in so they could revitalise the area. On behalf of the Council, the Mayor asked the recently established Houston Downtown Management Corporation, representing downtown property owners, managers, residents and tenants, to form a so-called Tunnel Task Force to take a leadership role in the implementation of these ambitions. This comprised planning and development of the subway network that would result in improvements enjoyed by Houstonians. (Houston City Council 1993, 20-21 April; Houston Downtown Management Corporation 1993, 27 October) For example, in the redesign of Wells Fargo Plaza architects introduced a new entrance building appointed

[935] RÉSO stands for 'réseau piétonnier', or pedestrian network.

Figure 8.6.7a.
The so-called 'PATH' map, edition 2013

Figure 8.6.7b.
The 'RESO' map of Montréal, 2003


U. S. POST OFFICE
From I-10 West
To I-10 West
From I-45 North
To I-45 North
BAYOU LOFTS
917 FRANKLIN
MAGNOLIA BALLROOM
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON DOWNTOWN
From I-10 East
To I-10 East
HARRIS COUNTY CRIMINAL JUSTICE CENTER
1301 COMMERCE
Commerce
Franklin
HERMANN LOFTS
OLD COTTON EXCHANGE
FOLEY BUILDING
ISLAMIC DAWAH CENTER
HOTEL ICON
FRANKLIN LOFTS, THE CORINTHIAN
HARRIS COUNTY FAMILY LAW CENTER
HARRIS COUNTY JURY ASSEMBLY ROOM AND TRANSPORTATION PLAZA
HARRIS COUNTY CIVIL COURTHOUSE
HARRIS COUNTY GARAGE
To Washington Avenue
From Washington Avenue
GEORGE RUSH MONUMENT
BUFFALO BAYOU
SESQUICENTENNIAL PARK
HOUSTON BALLET BLDG.
MARKET SQUARE GARAGE
MARKET SQUARE PARK
MAJESTIC METRO
Congress
HARRIS COUNTY 1910 COURTHOUSE
HARRIS COUNTY CRIMINAL JUSTICE CENTER
1434 CONGRESS
HARRIS COUNTY ADMIN. BLDG
Preston
DOWNTOWN AQUARIUM
Bagby
WORTHAM THEATER CENTER
LYRIC CENTRE
HOGG PALACE
BYRD's LOFTS
ALDIN HOTEL
To Memorial Drive
From Memorial Drive
Prairie
GARAGE
ALLEY THEATRE
717 TEXAS
LANCASTER HOTEL
HOUSTON CHRONICLE
POST RICE LOFTS
BINZ BUILDING
CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL
CHRIST CHURCH GARAGE
URBAN LEAGUE
Texas
BAYOU PLACE
JONES PLAZA
JONES HALL
JPMORGAN CHASE TOWER
JPMORGAN CHASE CENTER
MAGNOLIA HOTEL
KEYSTONE LOFTS
SARS GARAGE
FEDERAL DETENTION CENTER
GREAT SOUTHWEST BUILDING
Capitol
TRANQUILLITY PARK/GARAGE
BOB CASEY FEDERAL COURTHOUSE
BANK OF AMERICA CENTER
PENNZOIL PLACE
CAMERON POCKET PARK
HOUSTON CLUB BUILDING
JONES BLDG.
JPMORGAN CHASE BUILDING
ST. GERMAIN LOFTS
CAPITOL LOFTS
CLUB QUARTERS HOTEL
1111 RUSK
U.S. CUSTOMS HOUSE
Bagby
HOBBY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS
Rusk
Smith
LANIER PUBLIC HOUSE BUILDING
Louisiana
801 LOUISIANA
ESPERSON BUILDING
Milam
Travis
Main
MAINPLACE
STOWERS BLDG.
Fannin
San Jacinto
Caroline
HOUSTON CENTER GARAGE ONE
Austin
To I-45 North
CITY HALL ANNEX
CITY HALL/ VISITORS CENTER
HERMANN SQUARE
ONE SHELL PLAZA
919 MILAM
COMMERCE TOWERS
Walker
HOLY CROSS CHAPEL
KIRBY LOFTS
1001 McKINNEY
2 HOUSTON CENTER
1 HOUSTON CENTER
FULBRIGHT TOWER
3 HOUSTON CENTER
From I-45 North
McKinney
SAM HOUSTON PARK
HOUSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
JULIA IDESON LIBRARY
WELLS FARGO PLAZA
EL PASO BUILDING
TRAVIS PLACE GARAGE
1001 MAIN
MAIN STREET SQUARE
ONE CITY CENTRE
FIRST CITY TOWER
THE SHOPS AT HOUSTON CENTER
4 HOUSTON CENTER
ONE PARK PLACE
INTERSTATE 45
To Allen Parkway
Lamar
HERITAGE SOCIETY MUSEUM
HERITAGE PLAZA
Brazos
1100 SMITH GARAGE
1300 LOUISIANA
1111 LOUISIANA
MACY'S GARAGE
AMERICANA BUILDING
MACY'S
1010 LAMAR
1111 MAIN GARAGE
GARAGE
1111 FANNIN
FIRST CITY TOWER GARAGE
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
FOUR SEASONS PRIVATE RESIDENCES
From Allen Parkway
Dallas
HERITAGE CLAY STREET GARAGE
Bagby
DOUBLETREE HOTEL
ONE ALLEN CENTER
HYATT REGENCY HOUSTON HOTEL
TOTAL PLAZA
711 POLK GARAGE
HPD HEADQUARTERS
COURTYARD BY MARRIOTT/ RESIDENCE INN/ HUMBLE TOWER APARTMENTS
HOUSTON PAVILIONS
HOUSTON PAVILIONS TOWER
Polk
THREE ALLEN CENTER
TWO ALLEN CENTER
REGENCY GARAGE
777 CLAY GARAGE
TRAVIS TOWER GARAGE
TRAVIS TOWER
FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
HOUSTON PAVILIONS GARAGE
1301 FANNIN
SOUTH TEXAS COLLEGE OF LAW
Clay
METROPOLITAN GARAGE
ANTIOCH BAPTIST CHURCH
Shaw
Andrews
1401 SMITH GARAGE
1401 LOUISIANA GARAGE
WEDGE INTERNATIONAL TOWER
ALLEN CENTER GARAGE
1415 FANNIN GARAGE
AT&T BUILDING
ATHENS HOTEL SUITES
PEACOCK APARTMENTS
ROOT MEMORIAL SQUARE
Bell
1400 SMITH
Ruthven
1500 LOUISIANA
EXXONMOBIL BUILDING
BROWN BOOK SHOP
SALVATION ARMY HOUSTON AREA COMMAND
PACKARD BUILDING
1600 SMITH GARAGE
Howe
Leeland
CONTINENTAL CENTER I
YMCA
EXXONMOBIL GARAGE
HOUSTON HOUSE APARTMENTS
To I-45 North
Pease
CROWNE PLAZA HOUSTON-DOWNTOWN
KBR TOWER
KBR TOWER GARAGE
TELLEPSEN FAMILY YMCA
BEACONSFIELD CONDOS
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST SCIENTIST
ARCHDIOCESE OF GALVESTON-HOUSTON
CATHEDRAL CENTRE
AT&T BUILDING
From I-45 North
Jefferson
500 JEFFERSON GARAGE
CONTINENTAL CENTER II
600 JEFFERSON GARAGE
AMEGY BANK OF TEXAS
SACRED HEART CO-CATHEDRAL
ST. JOSEPH
US-59 South
St. Joseph Parkway
LEE P. BROWN METRO ADMIN. BLDG.
MICKEY
SHRINE
N

Figure 8.6.8a.
Detail of the map of subways and skyways in downtown Houston, 2010

with Italian marble, stainless steel and glass, giving direct access from a pocket park. The subway system was upgraded likewise. When the Bank of the Southwest changed owners, the lower levels were also renovated and again accessibility and attractiveness were high priority. The designers added seven brightly coloured pillars, neon tubes and brushed stainless steel walls to embellish the public interior. In the same years, the subway to the Esperson Buildings was redesigned. The floors were paved in green, coral, and beige terrazzo and the elevator lobby was panelled in rose Portuguese marble. Two years later, the City Hall and Annex were linked to One and Two Shell Plaza. Designers of the new subway designed a glass-covered underground Japanese rock garden, which was easily viewed from the street and served as light shaft.[936] In addition, following Toronto, the Task Force introduced also colour-coded maps and directional signage on walls and overhead intersections throughout the network. The network was divided in sections: The old northern subway systems were called North Travis Tunnel and coloured Orange. The Downtown Tunnel Loop, the subways in the centre, was coded red. East McKinney Tunnel, connecting Houston Center, became green. In the same way other segments were defined: the southeast Lamar Tunnel was light blue, South Louisiana Tunnel was gold, the southwest W. Dallas Tunnel was turquoise, the West Walker Tunnel was dark blue, and the northwest N. Louisiana Tunnel was purple. The recently opened northeast Rusk Tunnel became brick-red and a nearby independent subway network, connecting court buildings, became known as Harris County Tunnel and it was colour-coded brown.

Generally, these kinds of problems are the same as those, which had called the attention of the designers in the early days. A variety of basic aspects, dealing with specific aspects of the underground design, is recurring to our attention through time. Irrefutably, designing public space below the streets is always very different to the public interiors located above the ground. Nevertheless, different generations of designers and planners seem to take similar

[936] The subway to Wells Fargo Plaza was redesigned between 1993 and 1994, the one to Bank of the Southwest in 1993 and to the Esperson Buildings in 1996. Designers are unknown. In 1998, the subway was completed to City Hall, a building designed in 1939 by the Austrian-born American architect Joseph Finger (7 March 1887 – 6 February 1953). Local interior designer John Morgan Kirksey (7 August 1918 – 1 March 1993) designed the new subway and Frederick Arthur Buxton, called Fred (17 April 1926 – 27 February 2005) designed the garden.

Figure 8.6.8b.
Detail of The Conncourse or The UnderGround in Oklahoma City, 2010

Figure 8.6.8c.
Detail of the map of the Pedestrian Network in Dallas, 2012

hurdles ahead. They often hit the same difficult obstacles like the overall image of underground space, the quality of the street connections, the general experience and the public use and benefit. These recourses may be odd, because basically already in an early stage of the typological evolution these have revealed as common public demands in the design of subways. Yet, returning problems generally re-emerge with up-scaling of the cases. The bigger the sum of subways gets, the larger the whole, the more prudent old problems seem. In essence the concerns are still the same. The public would never be satisfied with one subway, wasn't it? But the subway was a popular. Then, people would never like to live as a mole in subway systems, right? Well, hundreds, thousands of subway systems were opened since. Allan, Bonaventure, Charles, Dallas, Eaton, Fidelity: a random ABC symbolising an innumerable amount of subways, today used by the public, each having its own socio-spatial role in the city. Successes of underground railways, of weather-proof and car-free footways and of iconic cities in cities, have contributed to the persistence of the public subways, again every time in a different cultural and social way.

Today the image of the large networks is discussed. Subways have been linked to basements of buildings, they have become systems, which have assembled in networks, and now some of those run beneath all downtown streets. In its evolution, subways connect an increasing amount of places, thus the problems facing the overall design are multiplying. The pioneering public subways, both the subaqueous and subterranean ones, in London have suffered from the same kind of poor accessibility as some do today. Designers have faced the limited possibilities of day lightning as the ones in the current era. Only nowadays, in large networks the number of staircases has increased and numerous basements of buildings give access to a subway. Thus contemporary designers continue to tackle spatial problems, like bettering the connection to outdoor street level, as if they have to face the old criticism on the Thames Tunnel. Stairways may be too narrow, escalators and elevators too small, and whenever down in the subway daylight may be too little and the above world feel far away. Multi-level atria in the network often overcome this. They allow wide staircases, for example, and they admit daylight underground, while possibly giving an open view to the upper levels. Vice versa, from the street, the subterraneous continuation of the public space can be clearly visible too. Similarly, lowered plazas aim to easy accessibility, as well as they also allow daylight to come in and improve visibility. Open wells, sunken gardens or intermediate levels have similar intentions. In origin, it is similar to the design of Rockefeller Concourse. But, it does not solve every feeling of detachment or disorientation. The distances between such places may at least as crucial. People in large networks, sometime or someplace, struggle with orientation. Where street view in these subways is lacking, show windows and office lobbies tell you where you are. Additional signage and mapping in the concourse subways helps to navigate. On a small grain the public experienced these ideas in the early New York and Philadelphia cases. In the same line, a consistent lay-out avoiding discontinuity while improving wayfinding is the challenge in the larger networks. The research also shows that trade in the modern subway systems derived from the early years. Souvenir stands are replaced by pharmacies or fashion boutiques. In addition, in time,

and throughout the larger systems, other activities are introduced. The downtown subways also give underground access to big stores, office buildings and cultural facilities. In some, even housing is accessible from the underground. The placing of businesses seems down the surface very similar to above grounds. If there are any large underground commercial facilities, they are generally only located at places where several ways meet, or at places where many people come together. To the contrary, specialty shops and cultural facilities are located more peripheral. Of course there are many subways without any facilities. These are mostly functional links serving pedestrian traffic as if serving utility lines. Often they are appreciated only for its weather-proof car-free connection. Recent redesign of these transport subways accept that, but intent to improve the attractiveness. They reconfigure the interior public space to improve the user experience. A few focuses on the environmental perception are coming into view. The one chooses to imitate the outdoors including landscaping, the other makes the most of the artificial lighting and introversion or modestly creates a view to the outdoor world. Does it rain? Is that the wind blowing? Is it day? Every era, designers are offering ways in an effort to ameliorate the situation. Every epistle is an open end.

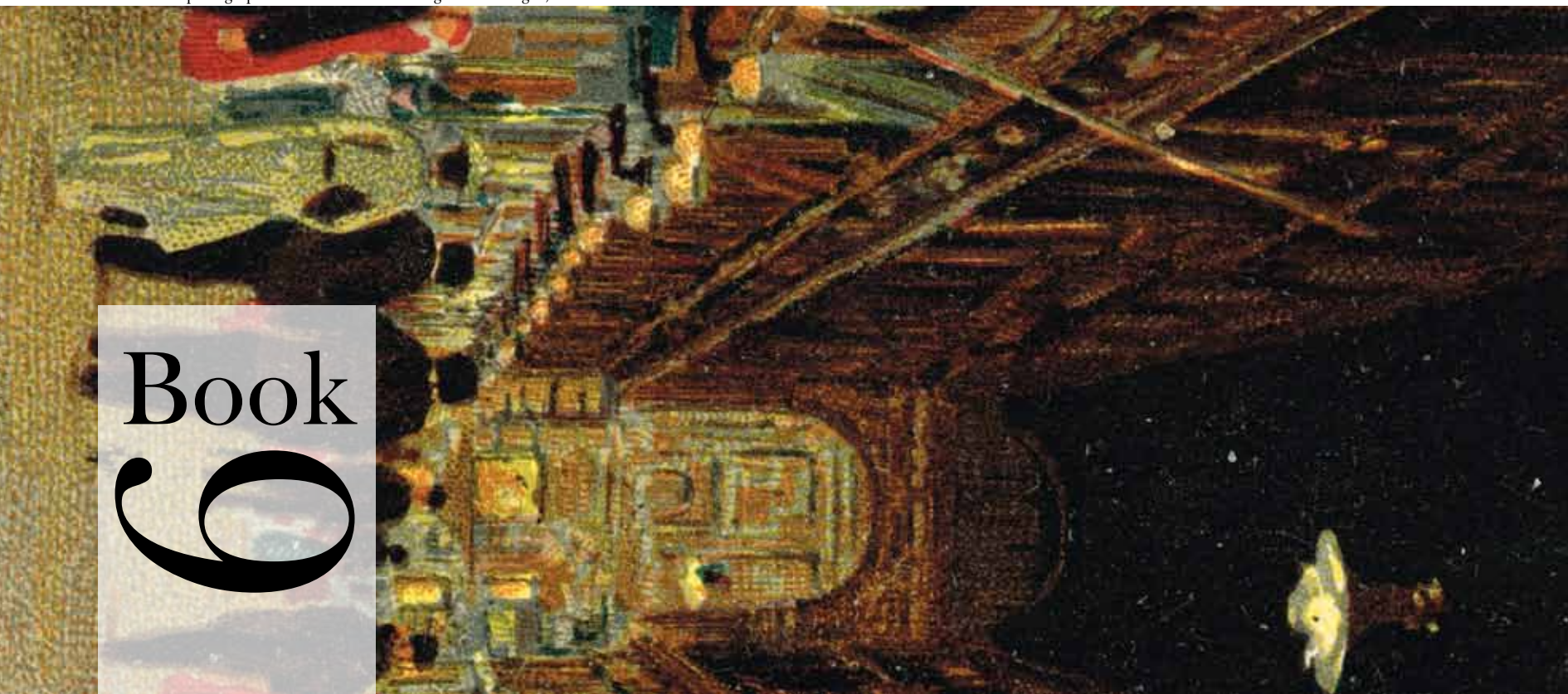
Figure 8.6.9.
Subway and street levels and Place Ville Marie, 2006

The Hague, 1997

“It was October 24th, 1997. I came home from one of my usual strolls through De Passage in The Hague, an arcade near my home town and university. I had been pondering about something during my recent lessons in the theory of design. I was taught that an architect foremost envisioned the built on the private premises, whereas the urbanist organised the city as a whole and arranged the public space in particular. In each discipline, different actors played the lead roles, conceiving their projects and imagining a better future. Though I had learned the differences and fully understood them, I also saw similarities. By reasoning those in an arcade that day, an additional puzzle came into view. Had I been in a building or a street? If I would design such a place, what role would I have? The glass roofing created most of the ambivalence, I thought somewhat uncertain. I was inside a structure on a terrazzo floor, different from the one common outside. I was in a building or at least on private premises. Yet, it was crowded with people passing by and the inner facades, with their shop windows between the Corinthian columns, were quite like the exterior ones. I was in a kind of street as well. Then, apart from the disciplinary question, instantly I wondered: Was it a private or a public space? It was just a question and I had stopped in the interior for only a few seconds. Nevertheless, it occupied my mind for quite a while. A historic precedent in practice showed me something else to look forward to. At the time soon to be both an architect and urban designer and planner, I decided to reflect on this issue as a final thesis. I did not know this was only a beginning.”

The MultipliCity

Coloured photograph of the arcade of De Passage in The Hague, 1910s



Book 9

Chapter 1 Epistles in Retrospective

As any project this research has been embedded in a specific context. Although the conclusions have outgrown this specificity, its prelude is unique and fundamental for the explicit approach. The city of The Hague in The Netherlands can be considered as 'stage one'. The Hague had pioneered nationally with a renewed attention for the design of public space. In 1988, a governmental memorandum on the inner-city bridged several sectoral approaches by putting the emphasis on public space first and aiming for a better future. Several intentions in fields of spatial planning, urban renewal, recreation, culture, traffic engineering and environmental improvement were combined. As such, the memorandum hoped for a better 'image of the inner-city' and a general impulse for its liveability and economics. The plan would make the core of the city 'healthy' again. (Gemeente 's-Gravenhage 1988, June) Roughly, it could be seen in the line of the past challenges faced in New York City in the sixties of the twentieth century or the pedestrianisation plans made in a variety of European and American cities since the fifties of the same century.[937] More directly, the Dutch plan followed recent regeneration strategies practised in Barcelona, where squares and parks were redesigned with the intention to do more or less the same. According to the design coordinator of the memorandum Alle Hosper[938], The Hague would be the first Dutch municipality as such approaching the problems of the public space integrally. He stated that, in recent years, fortunately more attention was introduced for the design of squares and streets in the Netherlands. He reasons that, of all cities, this city was famed for its public space. The argumentation was numerical. According to his calculations, The Hague hosted 'about 160 squares' and its public spaces were 'covering over 30 percent of the city'. His definition of public space, which was adopted by the public government, was rather stringent.

[937] See respectively Book 3 and 6.

[938] Alle Geert Hosper (3 October 1943 – 19 Augustus 1997) was a Dutch landscape architect and urban designer.

Figure 9.1.1.
De Kern Gezond, June 1988

Public space was seen as “the social territory, the space which is not private property”. Public space was publicly-known, publicly-used and publicly-owned. Remarkably however on the sidelines of the document, De Passage was used to illustrate the intended ‘emphasis on quality’ and it was seen as a unique part of the core. (Gemeente ’s-Gravenhage 1987, September and 1988, June: 31, 74) Today, this research raises questions on the validity of our generally accepted isea of public space. By puting foreward examples like the arcade in The Hague, in the end, it may be hard to make public space quantifiable. This is in line with the outcome of my research, which will be sintisised in this last book. In fact, the developments in The Hague have showcased a wide variety of examples in which we can question if we can define public space as absolute as we do. It hard to see public space as publicly-used, publicly-owned, publicly-known in all extends.

Since the adoption of this public briefing note, the network of public space in The Hague changed in many ways. Car-accessibility is reduced and the pedestrian is prioritised. Most of the aspired redesigns are realised. Its boulevard, its streets, squares, parks, canals, alleys, courts, places and its ramparts have been repaved, refurnished and replanted where needed. Black-manganese-coloured bricks since then dominate the inner-city. However, while

Figure 9.1.2.
De Passage, 2011

the local government was focussed mainly on outdoor space, the arcade had not been neglected. On the contrary, recently the interior of De Passage was completely redesigned too. After hundred-twenty-five years, the old remainders of the Hotel du Passage and some decayed neighbouring premises had been included in the structure. It allowed revitalisation of those incorporated parts while the shop area could be extended. New, bigger and more luxurious stores could open doors in the arcade. The grandeur of 1885, removed in the early sixties, was re-established. The wearing parts are restored and the original ornaments are reconstructed. The people can see again the design of Jan Christiaan van Wijk and Harmen Wesstra, as it was realised by Henri Rieck.[939] Again people can appreciate grandeur. They can enjoy a stroll though the arcade from the main east-west shopping streets to the Buitenhof, the outer court of the ancient seat of the Dutch parliament, and further north.[940] As such, the arcade is recognised recently for its contribution in revitalising the inner city. After one-hundred-twenty-five years, local government and developers see the arcade as an exemplar for other cities again.[941] "What is The Hague without De Passage?" the current alderman questions: "De Passage might not be the heart of the city, she does form a very important part of her image". (Idsinga and Oosterheerd 2007: 120-125, Shopping Centre News 2008: 24-35, Samson 2011: 142-159, Baldewsingh 2011)
One could reason that the governmental urban interventions have given the owners the impulse to upgrade their arcade. It might be partially true, but as non-outdoor space, the interest for the public interior did not stand on itself. Today's network of public space in The Hague includes a wide range of interior public spaces, in fact, like many cities around the globe. Several interrelated examples of public interiors have been designed since the implementation of the governmental memorandum. The natures of most of them have been discussed in this research and like elsewhere most of them have contributed to crucial local transformations. Thus, one can also reason that in correspondence to the improvements in the outdoor space, those in the interior have been of equal importance, particularly to the renewed interest in the arcade. Different from the local government, and also in 1988, the Dutch national government accepted these changes in the network of public space. They did so in explicit terms. Not only had they written that, in line with the discussed memorandum, high quality public space would be more a demand for people, also they predicted that privately-owned space, like public-accessible interiors, will have a share in this. And if so, their main concern for all levels of public government was to continue safeguarding the public interest. (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Millieubeheer 1988, 17 March: 51-54)
In The Hague, this challenge had been apparent since 1986 with the extension of the nineteen-century arcade system across the streets to the east. Showcasing a series of transformations in the public space, a new arcade, which was on the drawing boards, would not be an ordinary arcade. The design introduced a largely non-commercial arcade, which was proposed to unite old and new buildings of the Dutch House of Representatives. So, the new arcade would serve the national government, which in the mean was expressing its concern for interior public space. As such, the arcade could be seen as its own emblematical test case of public

939 The joint-stock company N.V. 's-Gravenhaagsche Passage-Maatschappij was established in 1882 with the intention to built De Passage, also know as De Haagsche Passage. The Dutch architects Jan Christiaan van Wijk (20 December 1844 – 6 March 1891) and Harmen Jurjens Wesstra, often referred to as Herman Wesstra, (25 April 1843 – 14 January 1911) designed the arcade between 1883 and 1884. When two of the three arms were realised in 1885, the design was slightly altered by the Belgium architect Henri Rieck (data unknown), who had been worked on Passage du Nord or Noorddoorgang in Brussels since 1881. The arcade created only a short-cut between Buitenhof, the ancient outer court of the parliament and the Spuistraat, the main shopping street at the time. The third arm was added between 1928 and 1929, four years after the Hofweg, a traffic breakthrough was opened. This boulevard was planned by Hendrik Petrus Berlage (21 February 1856 – 12 August 1934). The local architect Josephus Jacobus Duijnstee, also known as Jos Duynstee, (15 June 1881 – c.1949) designed the new short-cut. Between 1959 and 1961, in a redesign the ornaments have been removed and the cupola was replaced. Heaped under the name of 'Plan du Passage', the arcade was again redesigned between 2000 and 2005. The original ornamentation was restored under direction of the Dutch architects Raymond Kentie, called Ray, (born 21 July 1956) and Michael Maria Samsom (born 19 October 1963) with The Historic Monuments Preservation Section, a part of the municipal Department of Urban Development. Between 2003 and 2005 Eric B. Vreedenburgh (born 4 December 1954) designed a large shop extension called 'De Baljurk', or ball gown, known for its new facade on the square with a gold-coloured perforated steel screen. In 2008, all construction works finished.

940 The Binnenhof, an ancient court established on historical ground purchased in 1229 by Count Floris IV of Holland (24 June 1210 – 19 July 1234). This court has been the location of meetings of the Dutch parliament, the 'Staten-Generaal', already since 1446.

941 The arcade project won the 'Nieuwe Stad Prijs Den Haag 2005', a municipal prize awarded annually for the best urban renewal. In 2007, it was again a nominee. The Project was also a nominee for the Gouden Piramide 2007, a state prize awarded each year for excellence in commissioning work in architecture, urban design, landscape architecture, infrastructure and physical planning. A year later, the project won the NRW Jaarprijs 2008, dedicated by the Dutch Council of Shopping Centers, or Nederlandse Raad voor Winkelcentra.

Figure 9.1.3.
Preliminary design of the Statenpassage in the Dutch House of Representatives, July 1982

governance. It was the intention of the designer to give expression of the open character of Dutch democracy by uniquely including a reinterpretation of the City's requested attention for pedestrian paths. This so-called Statenpassage[942] would be freely accessible for everyone taking a walk from the old arcade though the parliament complex to the other side of the city block. Meanwhile, inside, long public escalators in a sand-coloured marble interior would lead those interested to a public gallery. Upstairs at a grandstand facing the semicircular debating chamber for plenary meetings, one could attend public meetings. Plans did not work out that way when the arcade opened in 1992. Like elsewhere this seat of the public government, and thus its arcade, lost its easy access. For safety reasons the arcade of the House was restricted in its access in the nineteen-nineties. Part of its public quality was reduced to what was called 'controlled publicity'. (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening 1977, July; Stedebouw 1992: 6; Van Stralen 1992, December) Nowadays, only those showing a means of identification are allowed to pass. The arcade is not a time-saving short-cut anymore. Presently, mainly tourist and special interest groups are visiting the place.

Even public space in the hands of the public government is not always easy accessible. More so, even these spaces are not always used by the larger public. Should it? What is in the public interest? These are political questions. I have concentrated on another. Where does the public go anyhow in the everyday city? It is more an urban question. Public space is not always and publicly-owned, and publicly used, and publicly-known. The case of The Hague is a wonderful example to introduce the conclusions of this research. Public space is not so absolute. Maybe there is not such a thing as unconditional public interest. At least in the era studied there never was. Its presumed ubiquity makes public space perceived as omnipresent and interchangeable, but illustrated by this research public space is so much more versatile and pluralistic. The rediscovered 'res publica' is the only Roman public law surviving in our discipline. It determines the ideas on public space over the years. These ideas are strongly related to publicly-owned space, whereas in fact, the ancient law was part of a range of forgotten laws concerning the public interest. Due to this determination, there are many public spaces in the city which we may neglect while the public does not. If it would boil down to concerns on the public issue, the wider range of forgotten legal issues could give us those aspects, which would apply to public interiors. In law practice, such laws have been present all those years. Implicitly, they have in our practice too. In The Hague, it has been most literally. Inside the parliamentary arcade, a statue of Justian I has been placed as a silent witness of the past, reminding the people of ancient laws.[943] But, they have forgotten. This arcade is one of many interior public spaces which can broaden our horizon.

We could see examples in every city; in the rest of The Hague too. When the City Hall of The Hague opened in 1995, it brought another interior to the public. This project, white and shining, was planned and built south of The House. The administrative building of local government was designed around an elongated atrium. In length, it resembled that of the arcade of the Statenpassage and likewise

[942] The Dutch architect Paulus Bernard de Bruin, called Pi, (born 28 Augustus 1942) won the 1980 design competition for the new extension to the Dutch parliament building for the Dutch House of Representatives or Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal. He designed the Statenpassage between 1981 and 1991, incorporating a number of existing properties.

[943] The Dutch-East-Indian-born sculptor Diedrich Burghard Alexander Wechgelaar, called Lex, (born 5 June 1936) included the green marble panel of Justinian I (see Book 2) in his design for 'De Vier Wetgevers'. This old incrustation was designed between 1936 and 1938 by Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst, called Rik, (4 December 1868 – 31 December 1938). Between 1939 and 1988, it had embellished the interior of the Dutch Supreme Court or Hoge Raad der Nederlanden, designed by Gustav Cornelis Bremer, called Kees, (7 July 1880 – 14 August 1949).

it was designed to fit into the existing pedestrian routes of the city and it was planned since 1986 too. It has been oddly countering the City's preoccupation with the outdoor public space all those years. Yet, different to the parliamentary arcade, the interior of this seat has remained easy-accessible for the larger public, while it is being owned and known in a very similar way. Its linear eleven-story-high monitor-lit glass-roofed central atrium opens to all kinds of people, no matter if a citizen in need for a new passport, or if some other wants to enjoy one of the weekly expo's, drink a cappuccino, buy a postcard, or just pass through. According to its American designer Richard Meier,[944] the public interior "helps reassure visitors that they are not going to be trapped in a bureaucratic labyrinth. Instead of losing themselves in miles of corridors, they can readily identify their appointed destinations as soon as they enter the galleria." (Meier 1999: 19-20)

It continues to be used by many nowadays and it is extending into several newly built interiors. Small glass atriums of a ministry complex are built across a pedestrian mall, which in itself continues though the spacious short VROM arcade of another ministry building.[945] These interiors may be exceptional cases, because most public interiors in the city are not owned by the public administration acting as private party. Their presence put an illustrative focus on the role of the public government in the larger debate on public space. They do so the more because they are publicly-owned. That is to say, even ownership is a complex matter of discretion and degree. Other examples in the city show this as well. The VROM arcade leads, for example, into the public interior of the city's central station.[946] This is a place that is difficult to describe a publicly-owned. It can be qualified as private, because this terminal building is privately-owned by the Dutch Railways, but also, that is to say indirectly, it can be seen as public too, because the national government is the railway's single shareholder.[947] Of course we can rely on ownership, but this may be tricky if in itself even this issue is not so absolute. Also, we may forget to take a look at the other governmental legal arrangements, which regulate the public issue. Today, this includes for example the memorandums, which give an account of public policy. If one adds to this the public use patterns and records of popularity or common knowledge on the projects, public space is much more. Ownership may be a too small aspect to get a clear image of the involvement of the public government,

[944] Richard Meier (born 12 October 1934) is an American architect. The city hall and central library, was named Stadhuis/Bibliotheek, and popularly dubbed Het IJspaleis, or the ice palace.

[945] Between 2008 and 2012, the German architect Hans Kollhoff (born 18 September 1946) designed the atria of Wijnhavenkwartier, as part of a new complex for the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties). The Dutch architect Jan Hoogstad (born 29 June 1930) designed the wide arcade leading to the central station as part of the former Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM), between 1986 and 1992. Currently, the complex is renovated in order to house the new Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu).

[946] The Dutch architect Koen van der Gaast (10 August 1923 – 7 February 1993) designed Den Haag Centraal Station (CS) between 1972 and 1973. Initiated in 2004, Jan Benthem (born 18 June 1952) and Mels Crouwel (born 16 July 1953), both also Dutch, redesigned the terminal. Between 1999 and 2003, Donald Lambert (born 2 July 1950) of Kraaivanger Urbis was responsible for the urban design and master plan, the later in cooperation with the local government. At the start of construction in 2010, it was dubbed OV Terminal Den Haag, now it is known as Den Haag Nieuw Centraal. The project, designed by the Dutch architects Jan Benthem (born 18 June 1952) and Willem Melchior, or Mels, Crouwel (born 22 februari 1953) is scheduled to be completed in 2014.

[947] Since 2012, it is part of Nederlandse Spoorwegen division NS Station.

Figure 9.1.4.
VROM arcade, 2013

Figure 9.1.5.
Design drawing of the atrium of the City Hall of The Hague by Richard Meier, 1986

and the involvement of the public government may be a too narrow focus to give the proper sharpness to outline public space. The case of the central station underlines this. Like many spaces in the centre, it is crowded during day times. It does is obvious that often more people use this space than numerous publicly-owned spaces in the city. Due to this fact, it may be also better known by the general public than a lot of outdoor spaces. In the near future, these public qualities will only strengthen. The number of users is increasing. Recently, the whole interior is redesigned to serve larger steams of people. It has turned into a large and iconic transit hub, including elevated railway stations, and train and bus stops of all kinds. Already hundred-thousands of people are entering or leaving the city here daily, soon these amounts will be twice as high.[948] This gate of The Hague has become more spacious, its glass and steel roof have become clearly visible and the interior got entrances on multiple sides. In its own way, this design answered to the assignment of the City, again requesting a continuity of pedestrian paths in the larger network of public spaces. The interior will be more accessible and connected, thus allowing more public. (Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Den Haag 2002, January) To a certain extent, the reverse goes for the redesign an old multi-layered indoor mall to the north of the station, called Babylon. Although the mall has been transformed to a through-block arcade, the accessibility and connectivity of this mall will be a less after redesign. The interior lost its direct skyway to the station and the entrances on street level have been repositioned in the shadow of new skyscrapers juxtaposed over the old complex. From the square in front, the new arcade will run to a backstreet and plaza without offering a real short-cut. Also anchors changed. The cinema of what was called Babylon too is gone, a wellness centre has returned and the number of shops and restaurants decreased, while its supply changed very much. The whole lives on as New Babylon, perhaps a light-hearted play on its Situationist namesake from 1959, in which an endless series of huge labyrinthine interiors was envisioned, endlessly reconstructing spaces for a future society.[949] Despite fundamental changes in design, will the new interior be known by the public? Well, most likely. Only by size, the built outlook is hard to miss and it stands aside two major pedestrian paths to the station. Will it be publicly-owned? It never really was. Nothing changes really. Will it stay publicly-used? That is to say, the public will

[948] The interior public space was used by 190,000 people in 2002 a day. In 2020, Den Haag Centraal station expects 350.000 people a day. (Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Den Haag 2002, January: 6 and 24)

[949] Colombian-Dutch architect Roberto Eduard Meyer (born 24 August 1959) en Dutch partner Jeroen Wouter van Schooten (born 21 March 1960) designed New Babylon between 2003 and 2012. It is a renovation and extension of Babylon, a multi-level mall built between 1976 and 1977, and designed in 1974 by the Dutch architect Wolbert Thomas Ellerman, called Wout (21 November 1936 – 3 Augustus 1997). The Dutch multi-disciplinary artist Constant Anton Nieuwenhuijs, known as simply Constant (21 July 1920 –1 Augustus 2005) presented his ideas for New Babylon in an exhibition called 'Constructies en Maquettes' in the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, from 4 May to 8 June, 1959, and in De Posthoorn in The Hague, from 20 June to 11 July 1959, from which they travelled over Europe. The ideas mark his contribution to the Situationist International, which he joined from 1957 to 1961.

Figure 9.1.6.
Render of the redesigned interior of The Hague Central Station by Benthem Crouwel Architecten, 2011

Figure 9.1.7.
New Babylon, The Hague, a vision by Constant Nieuwenhuys, 1964

change. The mall did depend on its anchors and events, attracting different people, now the arcade should rely on its passer-bys. Will they come, will they go? The public is not the public. The future will learn.

Since this research had started, more people move though more public interiors in The Hague, more public interiors are known by many, while still little of them are really publicly-owned though the ways of governmental involvement have multiplied. Foremost that is exemplified by the extension of the interior network south of the old arcade. Many interiors here are publicly-used and publicly known, while not publicly owned. In the close proximity of De Passage, another arcade will join the system soon. In alignment with the old one, it will create a short-cut through the inner city from Buitenhof, the ancient outer court of the parliament. to the pedestrian mall on the other site. French-Swizz architect Bernard Tschumi designed this so-called Nieuwe Haagse Passage within the brick and glass-iron walls of the city's first department store, a pseudo-bazaar formally known as Grand Bazar de la Paix.[950] Thus, the arcade is being built on the premises of another former privately-owned public interior. On the upper levels, the arcade will introduce two publicly accessible floors, interconnected by a skyway, which in its turn will give access to a hotel. Along the mall,[951] new facades with diagrammatic images will reveal the remarkable redesign within the old. Tschumi aimed for an incontrovertibly Dutch design, with iconic ceramic blue and white pixel tiles, inspired by Delftware. The arcade and built remain light, open and quite transparent through the ample use of glass. In the south, a subway is located below the mall. It is another ambivalent example in the network. It is publicly-owned and it serves primary underground public transit. Baptised Souterrain, it does so in a quite utilitarian way, but like some of the earliest predecessors of the type, meanwhile it is linking the basements of surrounding public buildings. People on one of the underground concourses could, for example, enter a Vroom & Dreesman department store[952], a degraded Chinese supermarket and some other shops. In addition, this subway includes access to two layers of underground parking. As such, its public use is somewhat specific. Yet still, for those people knowing the bypass,

[950] The Dutch architect Jacob Cornelis van Dorsser, Sr. (4 March 1880 – 6 December 1958) designed Grand Bazar de la Paix in 1906. He enlarged the department store with one nave in 1907. The store was extended again in 1929, then named Het Warenhuis. The first serious reconstructions took place between 1963 and 1966, followed by complete interior redesign and facade and the creation of an arcade. This was proposed in 2001 the T+T Design and and since 2009 Bernard Tschumi (see Book 1) is responsible for the design. Opening is scheduled in 2014.

[951] The mall is established in 1999 by the Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling to the general design framework of 1988. Before pedestrianisation, this public space, called Grote Marktstraat, was planned by Berlage too, between 1907 and 1908 and realised in the early 1920s.

[952] The Vroom & Dreesmann department store is designed by the Dutch architect Johannes Theodorus Aloysius Maria Kuyt, called Jan (27 June 1884 – 9 February 1944) between 1928 and 1929.

the underground interior can be appreciated for its weather-proof connections. It offers those crossing the mall a modest alternative under street-level. It serves shoppers and commuters while it guides downtown visitors, who have parked their car here, up to the heart of the centre. In general, the subway is known by the larger public. If not for its daily use, many know the place for its wide published peculiar design. Rem Koolhaas designed rugged concrete walls, which were left bare, giving the interior a rock-like image. The floors are of a kind of parquetry and at some places fluidly curved. One wall includes a permanent poster expo, referring to public media.[953] Thirdly, the place is known for its past, which was dogged with construction problems and ongoing old-fashioned water-influx. In popular speech, people gave the subway several nationally-known nicknames such as 'tramtanic' and 'swimtunnel'.[954] Its public quality is also determined by its ownership. The situation is somewhat intricate again, because like most subways most of its public interior is located under the publicly-owned space, a mall in this case, but by itself the subway is privately-owned by a local transit company, whose two shareholders are the City and a national transit company, owned by the State on its turn.[955] So it might be something like private-public-private-public under public? Yet than again, parts of the underground premises are rented out again. All together, it's another urban and architectural design reproducing specific inherited characteristics of a public space without being public in every way, like some more cases in The Hague. The interior network continues on street level: in one specific point, steps lead people up to a cascade of white stuccoed stairways in a public half-open and covered atrium of Spuimarkt. Due to its stairs and mall view, this space is used by people relaxing, especially on sunny days. The red brick building has been built recently, on the place of one of the original two bazaar-like market halls. Now, it remains to be a public space, but of a completely different kind. On several upper levels one can visit specialty shops, a health club and nine cinemas.[956] Next doors are two other department stores. The sober concrete and glass HEMA and expressionistic brick De Bijenkorf of the Modern era continue to invite a distinct but divers group of people too.[957] Like in the past the building "zuigt het publiek onverwacht in den gevel in"; it draws the public unexpectedly in, as explained in 1926 just after its opening. (Ritter, Bakker and Wijdeveld 1926, November) Today, another small underground concourse in front of their entrances gives access to a supermarket attracting a different, most likely overlapping, share of the public.

[953] Rem Koolhaas (see Book 1) designed Souterrain, locally also known as Tramtunnel, between 1993 and 1995. The idea for the public expo started in 1999 under de name Ondergronds Tram Station Spui Den Haag, Internationale Affiche Galerij. The German traffic planner and engineer Friedrich Lehner (17 December 1900 – 3 March 1979) introduced the idea for this subway in the years 1963-1964.

[954] The subway was opened in 2004, after years of water influx and therefore it got its nicknames 'tramtanic' and 'swimtunnel', 'zwemtunnel' in Dutch. (Meerhof Ron 2004, 15 October; Trouw 2004, 18 October) It recalls the first design experiments involving the Thames Tunnel, as described in Book 8.

[955] The Dutch local transit company HTM Personenvervoer NV, owning the Tramtunnel, is a private stock corporation. Since 2013, the two shareholders of this company are the Dutch national transit company local public government and N.V. Nederlandse Spoorwegen, another private stock corporation, whose only shareholder is the national public government.

[956] The Australian-German architect Peter Lynn Wilson (born 27 September 1950) designed Spuimarkt, between 1997 and 2007. Between 1996 and 2005, the Spanish architect and urban designer Joan Busquets Grau (born 1946) was responsible for its master plan. The project included the underground stores and supermarket.

[957] The Dutch architect Pieter Lodewijk, or Piet, Kramer (7 January 1881 – 4 February 1961) designed De Bijenkorf between 1923 and 1926. Fellow countryman and colleague Abraham Elzas, called 'A' (14 September 1907 – 5 September 1995) designed HEMA, between 1960 in 1962. The adjoined concourse is designed between 1998 and 2002.

Figure 9.1.8.
Render of the Nieuwe Haagse Passage by Bernard Tschumi, 2012

Figure 9.1.9.
Grand Bazar de la Paix, 1907

Figure 9.1.10.
Souterrain model by Parthesius & de Rijk and OMA and photo by Hisao Suzuki, 1996

Inside De Bijenkorf, several independent small shops and stands, selling perfume, jewellery, and fashion and home accessories, are attracting one share of the public. The indoor boutique of Chanel, the La Mer counter and the Armani shop-in-shop can be considered as public spaces within a public space, while being private places in a private place. Again from an ownership's viewpoint, it is an intricate situation. Spuimarkt, HEMA and De Bijenkorf, like many buildings in the core of the inner city, are leasehold estates. So, the private property owners have had the right to occupy public lands, owned by the City, for a given length of time. Part is rented out again. From the point of view of use, it is clear that these interiors attract many people, though each store has its own public and as such it might be really known by different people. Still, every local knows the seasonal Christmas tree in De Bijenkorf.
In the rear of the three projects, the survived part of the market hall of Markthof is showcasing a different public quality in the extensive interior network. Its Association of Owners looks after the common interests of this leasehold. It regulates use, maintenance and management.[958] Its public space keeps attracting people. The public interior of this remained structuralistic brick building hosts some small shops, among others for flowers, fruits and fishes. It may be private-private and public-public in a different way, for a different public too. If not already my research on interior public space showcases a sum of some plural, versatile and multiple qualities of public space, then surely law and the broader involvement of the government adds another one. Yet, although several examples have passed, the research has reviewed neither all kinds of interrelated laws, rules and regulations, nor the relation between the different contracts and agreements between actors, including governments, which have conditioned or controlled public qualities from a juridical point of view. From that standpoint, the research remains phenomenological.

Overall, the research has illuminated only legal topics involving the public government in those cases where it has catalysed the existence of public interiors, when it has contributed to the introduction of a new kind or when it influenced its popularity or its specific public quality. One of those examples is illuminated in the study on malls. As many as three United States acts, adopted in 1934, 1944 and 1956, have affected indirectly the rise of the suburban shopping mall, including indoor ones, the Supreme Court cases of 1972 and 1980 have altered the dominant reasoning on shopping malls completely from the positive to the negative. Both times, eventually these issues have affected the bias of designers and thus new designs. Both times, these laws and legal jurisdictions have been beacons in a process of broader socio-spatial transformations.

[958] The Dutch architectural firm of Pieter Verhave (23 January 1906 – 15 January 1991), Jacob Gustaaf Erik Luyt (4 April 1914 – 29 September 2000), Wouter de Iongh (18 January 1920 – 20 September 1986) and Marinus Jacobus Slikker (6 June 1930 – 31 October 1973) designed the market hall with underground parking facilities between 1969 and 1979. It replaced a temporary covered market, which was present between 1968 and 1980. The northern part of the so-called Markthof was demolished in 2003 to make room for Spuimarkt. The southern part still exists and its owners are associated in Vereniging Van Eigenaars De Markthof, 's-Gravenhage.

Figure 9.1.11.
Render of the Spuimarkt by Bolles + Wilson, 2006

There are also local examples, which have been passed in review. These laws may direct designs in a more direct manner. An example is the formation of incentive zoning between 1957 and 1961 in New York, and especially the amendments of 1970. It contributed to the increase of interior public spaces on Manhattan. Although local, still its influence also crossed borders, for example between 1968 and 1971, when the legal construct was used to reorganise Calgary's strict regulations on skyways towards a stimulant. In contrast, the pioneering ideas on skyways in Minneapolis were hold back due to local property restrictions and other red tapes. For better or worse, especially in these cases, law has affected design and the evolution of the types.

Also The Hague has a wide variety of additional zoning plans, involving land-use and building regulations, ordinances, sometimes allowing incentives or exemptions, environmental permits, guiding transformations, and agreements, which guide the public quality of a place from the governmental viewpoint as well. Their contribution on the boom of public interiors, their specific public quality or significance is minimal. They are the outcome of local policy lines and national laws. Whereas the described memorandums clearly mark the current paradigm in the reasoning on public space, Dutch law has evolved gradually and layered: Concerning the public space, the Constitution of the Netherlands regulates among others the freedom of speech, association and assembly, but law may limit this in order to protect health, in the interest of traffic and to combat or prevent disorders in places other than buildings and enclosed

Figure 9.1.12.
De Bijenkorf, November 1926

spaces. Though it is questionable what a building is, restrictions in the public interest seem to constitute in the outdoor space. The public works act of 1927, still in effect, adds to this restriction of rights to assert the establishment and maintenance of works in the public interest. This could include property rights and thus the built. Recent laws speak in some cases also of publicly accessible places, while safeguarding urban developments is done in more general terms.[959] (Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1815, 24 August, 1927, 13 May and 2008, 6 November) In case of public disorder, the police are empowered to enforce the law to limit the disturbance. On local level, the public interiors are treated just like other public spaces. The general local ordinance of the city regulates all publicly-accessible spaces, whether or not closable during a certain time, the same way. (Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1988, 20 April, 1992, 14 February, 2007, 20 December, and Gemeente Den Haag 2007, December) This all is quite similar to the discussed French ordinance of 1860, which took one of the first steps into conditioning and controlling privately-owned public interiors, while focus since a few years was turned almost completely to the outdoors. In that sense, nothing changed really. As said, the change is more a general change of the socio-spatial situation in the city.

Not every case is a good example, showcasing well used interiors. In the end of the twentieth century, The Hague witnessed also less fortuned interior public spaces. At the time, four arcades, including one mall, were closed. They had not been part of a system or offering a short-cut. They more relied on public attraction. If their indoor quality and management was appealing to the people, the public kept coming. If not, they stayed away. The so-called Pander Passage ran parallel to the outdoor street.[960] Since 1973, the arcade was strategically located along the current pedestrian mall, in those days still a busy thoroughfare for cars. It faced one of the major entrances of the department store De Bijenkorf. The arcade was not intended as a fast connection, more as a byway offering a different quality than outdoors. Yet, the interior with its horizontal structure, shop windows under a low louverall ceiling, precast concrete elements, and black smoked-glass fronts would lose its shine quickly. In 1975, the Pasadenha[961] had joined one block to

[959] See the Constitution, or Grondwet (GW), Articles 6-10, the Public Works Act, known as Belemmeringenwet Privaatrecht (BP), literally Removal of Impediments in Private Law Act, Article 1 and General Environmental Protection Act, or Wet Algemene Bepalingen Omgevingsrecht (Wabo), Chapter 2 De Omgevingsvergunning.

[960] Winkelcentrum Pander-Passage, between Weversplaats 1 and Wagenstraat, was designed between 1972 and 1973, by Cornelis den Heijer, called Cees, (born 7 March 1931).

[961] Pasadenha, a quasi-abbreviation for Passage Den Haag, was designed in 1975 by John Henry Saunders (22 March 1916 – 16 November 1995) and Ernestinus Florimond Groosman, called Ernest (21 June 1917 – 15 December 1999). One passage was located through the store of the Schröder firm, designed in 1906 by the Dutch architect Lodewijk Antonius Hermanus de Wolf (27 November 1871 – 30 Oktober 1923).

Figure 9.1.13a.
Pander-Passage, 1972

Figure 9.1.13b.
Pasadenha, 1972

Figure 9.1.13c.
Queens-Passage, 1972

the north. It combined low and narrow arcades with a spacious mall in the core of the complex. Here people would gather in a sunken terrace, surrounded by brick walls, gold bars and some planting. Four huge opal spheres illuminated the interior, while the use of red brick and again black smoked-glass frontage gave indoors a dark outdoor look. Some white panelling could not compensate this. Its arcades ran more or less parallel to the existing streets. So there was not really a short-cut again, and the mall in the centre lost its lustre too. The Queens Passage[962] had opened in 1972 again further north. It was designed in a similar lay-out but with a décor of shops designed as nineteenth century city pubs. The plan introduced short, low and narrow arcades, now in their midst a small outdoor backyard-like court. Multi-cell louvers kept people dry, but other than a handful of stores and a round socket base in the centre, on which one might sit, there was nothing which kept the people in. There was little public, the more because it was located somewhat away of the main stream. Within a few years most shops were vacant. Lastly, Passage Buitenhof-Hoogstraat interconnected this northern part of the inner city with the outer court Buitenhof, so near De Passage. Opened in 1961, it used to be a real short-cut, but without any grandeur and only about ten shops. It was paved with ordinary concrete outdoor tiles and delineated with some shop windows meandering around the concrete stilts supporting the upper precast concrete office building.[963] This site of the outer court was dominated by buildings with a less attractive or closed plinth. Pander Passage, Passage Buitenhof-Hoogstraat and Queens Passage closed in respectively 1985, 1989 and 1991. They were closed and transformed into store space. Pasadenha closed in 1999, when the larger part was demalled. The Dutch architect Pim Hienkens transformed the space into an outdoor court surrounded by eleven replicas of famous old facades of The Hague and Delft, rearranged in a new contemporary but historic setting. Alleys and one passage link the court to the rest of the network.[964]

Another 1970s arcade leading to the east entrance of the City Hall has never been popular or well-known by the public too. Designed by Jan Lucas and echoing the plans of Pier Luigi Nervi, its entrances are set-back, its interior is dark and its ceiling is quite low again, providing a short-cut to 'nowhere'. Yet, unlike the others this

962 Little is known on the Queens Passage, or Winkelpassage Queens. It opened in 1972, and already in 1978 it lived on as Gallery Queens Passage, an art expo.

963 First ideas have been proposed in 1959 by the Dutch-Indies-born Jan Willem Eduard Buys (26 August 1889 – 19 October 1961), Johannes Barend Lürsen, called Joan (5 March 1894 – 1995) and Adrianus van Haaren (4 May 1909 – 11 May 1979). In the years to it opening, eventually Bart Van Kasteel (21 December 1921 – 9 November 1988) designed Passage Buitenhof – Hoogstraat, as part of a project known under the name 'Kantoor- en Winkelgebouw aan het Buitenhof in Den Haag'.

964 Queens Passage was already facing a high vacancy rate in 1978, when most empty shop windows were used for a gallery. In the eighties, it was used by one clothing shop until it was closed and demolished. Pander Passage was also closed and Cees den Heijer redesigned the built structure with stores facing the outdoor street only, yet respecting the original architecture. In 2012, the Dutch architect Robertus Jacobus Marninus Custers, called Bob, (born 18 October 1968) redesigned the whole again now parcelated, with larger storefronts and a natural stone facade with rounded corners, expected to be reopened in 2014. When Passage Buitenhof-Hoogstraat closed, a bookshop incorporated the arcade space. Pasadenha survived only in two small fragments. Between 1999 and 2001, only two small parts of the arcades were incorporated in a project, dubbed Haagsche Bluf. Most of the public space was made outdoors again. Architect Willem Egbert Hienkens, called Pim (25 December 1952), designed the project together with colleagues Kees van Lamoen (born 17 June 1952) and Maarten Brillenburg Wurth (born 24 March 1963), who were responsible for the modern glass facades and building structure. The municipal Conservation Office was involved in selecting and copying historical facades adequately. Hienkens is a member of the Dutch branch of the Council for European Urbanism. (See book 6)

Figure 9.1.13d.
Passage Buitenhof-Hoogstraat, 1972

Figure 9.1.13e.
Passage Schedeldoekshaven, 1986

Figure 9.1.13f.
Passage der Lange Pooten, 1879

Passage Schedeldoekshaven is still there and its redesign presented also in the 1990s has not been realised. Above all, the two upper high-rise slabs, which are marginalising the visibility of arcade from the outside, are vacant since 2013 when the Ministries of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and of Security and Justice have moved to a new neighbouring complex without any perspective on a new tenant or use.[965]

Like in any city, in its past, more designs were not capable to meet the ravages of time. Some had been unfortunate from the beginning. A nearly forgotten arcade, which used to be near the current parliamentary buildings is an iconic example. This arcade, called Passage der Lange Pooten, was designed some years before De Passage was. It opened in 1879 and its demolition started already in 1911. It was an interior aiming to be public space without attracting people or allowing them to pass by, with a bad public reputation and with no support of the public governments. Initially it would connect the main east-west shopping street of the city straight with the neighbouring ancient Binnenhof, the heart of Dutch parliament. A similar breakthrough was posed some years earlier too, but did not receive much support at the time.[966] A passage to the Binnenhof was considered as a highly reprehensible thought. Nevertheless, when the shopping street was widened, the local constructor and developer Willem Doon was able to buy the grounds and he designed a connection anyway. It would be the arcade. He built it only partially, because opposition was persisting, and so this arcade opened as a dead-ended arcade. In the years after opening, its property owners' association kept intending to enlarge the arcade and create a pedestrian route through the block. In time, they also opted for a connection to a different side of the city block. The entrepreneurs even bought a large share of the surrounding premises to establish this. Yet, they did all without results. The arcade stayed as it was. Though it was a popular place for visitors of the city, on the long run, without a short-cut, this arcade was facing an unfortunate future. Above all, the public media were reporting also on other bad news. From scratch, the quality of building seemed poor and soon some decay really fell in. One of the pillars near the entrance sagged almost instantly, and already three years after opening the original café and hotel changed owners. The arcade would be mainly used as covered terraces for the present grand café.[967] (Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's-Gravenhage 1867, 7 February; Nieuwe Amsterdamse Courant, Algemeen Handelsblad 1881, 1 June; Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 1881, 20 July; De Bergh 1880: 227 and 1882: 662 and Gram 1905: 57)
Within a relatively short time, all these examples could not attract the larger crowd anymore. Their fate emphasise the conclusion that the design of interior public space is more than just a design project in itself. Understanding the nature of the network as a whole, the interior system, its components and its relation with the exterior in all its facets helps to condition its public quality. Arcades without short-cuts or appeal and malls offering no attraction anymore are the most likely to die.

The renewed interest in public space, the increase of public interiors in the urban fabric and the closure of some less integrated ones has demarcated a professional debate on the interior public space in

[965] The Dutch architect Jan Anthonie Lucas (23 May 1917 – 20 September 2005) designed Passage Schedeldoekshaven between 1972 and 1974. It opened in 1978. It was the result of plans initially designed in 1961 and 1968 with his Dutch partner Hendrik Everhard Niemeijer, called Henk, (1 December 1917 – 2 November 1970) and the Italian structural engineer and architect Pier Luigi Nervi (21 June 1891 – 9 January 1979). Busquets redesigned the passage and envisioned new entrances for the ministries in 1997.

[966] In 1867, the master architect of the city Willem Cornelis van der Waeyen Pieterszen (14 January 1819 – 17 Mei 1874) proposed a passage from Spui to Binnenhof. As he was surveyor and former superintendent of the public works and water management, his proposal could have followed the brook De Beek. He was also known as Willem Cornelius and as Waayen Pietersen, Wayen Pieterszen, and Waijen Pieterszen.

[967] Between 1877 and 1879, Lange Poten was widened from about 4 to 12 metres. When buildings were razed, the local constructor and developer Willem Doon Jr. (c.1820 – 1 April 1896) bought the ground and designed Passage der Lange Poten, with Passage-Hotel and Grand Café du Passage. After construction in the same year, plans changed and owners aimed to link Kleine Bagijnestraat en Spui. In the meantime, the hotel was renamed to Hotel Central after opening of De Passage in 1885. After the 1911 demolishment, between 1913 and 1915, the Dutch architect Johannes, or Jo, Mutters, Jr. (6 November 1858 – 13 December 1930) designed a new Art Deco hotel at this spot: Grand Hôtel Central Restaurant. The building changed use several times and is now incorporated in the complex of The House.

The Netherlands since the eighties.
In 1981, the Dutch urban designers Henco Bekkering and Jan Heeling[968] coined the phenomena as one general issue relevant for the profession. They saw the presence of public space within the interior as remarkable, highly relevant in the reading of the city, part of historical continuity and crucial in urban design. By adapting the editing of Rodrico Pérez de Arce on Nolli's map of Rome[969], they showed that the city is more than just a collection of objects, simplified and reduced to a whole. The Modern adaptations introduced a public space, which is present both outside and inside. (Heeling and Bekkering 1981, February; Pérez de Arce 1978, 98)

> "Het stedebouwkundig lezen van situaties heeft een eigen karakter. Hetzelfde geldt voor het lezen en tekenen van stedebouwkundige ontwerpen. Objecten worden vereenvoudigd, een verzameling van objecten wordt tot één geheel teruggebracht en de openbare ruimte benadrukt. Een duidelijk voorbeeld is de Pianti di Roma, de Nolli-kaart van Rome uit 1748. [...] De moderne bewerkingen tonen de openbare ruimte, zowel buiten als binnen, het deel van de stad dat niet door de monumenten wordt beheerst, en de monumenten op zichzelf." (Heeling and Bekkering 1981, February)

It was in line with the early review of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown on Nolli[970], which had been introduced in the Dutch context before by the wide spread American public media and their contribution to an exhibition on 'the street, form of society'. Days before official publication of Learning from Las Vegas, the general public in The Netherlands had been able to enjoy their first 1968 explorations in a kaleidoscopic expo on public space. In Eindhoven, the then home-town of Bekkering, the work had been presented with a few other contemporary views on public interiors and an image of the original map of Nolli.[971] (Robert and Scott Brown 1972, June; Deelstra, Van Toorn en Bremer (eds) 1972, June: 9-10, 131-134) Whereas the exposition had come without explication or correlation on the topic of interior public space, locally Bekkering and Heeling introduced a possibility to apply thoughts on this topic in further reasoning.
The same was done by Herman Hertzberger[972] in his Delft lectures. In criticising, the Arendt's strict definition of public realm, he opened the debate on the absolutely black and white definitions of private and public, as well as of collective and individual. In his view, collectivity was always formed by individuals in relation to each other. By putting forward numerous examples in which the public was gathered within the interior, like arcades, plazas, market halls, department stores and his own work, he stated that the dichotomies were false alternatives. As a designer, he put the emphasis on the public accessibility of those constructions. (Hertzberger and Steenkist (ed) 1984, March: 5, 58-87)

> "Zo absoluut en té zwart-wit gesteld zijn privé - openbaar evenals collectiviteit - individu nogal afgesleten begrippen en valse alternatieven, vergelijkbaar met algemeen - specifiek en objectief - subjectief." (Hertzberger and Steenkist (ed) 1984, March: 5)

Theoretically in 1988 again, the phenomenon was framed in a wider scope. The Dutch planner Ton Kreukels[973] stated in his central thesis that "the public domain is not per se, nor per definition only

[968] Hendrik Cornelis Bekkering, known as Henco, (born 17 November 1948) and Jan Heeling (born 3 February 1935) are Dutch urban designers and academics.

[969] Rodrigo Pérez de Arce Antoncich (born 18 April 1948) is a Chilean architect and academic. For Nolli's map of Rome see Book 2.

[970] See Book 2.

[971] As the new museum director of the Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, the Dutch architect Jean Leerling (11 March 1934) started to prepare the exhibition in 1970. The expo was held from 2 June until 6 Augustus 1972, under the name 'De Straat, Vorm van Samenleven'.

[972] Herman Hertzberger (born 6 July 1932) is a Dutch architect, who gave these specific lectures between 1973 and 1982.

[973] Antonius Maria Josephus Kreukels, called Anton and Ton, (born 11 October 1941) is a Dutch urban planner and academic.

or even predominantly, the resort of the government". (Kreukels en Simonis 1988: 11) Since that year, in addition to the intersectoral approach of The Hague, the pluralistic spheres in practice and the acknowledgement of the national government, a persistent multidisciplinary discussion followed. Dutch spatial planners, public administrators, political scientists, social geographers, cultural philosophers, and urban designers and architects all started to illuminate the phenomenon from their viewpoint. "The traditional opposition between valuable public space and secure private space can no longer be assumed as an axiom", the architectural magazine De Architect rephrased. Practitioners and academics agreed that there was an "extension and dispersion of the 'place' for publicity". One would speak, for example, of a 'diverged' public space. "The city will no longer simply consist of streets and squares, but also of passage programs, plazas, atriums and underground worlds". (Tilman 1992, Summer, Gall 1993: 9, Oosterman 1993: 77, 105-106) Debaters of all kinds accepted interior public space by framing it as a third kind of space. They introduced new notions to position the phenomenon between private space and public space, presupposing a dialogic dichotomy. They searched for a new kind of public space. Understandably from their point of view, they introduced 'semi-public space' first, then 'collective space', following a contemporary idea on this. The latter term was particularly introduced by a translated article of Manuel de Solà Morales, echoing the international trend.[974] (Solà Morales 1992, 12 May, as translated by Bet 1992, Zomer; Moscoviter, Van Beek and Geuze 1992: 30; Heeling 1997, April; Van der Wouden 1999, January; Nio 2001: 40, 50; Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 2-3, 11-17) Some did reject the idea. They spread fear and called for absolute public space. They proceeded to be rather pessimistic. In their view, public space should be designed for all people. It should be an 'objective and neutral space'. Even though, the boundary between public and private space might be weak and hazy, "the abolition of this boundary would create a formless chaos". Privately-owned public space would work contra-productive in this aim. So, they echoed the old German arguments on the fall of public space or they found reason to adapt the fear of the New Yorkers of the sixties and announce the presence of a capsular space disregard the public appeal and use of the interior. (Hajer 1989: 7, 45; Bakker 1993: 95, 102-103; Van der Wouden, Ries 1999b, January; Hajer and Reijndorp 2001: 48; De Cater 2001: 130; Avermaete 2001: 45; Leinfelder 2007: 301-302) At a certain moment even Dutch Ministers adapted these collaborate ideas on 'new public space'. "Right now the public space balances between vitality and decay", they stated in a state memorandum. (Remkens, Van Boxtel, Faber, Korthals, Van der Ploeg and Pronk 2002, May) Yet, no fundamental research on the topic has been preformed.

Two broader categories to define the public nature of a space relate to the degree a space is used and the degree a space is known by large groups of people. The presence of many passers-by or large crowds simply attributes to the public quality of a space, and when people walk and gather in the public space, they may talk, chat or write about it in public. This can make spaces more popular, or less. As shown among others in the five typological evolutions, both kinds of influences are present in all interior cases too.

[974] Manuel de Solà Morales Rubio (8 January 1939 – 27 February 2012) was a Spanish architect. See Book 1 for 'collective space'.

Designers add public qualities by manipulating the connectivity and accessibility of an interior. They decide on the position of a interior, design its composition and materialise its components. It is another importart denominator for the public nature of a space. From this point, we know that interior public space is present in our cities, and although acknowledging that with a tear and/or a smile, again and again today's urban theorists keep the focus on publicly-owned space, preferably outside. This research emphasises that, public ownership is part of the fourth category which make spaces public. Yet, in publicly-used interiors, public governments have found legal ways, other than just owning the space, to safeguard the public interest. So, in the end it may not be ownership alone determining public qualities from governmental perspective, but all kinds of ways safeguarding the public interest. This can be a major shift in theory. And, than still, we have to accept that all four genera can exist in any degree together.

As this research illustrates, the Dutch case – or any case – is not isolated. During the last years, it has been a home base while I have travelled the globe to see the phenomenon abroad in real. By matter of course, the focus is on their design characteristics in relation to their public quality, in terms of use, governmental involvement and name and fame. Quick scans often have given enough information to indentify the most remarkable cases within certain categories, ready for a visit if possible. On site observations, also in archives, have concerned the network as a whole, the interior system, its components and its relation with the exterior. These arrangements of composition haven been foremost correlated to the social behaviour patterns and the general use of the public space. Other information on the public quality and design of the specific cases is gathered on site too. If it is not directly provided or easy accessible data gathering is done at home, with assistance of many helpful people around the globe. Though admittedly these steps were taken not always swift, in retrospective, they gave all known information to reconstruct the relations between designs, designers and others involved in shaping and envisioning the public interior. Through time, the evolutionary relations have helped to research the interrelated intentions behind the creation of interior public spaces. As such, my research clarifies the transformation, diversification and differentiation in the design of these kinds of interiors and their spatial and public qualities through evolution. In the end, each epistle in its own way adds fundamental knowledge in the understanding of public interior space, beyond basic phenomenology, to tackle today's challenges in the real city.

Figure 9.1.14.
A possible image of future public space, as presented in January 2002

Chapter 2 Evolutionary Relations

Despite any reality, wherever, the research also shows that the theoretical development on the design of public space has been foremost ideological up to today. After the rediscovery of the Ancient Roman principles of the 'res publica' or 'reipublice' in the newly established Republic of Florence and nearby remainders of the Roman Empire, the public reason had spread to cities across Europe and its colonies. As only briefly illuminated, new republican forces constituted the public issue in respectively the Dutch, English, American, and French republics. Suppported by writings of Rousseau, Kant and Paine, in this era, public space had become in principle democratic space, republican space and liberal space, and as such it had become part of a political discussion. This would be the prelude to a public space which was appointed by laws and constituted by authorities, lawfully representing the people. Public space became absolute. Eventually, it had to be publicly used, publicly owned, and publicly known, and therefore publicly accessible and well connected to the rest of the network. This, together with the contemporaneously emerging professional differentiation between urban and architectural design, made that the interior was excluded as public space by mainstream theorists: It was hardly discussed by theoretical pioneers in the field, like Baumeister, Stübben, Howard, Hénard, Rey, Buls, Bertran de Quintana, Unwin, Brinkmann, Eberstadt and Nolen, and decades later when interior public space was being debated globally, it was mainly rejected. It was for example criticised by the French school of Lefebvre, Tonka and Baudrillard in their search towards a kind of absolute public space, and – more recent - boldly rejected by the New York scene formed by Whyte, Nagel, Giroux, Low, Smith and

Figure 9.2.1a.
Mall type in the twentieth century, represented by a 1980s image of the West Edmonton Mall in Edmonton, photo tken in 1988

Figure 9.2.1b.
Mall type in the seventeenth century, represented by a 1680s image of the Pall Mall in London, drawn in 1934

Miller. Yet, illustrated by the interior public space in all interrelated epistles, in reality the development on the design of public space has been unrestrained to public ownership or public knowledge, if primary focussing on its public use. Any dominating premise stating that public space is outdoor space seems false, or at least incomplete. In the recent decades the pessimistic sentiment has been paralleled by a progressive group of thinkers who accepted this. Yet although they do acknowledge that public space is not always either public or private, they have come with a 'third space' to identify interior public space. Different thinkers call it differently. Cerasi, Alexander, Trancik, Gehl, Siola, de Solà Morales, and Kayden call it for instance 'semi-public spaces', 'collective spaces', 'in-between space', and 'privately-owned public spaces'. Others like Soja or for example Koolhaas search for another kind of 'other space' like 'third space' or 'generic space'. They end up with a new notion in-between public and private or introduce anultimate neutrality, in essence still not fully acknowledging public nature of certain interiors. As such, they still do not fully accept that public space can exist within the interior. In its everyday existence public space has allowed a variety of other places, which people actually use as gathering space and as such are of importance to the city.

To counter to antitheses and rederect understanding, systematic research on the development of interior public space in practice has been most suitable. In comparison to the generally known development of public space, supporting a variety of theorical approaches not identifying interior public spaces, instead we could continue the searches of particularly Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Anne Vernez Moudon and Margaret Crawford. To ease pairing with the developments in theory, the research needs a similar emphasis on those examples serving as models for many others, thus forming next generations of realised designs. These have formed today's practice. Such a systematic research did ask for conceptions, which would be understandable from both angles, for all partakers in the field. Whereas the knowledge from both angles have arisen in a wide variety of specialized disciplines, the existence or establishing of a common ground is needed. As must be clear in the research, this conception is found in the 'type'. Over time, type as a fundamental conception is proved to be relevant and usable in researching similar cases. It have been used as a notorious notion in describing the city on all levels of interests, in all relevant design disciplines and in their thoughts and theories through time. Since the early times of the forementioned pioneers, most of the urban theorists have used types as abstract notions of historical continuity produced by man. The pioneering theorists did so in a utilitarian way, to be applied in the design of the city, and the more recent groups to rediscover the evolution in the ongoing modernisation. Over time, numerous other famed theorists have used type for a variety of reasons too, as well as the previously unknown practitioners and observers, which are discussed in this research, like local journalists and writers. Yet, in essence, the definition of the notion hardly has changed. They all build on the first explicit definition of the notion of type in our profession, introduced by the French Enlightened theorist Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy.[975] In 1788, he advocated the use of type because it is 'in a sense quite general; and thenceforth applicable to many shades or varieties of the same idea'. He built on the early linguistic explications of Abel Boyer,[976]

[975] Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (21 October 1755 – 28 December 1849) was a French architectural theorist and writer on art. From 1816 until 1839 he was perpetual secretary to the Académie des Beaux-Arts and in 1818 he became a professor of archaeology at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[976] Abel Boyer (abt.24 June 1664 – 16 November 1729) was a French linguistic, or lexicographer, and writer.

Figure 9.2.2.
Bazaars in the Kapalı Çarşı, as painted in 1887 by Amadeo Preziosi (2 December 1816 - 27 September 1882)

describing type as 'symbol' and 'representation', while continuing the architectural search of colleague Marc-Antoine Laugier[977] for 'simple nature, which in imitation of its processes is that art owes its existence to'. Scientifically and philosophically, in its combination, Quatremère de Quincy added new ways of study to grasp the reasons for phenomena in our field and to investigate their origins and primary causes. The key would be in the nature of each region, in historical terms, and so, when traced back in the origin of societies. (Boyer 1727i: NP ~ entry on 'type'; Laugier 1753: 12-13; Quatremère de Quincy 1788iii: 543-545) All together in the first place, it justifies the application of type in this research. It fitts perfectly into the intentions of the foregoing over the era studied.

Then, if we align the five so-called typological evolutions, as illuminated in my research on interior public space, we will get a different view on history. We see a different image of public space and its development though time. It all depens on what cross-cultural exchange has taken place and what socio-spatial transformations have been going along effecting the public qualities of the interiors. In regions where there had not be 'renaissance' and the dissemination of Ancient Roman principles had continued in a Byzantine Empire, the development of reason was influencing urban design in various other ways. Interior public spaces remained important places to be designed in the cities, as illuminated in this research even after the empire collapsed. Also outside former Byzantine borders indoor places, bazaars in casus, had become prominent cores in cities. More so, in the period 1325 to 1354, these early market places had been spread all around the Mediterranean, Red Sea and in Anatolia. They had got various forms. In Aleppo, the bazaar had been established inside the caesarea, in the old Roman city, whereas in Beyşehir it had opened in a han for caravans, along The Silk Route. As such the type had got its purpose-built structures, while hybridising. On the threshold of the Convocation in Florence and the theoretical rediscovery and redefinition of the concept of public space, the development of interior and exterior public space had got even a new momentum near the central forum of Constantinople. In 1461, some years after the Ottoman capture, bedestens or bazaar places were established here, imitating similar designs in the former capitols of Bursa and Edirne. During the

[977] Marc-Antoine Laugier (22 January 1713 – 5 April 1769) had developed as a French Jesuit priest a wide interest in architecture.

continuation of the east–west schism, bazaars were designed mainly throughout the east. In the end of the fifteenth century, European travellers gave also account of such places as far as in Dehli. In the mean, via Tabriz and Qazvin, the concept of a caesarea, kaisariyah of qayşariya reached Isfahan in 1609. In these cities, bazaars were designed in a formal setting combining the city's central square with other public facilities and governmental buildings, deliberately used as instrument to found a capitol. In time, bazaars transformed from imperial showcases to places of everyday shops developed by more common people. At the time of Enlightenment in the west, bazaar structures seemed to be more popular than ever before in the east. Outdoor streets were transformed into indoor bazaars and smaller variants like bazarchehs and timches were introduced. Interior public space formed the city in these regions. In the west, many indoor examples could be given as well. As illuminated, Florence itself hosted many covered markets for ages. Yet, in those days urban design was directed towards outdoor public space. Each in its own way, the cases in especially Paris, London and New York have marked crucial first stepping stones in the process of conception towards the ultimate system of public space and today's doctrine in design, including the field of work of architects, urbanists and planners of all kinds. Without adding more information, we can discover other stories too since the Age of Enlightenment.

The passageways in Paris had become important places for public life. The back alley had been the bourgeois off-road place to gather, to trade and to exchange ideas. By 1779, the number of passages had been at such level, that it was worthwhile to make an inventory of this specific urban element and name them. Though not an interior yet, one could say the arcade type was born. Often gates or narrowed entrances separate the passageway from the main traffic roads. As the amount of passageways in this city increased, together they improved the connectivity of the most important thoroughfares and markets. They did so mainly by creating short-cuts between them and, as most of them were less useful for fast car traffic, they mainly improved pedestrian circulation in the city. In

Figure 9.2.3.
Chromolithograph of Galeries de Bois, 1876

Figure 9.2.4.
Telescopic View of the Thames Tunnel, 1843

1786, a familiar public space was created though a palace garden on assignment of the royal resident. The designer had created a passageway, which was at least as animated, but now completely covered and accessible for pedestrians only. Stylistically, he had adapted a common past upper-class style in the ornamentation and materialisation and he made it look like a gallery, while imitating the main characteristics of a bazaar. By its roofing, the place provided clean public space to assemble and trade. In this combination, this new gallery passageway was able to invite the rising class; the French bourgeoisie. When revolutionaries enriched the constitutional freedom of 1789 with the freedom of public assembly in 1793, the design of public space was focussed on the places enjoyed or desired by the emancipated class. The early arcades were among those places where people assembled and enjoyed their freedom. They had become popular among the larger public and several developers followed best practices. On their commission, designers built numerous gallery passageways in only a few decades. All of these broke through the larger city blocks and often they crossed expropriated royal and noble premises. Together, these arcades improved public circulation.

Nearly synchronously, in London, an off-street track for the noble pall-mall game had become a popular spot for the broader enlightened society. Whereas the streets again were busy, this track offered the public a pleasant space. By 1807, it was so popular that public gas lightning was introduced here so that people could enjoy the place even after sunset. The tree-lined space was pleasant outdoor spaces to stroll, simply for the reasons of leisure and entertainment. This urban element was reproduced not far from the first one and in time also elsewhere in other cities: all to be named mall, identifying the type. Like the early arcades, also in these spaces groups sharing similar interests encountered while rambling. Also here a variety of people mingled. In London, the mix of people occurred in other places too. In 1816, British royalty for example introduced an arcade too, the first outside Paris in London with more to follow. Following foreign fashion, they offered people another place for congregation, now combined with commerce and within the interior. These kinds of pseudo-bazaars adapted the alien phenomenon, but unlike the French examples, they did not structurally contribute to the improved flow of traffic in the network of public space. In England, monarchy had been restored after only a few republican years in the seventeenth century and further radical public reform had not happened. Socio-spatial transformations had taken a different course in the British capital. Above all, the upper class already improved and paved the public space in this city to a certain degree. It was the result of an 1806 governmental plan, determining that where network was not to wants, new broad thoroughfares had to cut through city blocks. Additionally, old bridges were replaced. At that time, London was a city of urban engineers, improving the network of public space with big interventions. The interior was not shunned, but only when it could add to the larger circulation scheme. Their experiments, starting in 1799, on the engineering of a subaqueous way to cross the river served as a great exemplar. A link as such seemed a reasonable option, because in difference to the common bridges, it would not block the heavy river traffic. Work did proceed, yet took decades to be realised. When finally opened to the public

Figure 9.2.5.
On the mall in 1660, drawn on 23 April 1892 by Richard Caton Woodville, Jr. (7 January 1856 – 17 August 1927)

in 1843, accessibility was reduced to the mere use of pedestrians, thus not for vehicles and riders or so. Its urban impact in the grand vision was reduced. Yet, while being only a slow traffic connection, it would become a gathering place enjoyed by the people as well. It attracted the public for other reasons. The public sauntered in order to have the underwater experience. This space was the start of a series of similar urban elements, named subway, again a new type. Ultimately, these would help traffic issues better. The design of the public space shifted from an enlightened approach to a more utilitarian. All together, the early industrialisation of Brittan got a grip on the design of public space. Like Paris, the focus was on outdoor interventions, though indoor additions to the public space got a place in the city too.

Across the ocean, but within the Anglo-Saxon sphere, New York could be considered as an early herald of a new utilitarian approach too. Yet different to the British, the people of the new-born United States had constituted in 1776 that all men were equally free and independent by nature and, in that way, they created equal access to decision-making power influencing the city. From the moment they had expelled all royal officials of the British Empire onwards, the population of the city was booming unprecedentedly and the pioneering civic society witnessed an urbanisation unlike the Europeans. The original colonial settlement transformed in a fast temp and its edge grew haphazardly. Echoing the European trends, a few rare arcades and a green mall did come to this city too, but foremost the design of public spaces was of practical use and outdoors. In 1802, on the threshold of the famous grid plan of the Commissioners of Streets and Roads, an experimental elevated rail track was showcased. Whereas the city was making plans for common streets, the designer of this track envisioned an alternative image for the public space. He made a real-size display of possible future public transit. Free of obstacles, the people would run over the public space on street-level. Other designers used this concept to explore their desire to reform the city structurally in reality. What started as a curiosity eventually became a welcome and practical alternative to give room for the increasing traffic. These designers gave society an alternative way to move though it. Between 1867 and 1879, when population-wise the city was around the size of the major European cities, a variety of developers introduced the extra layer to the city, covering the streets and avenues without making them real indoors. Like the dominated trend in London the interventions were mainly focussed on the street pattern and outdoors. Yet again public spaces away from the roads or within the interior were not excluded completely. Apart from a fashionable mall and a few arcades, these spaces were for the most part a by-product of the utilitarian approach of the New Yorkers. Designers had to create elevated and covered footbridges to safely by-pass the carriages, cars and crowd on street level and reach the overhead tracks.

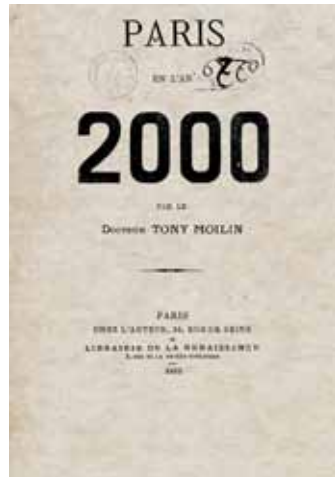


Figure 9.2.6.
'Paris en l'An 2000', in which Tony Moilin proposed to use the elevated walkway type to extend the network, 1869

In broader perspective, the utilitarian approach would inspire Parisian designers too, especially those hired by the government. Their colleagues from London had given them a first example how to continue the early legacy on improving the public space. What initially was achieved by new passageways could also be done at a larger scale. Since 1853, the city was reconstructed by means of new

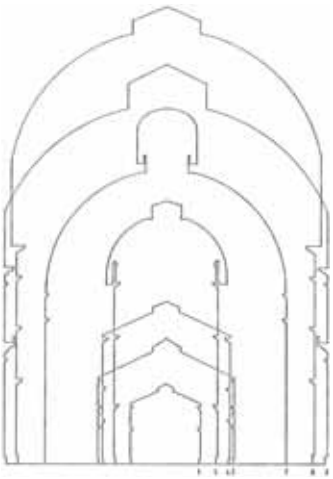


Figure 9.2.7.
Typological evolution of the arcade. Comparing the size of Galerie Vivienne in Paris, 1825 (1), Galerie Colbert in Paris, 1826 (2), Galleria Vittorio Emanuelle II in Milan, 1867 (3), Kaisergalerie in Berlin, 1873 (4), Passage in Den Haag, 1885 (5), Galleria Umberto I in Naples, 1891, and Friedrichstraßepassage in Berlin, 1908 (7)

boulevards and avenues. The design of public space and the new official regulations concerned, a re-interpretation of those of 1795, were both focussed on the outdoor publicly-owned space only. The growth of public interiors like arcades, in fact all passageways, courts or cul-de-sacs on private property, was restricted. Regulations promulgated the revolutionary equality by controlling the public order and limiting private developments. It was an important step in the delineation of public and private. In the neighbouring countries, early urban theorists adapted the French way of reasoning and included familiar thoughts in their treatises. Their utilitarian approach towards the design of public space dominated new theoretical debates on among others 'urbanización' in Spain since 1867, on 'städtebau' in Germany since 1876, and on 'town planning' back in Great Britain since 1898. The focus on outdoor publicly-owned public space became a disciplinary consensus and the transnational circulation of these ideas effected a change in the conception of public space throughout Europe.

In the mean, the colleagues from New York had given the next generation Parisians an alternative way to continue. By observing the situation in this American city, from 1865 on, they started to advocate a three-dimensional city. Among others, the other group of urban theorists envisioned covered galleries running on the upper level, over a new grid of boulevards. Following the new regulations of 1859, the design of the public space continued to be utilitarian, but in their vision, it allowed a reversion to the public interior. These spaces were used functionally in a view of their desired future of the city. Colleagues adapted the ideas on 'rues intérieurs', 'passerelles' and 'rues-galeries', and in 1914, this concept crossed the Italian border, where again it would be part of an idea of the future city. Although it influenced some theoretical discourses on the design, the view on these interior public spaces never directly dominated the profession at large. Originally the scope of this sub-stream was limited. With the publications of 1924 and 1927 in nearby Switzerland and Germany this changed. The concept lived on in the 'ville contemporaine' and became much more influential. Abridging the early thoughts on 'städtebau', the design of the public space tended to be more pragmatic than the visionary - if not utopian - predecessors. The interior street was transformed to a corridor inside the building and overhead ways of all kinds would again be mostly outdoors, just like those running below. Skyscrapers and large outdoor public spaces, co-existing in these views, would make the utilitarian approach part of a new,

Figure 9.2.8.
Stereoview of the Upper Trading Halls in Moscow, creating only the illusion of depth if there is a simultaneous perception, 1908

Modern and internationally accepted vision on design. The public space was outdoors.

Major contradictions between what was theory and what was practice came to the profession in this era. Along with the globally expanding vanguards of the utilitarian ideas, interior public space spread too.
The first example could be given by the bazaar, of which concept had been introduced in capitol cities of Europe, finally really going west. Paris and London were forerunners in this. Here, the bazaar had got a vast place unlike those in the Ottoman or Persian cities. They look more like warehouses, often they were located along the new breakthroughs and they became popular indoor places as displays of modern industrial societies and rapid growing cities. The type adapted to the city and transformed. In the 1880s, also in other European cities, bazaars became associated with fairs, charity and cheap products or their name and fame into department stores.
A second series of examples can be found in the evolution and migration of the arcade, which was characterised by its contribution of a more efficient re-organisation of the network of public space. In 1840, in Brussels, an arcade was firstly designed as realised as covered street, for the use of pedestrians-only. Bigger, broader and longer then before and designed with Late-Neoclassic grandeur, it was a symbol of the new state restructuring the heart of the capital city almost at a same scale as the new exemplary urban projects on outdoor space. The type transformed, but stayed indoors. Likewise, such grand arcades opened in Milan in 1865, in Berlin in 1874 and in Moscow in 1890, all having a similar significance and impact. As said before, these arcades were initiated by the public government explicitly for the benefit of the people. At the same time they had become national symbols, dedicated to the Modern monarchs. Also the arcade in The Hague should be understood in that trend. Subsequently, arcades moved to other cities in each region. In Europe, the German influence reached to Prague. Here,

Figure 9.2.9.
The subway at 23rd Street station, on the Broadway line, New York, 27 October 1904

Figure 9.2.10.
Newspaper boys in the Market Street Subway in Philadelphia, photo taken in July 1910, by Lewis Wickes Hine (26 September 1874 - 3 November 1940)

from 1912 on, the arcades continued to be again symbols of civic society, especially a few years later in the new Czechoslovak republic. Yet, at the dawn of Modernism, the role of the arcade type had changed. Size and ornamentation were reduced, while monumentality remained, and of prime importance, their number outstood previous precedents. Together the enormous amount of arcades restructured the city quite like the early Parisian initiatives, but in fewer years. Other leading edges were visible in the United States. Under the British influence, the arcade type had set food on shore in Philadelphia, New York and Providence. In the following century, the type reached Milwaukee in the Midwest in 1916 and Atlanta and Asheville in the South in 1917 and 1929. These American arcades would be the size of a city block providing off-street walkways, rather than fundamentally improving circulation in the already quite efficient urban grid. In the same trail, from 1921, Floridian new towns got an arcade as the spine of a civic and commercial centre. Elementary Early-Modern two-story city-blocks would facilitate the citizens while preparing a way for other downtown developments to follow. Interior public spaces were crucial parts of the planning and the design of new American cities and of major reconstructions in the European cities when Modern urban theories were still in their cradles.

A third series of examples can be found in the evolution and migration of the subway. In London alone, before the early theoretical reflections on the city, more subway variants appeared. In the slip stream of the construction of the underwater connection, in 1822, designers had proposed subterraneous ways for the construction and maintenance of underground wires and pipes, preventing frequent removal of pavement. Although these were not accessible for the larger public, in 1846, they led to subways proposed to serve public transit. In the same line, in 1861, a subterranean carriageway was studied. Also this type diversified. The urban elements could vary within different contexts, with different familiar public uses. Especially, when realised in 1863, underground public transit became extremely popular. Soon more underground railways followed. Successively their designs changed in the direction of passenger efficiency and large systems appeared. Since 1892, by arrangement with the local authorities, underground stations had to be connected to nearby stations to ease transfer. Thus, while the underground public transit network expanded, also

more pedestrian subways appeared. They not only gave access to the stations, but now also interconnected them. More or less, the same developments happened in Budapest, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin and Boston across the ocean. Parallel to these developments, in New York a different kind of pedestrian subway had opened in 1900. Fashioned to the utility subways, two public accessible subways ran from basement to basement. They facilitated people visiting a department store to go to its annexes. When in 1904 a subterranean railway in New York was created, this kind of pedestrian subway was used too to link the surrounding buildings to the station and to each other. Similar proposals, combining transit and immediate underground access, had been made in Chicago and Philadelphia previously, but their subways opened not before 1906 and eventually their designs were very different. In Chicago the subways were not accessible for the public and they were used for handling freight over rail and underground delivery. In Philadelphia they were publicly accessible, but because the aligned subway stations were not far apart soon one pedestrian system emerged along the rail track. This pedestrian subway system had bright shop-windows and artistic entrances to the basements of the adjoining buildings and as such it gave the street an extra level below the surface. In 1929, this and the experiences in the other two American cities gave way for the idea of a large independent pedestrian subway system in Midtown Manhattan, in New York. Designers created an interior public space with shops and stores, all below the surface and accessing to a variety of buildings. These concourse subways, assembled in a system, could be added to the list of examples which was not described the main stream urban theorists.

A fourth series of examples can be found in the evolution and migration of the predecessors of what would be called skyway. Those covered footbridges were present in many cities, in conception having a long and divers history. Yet, in its public use for the people, they strongly relate to elevated public transit. Between 1867 and 1879, in New York, constructions were proposed to reach trains on a new upper level or to interconnect some of the elevated station platforms, without going down. It changed the image of the city drastically. The uses of such covered footbridges to connect respectively New York's train terminal in 1887 and a tower with passenger elevator in 1891 would be a prelude to link other buildings too. Although the type not really outgrew its prime commodity to be useful, this development did enforce indoor public ramps or stairs to the elevated levels inside these buildings and created large interior systems. In 1901, a variant like that was designed to link the main terminal of Philadelphia to a specially designed arcade building across the street. The broad enclosed public gallery above street level brought the large stream of people safely across the streets. In a similar design in Chicago, designers added public accessible concourses inside the buildings. Again, it served the large stream of people going from a main terminal to an adjoined arcade across the street. Opened in 1929, this created a small but extremely well-used system of interior public spaces, which was not in the scope of main stream urban theorists but in fact changed the image of the city.

Figure 9.2.11.
The elevated walkway at Chatham Square station on the Second and Third Avenue lines, New York, drawn on 5 March 1892, by Henrik Hillborn (3 April 1863 - 22 March 1948)

The four series of examples underline that outdoor public space was not always the public space, nor was it always publicly owned. This

is in line with the example of the further development of the mall type. In the same period of utilarisation, the mall developed from a green mall, which was introduced in many cities in the British Empire, to a civic mall, a centre piece of the city plan and relating to civil society. Since 1799, when the latter concept was coined in Washington, it took a century until this mall was designed as such. The city got its civic mall between 1900 and 1902. It was a mall larger than ever before, surrounded by civic buildings representing the state. After a first imitation in Cleveland in the year after, designers introduced many more malls across the capitol cities of the United States. In 1912 and 1913 the same variant was included in the plans for the new capitol cities of the British Empre, Canberra and Delhi. With the proposal for a green mall in Philadelphia in 1914, the mall type entered the Modern era. It took decades to be completed. In this time, in which underlying design principles or methods progressively increased to be internationally accepted, the mall continued to be designed outdoors. Yet, the emerging dominating focus on a functional approach effected its design. The concept of a mall, mainly focussed on the pedestrian as developed in 1940, was adopted in the plan. The monumental capitol mall became a place foremost for pedestrians, a car-free space. This fitted

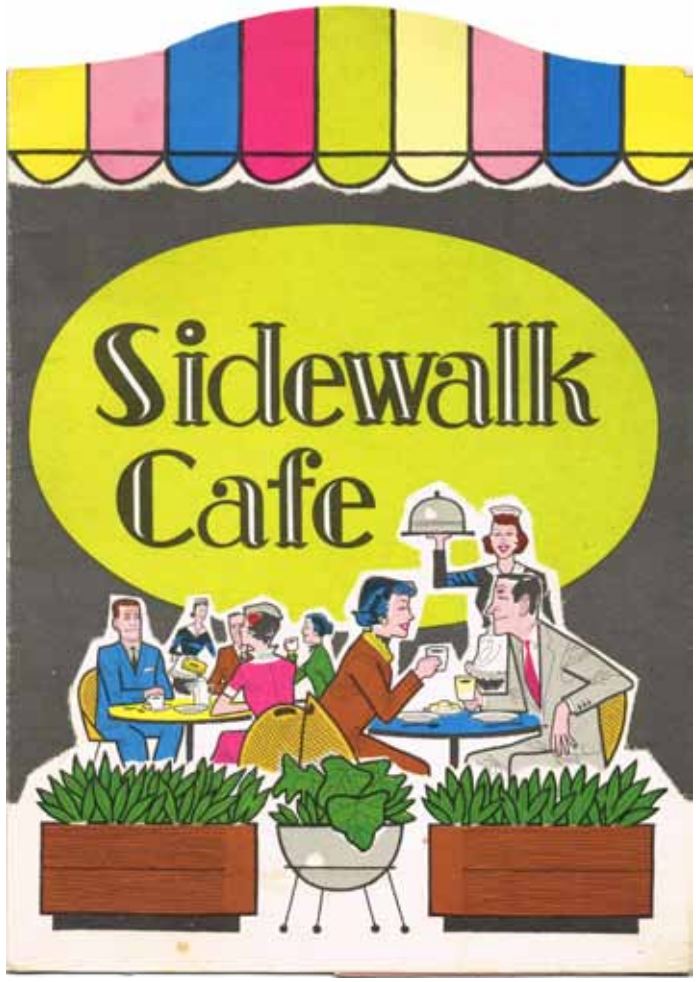


Figure 9.2.12.
Ordering the Shopper's Special and Sidewalk Cafe Salad Plate with the Fountain Favorites Southdale Skyscraper and Garden Court Supreme on the side at the mall of Southdale Shopping Center, 1956

well the evolving design theories on public space. Across the ocean for example, Rotterdam showcased in 1943 a similar re-planning of the streets to keep through traffic out. This concept would be adopted in the final reconstruction plan of prominent members the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne. While in 1947, the congress had gained influence on the trans-national consensus on the design of public space, the design of the pedestrian mall in Philadelphia finally was completed. As a belated continuation of the Early Modern scheme, it could counter current theories wherein theorists concentrated on designing buildings independent of their surroundings and away from main roads and other circulation spaces. It presented an alternative to the relation between the built and unbuilt and opened doors to numerous pedestrianisation plans. Urban malls first appeared on paper, then in practice and on a wide variety of places. In Northwestern Europe the mall in Rotterdam got its counter part in the reconstructed core of Stockholm and many other cities. Across North America, these urban malls were designed for a variety of cities like Kalamanzoo, Pomona, Maimi Beach, and Ottowa. Foremost the pedestrian mall saw daylight in 1950 in the Seattle suburbs, where it was surrounded by mainly commercial buildings that clearly delineated the public space. Different from the urban mall, by matter of course, this suburban mall was located in the periphery of the city, in a suburban context with specific characteristics. The ensemble, including shops, facility buildings and mall, was encircled by large areas for the single use of parking. This pedestrian mall became known as shopping mall, an integral part of schemes for the disposition of store buildings around a huge central traffic-free mall in new residential areas. In 1956, a shopping mall was covered. The mall got its roof to deal with the unpleasant climate or so-called hostile public environment of Edina, one of the Minneapolis suburbs. Like in the past this kind of mall was again located away from the main road, now completely indoors.

In general, the international urban professional scene had inherited a focus on the design of publicly-owed publicly-used space. In theory, Modern public space was extremely publicly accessible, focussing on circulation, yet without any prescribed social activity or cultural context and without a wide differentiation. Under western influence, these ideas dominated the modernisation of Iranian cities in 1932 for example, which effectively became a ground for demolishing various bazaar systems in a Haussmannian way after 1976. In the slipstream of such international developments, European theoretical views on public space moved to the extreme, the most public possible. From 1957 on, some leading designers in Paris and London presented a generic space, which eventually led to a concept departing any conception of space, but space itself. It opened ways for others, like designers in Florence in 1966. In the same year, this provoked counter reactions in search for public space that was specific and divers, manifesting itself in various ways allowing relationships with public interiors too. In time the European ideas would merge concurring American ideas on public space, as those advocated in Philadelphia. Likewise, they kept the uniqueness of place in mind. In their view, the design of buildings should join the design of circulation space, and as such designers emphasised the relation between the private and the

Figure 9.2.13.
Mall of America, 2006

public space. A new group of urban designers acknowledged the dichotomy between public and private, and enriched the profession with explicit projects on their interrelation. In this line, 'outside in and inside out design' was born. The general idea, among similar scholars was that at some places indoor space could contribute to the city, but only as long as they were publicly accessible. In that case, still, they have to be an environment for everyone. The public quality of space regained its strict legal and social sides and thus the debate turned to democratic spaces. Supported by explorations in law and social science, allowing interiors to be public from the point of use, claims and sphere of influence, most designers continue to oppose public interiors. They saw them as restrictive spaces, places of exclusion and the result of a protectionist solution. They might stand against democracy in the end.

No matter what leading theorists thought, the wide variety of interior public spaces continued to evolve. From the 1950s on, another wave of arcade projects opened. It seemed a fair option to mediate between the public and the private. Once in a while with the regularity of clockwork, professional media announced an arcade's post-war comeback. It could solve urban problems deriving from traffic congestion or commercial needs, while it could be an interior space, which could be easily open to the public at all times despite sliding doors. Especially in Germany, from 1969 on, such arcades aimed to revitalise the city and extend the network of public space, while linking new parking facilities in the inner-city. A huge indoor network came to the city. Abroad, in the 1970s and 1980s, similar renaissances emerged, like in Paris for example, and continuously without too much attention new enclosed arcades were designed around the globe. Since 1956 also many indoor malls opened. Based on six years of experiences with outdoor suburban malls in practice, the indoor variant was born in the cold suburbs of Minneapolis. Those days, it was cheered by the professional and public media and soon other places followed. In fact, in suburban California and Florida, the interior shopping mall soon became a basic requirement and an integral part of suburban life. Breaking new grounds, this development resembled an unprecedented growth in

Figure 9.2.14a.
Berri-UQÀM Subway under the Pavilion Judith-Jasmin in Montreal, 2006

Figure 9.2.14b.
IDS Skyway to Baker Center in Minneapolis, 2006

the number of such malls in every part of the United States. In 1971, the mall in Houston exemplified also a growth in size. Here, a so-called supermall included an ice rink and some other amusement facilities. Similar malls of various shapes and sizes spread coast to coast and a new kind of entertainment mall was born. In the same line, in respectively 1986 and 1992, monstrous amusement malls opened in Edmonton, Canada and in Bloomington, near Edina. They gave access to several leisure facilities like indoor amusement parks, but also to cinemas, hotels, and among others a chapel. These megamalls marked the booming years of the mall, but also turning tide in the professional opinion. Apart from the early projects and some distinguished ones along the time line interior malls were never popular among leading theorist. Though designed and used at large, they could not match the Modern ideal. One could say that the same was true for the subways and skyways, which boomed in the same years too. In practice the popularity of subways catalysed in 1952, with the creation of a huge system under the streets of Philadelphia. Following the practice of New York, after this project several other cities followed. Designers had created entire subway systems for Pittsburgh, Boston and Philadelphia too. In 1959, a city plan was presented to create subways under the entire downtown of Toronto. Actually preceded by a small subway system in Montreal, the year before, both cities would create an extensive underground network. Dallas, Oklahoma City and Houston would follow in the

next decade. Just after 1986, when Toronto introduced a wayfinding system, its 'underground city' was proudly presented as the largest in the world. A similar systems, but designed with skyway, had been planned in Minneapolis. After its first skyway opening in 1962, many more would follow. Neighbouring Saint Paul made it into governmental business two years later, and among others Cincinnati and Calgary would follow. All these systems would grow out to extensive interior networks over downtown street-level. The Calgary network had introduced even a double-layered skyway in 1976 and a three-story skyway in 1988. Here the skyway was used as a way to revitalise and modernise downtown. By the year of 1970, skyways were completed, under construction, or proposed in a variety of cities. Especially, the chilly cities around The Great Lakes followed the example. During the 1980s, in this region, the number of skyway systems and networks quickly raised. Again most urban theorists could not match these developments with their inherited ideologues.

Interior public space has been part of the city since ages. Whereas many people use these spaces in their daily life, many renowned theorists and designers through time have not included them in their scope. Some simply reject them. For those colleagues public interiors are no more than part of a phenomenon we should avoid. This does not help to understand any actual case, any city in reality. More so, demolishing all interior public space will be ridiculous. If only we learn from the above recapitulated epistles, it will demolish the city in its essence. While respecting each case in its own intricate arrangement and accepting all kinds of exceptions, in general, we can question where the people will go and what will happen to the city. I have to conclude that spaces and societies have adapted to these interiors, while on the other hand also I must conclude that cities and cultures illustrate certain persistence in hosting them. In many cases, designers without a capital 'D' have designed these interior public spaces. Over time they have worked in a kind of sub-stream it seems. Although today they are not always internationally famed or even known at all, they did introduce new urban compositions and uses in reality. Foremost, like dominant theorists and designers, they had an idea, an ideal or at least a concept. Their designs have been based on precedents or models of others that came to their attention in a non-conformed way. In this research, the use of types was applicable to many shades or varieties of similar ideas, which has made clear what the general meaning of a particular case is on the basis of common characteristics within a type. In their reciprocal relations through time and between several places, fundamental knowledge on the interior public space has become available beyond phenomenology. Of course, no case is the same. Any idea in practice embeds designs in a set of crucial characteristics of the specific city and its culture. The ways networks are composed and used vary as to the extent to which they are part of specific urban mechanisms. Understanding the design of interior public space is related to the understanding of the context. But again, these mechanisms evolve through time and seldom in themselves. The spatial interventions and social change, by which the evolution is catalysed, are in cases throughout all times related to spatial and social transformations elsewhere.

Chapter 3 Networks of People

As said in the introductionary chapters of this research, mapping the cross-cultural relations designates related design solutions as well as clarifies the adaptation to context. More precise, presented by the reseach on interior public spaces, these relations have always guided typological evolution. They show that a type develops in the continuous representation of one or more models, and by modelling of one or more representations. Of course, in difference to, for example, phylogenetic change across successive generations in biology, none of such spaces is reproduced by a direct ancestor, if anyhow we can qualify a design precedent as such. The design of space is made by people. Designers make their own interpretations. More so, as illuminated in the first books, in general, designs are determined by many actors in the same interpretative way. Hence, a design may be quite different than in its familiar typological predecessors. In the epistemological researches on the five types, with the excursions to related types, the existence of a fundamental conception through time goes hand in hand with transformation, variation and diversification in design. This too needs scientific legitimation in order to know what interrelated series of methods are premised in reviewing the understanding of the design of public space of all kinds by means of types and their evolutions.

In the early period which is studied, Quatremère de Quincy pioneered in describing this co-existence of persistence and change. He did so by emphasising that each art would find general models common to all and models specific to the case. By acknowledging that this process belongs to all the arts, in an Enlightened way, he searched for the nature in the universality of its laws. Thenceforth, in those days, he stated that there had to be universal rules to which everyone would be subordinated, if not in the same way, at least to the same degree. Thus, again by referring to linguistics, he posed that there should be 'a universal grammar common to all languages, and yet a particular grammar for each idiom'. (Quatremère de Quincy 1788ii: 15)

> "Chaque art trouve à imiter dans la nature un modèle général ou commun à tous, et un modèle qui lui est particulier. A considérer la nature dans l'universalité de ses lois, son imitation appartient à tous les arts. Il y aura dès-lors des règles d'imitation auxquelles chacun sera subordonné, sinon de la même manière, du moins au même degré. C'est ainsi qu'il y a une grammaire universelle commune à toutes les langues, et toutefois une grammaire particulière à chaque idiome." (Quatremère de Quincy 1788ii: 15)

The use of models, or precedents as we now tend to say, would condition any work in the conformation of its being, if one operated according to its fundamental principles. They would give direction to its meaning: In the early view of Quatremère de Quincy, imitating a model not necessarily ought to make the exact image or likeness. A representation thus might only reflect

a nature, a fundamental meaning. Designers would not repeat the model itself, but appropriate its principles, which more served as 'a rule book'. That was to say "in its spirit, its intentions and its laws". (Quatremère de Quincy 1788ii: 15) At the time again, Quatremère de Quincy laid the base for further thoughts on the explication of the use of models and precedents in our profession beyond the metaphoric. It followed the general line of fellow Swiss-French metaphysicians who systematically were reviewing sciences, arts and crafts. More precise, in this case, Quatremère de Quincy followed the concept of 'imitation' as outlined by the philosophers Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Denis Diderot and among others Jean-Jacques Rousseau[978]. These had defined imitation likewise as 'borrowing images, thoughts, feelings, which drew on the works of some artist, and whose use was made different, approaching it as outbidding the original'. (Diderot and D'Alembert 1765viii: 567-569 and Société de Gens de Lettres 1777iii: 389) In the introduction to their 'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers', d'Alembert and Diderot had clarified their general scientific framework, within which one should understand their underlying reasoning in this and all subsequent abstract thoughts, as well as later unforeseen supplements to it and input from a variety of fields. Apart from their personal metaphysic work, this had framed the ideas of Quatremère de Quincy. In relation to the issue discussed, first, d'Alembert and Diderot emphasised that architects always worked from 'memory', as widely as other people did in a wide variety of arts, crafts and industries. Yet, second, applying lessons from the past always needed adaption, revision or any form of editing. In my line of reasoning, this could be perceived as the process of designing. At the time, amplifying this was what they called 'reason'. Roughly based on what they perceived as the

[978] Denis Diderot (5 October 1713 – 31 July 1784) was a French philosopher, art critic, and writer and Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert (16 November 1717 – 29 October 1783) was a French philosopher, mathematician, mechanician, physicist and music theorist. They worked together with Rousseau (see Book 2), during his stay in Paris between 1749 and 1754. By 1775, the French writer and publisher Charles-Joseph Panckoucke (26 November 1736 – 19 December 1798) had secured a license to publish his supplement to the encyclopaedia of Diderot and D'Alembert. Among others also Pierre-Louis de Lacretelle (9 October 1751 – 5 September 1824) a French writer, lawyer and politician, continued the work.

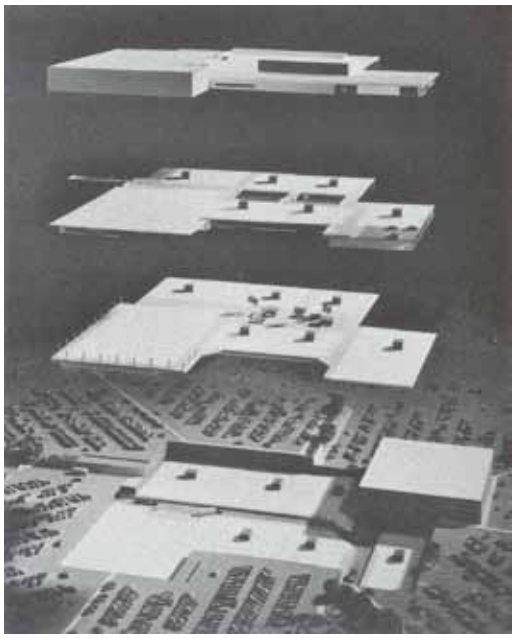


Figure 9.3.1a.
Southdale Shopping Center became a model for many interior malls. This model was made by Victor Gruen and associates in 1960

Figure 9.3.1b.
A cartoon sketch of 'world largest mall', inspired on the Mall of America and drawn in March 1992 by Donald "Duck" Edwing, also known as Don (born 22 Januari 1934)

essence of philosophy, they distinguish herein the art of thinking, of holding, of representation and of transmitting. The science of the instrument of language was considered as highly important in reasoning. Its so-called scientific grammar would be distributed in signs, pronunciation, constructions and syntaxes, just like speech. In retrospective, today one could recognise the act of designing in this. The third and last competence in the process was 'imagination'. This conceived all what individuals imagined in imitation of historical precedents in a more poetic sense. With regard to the architect, this might be the imperfect imitation of nature by a symmetric works, as they put forward. In their comprehensive introductory system of human knowledge, reason was presented as a fundamental and independent skill between memory and imagination. (Diderot and D'Alembert 1751i: xlvii-liii) So, in the understanding of design, designing and the evolution of designs in general, analysing relevant concepts, types, symbols and signs of all kinds became elementary. Signs were not approached from a narrow outlook. They could be all that might intend to represent something. Yet always, a sign could enclose two ideas, one of which would be the object, the other of the object represented. Its nature was considered to excite the latter by the former. The system of Diderot and D'Alembert distinguished three kinds of signs, namely the accidental, natural and instituted signs. The accidental signs were those associated with other ideas under special circumstances, so they could create specifically a certain or perhaps new consciousness. The natural signs would express elementary sentiments, like pleasure, aversion, discomfort, et cetera. The instituted signs had been chosen by the people, who would have an arbitrary relationship with certain concepts. Understanding these structures was seen as essential to people, so that the exercise of the imagination would be in their power. (Diderot and D'Alembert 1765xv: 188)

In this research on interior public space, the subsequent reasoning did underline that designs always were related to other ones. The past had always given models to be manipulated. By simply verifying facts in this process intentions could be unfolded and outcomes could be justified. Indeed, accidental properties of the design played their role and led to surprising new kinds of public spaces. Also elementary sentiments had determined the future of those designs. Yet, in its essence, the design of a public space was based on instituted precedents, which we could group under the same type. The meanings of these types were not necessarily determined by whether designs referred to actual precedents. Similarly, the existence of precedents to which designs might correspond was not a necessary condition for their signification. What the metaphysical philosophers called imagination always played a role in design. Thus, meanings might shift over time. In its essential manner, this research followed the reasoning on continuity and change of concepts by those introducing the notion of type in our profession in the first place. Yet, the understanding of the use of models and precedents shifted too. The applied approach in this research should be seen in line with the more recent Late-Modern academic work of Umberto Eco, developed since 1967.[979] Although his work started from a different point in time, in his reasoning, the evolution of the type by means of reproduction and imitation should be understood from the explicit distinction between,

[979] Umberto Eco (born 5 January 1932) is an Italian semiotician, philosopher, critic, and writer. He wrote his notes for 'a semiology of visual communications', introducing the semiotics of architecture, for the use of students in his university lectures at the Facoltà di Architettura of the Università di Firenze. (Eco 1967)

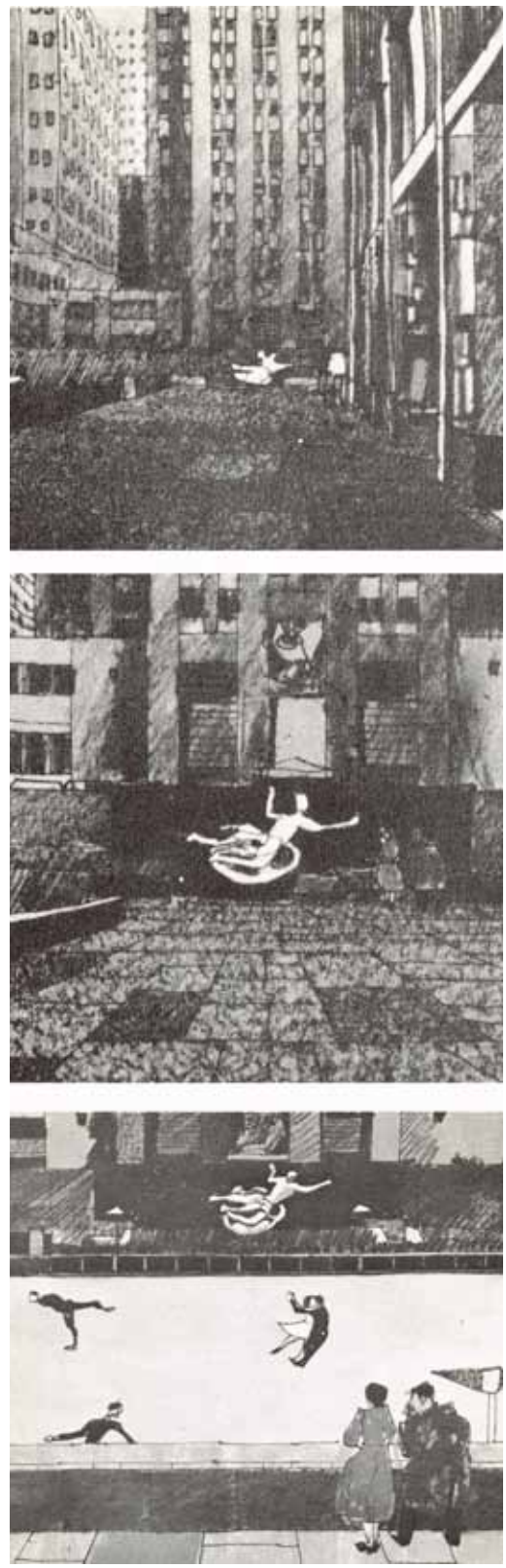


Figure 9.3.2.
A serial view analyses of Rockefeller Plaza drawn by William Whyte, 1957. It put the emphasis on the importance of the small scale of the city by drawing certain systems of signs and symbols.

- one; the connotations for a model, precedent or in abstraction so-called 'sign', - two; the observers, and - three; their subsequent denotations in 'sign', design. The precedent could connote many things, but it would be up to the observer to indicate these and to convey meaning. It might seem obvious, but in each study case the designer designated these in the design. Eco had made the insight of the past instrumental and developed the thoughts on the metaphysics of communication. These made him famed for his contributions in the wide field of general semiotics.[980] His view on the exchange of concepts, types, symbols and signs of all kinds, by speech, writing and drawing, clarified much of the analyses of the evolution of designs and types in this research. It was the more, because Eco put forward architecture and urban design as one of the most challenging cultural phenomena, which beyond science recognises systems of signs in reality. In his view, in a sense, a type would be codified given the cultural context, while it would communicate its meaning through history. (Eco 1968: 191-192, 243) He described ways to understand the evolutionary relations in design, on the same path as in the past German-Swiss scholars found ways to understand issues as such. Along this line, art historian Erwin Panofsky laid an Early Modern foundation to understand 'ideas', 'concepts' and 'icons' and cultural philosopher Ernst Cassirer settled a Modern view on 'symbolic meanings' as human creations. Their ways of understanding had been paved by their philological colleagues Ferdinand de Saussure and Friedrich Fick[981], who studied the historical development of language in written sources. (Panofsky 1924 and 1939, Cassirer 1923, 1925 and 1929; De Saussure 1878 and 1916; Fick 1873) Again design was related to language.

A few years before the reading of Eco, the Italian art historian Sergio Bettini[982] had summarised the knowledge of De Saussure and the others, and he established an interpretation applicable in design in general and in architecture in particular. In a trilingual article he stated that designers could exercise "the opportunity for an attentive semantic control of the language adopted: that is to say, of the instrument which serves them to practice their own criticism". In his view, type ought to be utilised in design. In reference to his

[980] Diderot and D'Alembert used the term 'séméiotique', later corrupted to 'sémiotique', as the study of signs. However, in their work they related the term specifically to the current medical study on the signs of life, health and diseases in order to make an diagnosis and prognosis. (Diderot and D'Alembert 1751i: l and 1765xiv: 937-938)

[981] Erwin Panofsky (30 March 1892 – 14 March 1968) was a German art historian, whereas Ernst Cassirer (28 July 1874 – 13 April 1945) was a German cultural philosopher. Ferdinand de Saussure (26 November 1857 – 22 February 1913) was a Swiss philologist, building on the study of language in written historical sources of his German colleague Friedrich Conrad August Fick (5 May 1833 – 24 March 1916), who pioneered the combination of literary studies, history and linguistics. In 1880, Saussure relocated to Paris. After being positioned in several German Universities, he started teaching at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and eleven years later, he moved to the University of Geneva.

[982] Sergio Bettini (9 September 1905 – 12 December 1986) was an Italian art historian.

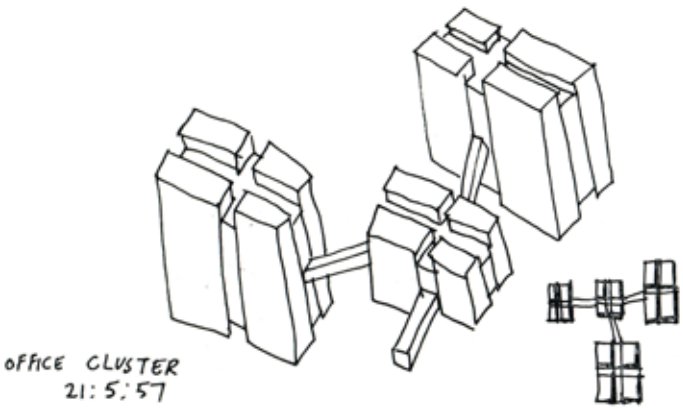


Figure 9.3.3b.
A sketch of an 'office cluster' with skyways by Peter Smithson, 21 May 1957

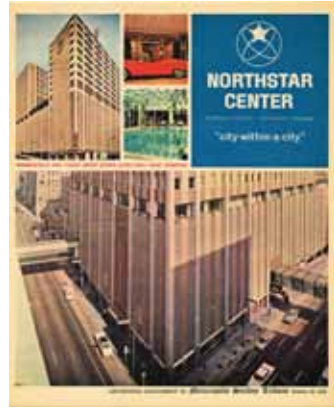


Figure 9.3.3a.
Northstar Skyways on the front page of a advertising supplement to Minneapolis Sunday Tribune, 20 October 1963

proposal, colleague Mafredo Tafuri continued thoughts and made the linguistic method an instrument of criticism and reflection within the discipline. He made history in service of architecture. Renato De Fusco[983] enlarged this scope to urban design, changing focus from indoor space to outdoor space, from the building to the city. (Bettini 1958, 31 March; Tafuri 1966 and 1968: 208; De Fusco 1967: 172-173)

> "Il segno urbanistico. [...] L'orginaria idea per cui lo spazio interno equivale 'significato' e quello esterno al 'significante', va precisata distinguendo lo spazio esterno della architettura dallo spazio esterno alla architettura. Per questúltimo, proprio dell'urbanistica, vale la stressa logica, ma capovolta: ora si tratta di definire il vuoto esterno come invasco-significato e di ricercare un 'significante' che abbia analoga funzione conformativa dell'involucro-significante dell'architettura." (De Fusco 1967: 172)

These Italians introduced a subsequent French search, which investigated elements of the city, their variations with respect to subsets of the population, with their specifics. Typological evolution was seen as more than a linear interrelated series of individual representations. As seen again within the framework of this research; context did matter. Additional clarification on the contextual influence was needed. For that purpose, semiotic-philosopher Roland Barthes[984] embraced a presumed dichotomous linguistic concept of 'langue/parole'. De Saussure proposed these notions in the past as complementary and – in a new structured review on the city – a bipartition as such could help. Whereas, in linguistics, langue was seen as 'both a social institution and a system of values' and parole was seen as 'essentially an individual act of selection and actualisation', also the city revealed certain instituted values which were influencing designs more than just the action of the designer. '*Langue*' could elude utterly premeditation, because it was defined as the social part of language and, most important, the individual could, by him- or herself, neither create it nor modify it. If one wishes to communicate, one must accept it in its entirety. Whereas the notion of '*langue*' would represent a formal model as a system, including rules, structures, and thus limitations, the notion of '*parole*' was the design in use, in practice. In relation to urban and architectural research, it was a way to indentify causes of historical change in the range of spontaneous associations and action analogy. (Barthes 1964: 92-93 and 1970 December/1971 January, and e.g. Choay 1967 June/July and 1971, Palmade 1973, Benoist 1973 September, Flauque 1974) The reinterpretation and the pairing of '*langue*' and '*parole*', particularly in the application of urban types, contributed to the understanding of the evolution of types as more than just representations of existing models by designers and others involved. It allowed a more multifaceted and heteroclite view on the development of types.

This semiotic view allowed for understanding design in different cities and cultures and within different socio-spatial contexts. On the one hand in general, it could reconstruct similar characteristics of types though times, determining a certain impact on the context. Vice versa, within certain contexts these types were most likely to survive. Rationally, considering this kind of permanence would increase the likelihood of a durable and sustainable design within

983 Manfredo Tafuri (4 November 1935 - 23 February 1994) was an Italian architectural historian. Renato De Fusco (14 July 1929) is an architectural historian and designer.

984 Roland Gérard Barthes (12 November 1915 – 25 March 1980) was a French semiotician, philosopher, critic, and writer. He contributed the notions of 'langue / parole' to De Saussure.

one city or culture. One could consider this as the '*langue*'. It fitted the nature of the type. Still, on the other hand, types developed and still are developping. Designing has always been representation, remodelling, imitation and imagination. Reasoning on this line, they have changed even to a greater degree within a different context. Especially they do this, when a type really is crossing cultures and/or was introduced in very different cities. Taken in account the surprises, local sentiments and different structures, in some rare cases new types have appeared. More often, within types, new variants have emerged. Initially, they do so under the influence of those directly involved in creating the design. In the long run, eventually in daily practice, they do in interaction with designs in present larger spatial networks and in the interaction with people forming and adapting to the changing social patterns. This all would be considered as the 'parole'. Every individual plays a role, which may lead to new interpretations ascertained by future generations.
The Canadian architect and urban designer George Baird[985] would explain it slightly differently in 1969: "the langue is the collective aspect of the phenomenon, and the parole the individual aspect". Building on the others, he added that this did not imply that there would be "anything inherently significant or stable about those particular, or any particular concepts". The parole allowed variability. The greater the scope of the '*langue*', the greater the possible 'parole' could be. In the view of Baird, a design act would be "always a gesture in a social context", so articulation should be co-extensive with a social awareness of design, both historically and geographically. It was a valuable statement, the more so because in his later years he moved from semiotics to a kaleidoscopic interest in public space. (Baird 1969: 81-84, and 2011: 8-11) Baird could be seen as part of an Anglo-Saxon group of designers, more pragmatic perhaps, embracing the French-Italian views on semiotics and adapting them in evaluating design processes. They brought back an independent structured study on signs and

[985] In the late sixties, George Baird (born 25 August 1939) was a postgraduate at University College, London, where he met Jencks, then a PhD candidate.

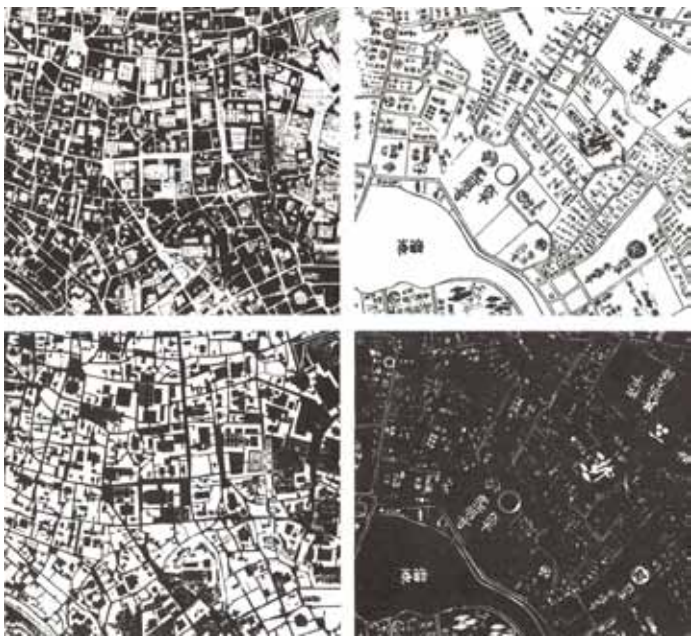


Figure 9.3.4.
Crossing cultures: In 1979, Yoshinobu Ashihara (7 July 1918 - 24 September 2003), who did a PhD on the exterior space of architecture, compared Nolli's map of Rome with 'an old map of Edo'. Without the concept of public space in acient Tokyo, the exterior space or buildings drawn in its map or churches to send pelgrims to, his comparison led to a remarkable re-reunderstanding of the work of Giambattista Nolli in the days of Roma Interrotta, reducing maps to 'negative and positive prints'.

symbols to the practice of design. Yet, unlike the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment, these designers accepted that representation of one or more models, and the modelling of one or more representations, was more than one individual act of one person. If one would still speak of imitation, it might be only the first step. There might even be no direct connection between model and design, just like there might be no relation between a word and a thing, as Charles Jencks stated. They would be "just simply the relations between languages, thought and reality", he reinterpreted. One could say today, that socio-spatial realities largely influence the developments of types. Nevertheless, as Jencks reviewed, still in the line of the other semiotic reasoning, code restrictions based on culture (and learning) would guide the 'reading' of a design. There always would be multiple codes in a design, some of which might be in conflict across subcultures. (Jencks 1969: 16 and 1977: 42) Baird and Jencks presented their new insight in their postgraduate researches, which aimed to redefine meaning in design, beyond merely facilitating use, which was dominant in the High-Modern functional design. They allowed, or acknowledged again, the presence of metaphorical inspiration, which had slowly disappeared since the Enlightenment, while they continued the ongoing research on representation, imitation and modelling in their own way. Above all, their application of Modern semiotics matched an occurring general search for meaning, which was preoccupying the profession at the time.[986] It corresponded foremost to the study on the significance of things personified by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. Their propositions on the relation between design and symbols, the continuing iconography in design and the role of signs in a communication system had directed the research of Baird and Jencks in the first place. While the ideas of Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour had found a way to one of the National museums, proclaiming that all cities communicate messages to the people as they move about on the street,[987] Jencks framed their work in explicit semiotic terms. He saw it as an exemplar for his reasoning on the language of architecture. Looking back, it announced an era in which the search for a generic international style was left and designers were seen more as part of a specific culture and society and designs as part of a specific city and space, in all their complexities and contradictions. According to him, the work of Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour carried multiple semiotic meanings aiming to overcome the "oppositions within a system, a dialectic in space or over time". It was a time when a series of interacting contradictions, like connotation/denotation, observer/sign, langue/parole and object/context, would dominate the Late Modern thoughts. As said before, Venturi had introduced the 'both-and' approach in 1966, Jencks added 'multiple coding' in 1977, and in the same line, three years later, Robert Stern would talk about the 'doubles of post-modernism'. (Venturi 1966: 30-38, 71-89, Venturi and Scott Brown 1968, March and 1972: 6-9, Herman and Venturi and Rauch et al 1976, February; Colquhoun 1967, June, Baird 1969: 97, Jencks 1977: 38-45, 79, Stern 1980, Spring) Within a growing international sphere of influence centred by these American designers and thinkers in our profession, the original pairing of terms, as binary antecedents, had to be reconsidered. It opened ways to reform thoughts on design and designing. Every design became a particular act, allowing multiple interpretations at

[986] Baird referred for example to Hanna Arendt stating that "utility established as meaning generates meaninglessness". (Arendt 1958: 154, Baird 1969: 97)

[987] Venturi and Rauch, Architects and Planners designed the exhibition 'Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City' for presentation at the Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C., from 26 February to 30 September 1976. The art gallery, designed by James Renwick, Jr. (11 November 1818 – 23 June 1895) in 1874, had become part of the group of museums and research centres administered by the United States government in 1965 and it reopened as the home of the National Collection of Fine Arts in the same year as Learning from Las Vegas was published.

the same time. Designers would start envisioning spaces by making explicit interpretations of precedents, which they had seen, read about or heard of. Reference images became a characteristic trend among designers. Following the application of 'type', the approach of semiotics enabled the reconstruction of evolutionary relations in design in order to understand the current. The many actors passing the review in my research had contributed to these images. Therefore in this concluding part, it seems in accordance with thought to summerise their actions, to explain the relations between the actors and predecessors, and to clarify their way of using of models and precedents in a specific context. As this research on interior public space showed, throughout all time, design was an indeterminate act within a specific system of values and within a socio-spatial context and a specific culture of a city. Above all, due to what we call the public, the outcomes of a design might be surprisingly, following certain sentiments, while somehow changing spatial and social relations. In fact, the meaning of public space, and thus its significance, was formed not only by a variety of people directly involved in the process of designing, but by all members of the public and at all times. Yet, of course, this did never mean that the designer was released from de-sign.

Figure 9.3.5.
Vincent King (right) showns an early model of Penn Center to city planner Edmund Bacon, 1950

Showcased by the exemplative interiors in the typological evolutions, designs, designers and other actors, and actual built interiors have affected the public qualities of those spaces in a variety of ways. In a few of the cases studied, designs in the evolution of a type were closely affiliated with certain precedents because the designer of both model and representation was the same. In those situations, one may assume that the translation from model to representation is nearly as structured as Modern semiotics imagined. In the case of the mall, two times, its evolution was catalysed by designers, who had already some experience in the design of the type. Under changed conditions, André Mollet gave his second mall in London a more majestic appearance. It was now positioned on the axis of royal premises, not aside. Likewise, Victor Gruen gave the mall a roof in chilly Edina after applying this type in a few previous designs for suburban centres. Yet, though both variants turned out to be appreciated by the public, designers had to find inspiration in familiar types to fit the type in the new context, thus to come

Figure 9.3.6.
Giuseppe Mengoni giving a masonry trowel to Vittorio Emanuele II to conduct the ceremony of figuratively beginning the foundations of the arcade in Milan, painting of 1867 by Domenico Induno (14 may 1815 - 5 November 1878)

to certain changes. So, more models had to be involved. In their turn, both the green mall and the covered one were precedents for many others. In the evolution of the subway, we see similar showcases. The influence of a few designers was manifest in a series of successive cities. Wallace Harrison worked for example on small subway projects in New York before he did so among others in Dallas, while Vincent Ponte brought the idea from Quebec to Toronto. Ponte applied it in a larger planned system, which he eventually also juxtaposed against the project of Harrison in Dallas. In this specific design, the variation emerged in the combined influence and, without doubt, within the next new context.

Sometimes, a type evolves by a designer who had seen a design of someone else. In several cases, clear evidence ascertained a relation between the designer responsible for the design used as precedent, and the designer of the next design. Daniel Burnham was for example engaged to design subways in Philadelphia, some years after he did so in Chicago according to the idea of his first cousin Telford Burnham. In partnership with his client John Wanamaker, he brought the idea to New York, where the type further evolved. The application of the type transformed. In the first city it was part of a large-scale downtown plan, in the second it was part a subterranean main street and in the third it was used as part of a smaller design intervention. In the subsequent designs of the suburban mall type, we could see a trend towards the larger scale. In relational terms, this change is activated in quite similar ways. Cesar Pelli had taken over the lead of the firm of his former supervisor Victor Gruen, while Jon Jerde did the same in the firm of his boss Charles Kober. Both firms were seated in close proximity in Los Angeles, while both obtained a continental scope, resulting in a large share in the development of the mall. from that point of view, the four worked close together, most probably knowing each other personally too. In the past, a foreign visit from Gruen to the project of Jo van den Broek in Rotterdam has influenced his work on the malls. Inner city concepts were adapted in the suburbs. Later, also crossing borders, Jerde would combine the then established concepts for malls with those developed by Maurice Sunderland in Edmonton and Bloomington, focussed on a larger catchment area and entertainment. In general, the people loved it. Likewise, in the past, Jean Pierre Cluysenaar had visited the Uffizi in Florence and likely the small arcades by others, before he designed his popular arcade, by which he fundamentally changed the type. In Brussels the arcade became part of urban restructuring. Some years later, in his turn, Giuseppe Mengoni consulted Cluysenaar, which again led to the transformation of the arcade type in his hometown Milan. Here the need to reconstruct the inner city was a different one. A different case, a different city, and a different designer meant a change in the type, thus another design. In the case of overhead footways, Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, now better known as Le Corbusier also relied on earlier ideas, particularly those of his idol Tony Garnier. After they had met in Lyon, he would envision overhead ways of all kinds in all kinds of theoretical situations. Harvey Wiley Corbett had applied similar ideas in his proposals for New York, which Norman Bel Geddes put into a one to one model, while working under supervision of Corbett. Eventually Corbett's former partner Wallance Harrison, with his associate Max Abramovitz, worked even briefly together with Le Corbusier.

Figure 9.3.7.
Le Corbusier (on the left) represented France in a Board of Design Consultants for the United Nations Headquarters. Wallance Harrison represented the United States and he was Director of Planning, assisted by his then partner Max Abramovitz (both in the back, resp. left and right of the door). They joined in the drafting room, 1947

Closing part of the circle. Each in their own way, by the wide professional attention, influenced a whole generation of designers. Yet not all of their outcomes would be appreciated by the public.
More often, the subsequent designs in the evolution of a type were related simply because they were located in the same city. Actual relations between designers or other people involved might not be known, but in these cases designers had to have been familiar with the present precedents. Would François Destailleur, Jean-Louis de Bourge, Prosper Deschamps, François Mazois and Antoine Tavernier ever had designed a glass covered arcade without the Parisian precedent of Martin Habert-Thibierge and what would Habert-Thibierge had done in his turn without the design experiments of Victor Louise? The same could be questioned in all bazaar cases in Constantinople, created by unknown designers. Most likely they would not. Also, Milo Thompson, Albert Larson, Don McLaren, Philip Johnson and John Burgee wouldn't have designed skyways in Minneapolis if not Ed Baker did so first. Types did not evolve very much in one city. In short periods, contexts changed slowly. Designs, however, could be very different in style, lay-out and position. More examples could be found in the previous studies. Again the subsequent designs awaited a very different response by the public: Some of them were closed and demolished, others continued to be used by many.
In several cases, not the designer, but owners and developers seemed to be responsible for the link between a precedent and a design. Their projects were originated in designs, which they had to have memorised. As such, it might be highly plausible that Chah Abbas has been in Ceceraya and Constantinople before assigning his bazaar project in Isfahan. Also Queen Maria de' Medici, likely not alone, could be credited for the introduction of the pall-mall game from Florence to Paris. In Modern times the Ghermezian Organization could serve as an illustration of how the idea of a mega mall was introduced in Bloomington after being constructed in Edmonton. Also Wanamaker could be put forward again. Again the one city was not the other.
One case especially gave us an odd but most literal example of the role of a model in migration of a type and the representation of a design concept in particular. The wood model of the arcade of Pierre Fontaine was shipped to London as a present by its owner King Louis Philippe to Queen Victoria, and contributed to the introduction of new Parisian concepts oversees. In the better structured city, where already pedestrian space was introduced, the arcade was more of a curiosity.
Over all, concepts were spread to other places mostly without the direct involvement of people engaged in the original design or their actual visit to the precedents used. Remarkable designs were most often transported abroad by means of public media. In the early days, the travel rapports of Ibn Battuta and Ambrogio Contarini could serve as examples in the migration of the bazaar type. At the time, both writings were quite popular amongst a certain audience. These writings were not always accurate and allowed for secondary association with different qualities compared to the original. Of course, when newspapers and magazines became popular and they introduced images, descriptions were joined with drawings of the designs. This introduced a growth in overall circulation of new concepts. The Illustrated London News, the first illustrated weekly

Figure 9.3.8.
Henry IV receiving the portrait of Marie de Médici, who likely not alone could be credited for the introduction of the pall-mall game in Paris, painting of 1632 by Peter Paul Rubens (28 June 1577 - 30 May 1640)

newspaper, contributed for example to the migration of ideas and types within the British Empire, presenting for example the newest arcades in London. The Times, The London Gazette and among others The Morning Herald had done more or less the same, in words. Early newspapers like these also spread the ideas of John Williams, Charles Pearson and John Fowler proposing a subterranean railway and they showed images of the early subways like the one of Marc and Isambard Brunel and that of Peter Barlow. Magazines like The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction and The Penny Magazine followed. The improved communications caused a public need for information, also across the ocean. Scientific American was a wide spread weekly journal of practical information on arts, science, mechanics, chemistry and manifactures. The elevated and underground lines were discussed most regularly. The New York Times, New-York Daily Tribune and New-York Evening Post informed a wider public on such developments on Manhattan and in the surrounding boroughs. These newspapers explained how the designs of Samuel Trowbridge and Goodhue Livingston, William Birkmire and Pierre LeBrun would introduce pedestrian subways to the nearest underground stations. Sometimes pictures revealed the image. The same was true for newspapers in other cases, in and around other metropolises. Tens of thousands and later sometimes hundreds of thousands of people read each of these newspapers. The design of Daniel Burnham, Charles McKim and Frederick Law Olmsted was widely published in newspapers and inspired Walter Griffin in the mall proposals for Canberra and Delhi. Over time, the relation between original model and representation, precedent and design, changed. If designers and others could not experience the public spaces themselves, than at least they could study their description and images of their designs. The same goes for the general public. The public opinion was echoed in these media as well as it was formed by them. New layers of surprises, sentiments and simulacra were added. Semiotic relations diversified and


VOYAGES
DE
Mr. LE CHEVALIER
CHARDIN,
EN PERSE,
ET AUTRES LIEUX
DE L'ORIENT.
TOME SECOND,
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez JEAN LOUIS DE LORME.
MDCCXL

Figure 9.3.9a.
Front page of 'Voyages de Mr. Le Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient' discussing the bazaars of Isfahan, by Jean Chardin, 1711


THE PENNY MAGAZINE
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Figure 9.3.9b.
Front page of the monthly supplement of 'Penny Magazine' discussing The Thames Tunnel, September 1832


SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

Figure 9.3.9c.
Front page of a 'Scientific American' discussing the elevated railtracks of New York, 15 June 1878

Figure 9.3.10.
Donald Trump promoting Trump Place in New York, for the local television station WNEW-TV-5, 1984

interpretations could multiply, especially when they crossed cultures. Within our discipline the professional journals came into vogue especially in the Modern era. Magazines like American Architect, Architectural Record, The Architectural Forum and Progressive Architecture gave for example a platform for different opinions on Rockefeller Center, the collaborate work of Raymond Hood, Frederick Godley, Jacques-André Fouilhoux, Andrew Reinhard and Henry Hofmeister, next to that of Corbett and Harrison. Eventually this would be a ground for a series of pedestrian subway systems on the continent. Especially, under the post-war social and cultural influence of the United States, these magazines influenced the profession abroad too, while mergers and chain formations reduce the total scope.[988] They disseminated information on ideas from Morris Ketchum, Pietro Belluschi, Georges Nelson, Whitney Smith, Simon Breines, Welton Beckett and John Graham, Alfred Shaw, which led to the concept of shopping malls. The discussed ideas were seen as new and modern; worthy of imitation. In early stage, the concept for a shopping mall migrated to several places, while later, when the tide turned and the consented tendency was completely towards designing absolute and outdoor public space only, publications on the type almost stopped completely. By then, the attention for interior public space seemed to be fading in these media. This did not mean that there was no review at all. Moving with the time, occasionally even new specialised public media were established. As such, for example Skyway News took that position and scheduled all events in the skyway network of Minneapolis, like Rockefeller Center Weekly, a local predecessor in New York, had done in the past. Also specialised publications, entitled Passagen, Der Bazar or Shopping Centers & Malls, could appear on the designer's book shelf as a way to spread information on the design of interior public spaces. Over time, designers also published the projects themselves. Television in its way and internet for sure, multiplied the scope.

[988] The American Architect began publication in 1876 as The American Architect and Building News. It changed its name to American Architect in 1909, The American Architect and the Architectural Review in 1921 after a merger and The American Architect in 1925. It ceased publication in 1938, when it was absorbed into the Architectural Record, which began in 1891 and continues publication. Architectural Forum began in 1892 as The Brickbuilder. It absorbed the magazine Architect's World in 1938, and it was renamed The Architectural Forum in 1952, followed by some alterations. It ceased publication in 1974. Progressive Architecture started in 1920, merged with Pencil Points in 1943 and ceased operations in 2006.

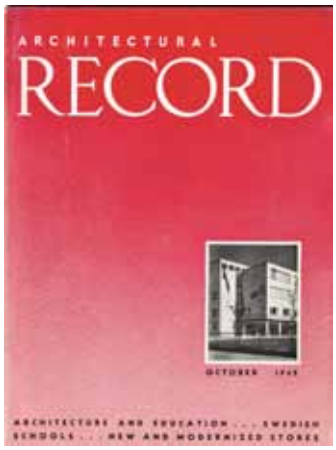


Figure 9.3.9d.
Cover of the 'Architectural Record' introducing the first ideas for covered malls, October 1942

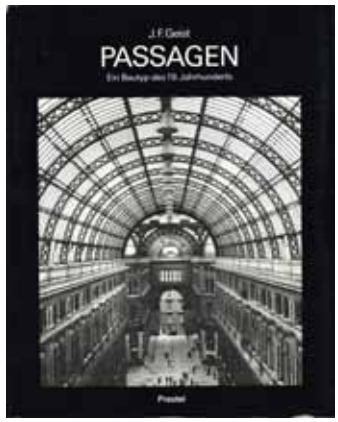


Figure 9.3.9e.
Cover of 'Passagen, Ein Bautyp des 19. Jahrhunderts' discussing arcades, by Johann Friedrich Geist, 1969

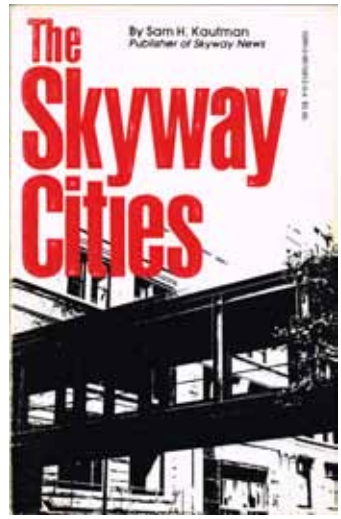


Figure 9.3.9f.
Cover of 'The Skyway Cities' discussing the skyways of Minneapolis, by Sam Kaufman, 1985

Showcased by the exemplative interiors in the typological evolutions, the people, the public governments and the public opinions have affected the public qualities of those spaces in a variety of ways too. All designs that I specifically studied in this research, had been influenced by the public to an extreme degree. The public always determined the nature of a 'public' space. Therefore it became public in the first place. However, especially in the case of public interiors, the public had done so in all their variations and in many ways, at all times. First, governments, representing the people as a whole, exemplified interpretations on public quality. They determined part of this quality by regulating ownership and control and they did so in many ways. Clearly, there was never one answer for this issue. Second, people actually using the space expounded their share of its public quality too. As they varied from place to place and from time to time, every user could have his or hers own associations and these might have changed with the passage of the years. As such, seldom they were part of an either static or homogenous group. A variety of written sources reflected both divers and pluralistic public qualifications. An endless line of documents, reports, pamphlets, books, newspaper, leaflets, magazines, brochures and articles witnessed how a space was perceived. In their turn these media influenced the public quality too. So, third, by matter of course public media should be seen as important in any research on public space. In my epistles, only these specific public sources were selected.
Unlike any conceived parallelism, one could not see the three denominators as completely independent, nor should one see them as clearly defined public entities. Although at times, the public governments, the people and the media had arrogated different public qualities to interior public spaces. In respect to the current trend, at the relay points in evolution, they either tended to converge, acquiring similarities, or they diverged, accumulating differences. They did so from case to case within each type. By matter of course, reference material was applied specifically when

Figure 9.3.11a.
Friedrichstrassepassage in Berlin owned by many, but not the public government, as shown in this stock of the Actien-Bauvereins Passage, 1 July 1870

Figure 9.3.11b.
Friedrichstrassepassage publicly-used by many kinds of people, as shown by this photo

Figure 9.3.11c.
Friedrichstrassepassage publicly-known and part of Berlin life, as shown in this pen and ink drawing of 1918 by George Grosz (26 July 1898 - 6 July 1959)

it intended to reach a larger audience, effectively both reflecting and influencing the opinion of governments, crowds or single individuals and thus the public space in casu. In correlation to the evolutionary changes in the types, a wide variety of sources had to be applied to uncover relations between people actively involved in design projects. Most certainly, future studies will reveal more links. In the end, this whole construct shows that designers interpreted existing designs seldom in a linear way to make another. Besides, the future of interior public space does not rely on designers alone. Above all, it depends in its nature on the public, whoever that may be. I could add their complex contribution and interrelation to the semiotic understanding of designs.

Chapter 4 Let's Design

Whereas the Enlightened designer and theorist had built a metaphysic scheme determining the nature of public space, based on the awareness of continuity and change in urban and architectural meaning, and as such ready to be utilised by next generations, the Modern theorist had put it into a system, which structurally helped to determine a certain permanence of its meaning and relationships between designers, designs, people and objects. They are presumed to act either in the public or private realms, in the public or private spheres, in the public or private space. Of all phenomena perhaps public space should be understood by the interrelation of designers, designs, people and objects. In a dichotomically structured search, relations could be revealed. Yet, in time, the aspiration to overcome banal polarities in our profession grew. In what way did public space really differ from private space? What kind of public spaces existed exactly? How did they relate? The emphasis remained on the relation of things, but by radically illuminating all reciprocities, everything could be understood as relative.

While colleagues did travel over the globe, or in time, endless series of outstanding examples came into view. Relating those to the Modern idea of public space made 'public' and 'private' relative notions. More so one emphasised – and some discovered – that apparently public space could have many faces. Interior public space in a variety of examples did underline the relativity of public space. On the one hand, in a search for understanding, the comparison between these interiors and interiors elsewhere could be practice brought to theory. The broad sweep of early international mass travelling might have helped. At least, as showed in this research, it was explicitly the basis for international comparison at certain moments in the Modern past. Familiar public spaces could be related to those abroad. It formed the basis of global gatherings like the recurring meetings of the International Congress of Architects and Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne. In this line, still today, any city, any case could serve as precedent for another. The recent Dutch examples, in which the crowded interiors of Tokyo were seen as the awaiting future public spaces at home, seemed emblematic for unspecified cross-cultural comparisons guiding local discussions. The cases do not stand by themselves. Many colleagues in the Western context had referred to for example Japanese phenomena alike. Yet, the more designers did relate interior public spaces at home to those places far away, the more interpretations multiplied. It should be seen as simple semiotics. For example, perceiving either an opulent chaos or a clear order in the Japanese capitol, could say more about the observers and their search, then about the particular interiors serving as precedent. Likewise, putting the emphasis on present traditions or on prosperous transformations would depend on who gives it prominence. It all depends on the context. Whereas, in this specific case, certain Americans, like Lewis Mumford, Louis

Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and Edmund Bacon, searched for a kind of traditional Japanese interpretation, and thus focussed on urban artefacts which had been valuable to pass on from people to people in fast changing times, some prominent Europeans, like Henri Lefebvre, Hubert Tonka, Aldo van Eyk, Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Alison and Peter Smithson, Warren Chalk, David Greene, searched for examples which could pertain their ancient towns to the current times and international style. Where the one underlined the culture of the city, the other did the changing relations between society and space. Though this would be too bold to conclude, as a simplification it could uncover a large diversity of past associations in the understanding of public space, specifically interiors, by means of international comparison. On the other hand, in a search for understanding, the comparison between these interiors, public space in general, and interiors in the past became a theorist's practice too. One indentified current issues in constructed connections to precedents of the past. Designers illuminated present phenomena against the backcloth of historical precedents. Whereas for some the outdoor space on the Acropolis of Athens and the Forum Romanum represented ideal neutrality of public space, for others, an example like Palazzo Strozzi helped to understand outside in and inside out, allowing the existence of interiors with some sort of public significance. Snapshots from ancient times could reveal more options to choose from. We could have learned that

Figure 9.4.1.
The interior of the Pantheon in Rome, painted c.1734 by Giovanni Paolo Panini (17 June 1691 - 21 October 1765)

there had been many ways to grasp public space, if only researching the old ways to regulate the public interest. Just by reinterpreting rediscovered writings in the realms of Marcus Tullius Cicero, Gaius Julius Caesar, Justinian I and Eugenius IV, we could have learned that the ideas on public space might be not so strict. It is also what we could learn from Vitruvius Pollio. Yet, we did not, because our paths had been paved under dominant influence of the Modern selection and interpretations of Hannah Arendt, Jürgen Habermas and Richard Sennet. If put on one time line, they had reframed the res publica by guiding us from an authoritative and all-embracing idea of public realm to a public sphere, in which individuals and groups actively act, influencing the public quality. They opened doors to the interior, but when it came to preferred public space they stayed on the street. Public space remained the opposite of private space and related to the outdoors. It did explain current times more than it did the past.
So, when it came to the phenomenon, which I labelled interior public space, their reasoning bent to the negative. History was manipulated and foreign examples were put to the stand to suit Modern rational. New Yorkers took the lead. The city might have neglected the people, thus the people in turn had neglected the city, as stated by Bernard Rudofsky. On the same flow, Jane Jacobs reasons on the death and life of the city. The theoretical model, or ideology, did not match reality. They represented a large group of New Yorkers having a response on public space which did not match the Modern idea.

Today, still, a large group of Late Modernists radically advocates a public space which has to be absolute. Actual or perceived dangers and threats motivate their ideology. They attest to have found a so-called lonely crowd indoors, presumably exploding, death, in twilight, sick or at least in crisis. In this line, interior public space is seen as placeless space, lost space, secular space, analogous space, eroded space, surrogate space, simulated space, capsular space, junk space, et cetera. By choosing for one of these correlated connotations, these researchers of public space join in a fierce strive to repudiate public interiors in a holistic manner. Yet, unlike the predictions of fifty years ago, we have not faced an eclipse, end, collapse, nor have we needed a quest, diagnosis or cure to make ideology reality. Reality has been giving ideas continuously to reconstitute our expectations and actions. Although the advocates of absolute public space have been at least as persisting as the idea itself, other people in other places introduced other views. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Philip Johnson, and for example Anne Vernez Moudon, have been forerunners in a change of thoughts. They have started explorations of public interiors with a more open mind, simply by observing the city as it is. These public interiors may be streets of the next future. Centuries have been travelled back to make a point. Unité d' Habitation has been placed next to Galleria degli Uffizi and Caesars Palace has been juxtaposed over the Pantheon. They have been able to re-understand interior public spaces in newly constructed relations to certain concepts from the past and elsewhere.
In imitation, some of the next generation of researchers from New York retorted their colleagues and reviewed the phenomenon again. In their view, it ought to be reasonable that as individuals and

groups in their city gathered en masse and increasingly in public interiors and the public government stimulated this, that these spaces were public as well. To keep it structured, it was perceived both public and private on different layers. Their public government would call it privately-owned publicly-used space. In re-conception, by referring to other places on the globe and to other moments in time, interiors could be acknowledged as a consistent particle of the network of public space. In this line, another group of Late Modernists have continued the research of the present phenomena by proposing a close placement of two dichotomies. They try to reconcile. The case public versus private space has to be resolved. In their view, interior public space is either a part of social space or generic space, or it is conceived as third space, in-between space, semi-public space, collective space, diverged space, et cetera. In the first reasoning researchers introduce umbrella concepts to cover multiple groups of related spaces and in the latter, the overlap got a 'status aparte'. By observing the city in real, the acknowledgement of public space in a wide variety of manifestations and forms came to theory. Eventually both positions lead to an inevitable overlap, like in the concept of everyday space of Margaret Crawford.

With the use of 'interior public space', I do not imply any of these 'other spaces'. Each of the notions has its own value, meaning and significance, but I have approached these interiors as 'public spaces'. It *is* simply public space within the interior. Interior public space is just a socio-spatial description to group certain phenomena in our cities and cultures, like the illuminated bazaars, arcades, malls, skyways and subways. As such, it covers very different variants of different types. By following the crowd, I have crossed boundaries and opened doors. "Instead of an existence of an opposition between privacy and publicity, rather there is an interrelatedness and overlap", as the Dutch philosopher and researcher of public space René Boomkens[989] has summarised Late Modern ideas at the start of my search. In time, indeed, I may have found "the ambiguity

[989] René Wiebe Boomkens (born 18 September 1954) is a Dutch social and cultural philosopher, researcher of public space and pop culture.

Figure 9.4.2.
The ideal city seen from the interior c.1490, a veduta attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini (bapt. 23 September 1439 - c. 29 November 1501)

of that public space on the other side", as colleague Ivo Nio[990] has stated during my observations and studies. In 2006, it has lead to a first sketch of the spaces in the city, which do not belong to what is seen as formal public space, but which in daily life are used as such. (Boomkens 1998: 53, 387; Nio 2002, May: 61, and Harteveld 2006: 116-131) Back home, things are changing. In The Hague, the public government has acknowledged recently, what the common people are experiencing already for decades, if not centuries. Whereas, the focus was on the outdoor space in the memorandum of 1988, carefully now the City is including also interior public space in its scope in their recent plan for the inner city. At the present, the local government dedicates itself to the use of public space by pedestrians and cyclists and as such it aims a more or less orthogonal 'patchwork' of connections; 'a network of spheres, squares, streets *and* arcades'. In the elaborations of the plan, the explicit example of governmental policy in New York is put forward progressively. Incentives are seen as one of the possibilities to improve the quality of public space by what the City calls 'coproduction'. It can be a continuation of privately-owned public spaces present in the centre, like De Passage and the premises of other (former) arcades. As such foreign policies are translated to the specific local context.[991] Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling 2010, 29 January; Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling and Dienst Stadsbeheer 2012, 31 May)

It is an interesting last example of 'stage one'. There, colleagues in practice are again underlining the specificity of the context. They relate issues to the culture of their city, while at the same time recognising the interrelation between ongoing local socio-spatial transformations and those elsewhere. Yet, different to the past, their approach to public space is changing like it is elsewhere. Interiors are included. By returning to my point of departure, I realise that not only the types in themselves, but also thoughts on public space are evolving, and I may be an actor in this process. Travelling the globe and really researching the archives helped me to show that when it comes to interiors, spaces can be public *while* being private. They are so simultaneously and at varying degrees and times. A complementary relation between public and private remains being recognised in all recent conceptions on 'other spaces'. Relating dichotomies make the two notions relative in many ways. I continued the search by a re-search to some of the actual relations,

[990] Ivan Hsuen Lung Nio (born 29 July 1965) is a Dutch social geographer and philosopher, and currently a PhD candidate with Boomkens.

[991] The plan, called 'Binnenstadsplan Den Haag 2010-2020, Naar een Complete Haagse Binnenstad', has established a so-called public-private partnership between public government, businesses and private individuals. (Gemeente Den Haag, Het College van Burgemeester en Wethouders 2010, 4 February; Gemeente Den Haag, Kamer van Koophandel Den Haag and Stichting Binnenstad Den Haag 2010, 14 December)

Figure 9.4.3.
De Passage of The Hague, 2011

determining the evolution of certain types of interior public space. The somewhat substantial outcome changes the two notions in their presumed subordination fundamentally. One may understand the phenomenon as an example of an ambiguous public-private overlap, but in the end again, public space is 'public' space because the public adds a public meaning to a space due to its public significance. By matter of course, this can include interiors. Spaces are public in the interrelated way the public governments, the people and the general public perceive them. Today, the increased awareness of complexity constitutes such an essential further move away from the larger, overarching structure determining 'public' as presented in earlier theories. Above all, in each specific case, we can acknowledge several layers of public governments. Each of their laws, regulations, appeals and agreements determine a public significance of a space. In each case, we can acknowledge a diversification of the public gatherings, meetings, passer-bys, and persons otherwise being present. Different people, at different times, in various group-sizes determine a public significance too. In each case, we can acknowledge a wide variety of media, opinions and view points. They make us familiar with the spaces. They make us talk about them. Even public individuals, like some of our colleagues, may influence the sphere. They all contribute to a public significance of a space, no matter if spaces may be considered to be private from any other point of view. Some spaces are owned by a government representing more people, having more authority or what so ever, some spaces are used by more people during a longer time, and some spaces are know by more people. It is not chaos, but neither is it mathematics.

By learning from practice, we seem to be always able to create a public connection, a public attraction or both. At least, previous designers have been able to, if other actors in the project have been going along. In those cases, one may reconsider locations, connections and compositions by for example manipulating accessibility, lay-out and sphere. Numerous exemples have past in review. In addition, the existing interrelated network of public space determines the variability of the type in relation to its environment and thus the design would be depending on present public paths and uses. Yet, within a wider scope, designing public spaces means determining public qualities by de-signing the consigned types from out of a specific understanding of their particular public meaning and significance. This could be versatile and pluralistic. Ultimately, as illuminated by this research, a public space expresses the condition of numerous other public spaces in a system and numerous forms of relationships among the elements, within and across different (sub)-cultures and cities, all assigning a different public, addressing a different public significance. Its concomitant public qualities make the space public. If it comes to designing public space, both in theory and in practice, we have tended to think of an absolute kind of public space. Yet, if public ownership is not a premise for public space, we are able to see real public spaces. Interior public space has broadened our horizon. So, I can conclude that understanding interior public spaces in practice adjusts our focus on the network of public space as a whole and with that attribute we could design like we should. It will de-sign design.

[992] The pedestrian mall of Grote Marktstraat is redesigned by the South-African-Dutch architect Lana du Croq (born 18 July 1970) between 2008 and 2010, and realised in the years after. (De Booys 2007, 28 December, BOF Bullitin 2008, February)

“Soon, when I will stroll though De Passage again, wondering what will be my next search, I will be able to continue my walk though the new arcade. This so-called Nieuwe Haagse Passage will be an immediate short-cut to the pedestrian mall. It will guide me outdoors again. All of a sudden, it opens up possibilities to discuss outdoors again. This mall is public-owned, publicly-used and publicly known in many ways. One may say that this is one of those examples, which always has been defined as public space. That is to say, it may be emblematic for unconditional public space. Its current redesign puts all we presume under review again, but from a different angle. The recent refurbishment of the space introduces six large benches near the entrances of the subway. These benches are detailed in coloured perforated sheet as if it is lace. As such, they recall images, which denote the couches and sofas we have in our houses. Although the mall remains unroofed and open, its new indoor atmosphere is emphasised by other urban furniture too. The benches will be combined with showcases and the whole is repositioned on a carpet of pavement with textile patterns in relief. Three massive chandeliers will be hanging above the mall. The newspapers announced that staying in ‘the living room of The Hague’ will again become worth it! The designer added that for this reason the atmosphere of the arcade must be extended.[99a] Is interior public space the new standard? Can outdoors be an interior? I hope I have some time to sit down on one of those urban sofas. Between all the people, I will give it some thoughts, privately.”

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Many books I have read and studied. Preferably, I do read first imprints to keep close to the earliest observations, statements and impressions. My library has grown enormously. The bookcases which arrived only a few months ago are filled already. It seems never enough, but I cannot buy everything and, even if so, not is everything is available in hard copy. Therefore, I feel lucky that today I can study certain exceptional non-copyrighted books by provision of the non-profit digital libraries of Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, Inc. and its predecessors, as well as the Internet Archive, collaborating with institutions including the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution in the United State, and JSTOR, digitising back issues of academic journals. I have to thank them for these great endeavours. Also, I have to express my appreciation to all participants of the Google Books Library Project as well as of the ArchNet databank. Though, most esteem acknowledgement is due the following institutes for their generosity in permitting the use of their archives and/or assisting in this research:

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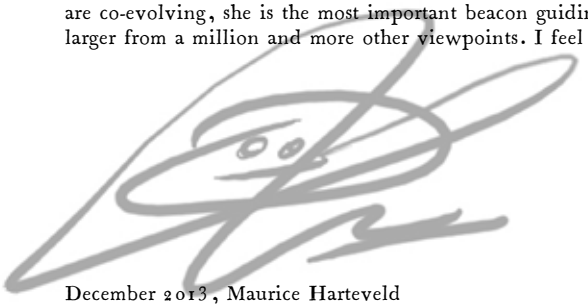
In addition to common works, often unique and very rare research material, such as manuscripts, magazines, booklets, folders and letters, and pamphlets, engravings, postcards and photos have been found thanks to the help of hundreds of amateurs and antiquarians around the world. Together, these actors have supported my research and have helped me to assemble a base on which I have constructed my epistles and redirected urban theory. Together with the librarians and archivists of the above institutions, these people have guided me to many forgotten designs and interiors actually built. With their help I have find those who have influenced the design of interior public space over time: The designers of the past and present and all other actors involved in the establishment of those designs. Finding them has been crucial, as they have played the lead role in this venue. Clearly, not all of the actors are well-known. Seldom, they are acknowledged as protagonists, let alone stars. If they have been, we have known their story already and this research has not been revealing much nor have it been able to oppose current theorems and general urban theory on public space. In this line, background information on these people is intended to be supportive, to identify them and to relate them to the time they live or have lived in. For that reason, I have incorporated in the footnotes among others biographic data of all actors relevant. Al lot of these data has been widely published in general encyclopaedias. Today, we can discover them on internet too, scanned or transcribed as it has been printed on paper in the old days. Some of the above institutions have provided me with additional information. Those whom have not been included before are now, with their help, as they have access to their local biographical indices. If these missing data have not been known here, other public resources were real godsends. I have found general biographical data in other open-source records, like national, federal or territorial censuses, birth, marriage and death indices, and sometimes even immigration and passenger lists, legal registers, military

registrations, voters' lists, school and church directories, private data collections, genealogical records and family trees, as published on-line by genealogical companies and confirmed by various others. In a several cases descendants or actors themselves have provided study material and/or bios. I am lucky that they did.

In the end, it is hard to tell when this research really started and who else is involved. I remember at early age going along with my mom to the charity bazaars feeding my curiosity and to the old arcade in the city enjoying its show windows. I remember discussing the universe with my father; philosophising on everything. I remember being a teenager exploring the mall, taking trains to other places, fly abroad visiting my aunts. They all contributed. I cherish the endless discussions, nights long, which I had with my friends Michel van Coevorden and Babette van den Ancker since our first bachelor projects. I am sure that these debates have been contributing to half of the tale of today. They honour me with being my paranymphs at the doctoral defence of my work. Within the faculty walls more has happened. Jan Heeling, one of my supervisors in my masters, has showed me the way to do a doctorate in urban design and architecture. Although he was retired by then and I was graduated years ago, I am very happy that he did, because on this path philosophising became daily life and practice. During the subsequent years, the rise of internet and the world's globalisation opened lots of resources, which were my fuel for a great journey. By matter of course, the presence of many old and new friends, colleagues and students contributed to the joy. Of all, especially I would like to thank a few people by name: I like to thank Danielle Karakuza Hellendoorn, Linda de Vos and Margo van der Helm for their support on a daily basis and managing innumerable things, which have been needed to free me for research. I feel happy with the many chats I have had with MaartenJan Hoekstra, Fransje Hooimeijer, Willemijn Wilms Floet and Roberto Cavallo. Over time they have created a safe research haven, even after our former faculty building burned, our office collapsed and all books were gone. Somehow the urban lounge and the bridge to architecture have survived. I like to thank Margaret Crawford, Paola Viganò, Luuk Boelens, Tom Avermaete, Karin Laglas, Machiel van Dorst and Han Meyer for their time and valuable feedback on a preliminary version of this work. Especially, I have to thank Jenny Nauta for being my assistant over the years, helping me out with so many things and ultimately designing this wonderful publication. Since 2005, I have also been honoured to be encouraged and advised by Denise Scott Brown. I am very happy that she has shared her thoughts. Of course, foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Henco Bekkering, who supervised me with shared curiosity and enthusiasm. He encouraged me to cross every next border, always going one step further, while directing me to fascinating new places. Yet, at home Heere Cryn Harteveld gave me the much desired deadline to conclude this project. Thanks for that! Last but certainly not least, my dear thanks are extended to my wife Beitske Boonstra. While we work side by side and our theories are co-evolving, she is the most important beacon guiding my search. Yet, above all, she makes my world larger from a million and more other viewpoints. I feel fortunate that she does. I owe her great gratitude!



December 2013, Maurice Harteveld

About the Author

Maurice Georges Alain Daniel Harteveld (born 15 November 1973) is a Dutch architect, urban designer and planner. The seed for his professional interest for public space was planted during his first academic years being a graduate student. As the president of the student and practice association Polis, Platform for Urbanism, he organised a symposium on public space relating design to society and, with fellow students, he undertook several foreign and domestic excursions visiting a variety of cities. In 1999, he graduated with honour from the Delft University of Technology, in both architecture and urbanism. His thesis illustrated the theorem that an arcade could function in an approached manner only when the design assignment would be approached from both urban and architectural design disciplines. It would be his first study on interior public space. His academic design project for Brussels was used to proof his thesis. In the years after, he could integrate his professions, while bringing his sense of precision into practice. He was briefly affiliated with Quadrat, a small now-dissolved firm, which at the time was awarded with the so-called BNA-Kubus for their designs of public spaces. In this position, he contributed to a few urban designs in The Netherlands. During those early years, he was also teaching urban and architectural analyses and theory at the Academies of Architecture in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and later at the Academy of Architecture and Urban Design in Tilburg. Although he was a guest lecturer in various research and design studios in Delft since his graduation too, his academic career formally started in 2004 as part-time researcher. Soon he became responsible for the coordination of the bachelor courses on urbanism and between 2007 and 2012 he was the director of the master-track in urbanism. Over the years, he has supervised quite some students, managed various courses, and fortunately he was able to remain his personal main focus on studying interior public space. Driven by curiosity, he has been travelling the globe experiencing different cultures and cities, while exploring archives and socio-spatial transformations in practice.

Currently, Maurice Harteveld is handing on his findings to the other academia, scholars and professionals in practice: While lecturing in his new courses on urban design and public space in Delft, and several places abroad, he works on public space issues, including public interiors, in some European cities. Yet, in the meantime, new routes are opened too. He is a guest lecturer at The Chinese University of Hong Kong since 2006 and at the Beijing University of Technology since 2010. While still learning from other places, he is encouraged to understand urban spaces within different cross-cultural contexts. More writing is on his desk.

Maurice Harteveld, Paris, 2005

“Today, many urban theorists neglect or even reject the existence of interior public space. These thinkers focus on the publicly-owned space, often outdoors, and forget certain publicly-used spaces, where the people actually are! Let alone interiors as such. Interior public spaces are not new, unlike some presume. Over time, they have played an important role in a variety of socio-spatial transformations and always they have been crucial for the city and its culture. As long as theorists do not respect interior public spaces and thus really understand the complicated network of paths of people, they are lost in a self-created maze.”

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