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ADH

ADH
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HERITAGE CITIES AND DESTRUCTION |

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ADH JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN AND HISTORY
The Journal of Architectural Design and History is a biannual magazine, undergoing a double-blind peer review process, realized within the framework of the UNESCO Chair in Architectural Preservation and Planning in World Heritage Cities at the Mantova Campus of Politecnico di Milano.

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LECTURE

REVIEWS BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF

A FAREWELL *EDITORIAL*

Edited by Elisa Boeri, Elena Fioretto and Claudia Tinazzi
(Politecnico di Milano)

> *Every trip is the best trip in the world. A journey isn't about how far or how long, nor the 'wonders', the masterpieces you might happen to see. A trip is primarily about the journey itself. It is a linear space, into which fall images, profiles, words, sounds, monuments and blades of grass, like a gap in the planet. You can travel ten thousand miles without having travelled; you can go for a walk, and the walk can become that gap, be a journey.*

Giorgio Manganelli. 2005. *La favola pitagorica. Luoghi italiani.* Edited by Andrea Cortellessa. Milan: Piccola Biblioteca Adelphi, 523. [Own translation]

The Journal of Architectural Design and History has reached its second issue, but as the reader will gather throughout these pages, there have been more than just a few — even tumultuous — changes made to this young journal. Let's start with the easier news: our editorial team is expanding, and this fills us with joy and pride. The fact that young scholars are dedicating part of their time to an editorial undertaking of this kind is a strong signal of hope for the future. The darker notes, on the other hand, touch chords that we still struggle to deal with, with which the ADH Journal and the entire editorial team have had to grapple in recent months. The painful loss of our Director Prof. Federico Bucci (1959-2023), historian of architecture and Vice Rector of the regional campus in Mantova, marked a clear watershed in the journey that the editorial team embarked upon in 2021, the year that marked the start of the creation of this Journal. Federico Bucci, who throughout his career dedicated himself to teaching the History of Architecture and to the passionate and in-depth study of figures such as Albert Kahn, Luigi Moretti, Franco Albini and Renzo Piano, was the founder and driving force behind this project from day one. It was his desire to create an interdisciplinary journal of international scope; to him we owe the character and interest — not something to be taken for granted — in the work of younger generations: forms and methods that the editorial team has promised to maintain. Paraphrasing Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969), a master of the School of Milan whom he greatly admired, by adopting a perspective of "continuity", we take on the responsibility of this state of permanence, with the awareness of having accepted modestly but with determination a legacy, taking charge of managing it with prudence and care. If, as Giorgio Manganelli reminds us, "A journey isn't about how far or how long," the mark left by Federico Bucci in the long months creating the Journal remains for us a living memory and driving force of the objectives that we promise to achieve in the journal's near future. To the bitter farewell to Federico, the past year has added another loss for the journal. The death of Anthony Vidler (1941-2023), a refined scholar and member of the scientific committee, whose research and publications, known throughout the world, contributed substantially to the rediscovery of the figure of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) and to the understanding of Late Enlightenment culture.

As a tribute, you will find in this new issue his lecture 'Architecture and Representation: Etching, Engraving, Painting', delivered during Mantovarchitettura 2020.
This first editorial, a joint effort by the three of us, is therefore both a farewell and a welcome. Full of gratitude and aware of the importance of this new role, we bid farewell to our Director and an important member of the Scientific Committee, and welcome the new future of the Journal of Architectural Design and History.

Significantly, this second issue of The Journal of Architectural Design and History is dedicated to the topic of destruction. This is obviously a broad theme that could be approached from many different perspectives. Destruction refers to the process and outcome of an event: every destruction, regardless of whether being voluntary or involuntary in nature, imposes a reflection on losses, things that have existed but ceased to exist, and forces us to make a value judgement about what we recognised as being part of our history and identity. A destructive event becomes very relevant for the social life of the collectivity that is subject to it, and its results can be materialised over time depending on several directions and different ways.
It is a topic that is strongly tied to contemporaneity and, at the same time, to the historical memory of different generations, which led to an unexpected response in terms of publication proposals. For this reason, after careful selection and reflection on the theme, we decided to make the topic of destruction the subject of a double issue of ADH. Issue 2, which you see published today, is dedicated to destruction as an event of war, sadly a very topical subject. The 8 essays published discuss the destruction of heritage by critically examining cases ranging from Bari and Berlin to Warsaw and Pakistan, analysing transversally the causes, effects and possible solutions to the problem of devastation. The permanent sections, by the editorial team, feature an essay in images composed of fragments of memories ('Destruction into fragments'), exploring the various meanings of destruction, from natural devastation to the erasure and recreation of artistic memory. The Archive Essay presents two texts by Ignazio Gardella and Bruno Zevi, respectively read on *Radio Milano* in 1945 and on the *National Broadcasting Company (NBC)* of New York in 1942, both informative and surprisingly relevant and communicative due to the radio broadcasting style of the excerpts.
The editors' recommendations explore the topic of destruction through the volumes 'Goodbye History, Hello Hamburger: An Anthology of Architectural Delights and Disasters' by Ada Louise Huxtable (Preservation Press, 1986), the catalogue of the exhibition 'Geschichte der Rekonstruktion – Konstruktion der Geschichte' (Prestel Verlag, 2010), and the more recent "Brutalism as Found: Housing, Form and Crisis at Robin Hood Gardens" by Nicholas Thoburn (Goldsmiths Press, 2022). The editors' recommendations are concluded with the re-proposition of the significant yet poorly-known exhibition 'Italia da Salvare', inaugurated at the Palazzo Reale in Milan in 1967.
This issue features no apologia, despite the delicate topic addressed. On the contrary, it confirms — for us and hopefully for our readers — how a journal can still be a tool for honest investigation, critical analysis and research around issues that are rooted, profound and cross-cutting, but which contemporary times often re-present with new unexpected nuances, forcing us to think in new and original ways that enrich the journey.

Elisa Boeri
Elena Fioretto
Claudia Tinazzi

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DESTRUCTION INTO FRAGMENTS *THOUGHTS COLLECTED BY MEANS OF IMAGES*

Edited by Luca Cardani (Politecnico di Milano), Federica Causarano (IUAV Università di Venezia), Francesca Giudetti (Politecnico di Milano), Luciana Macaluso (Università degli Studi di Palermo) and Martina Meulli (Sapienza Università di Roma)

> These traces give us a present hold on the past and the future, as unmoving, unmixed things do not. [...] Effervescent or glacial, everything changes. Life is growth and decline, transformation and elimination. We might learn to take pleasure in that to maintain our continuity.

Kevin Lynch. 1990. *Wasting Away*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 201.

Source: The protective wall of Leonardo Da Vinci's Last Supper erected during the bombing of World War II. In Ronza, Robi. 2002. Milan 1940-1955. Bombed and rebuilt. Milan: Comune di Milano, 64-65.

PROLOGUE

As in a continuous chain, each image in this new journal issue is figuratively linked to the following one, creating a dialogue and raising questions on the different facets of the destruction. Destruction and Construction stand for both the process and its result. However, if construction has a finality in the constructed form, destruction has no purpose and completes itself in the unfinished.

In this space and time between wholeness and fragmentation also lies the possibility of rediscovering the profound meaning of beauty or 'the greatest pleasure' of life as a fragment, paraphrasing the role of Thomas Bernard's 'Old Masters'. It is a beauty that resides in the narrative power of time, in the feeling of "the other", in the curiosity of discovery, in the possibility of a horizon of meaning on which to be born again each time.

Snapshot of the loss (Milan, 1946), utopian city fragments (The New Babylon, 1969), imprints of book pages carried away by the flood (Florence, 1966), erased artistic memory (Artemisia Gentileschi painting, 1616-1618), chaos of formal beauty (Krasnojarsk, 2010), new perspectives for the contemporary city (Paris, 1975), unexpected wounds immediately sutured (Beirut, 2020). But also abandoned architecture as a symbol of lifeless power (L'Aquila, 2006), earthquakes theatricality (Naples, 1981), destruction that breeds monsters (Francesco Hayez painting, 1867), and exploding collapsed bridge (Genoa, 2019) are here the 'images of thought' (Denkbilder) of the same narrative.

Source: Milan Urban Census 1946 (made after the bombing and in preparation for the 1953 PRG): city planning sheet no. 174 (Piazza Vetra, Via Chiusa, Via Pioppette, Corso di Porta Ticinese, Via Pio IV). ©Comune di Milano

Source: Constant Nieuwenhuys, Symbolic representation of The New Babylon, 1969. Collage of street maps on paper, 120x133.2 cm. ©Kunstmuseum Den Haag

Source: Flood of November 4, 1966 at the Gabinetto G.P. Vieusseux, Florence. Photograph by Donato Costanza. By courtesy of the Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux.

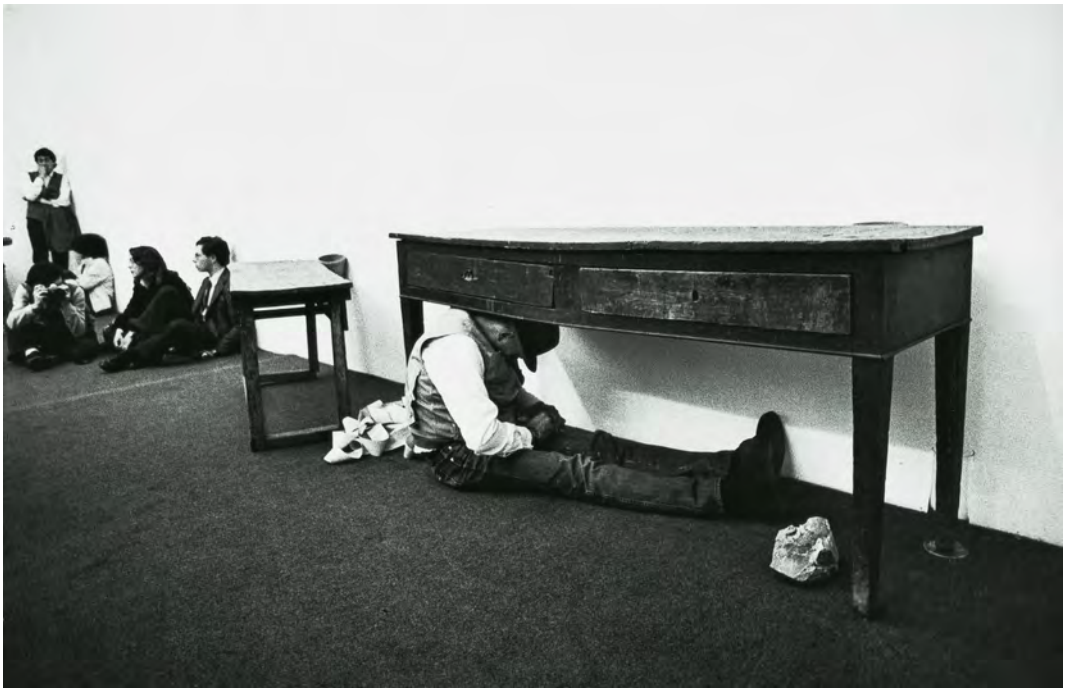
Source: Artemisia Gentileschi, Magdalene (mutilated composition), c. 1615-18, oil on canvas, 146.5x110 cm, Private collection.

Source: Marjan Teeuwen, Destroyed House Krasnoyarsk 1, 2010. In Teeuwen, Marjan. 2017. Destroyed House. Amsterdam: Valiz, 146-147.

Source: Gordon Matta-Clark, Conical Intersect, 1975. The photomontage is composed of two photographs taped together on the recto, 17,1x14,5cm (photomontage). Credits: Canadian Centre for Architecture, Gift of Estate of Gordon Matta-Clark. ©Estate of Gordon Matta-Clark/SODRAC

Source: Carl Gerges, Traditional houses in Mar Mikhael, destroyed by the 4 August blast, 2020. ©Carl Gerges Architects

Source: Emiliano Dante, “6 Aprile 2006, prefettura, poco dopo l’alba”. In Dante, Emiliano, Laurenzi, Massimiliano, Nanni, Valentina. 2009. Terremoto zeronove. Diari da un sisma. Also in the documentaries “Into the blue”, 2010, and “Appennino”, 2017. ©Emiliano Dante

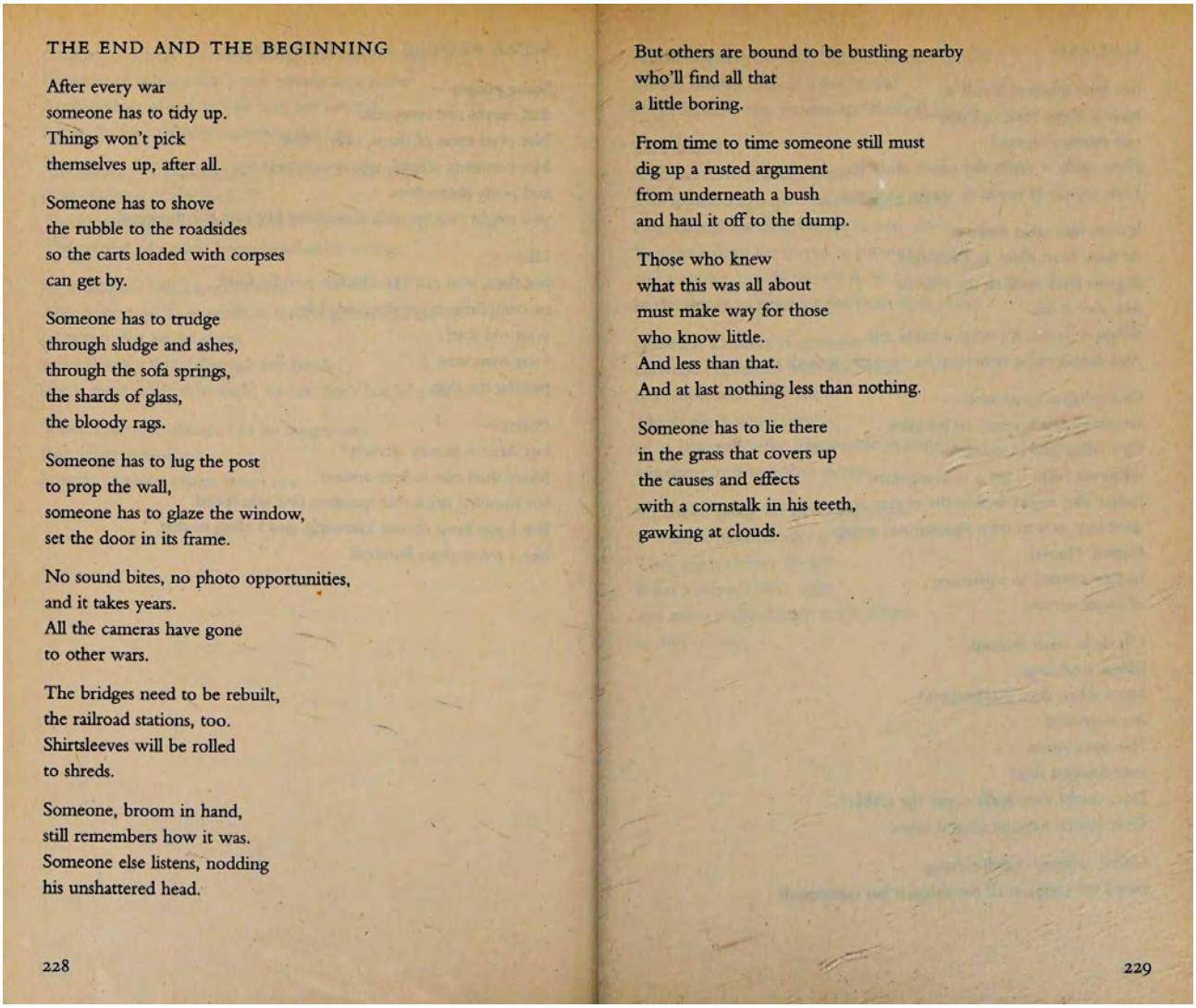


Source: Joseph Beuys performing “Terremoto in Palazzo” (Earthquake in Palace) at the Modern Art Agency Naples, 1981. ©Collezione Archivio Amelio-Santamaria

Source: Francesco Hayez, La destrucción del Templo de Jerusalén, 1867. Canvas, 183x282 cm. Venice, Accademia di Belle Arti, gift from the author, 1868. By permission of the Ministry of Culture.

Source: Marco Menghi, Morandi Bridge (Genoa), demolition, 28-06-2019. ©Marco Menghi

EPILOGUE



THE END AND THE BEGINNING

After every war
someone has to tidy up.
Things won't pick
themselves up, after all.

Someone has to shove
the rubble to the roadsides
so the carts loaded with corpses
can get by.

Someone has to trudge
through sludge and ashes,
through the sofa springs,
the shards of glass,
the bloody rags.

Someone has to lug the post
to prop the wall,
someone has to glaze the window,
set the door in its frame.

No sound bites, no photo opportunities,
and it takes years.
All the cameras have gone
to other wars.

The bridges need to be rebuilt,
the railroad stations, too.
Shirtsleeves will be rolled
to shreds.

Someone, broom in hand,
still remembers how it was.
Someone else listens, nodding
his unshattered head.

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But others are bound to be bustling nearby
who'll find all that
a little boring.

From time to time someone still must
dig up a rusted argument
from underneath a bush
and haul it off to the dump.

Those who knew
what this was all about
must make way for those
who know little.
And less than that.
And at last nothing less than nothing.

Someone has to lie there
in the grass that covers up
the causes and effects
with a cornstalk in his teeth,
gawking at clouds.

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Source: Wisława Szymborska, 1998. Poems new and collected 1957-1997. San Diego: Harvest Book Harcourt, 228-229.

DURING AND AFTER THE WAR: *BRUNO ZEVI AND IGNAZIO GARDELLA ON THE RADIO*

Edited by Annalucia D'Erchia (Università degli Studi di Bari), Lorenzo Mingardi (Università degli Studi di Firenze), Michela Pilotti (Politecnico di Milano) and Claudia Tinazzi (Politecnico di Milano)

Destruction and reconstruction question (urge) architecture primarily on the possible ethical and then political role that the project can assume in dialogue with the city and its citizens for a reconstruction that is not only physical but, above all, moral and identity-oriented. This theme challenges architecture not only in the required content but also in expressive and communicative methods; no images – a favored tool of architecture – but measured words, precise sentences, concise thoughts that can reach everyone, conveyed through an instrument that is close to citizens: the radio. Two communicative experiments that link architecture to the radio are proposed here. Although united by an urgent, immediate expressive language aimed at addressing the whole community, they are located in two distinct historical moments.
In 1942, a young Bruno Zevi (Rome, 1918 - Rome, 2000), recently moved to New York and determined to continue his anti-fascist action, participated in a research program on shortwave radio broadcasts for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in New York[1]. The outcome of this collaboration, as well as his commitment to broadcasting his propaganda overseas, was translated into the realization of approximately 35 radio transmissions over almost a year and an activity that did not end with his American stay. The following year, Zevi received a significant assignment from the American Intelligence, leading him to move to London. In the English capital, forced to live as a refugee, he worked as a speaker on the "clandestine" radio *Giustizia e libertà*[2], producing a series of broadcasts dedicated to Italy.
A few years later, after the conclusion of the global conflict, Ignazio Gardella (Milan, 1905 - Oleggio, 1999) – a leading figure in a period known as "cultivated professionalism"[3], he directed a certain way *to do* –, through a series of short, little-known texts, read on *Radio Milano*[4] between 1945 and 1946, revealed a less evident side, compelled in this case to translate into words what he had previously expressed almost solely through architectural projects. These typewritten texts with titled *Functions and forms of the city* (Milan, June 20, 1945), *The house in the city* (Milan, August 1, 1945), and *Functions of the city* (Milan, February 13, 1946)[5], in their necessary didactic synthesis, represent, in fact, the first written evidence of the Lombard architect's critical stance. Transcending his personal professional experience, Gardella reflected *aloud* in those years on the themes of reconstruction in an Italy devastated by the global conflict that increasingly revealed a precise design for rebirth, primarily of an identity nature.
In a particular historical moment for our country and as testimony to this unique event that ties architecture, its dissemination beyond disciplinary boundaries, and the radio medium, the authors have chosen to present two translated typewritten texts by Bruno Zevi and Ignazio Gardella in chronological order.

COMPAGNI ITALIANI ! FRATELLI ! Ascoltate .

Vi parla un italiano d'America, un vostro fratello di sangue e di terra .

Come avete sentito nel nostro ~~comunicato~~ notiziario, ieri Winston Churchill, il primo ministro della Commonwealth britannica, ha parlato al popolo italiano.

Churchill ha parlato a noi come a voi , italiani, - a ognuno di voi che ascolta in questo momento, in termini chiari e precisi.

Il primo ministro britannico e' stato nel passato, ~~nella~~ durante la prima guerra mondiale, ed e' ancora oggi essenzialmente un combattente. Il dilemma che egli ha posto a noi italiani e' un dilemma che, prima di essere politico, e' strettamente militare.

In breve, Churchill ha detto cosi' : l'Italia non e' il fascismo, anzi solo l'oppressione della dittatura ha portato il popolo italiano ~~nolente~~ contro sua voglia al presente stato di cose. Noi sappiamo che gli italiani non amano Mussolini, che sono stufi della guerra, che a ragione temono la distruzione delle loro citta'. Ma il problema si pone chiaramente : o il popolo italiano e' capace di scindere le sue responsabilita' dal nazismo, o e' responsabile di partecipare della causa nazista. O il popolo italiano e' capace di liberarsi dalla dittatura o dovra' subire tutte le conseguenze che questa sottomissione passiva alla dittatura impone.

Il discorso e' un discorso preciso ; non c'e' niente di retorico ne' niente di piacevole per noi italiani . E' un discorso, ripeto, di guerra.

~~Per noi italiani che vediamo le cose nella prospettiva dall'interno d'Italia, il senso degli avvenimenti contemporanei puo' essere diverso. Ma questo dipende dalle diverse attitudini, interessi e sentimenti, e non stabilisce una colpa ne' di una parte ne' dell'altra.~~

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C'e' stato un tempo in cui le sorti della guerra erano esattamente opposte alle presenti. Fu il tempo dell'invasione polacca, fu il tempo della caduta della Francia , fu il tempo della pugnalata alle spalle di Mussolini verso la ~~Francia~~ sorella latina, fu il tempo dell'assassinio della Grecia e della Jugoslavia, fu il tempo dei bombardamenti di Londra.

I dittatori, spezzati che ebbero tutti i vincoli internazionali che soli potevano garantire la pace, e preparatisi saldamente alla guerra ebbero l'ora - quasi due anni - di netta supremazia.

Ne' Hitler , ne' Mussolini fecero mai ai popoli che stavano per conquistare discorsi e proposte pacifiche di collaborazione .

Se avete visto i film tedeschi ove i nazisti appiattiscono le citta' e mitragliano le inermi popolazioni civili, se sapete le spaventose condizioni in cui si trovano le popolazione polacche per ordine del governo di Berlino, e le non meno tragiche condizioni di fame del popolo greco, per ordine dal regime fascista - voi capite che, ora che i tempi e le sorti della guerra sono cambiate, e' difficile pretendere che il trattamento dei nemici del fascismo verso il fascismo sia molto diverso da quello che i fascisti ebbero verso di loro.

E i misfatti fascisti non sono finiti. Il popolo di Francia che grida LIBERTA', il popolo di Grecia che grida PANE, migliaia di ragazze polacche trasportate a forza in Germania per divenire le prostitute dei nazi, montagne di corpi di bambini russi, straziati a morte dalle "eroiche" gesta degli invasori tedeschi - milioni di uomini d'Europa che attendono con spavento un nuovo inverno di carestia e di gelo, le ombre di centinaia di ostaggi fucilati - si l'Europa intera antifascista e rivoluzionaria, quest'Europa oltraggiata, assassinata, dalle orde naziste e fasciste, ancora oggi soffre , ancora oggi piange, - e alle armate liberatrici d'America e d'Inghilterra che si appressano per la battaglia d'Europa , gridano : VENDETTA !

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Per chi, fra voi ascoltatori italiani, ha il senso d'amore per nostro paese, per chi fra voi ha udito sottile a sorgere le voci dell'Europa , di questa nostra Europa prostrata e sofferente, non sara' difficile scoprire - fra i tanti pianti e fra i tanti strazi - il pianto e lo strazio della nostra Italia.

Si ! anche dal suolo dell'eterna Italia sorgono le voci delle liberta' assassinate da venti anni, sorgono le voci dell'oppressione sociale, dell'indipendenza nazionale venduta al tedesco , dopo tanto sangue sparso per conquistarla, sorgono le ombre dei martiri del Risorgimento e dei seicentomila morti della grande guerra la cui causa e il cui sacrificio sono stati imbrattati dal regime fascista, e sorgono infine le voci di tutti gli eroi dell'antifascismo italiano, dei 3000 uomini assassinati dai fascisti fino al 1926, delle migliaia di giovani operai, contadini, intellettuali condannati a marcire per decine di anni nelle carceri degli schiavisti del nostro popolo. Anche dal suolo italiano sorgono, come dal suolo di tutta l'Europa che soffre e che muore, i martiri della rivolta e della rivoluzione contro il fascismo, le ombre di Matteotti, di Don Minzoni, di Gramsci, di Rosselli - sorgono queste ombre dei nostri grandi italiani, e a tutti gli uomini e a tutti i popoli che vogliono la liberta' che combattono per la liberta', che muoiono per la liberta' d'Europa - gridano : VENDETTA.

Noi italiani siamo, dunque, ne' piu' ne' meno nelle stesse condizioni di tutti i popoli fratelli d'Europa : siamo un popolo invaso e dominato dall'oppressore fascista. Io penso che siano pochi ormai gli illusi che credono che l'Italia abbia un posto piu' privilegiato degli altri paesi conquistati dal nazismo, per il solo fatto che il nostro dittatore e' di sangue italiano. Del resto questo mio discorso di oggi non e' rivolto a quella minoranza di minorati intellettuali che non hanno ancora capito che il fascismo non e' un fenomeno nazionale. Che il fascismo e' una forma

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una concezione della societa' e della vita, a cui i dittatori, per esempio Mussolini, sono capaci di sacrificare anche l'indipendenza nazionale dei paesi che dominano. NO ! Oggi non mi rivolgo ne' agli illusi, ne' ai venduti, ne' ai servi sciocchi della dittatura!

L'ora e' troppo grave perche' si possa perdere il tempo con la gente che e' nata serva, che sara' sempre serva, che andra' sempre dove va il vento, che non incidera' neanche per un minimo sulla storia dell'umanita', che quando sara' morta sara' proprio lo stesso che se non fosse mai nata.

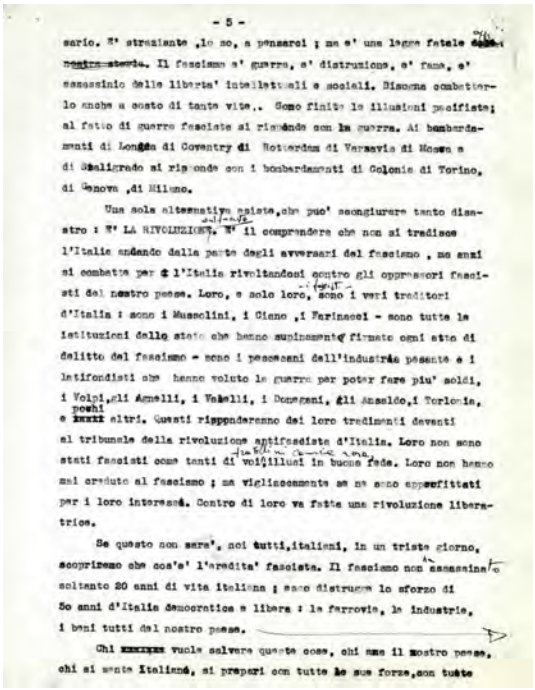
Dopo il discorso di Churchill e specialmente dopo il terribile bombardamento di Torino di ieri, io mi rivolgo a te, ascoltatore, a te fratello italiano, a te donna, a te specialmente giovane che hai creduto in buona fede al fascismo e che oggi vedi il disastro della tua patria.

A tutti voi, compagni, che vi domandate angosciati e ansiosi : CHE AVVERRA' DELL'ITALIA ? a tutti voi che ricercate fra i tormenti dell'ora, il vostro posto nella lotta per un'Italia piu vera, piu' alta, per un Italia di giustizia e liberta', a tutti voi io mi rivolgo fraternamente, in questa grave ora della storia del nostro popolo.

Tutto quello che abbiamo sofferto e che soffriamo e' nulla in confronto di quello che dovremo soffrire. I bombardamenti delle citta' italiane del nord sono nulla a confronto della distruzione cui saranno soggette tutte le citta', tutti i porti, tutte le industrie, tutti i depositi del nostro paese.

Il dilemma e' preciso : c'e' una guerra fra un mondo fascista e un mondo che ripudia il fascismo. Le forze della giustizia , le forze della liberta' devono vincere, vincere a qualunque costo, a qualunque prezzo. A costo di qualunque sacrificio il fascismo deve scomparire dalla faccia della terra, se gli uomini e i popoli vorranno vivere in pace.

L'Italia sara' bombardata, distrutta, resa al suolo, se e' neces-



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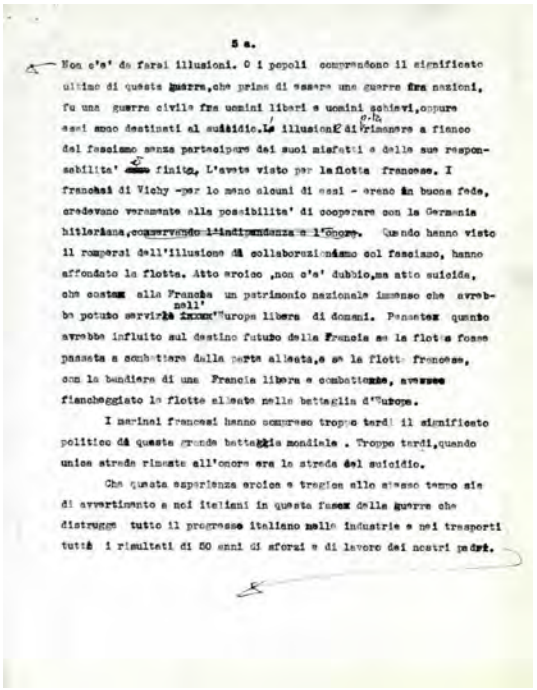
serio. E' straziante ,lo so, a pensarci ; ma e' una legge fatale della nostra storia. Il fascismo e' guerra, e' distruzione, e' fame, e' assassinio delle liberta' intellettuali e sociali. Bisogna combatterlo anche a costo di tante vite.. Sono finite le illusioni pacifiste; al fatto di guerra fascista si risponde con la guerra. Ai bombardamenti di Londra di Coventry di Rotterdam di Varsavia di Mosca e di Stalingrado si risponde con i bombardamenti di Colonia di Torino, di Genova ,di Milano.

Una sola alternativa esiste,che puo' scongiurare tanto disastro : E' LA RIVOLUZIONE. E' il comprendere che non si tradisce l'Italia andando dalla parte degli avversari del fascismo , ma anzi si combatte per l'Italia rivoltandosi contro gli oppressori fascisti del nostro paese. Loro, e solo loro, sono i veri traditori d'Italia : sono i Mussolini, i Ciano ,i Farinacci - sono tutte le istituzioni dello stato che hanno sanzionato firmato ogni atto di delitto del fascismo - sono i possessori dell'industria pesante e i latifondisti che hanno voluto la guerra per poter fare piu' soldi, i Volpi,gli Agnelli, i Vabelli, i Donegani, gli Ansaldo,i Torlonia, pochi e altri. Questi risponderanno dei loro tradimenti davanti al tribunale della rivoluzione antifascista d'Italia. Loro non sono stati fascisti come tanti di noi illusi in buona fede. Loro non hanno mai creduto al fascismo ; ma vigliaccamente se ne sono approfittati per i loro interessi. Contro di loro va fatta una rivoluzione liberatrice.

Se questo non sara', noi tutti,italiani, in un triste giorno, scopriremo che cos'e' l'eredita' fascista. Il fascismo non assassina soltanto 20 anni di vita italiana ; esso distrugge lo sforzo di 5o anni d'Italia democratica e libera : le ferrovie, le industrie, i beni tutti del nostro paese.

Chi vuole salvare queste cose, chi ama il nostro paese, chi si sente Italiano, si prepari con tutte le sue forze,con tutte



5 a.

Non c'e' da farsi illusioni. O i popoli comprendono il significato ultimo di questa guerra,che prima di essere una guerra fra nazioni, fu una guerra civile fra uomini liberi e uomini schiavi,oppure essi sono destinati al suicidio.Le illusioni di rimanere a fianco del fascismo senza partecipare dei suoi misfatti e delle sue responsabilita' sono finite. L'avete visto per la flotta francese. I francesi di Vichy -per lo meno alcuni di essi - erano in buona fede, credevano veramente alla possibilita' di cooperare con la Germania hitleriana,conservando l'indipendenza e l'onore. Quando hanno visto il rompersi dell'illusione di collaborazionismo col fascismo, hanno affondato la flotta. Atto eroico ,non c'e' dubbio,ma atto suicida, che costa alla Francia un patrimonio nazionale immenso che avrebbe potuto servire all'Europa libera di domani. Pensate quanto avrebbe influito sul destino futuro della Francia se la flotta fosse passata a combattere dalla parte alleata,e se la flotta francese, con la bandiera di una Francia libera e combattente, avesse fiancheggiato le flotte alleate nelle battaglie d'Europa.

I marinai francesi hanno compreso troppo tardi il significato politico di questa grande battaglia mondiale . Troppo tardi,quando unica strada rimasta all'onore era la strada del suicidio.

Che questa esperienza eroica e tragica allo stesso tempo sia di avvertimento a noi italiani in questa fase della guerra che distrugge tutto il progresso italiano nelle industrie e nei trasporti tutti i risultati di 50 anni di sforzi e di lavoro dei nostri padri.

- 6 -

le sue energie,con tutte la sua fede,con tutta la sua giovinezza alla rivoluzione contro il fascismo.

E in questa lotta liberatrice, lo spirito dei nostri martiri, l'esempio delle centinaia,delle migliaia che morirono prima di noi, ci sia di guida. Si noi combatteremo per un'Italia piu' grande,per un'Italia piu' vera,nel nome di Matteotti, nel nome di Rosselli :

Italia antifascista ! Italia rivoluzionaria ! Italia proletaria !

IN PIEDI !

BRUNO ZEVI'S SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 30, 1942 READ TO NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY (NBC) OF NEW YORK ON THE WAR SITUATION (©FONDAZIONE BRUNO ZEVI)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BRUNO ZEVI'S TYPESCRIPT

ITALIAN COMRADES. BROTHERS. LISTEN[6].

An Italian from America speaks to you, your blood and homeland brother.

As you heard in our *commentary* [deleted word] news, yesterday Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of the British Commonwealth, spoke to the Italian people.

Churchill addressed us as he did to you, Italians — to each one of you listening at this moment in clear and precise terms.

The British Prime Minister, a fighter essentially both in the past *in* [deleted word] during the First World War and still today, presented a dilemma to us Italians that, before being political, is strictly military.

In short, Churchill said this: Italy is not fascism; rather, only the oppression of dictatorship has led the Italian people *unwillingly* [deleted word] against their will to the present state of affairs. We know that Italians do not love Mussolini, that they are tired of war, and rightfully fear the destruction of their cities. But the problem is clear: either the Italian people can separate their responsibilities from Nazism, or they are responsible for participating in the Nazi cause. Either the Italian people can free themselves from dictatorship, or they will have to suffer all the consequences that passive submission to dictatorship imposes.

The speech is precise; there is nothing rhetorical or pleasant for us Italians. It is, I repeat, a speech of war.

For us Italians who see things from the perspective of the Italian interior, the meaning of contemporary events may be different. But this depends on different attitudes, interests and feelings, and does not establish a fault on either side. [deleted phrase]

There was a time when the fortunes of war were exactly the opposite of what they are now. It was the time of the invasion of Poland, the fall of *latin sister* [deleted phrase] France, the betrayal of Mussolini towards the Latin sister, the assassination of Greece and Yugoslavia, the bombings of London[7].

The dictators, having broken all the international bonds that alone could guarantee peace and having firmly prepared for war, had the hour — almost two years — of clear supremacy.

Neither Hitler nor Mussolini ever made peaceful speeches and proposals to the people they were about to conquer.

If you have seen German films where Nazis flatten cities and machine-gun unarmed civilian populations, if you know the terrifying conditions in which the Polish people find themselves by order of the Berlin government, and the tragic conditions of hunger for the Greek people by order of the fascist regime — you understand that, now that the times and fortunes of war have changed, it is difficult to pretend that the treatment of the enemies of fascism towards fascism is much different from what the fascists had towards them.

And fascist misdeeds are not over. The people of France crying FREEDOM, the people of Greece crying BREAD, thousands of Polish girls forcibly transported to Germany to become Nazi prostitutes, mountains of dead Russian children, tortured to death by the "heroic" deeds of the German invaders — millions of men in Europe waiting in fear for a new winter of famine and frost, the shadows of hundreds of hostages shot — the entire anti-fascist and revolutionary Europe, this outraged Europe, still cries today — and to the liberating armies of America and England approaching for the battle of Europe, they shout: VENGEANCE!

For those among you, Italian listeners, who have a sense of love for our country, for those among you who have heard faintly to discern the voices of Europe, of our prostrate and crushed Europe, it will not be difficult to discover — among the many cries and the many agonies — the cry and the agony of our Italy.

Yes! Even from the soil of eternal Italy rise the voices of freedom assassinated for twenty years, the voices of social oppression, of national independence sold to the Germans, after so much blood *spread* [added word] to conquer it, the shadows of the martyrs of the Risorgimento and the six hundred thousand dead of the great war whose cause and sacrifice have been tarnished by the fascist regime, and finally the voices of all the heroes of Italian anti-fascism, the 3000 men murdered by the fascists until 1926, the thousands of young workers, peasants, intellectuals condemned to rot for decades in the prisons of the oppressors of our people. Even from Italian soil rise, as from the soil of all suffering and dying Europe, the martyrs of the revolt and revolution against fascism, the shadows of Matteotti, Don Minzoni, Gramsci, Rosselli[8] — these shadows of our great Italians, and to all the men and peoples who want freedom, who fight for freedom, who die for the freedom of Europe — they shout: VENGEANCE.

Therefore, we Italians are neither more nor less in the same conditions as all the brother peoples of Europe: we are a people invaded and dominated by the fascist oppressor. I think there are few now who believe that Italy has a more privileged place than other countries conquered by Nazism, just because our dictator is of Italian blood.
Moreover, my speech today is not addressed to that minority of intellectual imbeciles who have not yet understood that fascism is not a national phenomenon. That fascism is a form, a conception of society and life, to which dictators like Mussolini are capable of sacrificing even the national independence of the countries they dominate. NO: Today, I do not address the deluded, the sold out, or the foolish servants of the dictatorship.

The hour is too serious to waste time with people who were born slaves, who will always be slaves, who will always go where the wind blows, who will not even make the slightest impact on the history of humanity, and who, when they are dead, will be the same as if they had never been born.

After Churchill's speech and especially after yesterday's terrible bombing of Turin, I address you, listener, to you, Italian brother, to you, woman, to you, especially young person who believed in good faith in fascism and who now sees the disaster of your homeland.

To all of you, comrades, who anxiously wonder: WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ITALY? To all of you who search amid the torments of the moment for your place in the struggle for a truer, higher Italy, for a just and free Italy, to all of you, I fraternally address myself in this heavy hour in the history of our people.

Everything we have suffered and are suffering is nothing compared to what we *will* [deleted phrase] *will have to* [added phrase] endure. The bombings of the northern Italian cities are nothing compared to the destruction that will befall all the cities, all the ports, all the industries, all the warehouses of our country.

The dilemma is precise: there is a war between a fascist world and a world that rejects fascism. The forces of justice, the forces of freedom must win, win at any cost, at any price. At the cost of any sacrifice, fascism must disappear from the face of the earth if men and people want to live in peace.

Italy will be bombed, destroyed, razed to the ground if necessary. It is heartbreaking, I know, to think about it; but it is a fatal law *of our history* [deleted phrase] today. Fascism is war, destruction, hunger, the murder of intellectual and social freedoms. We must fight even at the cost of many lives. The pacifist illusions are over; the fascist war must be answered with war. To the bombings of London, Coventry, Rotterdam, Warsaw, Moscow, and Stalingrad, we respond with the bombings of Cologne, Turin, Genoa, Milan.

There is only one alternative that can avert such disaster: IT IS THE *ANTI-SEMITIC* [added phrase] REVOLUTION. It is understanding that one does not betray Italy by going to the side of the adversaries, but rather fights for Italy by revolting against the fascist oppressors of our country. They, and only they — *the fascists* [added word] — are the true traitors of Italy: they are Mussolini, Ciano, Farinacci[9] — they are all the institutions of the state that have supinely signed every act of crime of fascism — they are the sharks of heavy industry and the landowners who wanted war to make more money, Volpi, Agnelli, Vaselli, Donegani, Ansaldo, Torlonia, and *many* [deleted word] a few others. These will answer for their betrayals before the tribunal of the anti-fascist revolution of Italy. They were not fascists like many of you, *between Fellini black shirt* [added phrase] deluded in good faith. They never believed in fascism; but cowardly, they took advantage of it for their interests. A liberating revolution must be waged against them.

If this does not happen, all Italians, on a sad day, will discover what the fascist legacy is. Fascism did not only assassinate 20 years of Italian life; it destroys the effort of 50 years of democratic and free Italy: the railways, the industries, all the assets of our country.

There is no room for illusions. Either people understand the ultimate meaning of this war, which before being a war between nations, was a civil war between free men and slaves, or they are destined for suicide. The illusion of being able to remain alongside fascism without participating in its misdeeds and responsibilities *must end* [deleted phrase] is over. You saw it with the French fleet. The Vichy French[10] — at least some of them — were in good faith, they truly believed in the possibility of cooperating with Hitler's Germany *preserving independence and honour* [deleted phrase]. When they saw the breaking of the collaborationist illusion with fascism, they sank the fleet.

Heroic act, no doubt, but suicidal act, which costs France an immense national heritage that could have served it in a free Europe tomorrow. Think about how it would have influenced the destiny of the future of France if the fleet had joined the allies, and if the French fleet, with the flag of a free France, had fought alongside the allied fleets in the battle of Europe.

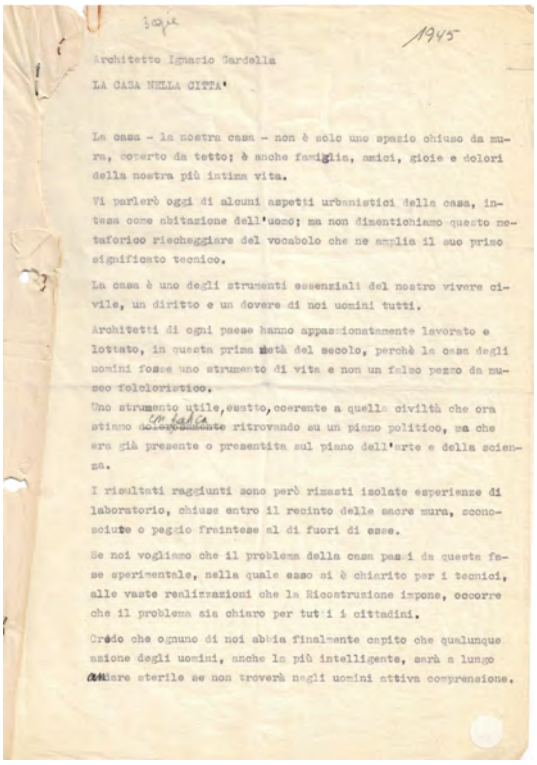
The French sailors understood too late the political significance of this great world battle. Too late, when the only honorable path left was the path of suicide.

May this heroic and tragic experience at the same time be a warning to us Italians in this phase of the war that destroys all Italian progress in industry and transport, all the results of 50 years of efforts and work by our fathers.

Whoever wants to save these things, who loves our country, who feels Italian, must prepare with all their strength, with all their energy, with all their faith, with all their youth for the revolution against fascism.
And in this liberating struggle, may the spirit of our martyrs, the example of the hundreds, the thousands who died before us, be our guide. If we fight for a greater Italy, for a truer Italy, in the name of Matteotti, in the name of Rosselli!

Anti-fascist Italy! Revolutionary Italy! Proletarian Italy!

STAND UP!



Bozze 1945

Architetto Ignazio Gardella

LA CASA NELLA CITTA'

La casa - la nostra casa - non è solo uno spazio chiuso da mura, coperto da tetto; è anche famiglia, amici, gioie e dolori della nostra più intima vita.

Vi parlerò oggi di alcuni aspetti urbanistici della casa, intesa come abitazione dell'uomo; ma non dimentichiamo questo metaforico rischeggiare del vocabolo che ne amplia il suo primo significato tecnico.

La casa è uno degli strumenti essenziali del nostro vivere civile, un diritto e un dovere di noi uomini tutti.

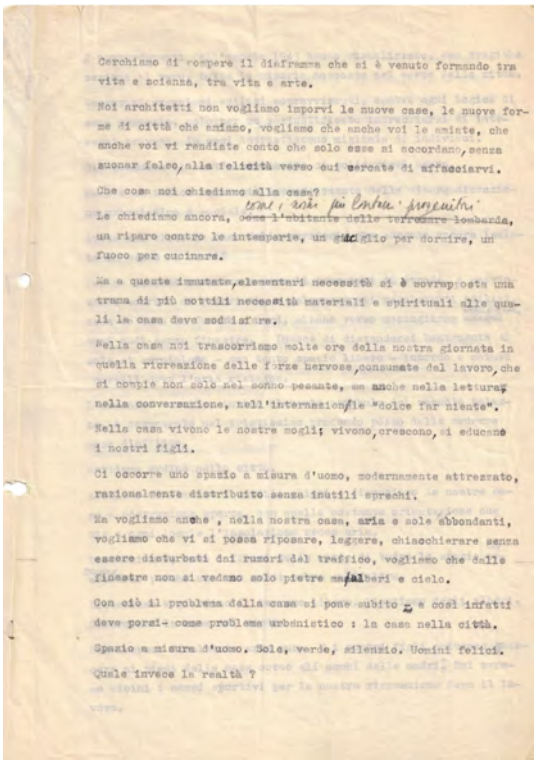
Architetti di ogni paese hanno appassionatamente lavorato e lottato, in questa prima metà del secolo, perchè la casa degli uomini fosse uno strumento di vita e non un falso pezzo da museo folcloristico.

Uno strumento utile, esatto, coerente a quella civiltà che ora stiamo faticosamente ritrovando su un piano politico, ma che era già presente o presentita sul piano dell'arte e della scienza.

I risultati raggiunti sono però rimasti isolate esperienze di laboratorio, chiuse entro il recinto delle nuove mura, sconosciute o peggio fraintese al di fuori di esse.

Se noi vogliamo che il problema della casa passi da questa fase sperimentale, nella quale esso si è chiarito per i tecnici, alle vaste realizzazioni che la Ricostruzione impone, occorre che il problema sia chiaro per tutti i cittadini.

Credo che ognuno di noi abbia finalmente capito che qualunque azione degli uomini, anche la più intelligente, sarà a lungo andare sterile se non troverà negli uomini attiva comprensione.



Cerchiamo di rompere il diaframma che si è venuto formando tra vita e scienza, tra vita e arte.

Noi architetti non vogliamo imporvi le nuove case, le nuove forme di città che amiamo, vogliamo che anche voi le amiate, che anche voi vi rendiate conto che solo esse si accordano, senza suonar falso, alla felicità verso cui cercate di affacciarvi.

Che cosa noi chiediamo alla casa?

Le chiediamo ancora, come l'abitante delle terramare lombarde, un riparo contro le intemperie, un giaciglio per dormire, un fuoco per cucinare.

Ma a queste immutate, elementari necessità si è sovrapposta una trama di più sottili necessità materiali e spirituali alle quali la casa deve soddisfare.

Nella casa noi trascorriamo molte ore della nostra giornata in quella ricreazione delle forze nervose, consumate dal lavoro, che si compie non solo nel sonno pesante, ma anche nella lettura, nella conversazione, nell'intermezzo del "dolce far niente".

Nella casa vivono le nostre mogli; vivono, crescono, si educano i nostri figli.

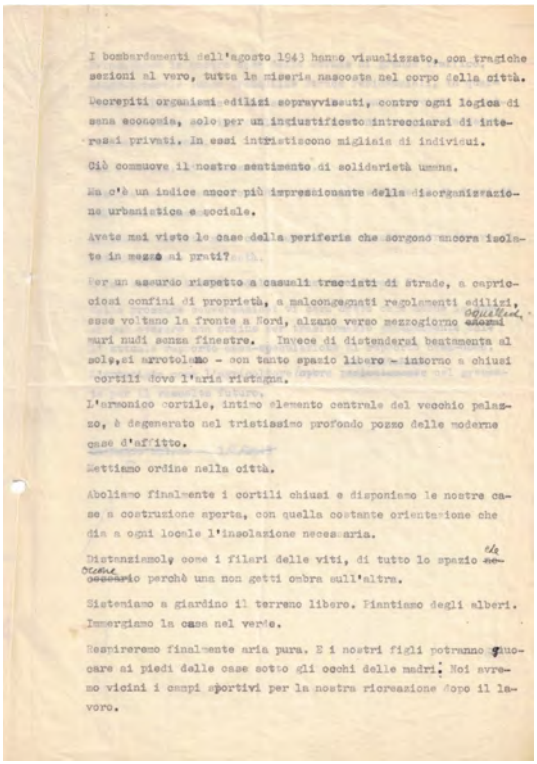
Ci occorre uno spazio a misura d'uomo, modernamente attrezzato, razionalmente distribuito senza inutili sprechi.

Ma vogliamo anche, nella nostra casa, aria e sole abbondanti, vogliamo che vi si possa riposare, leggere, chiacchierare senza essere disturbati dai rumori del traffico, vogliamo che dalle finestre non si vedano solo pietre ma alberi e cielo.

Con ciò il problema della casa si pone subito in e così infatti deve porsi come problema urbanistico : la casa nella città.

Spazio a misura d'uomo. Sole, verde, silenzio. Uomini felici.

Quale invece la realtà ?



I bombardamenti dell'agosto 1943 hanno visualizzato, con tragiche sezioni al vero, tutta la miseria nascosta nel corpo della città.

Decrepiti organismi edilizi sopravvissuti, contro ogni logica di sana economia, solo per un inclustificato intrecciarsi di interessi privati. In essi intristiscono migliaia di individui.

Ciò commuove il nostro sentimento di solidarietà umana.

Ma c'è un indice ancor più impressionante della disorganizzazione urbanistica e sociale.

Avete mai visto le case della periferia che sorgono ancora isolate in mezzo ai prati?

Per un assurdo rispetto a casuali tracciati di strade, a capricciosi confini di proprietà, a malcongegnati regolamenti edilizi, esse voltano la fronte a Nord, alzano verso mezzogiorno squallidi muri nudi senza finestre. Invece di distendersi beatamente al sole, si arrotolano - con tanto spazio libero - intorno a chiusi cortili dove l'aria ristagna.

L'armonico cortile, intimo elemento centrale del vecchio palazzo, è degenerato nel tristissimo profondo pozzo delle moderne case d'affitto.

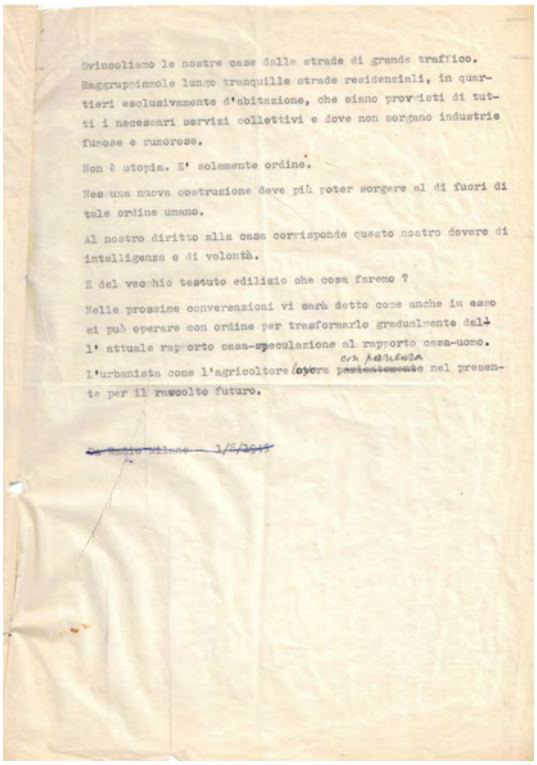
Mettiamo ordine nella città.

Abolimo finalmente i cortili chiusi e disponiamo le nostre case a costruzione aperta, con quella costante orientazione che dia a ogni locale l'insolazione necessaria.

Distanziamoli, come i filari delle viti, di tutto lo spazio necessario perchè una non getti ombra sull'altra.

Sistemiamo a giardino il terreno libero. Piantiamo degli alberi. Immergiamo la casa nel verde.

Respireremo finalmente aria pura. E i nostri figli potranno giuocare ai piedi delle case sotto gli occhi delle madri. Noi avremo vicini i campi sportivi per la nostra ricreazione dopo il lavoro.



Svincoliamo le nostre case dalle strade di grande traffico. Raggruppiamole lungo tranquille strade residenziali, in quartieri esclusivamente d'abitazione, che siano provvisti di tutti i necessari servizi collettivi e dove non sorgano industrie fumose e rumorose.

Non è utopia. E' solamente ordine.

Nessuna nuova costruzione deve più poter sorgere al di fuori di tale ordine umano.

Al nostro diritto alla casa corrisponde questo nostro dovere di intelligenza e di volontà.

E del vecchio tessuto edilizio che cosa faremo ?

Nelle prossime conversazioni vi sarà detto come anche in esso si può operare con ordine per trasformarlo gradualmente dall'attuale rapporto casa-speculazione al rapporto casa-uomo.

L'urbanista come l'agricoltore opera pazientemente nel presente per il raccolto futuro.

Radio Milano - 1/8/1945

IGNAZIO GARDELLA'S SPEECH ON THE POST-WAR SITUATION "LA CASA NELLA CITTÀ" (THE HOUSE IN THE CITY) OF AUGUST 1, 1945 READ TO RADIO MILANO (©ASG, ARCHIVIO STORICO GARDELLA)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF IGNAZIO GARDELLA'S TYPESCRIPT

Architect Ignazio Gardella
THE HOUSE IN THE CITY[11]

The house -our house- is not merely a space enclosed by walls, covered by a roof; it is also family, friends, joys and sorrows of our most intimate life.

Today, I will talk about certain urbanistic aspects[12] of the house, understood as the dwelling of the humankind; yet, let us not to forget the metaphorical resonance of the term that broadens its initial technical meaning.

The house is one of the fundamental tools of our civilized living, a right and a duty for all of us as human beings.

Architects from every country have passionately worked and struggled, in this first half of the century, to ensure that the home of man[13] was an instrument of life and not a false folkloric museum piece.
A useful tool, precise, coherent with those civilizations that we are now *painfully* [deleted word] sorely[14] recovering on a political level, but which was already present or anticipated on the planes of art and science.

However, the achieved results remain isolated laboratory experiences, confined within the sacred walls, unknown or worse misunderstood outside of them.

If we want the housing issue to change to transition from this experimental phase, where it has been clarified for technicians, to the extensive developments demanded by reconstruction, it's necessary for the problem to be clear to all citizens[15].

I believe that each one of us has finally understood that any human action, even the most intelligent, will ultimately be sterile if it doesn't find active understanding among people.

Let us try to break down the diaphragm that has formed between life and science, between life and art.

We architects don't want to impose on you the new houses, the new city shapes that we love, we want you to love them too, and we want you to realize that only they harmonize, without sounding false, with the happiness toward which you strive to approach.

What do we ask of the house?

We still ask of it, *as the inhabitants of the Lombardy terremare*[16] [deleted phrase] as our distant ancestors, for shelter against the elements, a bed to sleep on, a fire to cook on.

But upon these unchanging basic needs have been overlaid with a web of more subtle material and spiritual needs that the house must satisfy.

In the house, we spend many hours of our day in that recreation of nervous forces, consumed by work, which is accomplished not only in the deep sleep, but also in reading, in conversation, in the internationally renowned “dolce far niente”[17].

Our wives live in the house; our children live, grow up, and are educated there. We need spaces on a human scale, modernly equipped, rationally distributed without unnecessary waste.

But we also want, in our house, ample air and sunlight, we want to be able to rest, read, and chat without being annoyed by traffic noise, we want to see not just stones from the windows but trees and sky.

Therefore, the problem of the house immediately arises – and so it must in fact arise – as an urbanistic issue: the house in the city.

Space on a human scale. Sunlight, greenery, silence. Happy men.

What instead is the reality?

The bombings of August 1943[18] displayed, with tragically realistic cross-sections, all the misery hidden within the body of the city.

Decrepit building organisms that have survived, against any logic of sound economics, solely due to an unjustifiable interweaving of private interests. Thousands of individuals mourn in them.

This moves our feeling of human solidarity.

But there is an even more striking indication of urban and social disorganization.

Have you ever seen houses in the suburbs that still stand isolated in the middle of the fields?

Due to an absurd adherence to random road layouts, whimsical property limits, and poorly conceived building regulations[19], they turn their fronts to the north, raise *huge* [deleted word] dreary windowless walls toward the south. Instead of stretching out blissfully in the sun, they roll up -with so much free space- around enclosed courtyards where the air stagnates.

The harmonious courtyard, the intimate central element of the ancient palace, has degenerated into the dreary deep pit of modern rented houses.

Let’s bring order to the city.

Let’s finally abolish closed courtyards and arrange our houses in open constructions, with that constant orientation that gives every room the necessary insolation.

Let's space them apart like rows of vineyards, as much space as necessary so that one does not cast a shadow on the other.

Let’s convert the open land into gardens. Let’s plant trees. Let’s immerse the house in greenery.

We will finally breathe pure air. And our children will be able to play at the foot of the houses under their mothers' eyes. We will have sports fields nearby for our recreation after work.

Let's free our houses from the busy streets.
Let's group them along quiet residential streets, in exclusively housing districts, equipped with all the necessary collective services and where no smoky and noisy industries arise.

It's not utopia. It is merely order.

No new construction should be allowed outside of this human order.

Our right to housing corresponds to our duty of intelligence and will.

And what will we do with the old building fabric?

In the forthcoming conversations, you will be told how we can also work orderly in it to gradually transform it from the current house-speculation relationship to a house-human relationship[20].

The town planner like the farmer works *patiently* [deleted word] with patience in the present for the future harvest.

From Radio Milano 1/8/1945 [deleted phrase]

NOTES

[1] Bello, Francesco, ed. 2019. *Bruno Zevi intellettuale di confine. L'esilio e la guerra fredda culturale italiana, 1938-1950*. Roma: Viella. [2] *Ibid.* The "clandestine" activity of *Radio Giustizia e libertà* was a result of the closure imposed by the British government due to the promotion of a series of actions deemed excessivley anti-monarchial. [3] Capitanucci, Maria Vittoria. 2013. *Il professionismo colto nel dopoguerra*, edited by Alessandro Sartori and Stefano Suriano. Milano: Abitare. An expression that identifies that generation of architects active in the post-war years who, in the wake of the legacies of the Modern Movement, engaged in the reconstruction of the city of Milan. Intellectual figures related to the spheres of engineering, design, and art, who gathered in the environments of the *Triennale*, of the *Movimento Studi per l'Architettura* (Study Movement for Architecture) association, and of the editorial offices of the magazines *Domus* and *Casabella*. [4] During the Second World War, nearly all radio broadcasts were suspended, largely due to damage inflicted on broadcasting equipment from bombing raids. *Radio Milano* suffered a similar fate and resumed its operations only after the Liberation, more precisely on April 26, 1946, following a proclamation by Sandro Pertini, the head of *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale Alta Italia* (Committee of National Liberation of Northern Italy). [5] As of today, these texts are preserved in the Gardella Historical Archive, specifically cataloged as G4.scr.30-49.4, G4.scr.30-49.5, and G4.scr.30-49.6. In this essay, it has been deemed appropriate to include only the lecture "*La casa nella città*" (The house in the city) as it better synthesizes and articulates the connection that needs to be reestablished initially between the citizen and their dwelling, and subsequently between the dwelling and the city. [6] November 30, 1942. The following text comes from a communication held by Bruno Zevi and directed to Italy by broadcaster NBC of New York. Following racial laws, Zevi left Italy in 1939 to travel first to London and then to the United States. There he graduated from Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, directed by Walter Gropius, and discovered Frank Lloyd Wright. In New York, flanked by Aldo Garosci, Enzo Tagliacozzo, Renato Poggioli and Mario Salvadori, he directed the "*Quaderni Italiani*" of the *Giustizia e libertà* (Justice and Freedom) movement. [7] Zevi talks about the beginning of World War II. In particular, the period 1939-1941. [8] Giacomo Matteotti Italian politician (Fratta Polesine, 1885 - Rome, 1924). He was a member of parliament many times and he was secretary of the United Socialist Party in 1922. A staunch anti-fascist, he was killed following his denunciation of fraud committed by fascists during the 1924 elections; Giovanni Minzoni (Ravenna, 1885 - Argenta, 1923) was an Italian presbyter, also known as Don Minzoni. He was close to the Christian-social positions of the People's Party and he was a lifelong opponent of fascism. In August 1923 he was attacked by two Fascist squadrists and, as a result of his injuries, he died a few hours later; Antonio Gramsci, Politician and writer (Ales, 1891 - Rome, 1937). A member of the Italian Socialist Party, he was part of the executive of the Communist International in 1923. He became secretary of the Communist Party of Italy (PCd'I) and deputy in 1924. In the same year he founded the political newspaper "*l'Unità*", organ of the PCd'I. For his anti-fascist activities and ideas he was sentenced to twenty years in prison in 1928, where he died; Carlo Rosselli, Politician (Rome, 1899 - Bagnoles-de-l'Orne, 1937); antifascist, pupil of Gaetano Salvemini; professor until 1926)i at Bocconi University in Milan, after Matteotti crime joined the United Socialist Party. He was one of the organizers of clandestine antifascist political emigration; for aiding the escape of Filippo Turati, he was confined to Lipari, from which he escaped to move to France, where he formed the *Giustizia e Libertà* movement, of which he was the leader until his death. [9] Gian Galeazzo Ciano (Livorno, 1903 - Verona, 1944) was an Italian diplomat and politician. In 1930 he married Edda Mussolini, Benito's daughter. He was minister of foreign affairs from 1936 to 1943. He supported the dismissal of Benito Mussolini, for which he was convicted in the Verona trial on January 10, 1944, and shot the next day; Roberto Farinacci (Isernia, 1892 - Vimercate, 1945) was a leading Italian Fascist politician and important member of the National Fascist Party before and during World War II as well as one of its ardent antisemitic proponents. [10] Vichy France (*Régime de Vichy*; 10 July 1940 - 9 August 1944), officially the French State (*État français*), was the French rump state headed by Philippe Pétain during World War II. It was named after its seat of government, the city of Vichy. Officially independent, but with half of its territory occupied under the harsh terms of the 1940 armistice with Nazi Germany, it adopted a policy of collaboration. [11] August 1, 1945, Historical Archive Gardella, typewritten text in three copies, with pencil annotations and corrections, G4.scr.30-49.5. Two subsequent interventions followed this initial one, which also remained unpublished and are preserved in the Historical Archive Gardella and, in duplicate, at the CSAC in Parma. [12] The term refers to the connection with the urban aspect and, therefore, to the relationship with the city, although it is possible to imagine a reference to the writings of Le Corbusier, particularly to Le Corbusier. 1925. *Urbanisme*, Paris: Les Editions G. Crès & Cie. [13] In this case as well, the reference to this specific interpretation can be traced back to François de Pierrefeu, Le Corbusier. 1941. *La Maison des Hommes*, Paris: Librairie Plon. [14] The correction appears to seek to mitigate the shared sense of pain felt by the population for the events experienced. [15] From 1943, Gardella was among the promoters of the Piano A.R. and actively involved in its drafting – a project for the new urban plan of Milan. This initiative represented a significant cultural exercise aimed at rethinking and reconstructing the city as an expression of a new democratic society. The acronym "A.R." stood for *Architetti Riuniti*. The initial group included Ignazio Gardella, Franco Albini, Gian Luigi Banfi, Piero Bottoni, Gabriele Mucchi, Enrico Peressutti, Giovanni Romano, Mario Pucci, Aldo Putelli. In 1945, Ezio Cerutti and Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso (who had returned from the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp) joined, along with Rogers (who had taken refuge in Switzerland during the war). The Piano A.R., dedicated to the memory of Banfi, who died in Mauthausen-Gusen, was later submitted to the Ideas Competition for the new urban plan announced by the Municipality of Milan in 1945 and published in *Costruzioni Casabella*, n. 194 in 1946. Some of its key contents were then reworked and incorporated into the new Piano Regolatore Generale of Milan, which was approved in 1953. [16] The term "terramare" refers to the Terramare civilization, one of the most advanced in continental Europe during the Bronze Age. This civilization played a central role in the Mediterranean area due to its expertise in water management, cultivation across different territorial zones, and trade in crucial resources such as copper and amber. The word "terramara" is derived from the distortion of the term "terra marna", used by agronomists in the 19th century to describe highly fertile lands from these areas. Gardella's reflection on this term probably relates to the difficulty of understanding this reality among the radio audience. [17] Sweet idleness. The term in quotation marks is supposed to come from Plinio il Vecchio who wrote in Book VIII of the Epistole (ep. 9): «Olim non librum in manus, non stilum sumpsi; olim nescio quid sit otium, quid quies, quid denique illud iners quidem, iucundum tamen nihil agere, nihil esse», that means "Once I did not take a book in hand, nor a pen; once I did not know what leisure is, what rest is, and, finally, what that inactive state is, which, though idle, is nevertheless pleasant, doing nothing, being nothing." It could also refer to the painting *Dolce far niente* (1877) by Auguste Toulmouche or to the poem by Aaro Hellaakoski, *Dolce far niente* (1928). [18] On August 13, 1943, 504 British bombers dropped 1,252 tons of bombs and incendiary devices on the city of Milan. On August 16, RAF bombers targeted the Lombard capital again with 600 tons of deadly ordnance. The final toll was hundreds of deaths, over 200 industries hit, 11,700 buildings destroyed, and more than 15,000 damaged. For a visual representation, it is possible to explore the dramatic events of August 1943 using the following link: Milan Geoportal. [19] For further information see: Dodi, Luigi. 1956. "L'urbanistica milanese dal 1860 al 1945". Urbanistica, no. 18-19 (March); De Finetti, Giuseppe. 1969. *Milano, costruzione di una città*, edited by Giovanni Cislaghi, Mara De Benedetti, Piergiorgio Marabelli, Milano: Etas Kompass; Franchi, Dario. 1972. "Interventi edilizi e piani regolatori a Milano 1923". In *Urbanistica a Milano in regime fascista*, edited by Dario Franchi and Rosa Chiumeo. Florence: La Nuova Italia. [20] The intention to link the theme of the small scale of living, the house, to the larger scale of living, the city, was part of a wider thinking that would soon develop into the renewed editorial project of *Costruzioni Casabella*, of which Ignazio Gardella was an active editor. The journal, whose work had been suspended following the detention of Giuseppe Pagano, its director in 1943, resumed publication in March 1946 with its first issue, n. 193, which openly declared the need of the time to return to the field of architectural critiques as well as to address "all the problems that have as their object man, as an individual and as an element of society, and that intervene with greater or lesser importance in the field of the architect's thought and action". A booklet of just 18 pages that dealt precisely with the theme of building reconstruction, reporting a critical reflection on the first Convegno nazionale per la ricostruzione edilizia (national convention for building reconstruction) and a more precise reflection on the theme of the prefabricated house, conducted directly by Gardella, who emphasised both the negative and positive aspects of the exhibition organised in December 1945 in Milan, on the occasion of the initiative of Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche as part of the Convention.

RUINS UPON RUINS *ST. KOLUMBA IN COLOGNE*

By Luigiemanuele Amabile and Alberto Calderoni (Università Federico II di Napoli)

ABSTRACT

No country in recent history has experienced the harsh reality of reconstruction like Germany after the Second World War. New cities emerged from the ruins to embody modern principles of dwelling, with a prevailing vision for the city that deliberately departed from traditional modes tied to political representation. It distanced itself from totalitarian rhetoric and the monumental, unequivocally rejecting any reference to a burdensome past.
In this context, the city of Cologne – largely damaged during the war – underwent several episodes of architectural reconstruction that redefined the city's image. In the shadow of the immense cathedral lies the site of the former St. Kolumba's, one of the oldest churches in the city at the time. It was destroyed in the bombing raids of 1943 and rebuilt in different phases throughout the twentieth century by the hands of two renowned architects: the late Gottfried Böhm and Peter Zumthor. For almost sixty years, the *Madonna in den Trümmern* chapel stood alone among the ruins, an octagonal concrete tent built by Böhm, until Zumthor won the 1997 competition for the construction of the Diocesan Museum. This victory was followed by a tense debate during the design process.
These two works are bound in a dialectical relationship representative of an attitude in architectural design that allowed a new architectural unity to be achieved from the destruction, producing an exemplary integration between the old and the new. They bridge the gap between the traces of a not-so-distant past and our contemporary life.

INTRODUCTION

> *Sibyls and prophets told it: You must be*
> *None but yourself, from self you cannot flee.*
> *No time there is, no power, can decompose*
> *The minted form that lives and living grows.*

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe[1]

How much does the destruction of a place represent a loss, and how much of this loss can be transformed into an opportunity to demonstrate the capability to emerge from the ashes? Shaking off the heavy legacy left by the shadows of the National Socialist regime was not an easy task for the architects of West Germany, not only due to the gigantic reconstruction work they had to face. While most of those involved in the reconstruction focused on providing homes and schools, a generation of architects took on the challenging task of reconstructing a collective imaginary around the newly emerging city forms in a very short time. They aimed to mend the scars that the war had inflicted on

the built environment and the urban landscape, attempting to reconfigure the lost relationships between places and inhabitants, the feelings that bind people to places, and the significance given to them.
Cologne – largely damaged during the war – underwent several episodes of architectural reconstruction that redefined the city's image. In the shadow of the immense cathedral, lies the site of the former St. Kolumba's, one of the oldest churches in the city at the time, destroyed in the bombing raids of 1943 and rebuilt in different phases throughout the 20th century by the hands of two renowned architects: the late Gottfried Böhm (1920-2021) and Peter Zumthor. Böhm was tasked with the design and construction of the chapel *Madonna in den Trümmern* immediately after the war ended. The design started in 1947, and he also developed additional projects for reconfiguration. Zumthor, as the winner of the design competition for the new Diocesan Museum held in 1997, became involved as well. Possibly the only contemporary building across two centuries of history that has seen two Pritzker Prize laureates[2] at work, both engaged in the events of destruction and reconstruction of a place now symbolizing virtuous coexistence in a multifaceted architectural organism spanning different temporalities. A time that is dense and nonlinear, but follows singular trajectories based on the perspective from which it is observed.
The dialogic relationship between the church ruins, Böhm's chapel, Zumthor's final design, the archaeological traces discovered during the work, the contained artworks, and the surrounding context aims to represent, in a sort of dense architectural microcosm, the events of Cologne's reconstruction. These events, in a building that narrates a story of obliteration and re-enactment, are evidenced by the scars incorporated into the added, grafted, and overwritten bodies. These are signs of a *naked life* of architecture that struggled to cease existing but fought to restore its meaning for a community that needed to be completely rebuilt.

COLOGNE: REBUILDING HISTORIES

The history of St. Kolumba is one of the manifold examples of historic architecture lost during the Second World War. No country in recent history has experienced the harsh reality of reconstruction like Germany after 1945. New cities emerged from the rubble, not so much with an eye on the historical roots of the place or the pre-existing physical urban and architectural features, but rather to embody modern principles of quick industrial reconstruction. The volume of devastation was astonishing, but the response in rebuilding was conspicuous[3]. Even in the time of reckoning of the amount of suffering that the war caused, it seemed a fertile time for architects, urban planners – as well as entrepreneurs and contractors – to put to practice theories and ideas that aimed not only at providing shelter and a new sense of community to millions of displaced people, but also at redefining a new image for West Germany, subsidized by the money coming from the Marshall Plan to become a wester beacon against countries under Soviet influence[4].
However, this generation of architects and builders, or at least a portion of them, driven by a strong sense of responsibility, did not have the opportunity to witness the outcomes of the ongoing process; they had to work quickly. Most of their buildings were far from impressive, consisting of mass-produced structures that compare poorly to the prewar city architecture they replaced. The differences of *style* between German architects in the postwar years – *elementarists* or *expressionists*[5] – saw the predominance of a vision of the city that opposed the traditional means of political representation and distanced itself from totalitarian language and monumental character, or from the recurring themes of the *Heimatschutzstil*, rejecting *tout court* any reference to a cumbersome past[6] governed by architects who were faithful to the regime,

embracing modernity in the terms of industrial production and technological progress.
In this context, the city of Cologne – largely damaged during the war – underwent several episodes of architectural reconstruction that redefined the city's image. Rudolf Schwarz, a rather well-known architect of those years, led the company tasked with drafting the city reconstruction plan starting from 1948[7]. One of the most relevant architects working on reconstruction projects in Cologne in the postwar years[8], Schwarz was already well-known for his modernist church St. Fronleichnam in Aachen (1928-1930). In his urban plan, the city was to reorganize itself around four main pillars (*commerce-education-sovereignty-prayer*), divided into denser and pedestrian nuclei separated by fast-flowing arteries, and centred around the city's most important religious buildings, the Romanesque churches, in a sort of "utopian Catholic urbanity[9]". With the goal of recreating the "familiar out of the strange and the absent" which was functional to re-establish "fragile and reassembling social networks of people returning to their burnt-out lives[10]". Following Schwarz's concept, the urge to rebuild a lost city, fuelled by nostalgia for bygone times, led to the formation of a city reconstructed in fragments established through the years, comprised of large urban containers (such as the cathedral, the museums and train stations) and a modest urban fabric around which entire neighbourhoods would then develop.
Gottfried Böhm, son of Dominikus, one of the most significant church builders of the 20s in Germany, found himself repeatedly involved in the architectural events of the city of Cologne, as well as being a collaborator of Schwarz on the reconstruction plan[11]. He often lamented the loss of the spirit of community in the new neighbourhoods produced by functionalist market speculations:

> we find these uniform estates and characterless cities everywhere, full of blocks of buildings with no sense of scale, featureless, with no depth or sculptural form. Resistance to this makes it easy to understand our interest in the formal richness of old things and the delight we take in the great formal variety offered by the new architecture[12].

O.M. Ungers and Reinhard Gieselmann who, though taking a formal and cultural trajectory far from Böhm's architectural outcomes, shared the same concerns:

> Form is the expression of spiritual content. If we pursue the methods of technological, functional "architecture" the result will be uniformity. Architecture loses its expression when technological, functional methods are employed. The result is apartment blocks that look like schools, schools like administrative buildings and administrative buildings like factories[13].

These city segments should have been designed as urban spaces meant to restore the lost sense of community. Böhm advocated for neighbourhoods that evoked existing urban structures inherent to the historic fabric of the built contexts: squares, open spaces, courtyards, avenues, walls, churches, all gathered around urban elements intended to recreate a sense of community. The pursuit of a lost urbanity[14] was demonstrated by Böhm in the dozens of projects for sacred buildings he designed in West Germany, driven by the growing demand for churches, chapels, orphanages, hospices, and community centres funded by the powerful Archdiocese of Cologne[15]. These projects were true ensembles around which communities could gather. Due to his demonstrated sensitivity, Böhm was entrusted with the construction of a

small chapel in a destroyed part of the city but characterized by a very tenacious community of believers. Amid the ruins of the Gothic church of St. Kolumba, the statue of Mary emerged unscathed: the *Madonna in den Trümmern*, precisely, to which Böhm intended to build a shelter.

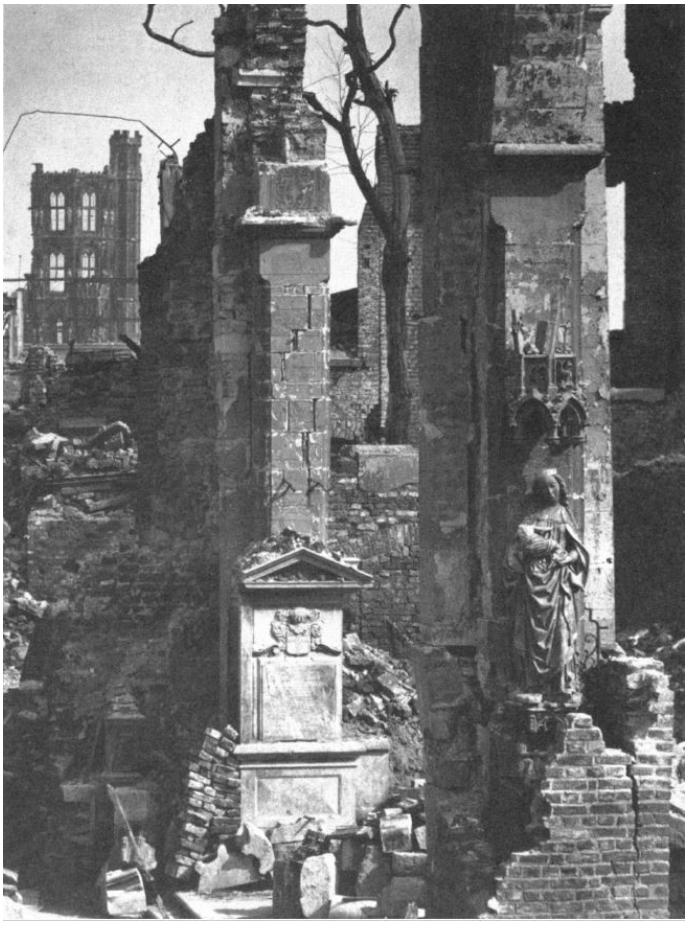


Figure 1. Madonna in den Trümmern among the ruins of the former St. Kolumba, 1946

This episode marked the new beginning of the long history of St. Kolumba, inseparable from the evolution of Cologne and the events that have unfolded throughout its history, from its origins to the destruction and ruin caused by the war to the reconstruction of its current image:

> This is the drama of sacred architecture: the point of arrival, the goal, the image of the achieved community and at the same time, a pilgrimage moment, a stage, a port-passage[16].

ARISE FROM THE ASHES: ST. KOLUMBA'S MADONNA IN DEN TRÜMMERN

Despite the devastating impact of the bombing on the historic church of St. Kolumba with its origins tracing back to the Roman and Merovingian periods, the statue of Maria housed within the structure miraculously remained untouched. This extraordinary occurrence prompted the decision to erect a new chapel – *Madonna in den Trümmern* (Madonna in the Ruins) – directly above the preserved figure. For the citizens, the survival of this venerated image served as a symbol of hope and provided significant motivation for the reconstruction efforts. In the ravaged city "some of the bomb sites of Cologne had already been transformed by the dense green vegetation growing over them – the roads made their way through this new landscape like 'peaceful deep-set country lanes'[17]". Amidst this reimagined urban scenery, only fragments of the church's outer walls and the base of a tower, situated at the northeastern pillar of the nave, remained unharmed. Soon after the war's ending, the senior priest at the time, Joseph Geller, devoted himself to the task of a new modern building. He first approached Rudolf Schwarz, then Dominikus Böhm, who eventually passed the commission to his son Gottfried for its first personal work[18].

In the same years, the young Gottfried delved into independent research on potential lightweight concrete constructions, exploring architectural solutions through drawings and theoretical writings. In 1947, he unveiled his concept of a suspended concrete membrane-spanning a considerable central area, eliminating the need for formwork: the fabric ceiling. Böhm encapsulated his experiments in a work titled *Die Gewebedecke*, published in 1949[19].

His initial opportunity to realize a fabric ceiling materialized during the construction of the chapel[20]. In 1947, within the initial sketched concept of the design, Böhm envisioned an oval structure crowned by an asymmetric conical roof. Within this space, a tent-like fabric ceiling was envisioned to drape from the apex of the cone, flowing down to envelop the walls. The project went forward to imagine the reconstruction of the whole church, in which the chapel would have been transformed into an open baldachin within the nave, which would feature a fabric ceiling[21].

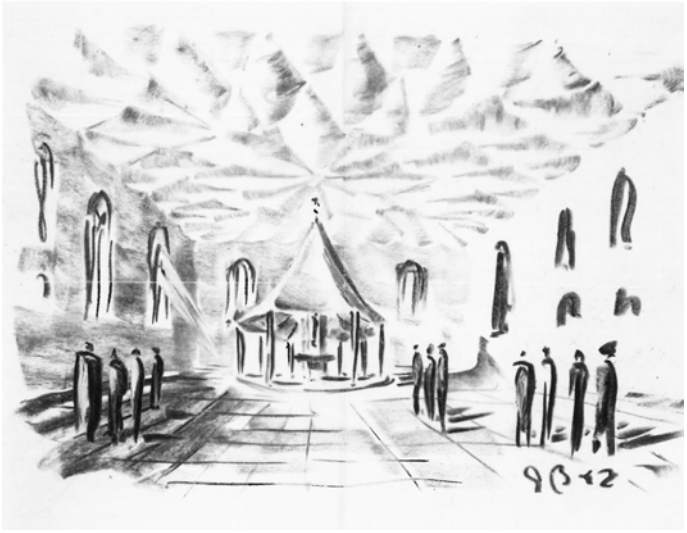


Figure 2. Böhm's first sketches for the chapel housing the Madonna in den Trümmern, 1947 ©Gottfried Böhm and family

In another version, Böhm designed the chapel as an open building within a building. He conceived a framework of narrow steel supports to bear a broader fabric ceiling, generating a deliberate juxtaposition with the enclosure walls of the church ruins. This new hall encompassed six rows of slender, circular supports, with a fabric ceiling overhead: one more time, showcasing ideas for the redefinition of the entire architecture of the sacred building. As for his admission, the concept of repeated thin pillars – a forest – was strongly influenced by the National Socialist Baltic bathing resort of Prora on Rügen island by Heinrich Tessenow; an architect that Böhm greatly admired[22]. These projects marked the first instance when Böhm approached plans for the block of St. Kolumba. He imagined more than once defining a larger architectural ensemble that would have created an *ensemble* where the ruins of the existing structure coexisted harmoniously with new architectural elements that exhibited distinct characteristics. These features encompassed both technological aspects – such as concrete shells reinforced with steel rods and the integration of various materials – and spatial and material features, including the reconfiguration of an urban corner through the lens of church typology, meticulous attention to materials and details, and a focus on the quality of light, as evident in his sketches from that time. Despite his embrace of technical innovation, his inspiration did not solely emanate from an engineering perspective; rather, he sought to imbue religious structures with a renewed spatial character that would align with the emergence of a new progressive era. He pondered: "How light a whole room then seems! The walls can be kept thin, (...) pillars become slender rods"[23], an ethos that he brought on in his future designs, unveiling a wealth of possibilities for crafting monumental designs with reinforced concrete. In the ensuing years, his focus revolved around exploring and actualizing these prospects.

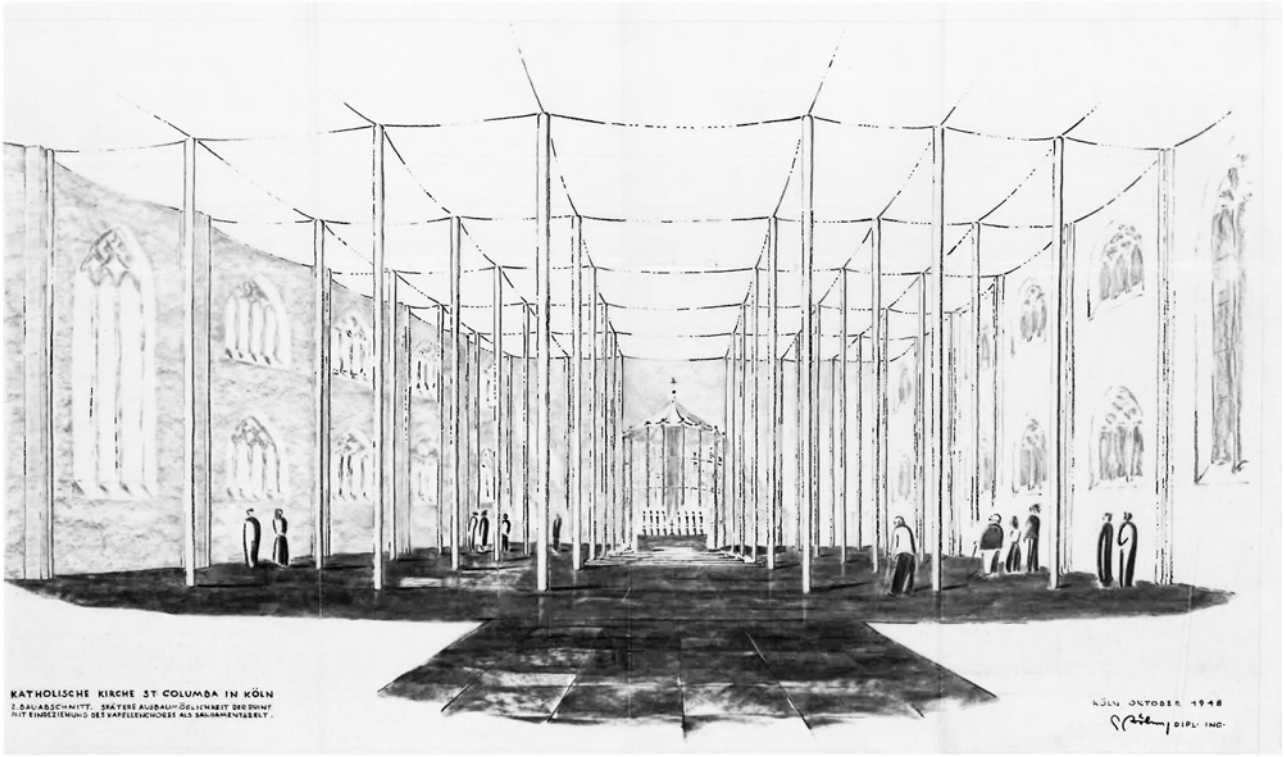


Figure 3. Böhm's second version of the chapel housing the Madonna in den Trümmern, 1948 ©Gottfried Böhm and family

Böhm's proposal to rebuild the whole structure did not proceed due to considerations of cost and concerns about the structural integrity of the ruins in conjunction with new constructions[24]. This tension between old materials and new architecture would go on to define the history of the Kolumba up to the present day[25].
Eventually, a decision was made to reduce the footprint of the new construction to the area enclosed by the remnants of the old destroyed tower. Böhm's solution was to cover this space with a roof divided into two parts lengthwise – the facade of which stands in bas-relief on today's Kolumba – and an octagonal structure was added to house the Madonna, sheltered by a draped ceiling under a shallow pitched roof. Construction began in 1949. The integration of the new building with the damaged existing structure was executed using stones salvaged from the ruins, demonstrating and legitimizing the new intervention, its effectiveness deriving precisely from the strategic use of historic materials and their juxtaposition. "Starting from my first church project in 1949 [...] all these buildings have taken on something of the structural spirit and emotional value of their historical circumstances" he declared, concluding that "the history of architecture [...] should not be acquired by merely repeating it but by learning from it, transferring the historically positive element to the new situation[26]". This leitmotif – with some natural exception during his 70-year-long career – defined all his subsequent production[27].
Flooded with light, the chapel emerges from the surviving fragment of the tower. A space defined by eight slender cement columns supporting a reinforced concrete folded roof, the first application of the solutions discussed in *Die Gewebedecke*. Both the octagon and the congregation area received fabric ceilings: "steel beam was laid across the middle of the space and steel netting hung from it. Concrete was poured in on top, the weight of the concrete creating the hanging form we desired"[28], and were surrounded by stained glass. The new entrance porch was accessed from the side, veering from the previous central axis. This shift paved the way for a unique perception, beginning with an initial spatial compression among the old tower stones and expanding only after traversing the space. The evocative light from the ornate stained-glass windows directed attention towards the Madonna statue. The floor, crafted from on-site materials, represented a tangible record of ruins – a layered map of memories anchored to the ground, ready to welcome the worshippers once again.
The stained glass of the tall windows that make up the sides of the octagon is reminiscent of a fascination for the all-embracing atmosphere of Gothic architecture ("Glass architecture is inconceivable outside of the Gothic"[29]) and represents an aspect that Böhm would skilfully master for in other churches like the Neviges Mariendom or the church of St. Ignatius in Frankfurt[30]. An aspiration toward the *Gesamtkunstwerk* never expressly declared by Böhm – notably laconic and concise both in the few lectures and interviews he gave throughout his career – but readable in the grammar of the elements starting from the complex design of the suspended vaults, to the willingness to work up to the detail scale with 1:1 scale drawings, in the confidence in the artistic gesture that conveyed sculptural details – as in the gargoyle-bear designed by Böhm to guard the gates of the Chapel – and architectural details of handles, floors, and furnishings. The echo of early 20th-century expressionism reverberated through the chapel's architectural features, showcasing Böhm's opposition to the monotonous reconstruction Germany faced back then. This approach was marked by a strong sense of responsibility toward the aesthetic and representative needs of a city, aiming to carve a recognizable and gathering place in the creation of a new context. While this was a challenging endeavor born from destruction and ruin, Böhm tackled it with remarkable

control and confidence in his expressive abilities. The architect, constructor, and artist stood against generic interventions, thinking on multiple scales, broad and specific simultaneously. His projects, from urban integration to the smallest details, showcased meticulous choices, to be fought with “words of fire” as advocated by Paul Scheerbart answering, years before, to “the so-called “objective style,” devoid of ornament, because in my opinion, it is not artistic[31]”.

Figure 4. Madonna in den Trümmern, 1954 ©Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

From these premises, the design of the Chapel of St. Kolumba seems to be founded on an additive compositional strategy of assembling pieces and parts rather than a search for formal unity. It reconfigures a sense of coherence through a bricolage of elements found on site. This technique attempts to be reassuring but, in the context of remnants of a lost past, it runs the risk of being nostalgic and imitative. Yet it’s a hazard that Böhm is willing to take in order to let life emerge from the ruins.

> Not to choose smooth, perfect building materials, but to seek out what was shattered and wounded and learn to love it [...] we can learn completely afresh from the debris and rubble about the natural beauty of the building, in all its vitality[32].

TOWARDS THE KOLUMBA. 1957-1997

The debate on reconstruction unfolded through constructed examples that quickly overlay a widespread sensibility. Despite contrasting formal outcomes, they brought forth a certain homogeneity: Emil Steffan with the Franciscan Church in Cologne (1950-1952), Hans Döllgast in Munich with the Alte Pinakothek (1952-1957), and Schwarz's projects for St. Anna in Düren (1951-1956), the Wallraf Richartz Museum (1951-1957) and the Gürzenich Festival Hall (1949-1955) in Cologne. These were paradigmatic of an approach in which the integration of ruins was understood as pure preservation in memory of destruction, coexisting seamlessly with new buildings.
In 1952, Böhm was entrusted with the task of constructing a sacrament chapel adjoining the side of the existing ruins of the tower. A simple rectangular room, furnished with an altar and four candle stands, all crafted from a whitish-grey veined marble and reaching the room's height. The addition of a round dome skylight above the altar allowed the room to connect with the sky. The access area within the profile of the old tower now granted entry not only to the octagonal chapel but also to this new space, enriched by a basalt façade punctuated by lighter circles. The stone door on the left end, demonstrating Böhm's sculptural prowess, stands as a testament to his attention to detail.
This second chapel was inaugurated in 1957. Alongside the traces of the tower and the Madonna Chapel, it engaged in a dialogue with the standing church walls and the archaeological excavations of the 1970s, which revealed the ancient traces of the Romanesque church.
The two chapels and the ruins constituted an ensemble built upon the historical pattern of the city, yet gradually, overshadowed by the surrounding buildings' increasing heights, they began to lose their strength and transform the plot into an isolated episode within a growing urban block.

Figure 5. Böhm's addition to the site: the Sakramentskapelle, 1957 ©Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

The voices advocating for the reconstruction of the block and the establishment of a diocesan museum grew stronger. Nevertheless, the idea of rebuilding the medieval parish church was excluded, as was the realization of Böhm's 1950s concepts, which involved expanding or incorporating his chapel buildings to create a larger complex. In 1957, he envisioned the reconstruction of the original parish church as a pyramid-shaped building enclosing the chapels and the ruins. A new wall would redefine an ideal parallelepiped, allowing all the diverse components of the ensemble to remain visible. This reconfiguration aimed to reshape the layered image of the church, reconstituting its pre-destruction state, with the towering pyramid volume rising above the surrounding buildings, signaling its presence[33]. As for the former designs, and for another unsuccessful proposal Böhm would present in 1973, the project was not pursued.

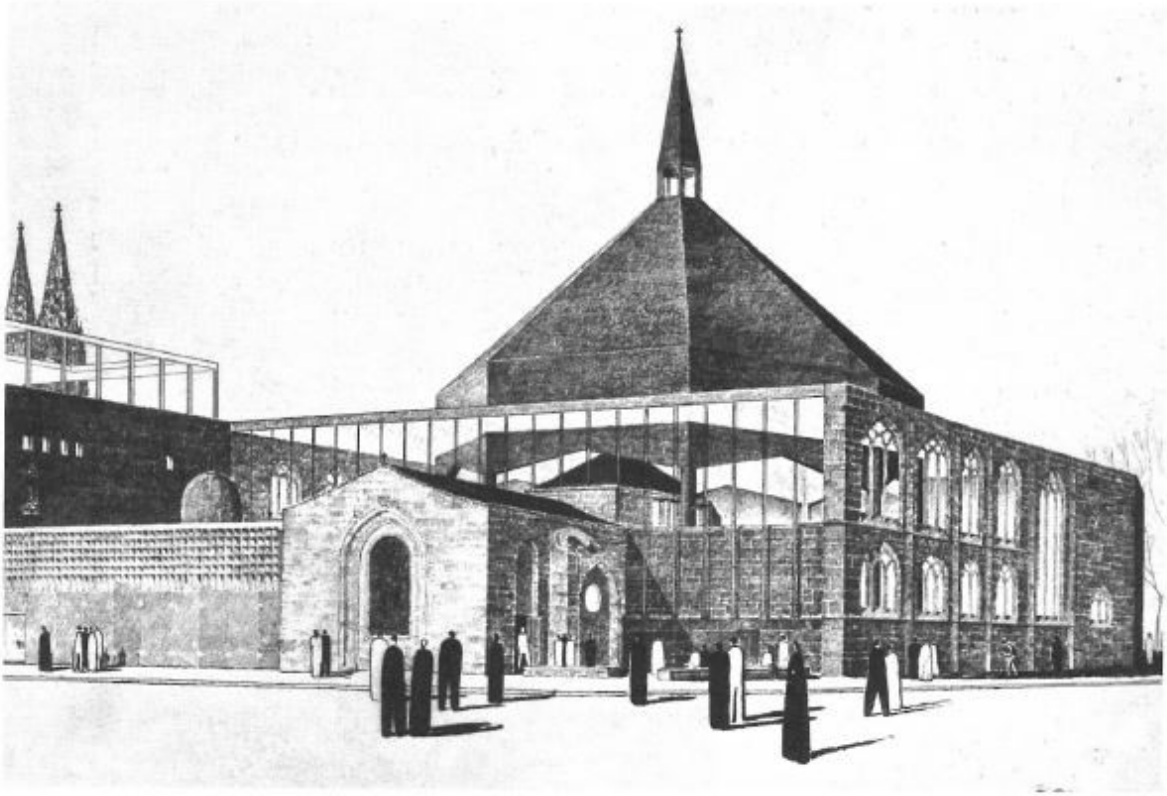


Figure 6. Böhm's proposal for the new church, 1957 ©Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

The 1990s saw a renewed debate in Germany about the reconstruction of important public buildings. The first competition for the Neues Museum in Berlin was held in 1993. Its restoration and partial reconstruction were entrusted to David Chipperfield in 1997, who went on to oversee the reorganization of the entire Museumsinsel. Similarly, the reconstruction of the Naturkunde Museum (1995), with its façade designed by Diener & Diener, produces a direct reference to Döllgast's Alte Pinakothek. In fact, it was during these years that the Diocesan administration of Cologne developed a plan to completely rebuild the archiepiscopal Diocesan Museum on the grounds of the former church. Prior to the announcement of an open architectural competition in 1997, a specific concept was elaborated. During this preparatory phase, the existing buildings were seen as an ensemble worthy of preservation, consisting of the church ruins and Böhm's chapels.

The competition brief primarily focused on the theme of integration: merging ancient ruins and contemporary architecture, old stones, and new materials into a single architectural entity that would restore the unity of a lost city block while preserving the established urban image acquired in the post-war years, "a living museum related to reality and the dignity of what is there[34]". Out of 166 submissions, 58 were disqualified in the first evaluation round; another 68 were eliminated in the second round; the third round shortened the list from 40 to twelve projects.
Böhm's 1957 idea resurfaced forty years later as a competition entry. Interestingly, he participated in two similar projects: one officially submitted with his son Paul and another with one of his collaborators, showing a keen desire to take part in the design of the future museum[35]. Both projects evolved into a robust tower that aimed to preserve the view of the nearby cathedral towers generating significant viewpoints. A fixed urban element, courageously grafted upon the palimpsest defined by his previous works – the Sacrament and Madonna chapels:

> Structured as an organic fabric, where each element of the landscape plays a vital role that should not be disturbed by the violent disruptions of [...] speculative interests. Instead, it should be further strengthened through orderly and harmonious interventions. Driven by these core convictions, his efforts are immediately focused on reclaiming the lost time[36].

For him, the city's visual language should be enriched by recognizable and legible symbols, incorporating recurring elements in the urban fabric – such as basements, towers, and pinnacles – while also introducing new and enriching visual orders, directing observers' gazes and influencing the hierarchies and architectural character of places.

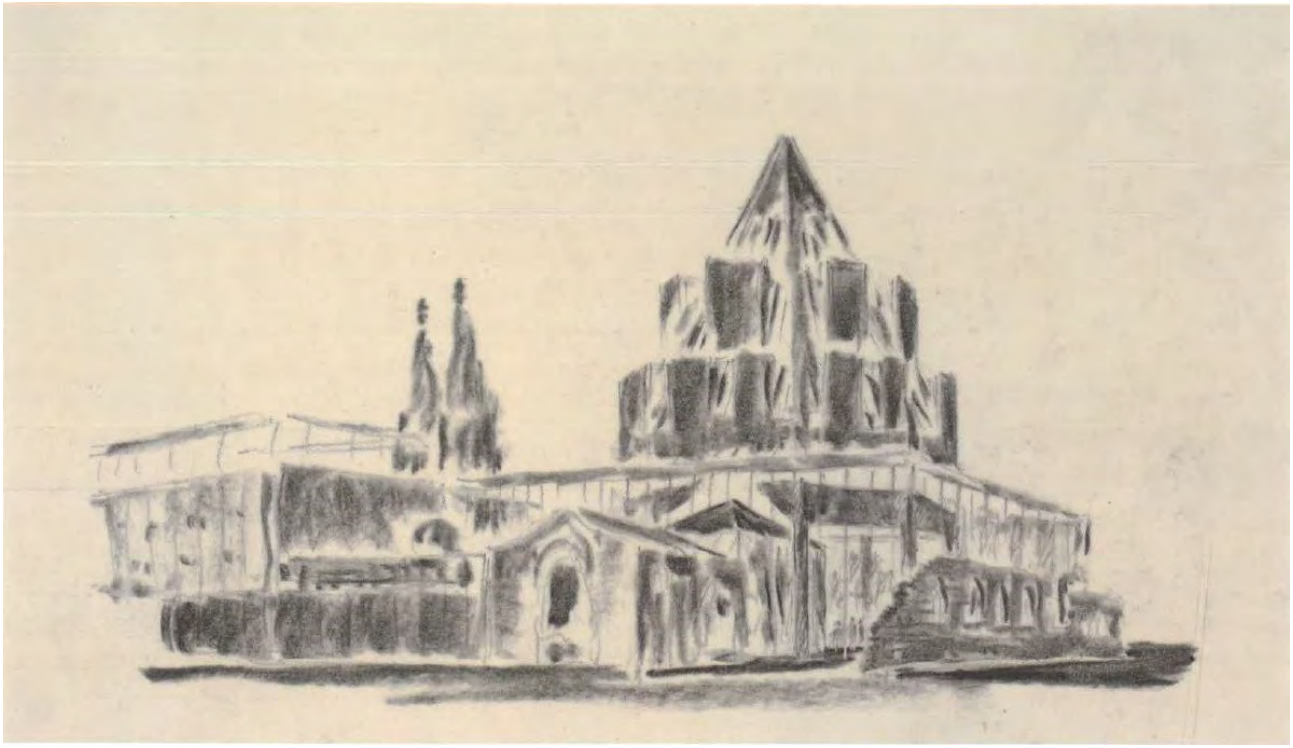


Figure 7. Böhm's competition entry for the Diocesan Museum, 1997 ©Gottfried Böhm

As a matter of fact, in the later years of his career, these prospects were not keeping pace with contemporary needs, and the allure that accompanied his groundbreaking projects, earning him the Pritzker Prize, began to fade. Regrettably for some and fortunately for others, his design was eliminated from the competition early on, with only eight projects awarded[37].

PETER ZUMTHOR'S KOLUMBA: REBUILDING SENSE

For almost sixty years, the *Madonna in den Trümmern* chapel stood alone among the ruins, deemed as one of the "few buildings in Germany that capture the mood of the first post-war years"[38] until the results of the 1997 competition for the construction of the Diocesan Museum, won by Atelier Peter Zumthor, marking the clear transformation of this urban block, destined to emerge as a new landmark for Cologne.
The competition brief underscored the significance of incorporating Böhm's chapel while ensuring the atmospheric qualities of the internal space:

> Light and darkness contrast vividly in these two building components, constructed using the stone fragments of the ruin. [...] As one of the most frequented places of prayer [...] this highly significant ensemble of contemporary sacred art from around 1950 should be fully preserved. What is required is an enclosure that does not compromise the chapel's external simplicity and the captivating inner play of light[39].

The aim of the competition was then to select a proposal that would not only ensure the physical preservation of the ruins, monuments, and both parts of Böhm's post-war chapel but also a substantial portion of their urban planning impact.
Indeed, the jury overwhelmingly voted in favor of Zumthor's project, whose defining feature was the effective integration of the new building over the existing parts to be preserved having succeeded

> in an exceptional way [...] to implement the integrative intent of the competition organizer and to connect the chapel on a par with the archaeological and building monuments of Kolumba Church in a single building construction[40].

Until the beginning, the focus of the museum was on integrating the existing architecture into the new building.

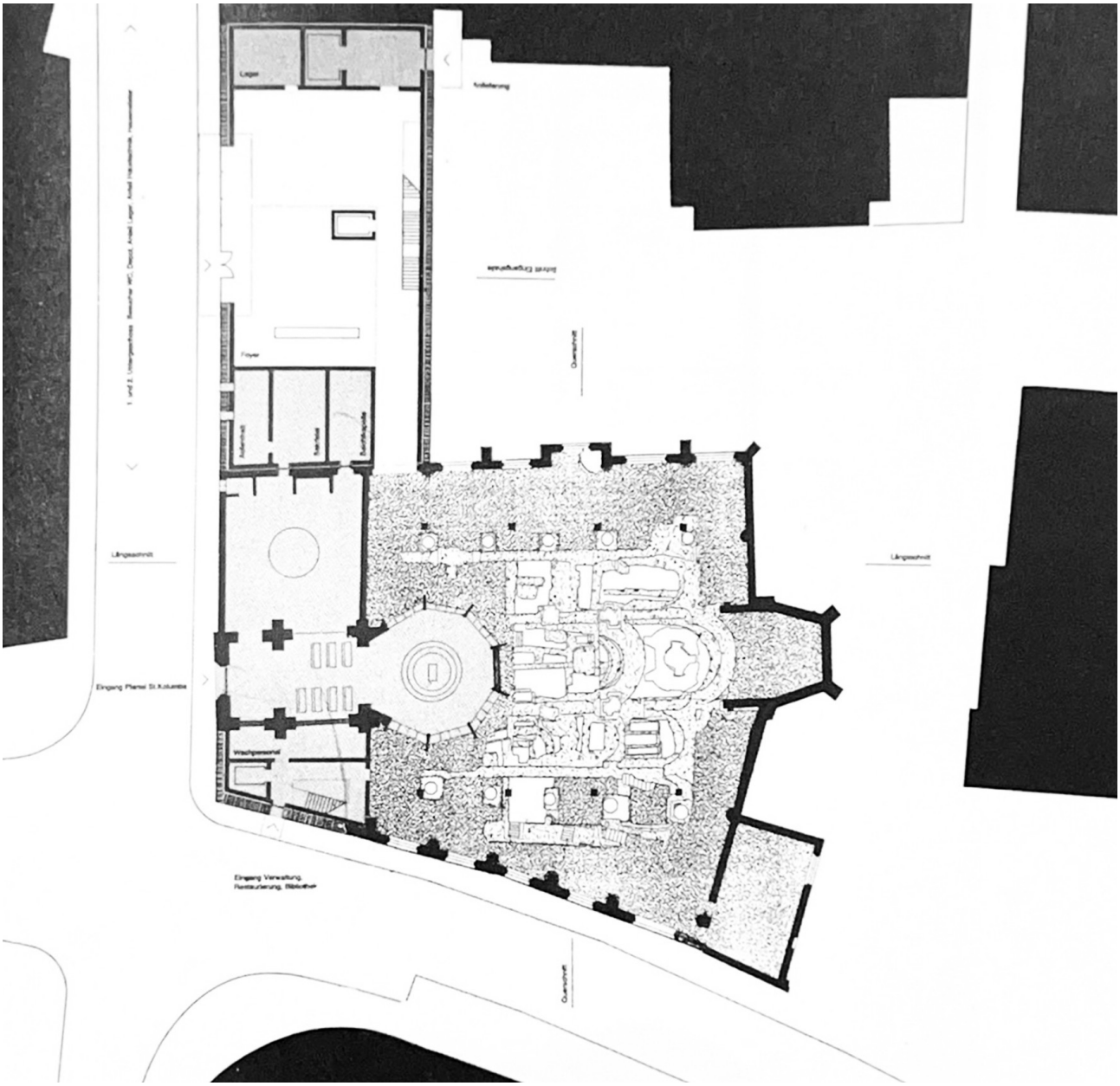


Figure 8. Peter Zumthor's competition entry for the Diocesan Museum, 1997 ©Peter Zumthor

Zumthor reconsidered the size and proportions of the old, destroyed church, and conceives the new building as one that "incorporates the old, harbors it within itself. It does not obliterate any traces and does not destroy without necessity" Instead, it internalizes the site in its entirety, seeking to transcend the logic of additive construction with fragments that characterize the site's history. Zumthor aims for a singular, significant formal gesture that would

> complement and continue the search for its own form. In other words, it does not keep structural wounds open or comment on them with architectural means but rather deals with what has been preserved as unaffectedly as possible within the objective framework of a new building task that has its own meaning[41].

The architect undertook the task of designing the museum on the plot with great rigor. The Kolumba stands as an exceptional embodiment of contemporary purpose harmonized with reverence for history. The new building, completed in 2007, fully incorporates the chapels, seamlessly integrating the chapels' façade as part of the overall front. It emerges as a monolithic structure characterized by a strong urban presence, redefining the corner that has stood empty since after the war. The volume's physical presence resonates with the ensemble's character, arising from the plot's unfinished history, modulating the new street-facing fronts while orchestrating light and spatial conditions within the interior spaces, its proportions, and alignments relating to the context.
The museum's facade exudes a sense of timelessness, with a subtle interplay of light and shadow across its surfaces. The use of brick, meticulously arranged in a delicate pattern of openings, allows a dim, filtered light to illuminate the space behind – a covered area that serves as both a sacred space and an archaeological site. Within this enclosure, a wooden walkway traverses ancient foundations and fragments, offering dramatic views of the polygonal exterior of Böhm's chapel. This space is upheld by slender columns strategically placed to neither diminish the presence of the ruins nor shield the existing architecture, functioning cohesively within the new building.
The interior spaces of the Museum's floors unfold as a sequence of interconnected chambers and passages, crafting an experiential journey for visitors. A succession of spaces is orchestrated to gradually unfold varying "levels of intimacy"[42], from the sheltered space of the hypostyle refuge that covers the ruins, to the upper floors, constructing an experience for the visitor enriched by the presence of sacred art and selectively framed perspectives of the city. Natural light filters through narrow slits and precisely positioned windows, casting a gentle glow that accentuates the serene and contemplative ambiance. This interplay of light and space enriches the museum's atmosphere, providing a distinctive backdrop for visitors to engage with the displayed art, and encouraging introspection. As visitors navigate its galleries, they encounter a thoughtfully choreographed sequence of rooms that vary in size and character. The design prompts a sensory connection with the surroundings, intensifying the link between the architectural encounter and the exhibited sacred artworks. At every corner, the gaze finds a natural outlet towards the outside, within a spatial structure orchestrated to guide, allure, and lead, embraced by the silence of contemplation in a space that becomes inherently sacred through its spatial attributes, inviting to contemplate. A deliberate and measured pace allows to linger on the gold and silver of the exhibited works. The materials, chosen with the utmost care, include the Kolumba brick (54 centimetres long by 3.9 thick, specially designed and manufactured for the project), light grey like other buildings in Cologne, fine woods for doors and furnishings, and stone floors. Timeless and evocative materials, complementary to the differentiation of spatial experiences within the different parts of the building, yet united by a centripetal tension that draws inward, into its core.
In this sense, Zumthor's project "aims for truth [...] as *adequatio rei et intellectus*[43]". The physical context in which he intervened – the *intellectus*, namely "the intentions, the premises, the programme"[44] – is defined by a strongly characterized palimpsest. The primary features in Zumthor's work stem from the contemporaneity of historical events in which various design and compositional actions took place. The *res*, "the constructed object"[45], is the response to this framework: its materiality, that is, the evocative and narrative capacity that materials possess in generating an atmosphere, their *consonance*[46], their coming together and being together, of ascribing a history. A symbol of this is the inclusion within the unique body of the new Diocesan

Museum of the stone portal and the basalt part of the Sacrament Chapel. The power of the joint[47], of the touching point among different materials intended as different histories, comes from the juxtaposition of different materials that are distinct pieces drawn from unique and unrepeatable times in the history of the building, as words that do not compose sentences but rather emerge through the polyphony produced by individual sounds. Built beyond a simple chronological reading, the Kolumba is diachronic: it allows for the penetration of parallel, distinct temporal dimensions. The sense of the whole is not derived from the construction of an intentional meaning, but rather from the capacity that the building arouses in the observer for a clear recognition of the parts, from a contemporary analysis of the manifold layer. Indeed, Zumthor wrote, “Construction is the art of making a meaningful whole out of many parts[48]”.

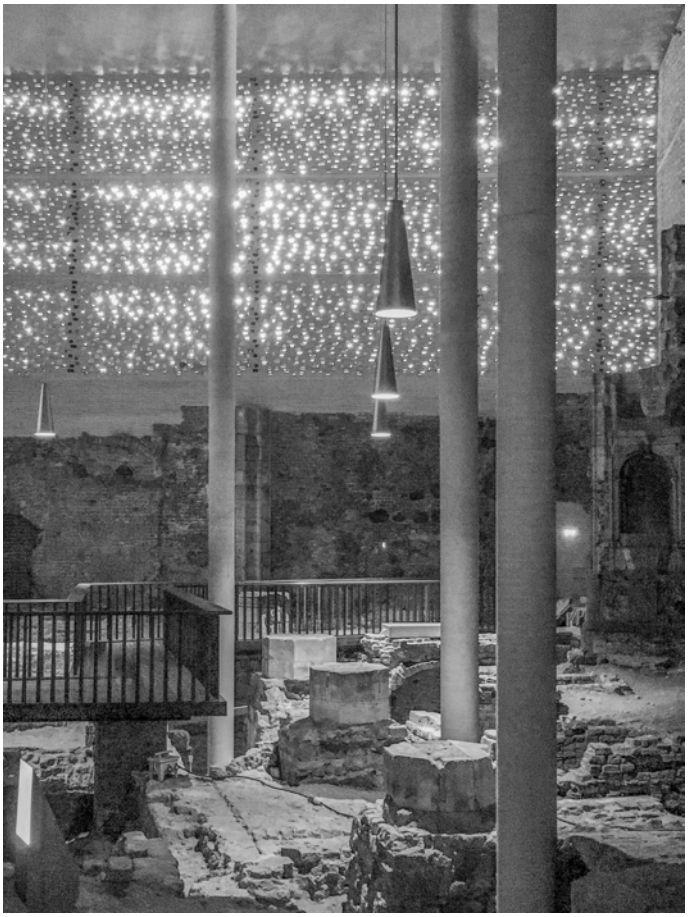


Figure 9. St. Kolumba’s ruins in the new Diocesan Museum, 2007

An approach that resonates with the words of Hans Schwippert, who, while involved in the reconstruction of Aachen, questioned whether mere “reconstruction” was enough to restore the lost human dignity in the war’s aftermath. He traced the cause of this dilemma to a “fatal combination of thoughtlessness and misery, an unsavory alliance of greed and poverty.” Schwippert expressed concern that this combination "will try to use “reconstruction” to prevent construction[49]”.

DARE TO REBUILD. ZU DEMUT GEHÖRT MUT [TO HUMILITY BELONGS COURAGE]

Over the past years, there has not only been approval for the new building. The encapsulation of the chapel has been a subject of prolonged debate. Böhm has consistently expressed his disagreement with Zumthor's project, starting from the fact that he repeatedly proposed the integration of older building remnants in this manner and specifically at this location: in 1948, 1957, 1973, and in his own double-entry for the 1997 competition[50]. His critique was also aimed at the overall impact of the project on the urban landscape and his chapel buildings. Even after the completion of the Museum, criticism arose about the altered lighting conditions in the chapel, which some deemed too dim[51]. Illuminating the chapels without artificial light was unattainable, a regrettable aspect given the significance of the glass walls in shaping the spatial appearance of the central Madonna chapel. While a responsible preservation concept was applied in this instance, the issue of introducing ample light into the small polygonal rotunda remains unresolved:

> Unfortunately, the original charm and the colours of the re-used debris disappeared under the sealed cloak of the new museum. The bear now gazes into a sort of garage vestibule making the élan of post-war constructive experiment into an incomprehensible figure in a facade[52].

Also, consensus could not be reached on the building's corner on Brückenstraße and Kolumbastraße. Böhm aimed to keep this corner open, providing a view of the south facade of the chapel, whereas Zumthor's solution resulted in the realized vestibule. Allegedly, what has been lost is the "traditional impact of the ensemble as a whole within the urban fabric" that had "a high historical, aesthetic but also emotional value not only amongst the people of Cologne but also among experts[53]". Even though Böhm's chapel became a pivotal component of the composition, it vanished beneath the new museum. Yet, when considering Böhm's chapel as an integral part of the composition, Zumthor's architecture embodies the writing and rewriting of urban history through architectural additions. When asked about his approach to Zumthor in 2003, Böhm replied:

> The fact that the chapel will be enclosed has been discussed, but Zumthor guarantees that the chapel will remain visible in the cityscape because of its significance from its special history. Even beyond that, the two of us have become so much closer that Zumthor no longer does anything on this project without discussing it with me. A kind of friendship has developed[54].

Figure 10. Peter Zumthor's Kolumba Diocesan Museum, 2007

The notion of incorporating ruins united Böhm's and Zumthor's intentions across the projects they have undertaken over a century of history in this war-ravaged yet evocative place. Despite differing poetic approaches, both architects demonstrated a common attitude of respect towards history, and their architectural language has echoed recurring themes throughout their works. This might be a rare instance where two masters have collaborated on a common canvas, with one using the other's work as a physical context to reference and support their own creations. In a period when the emerging trend in Germany leans towards mimetic reconstructions (as seen in the Humboldt Forum, where a faux late Baroque facade conceals an architecture rooted in neo-rationalism), Böhm and Zumthor have attributed essential value and potency to historical material. They have crafted a diachronic anastylosis, seamlessly blending the past and present, crafting an idea of the future. Both have attributed a necessary value and power to historical material, creating a diachronic anastylosis where the past and present blend to construct an idea of the future. The stones, serving as symbols of the transitory nature of architectural creations, devastated by human actions, find their refuge in solid walls imbued with a sacred aura. They portray earthly existence as a form of *memento mori*. The space, as a place of recognition and vitality, is defined by expansive sequences ready to embrace ever-evolving transformations.

Through the construction of spaces that keep the flames of collective memory burning, architecture perpetually revives its role as a creator of enduring significance. To humility belongs courage, said Böhm in an interview, and the story of the Kolumba illustrates this capability: making the city through architectural tangible forms, made of stones, bricks, and concrete.

NOTES

[1] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. 1817. "Urworte. Orphisch". In *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, besonders zur Morphologie. 1,1: Zur Morphologie.* Translated by the authors. Stuttgart [u.a.]: Cotta. [2] Gottfried Böhm, Pritzker Prize Laureate 1986, and Peter Zumthor, Pritzker Prize Laureate 2009. [3] "New roads, schools, hospitals, and housing developments sprouted up all over West Germany. By the 1960s, an average of 570,000 apartments were being built annually [...] Between 50,000 and 150,000 single-family homes were likewise constructed each year. In all, no fewer than 5.3 million new apartments were built in West Germany in the first 15 years after the war". Leick, Romain, Matthias Schreiber and Hans-Ulrich Stoldt. 2010. "A New Look at Germany's Postwar Reconstruction." , August 10, 2010. https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/out-of-the-ashes-a-new-look-at-germany-s-postwar-reconstruction-a-702856.html. [4] *Ibid.* [5] Hilberseimer, Ludwig. 1967. *Die Berliner Architektur der 20er Jahre.* Mainz: Kupferberg. [6] Klaus Koenig, Giovanni. 1975. "'*Come in uno specchio...*'. *Note sulle facoltà di Architettura nella Germania del 1930*". *Psicon,* no. 2/3 (January-June): 71-83. [7] Whyte, Ian Boyd, ed. 2003. *Modernism and the Spirit of the City.* London: Routledge. [8] Pehnt, Wolfgang, and Hilde Strohl. 1997. *Rudolf Schwarz, 1897 - 1961: Architekt einer anderen Moderne.* Ostfildern: Hatje. [9] *Ivi,* 236. [10] Caruso, Adam, and Helene Thomas. eds. 2016. *Rudolf Schwarz and the Monumental Order of Things.* Zürich: gta verlag. [11] Dengler, Frank. 2003. *Bauen in historischer Umgebung. Die Architekten Dieter Oesterlen, Gottfried Böhm und Karl-Josef Schattner.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 256. [12] Böhm, Gottfried. 1963. "Über St. Engelbert in Köln-Riehl." In *Vom Bauen, Bilden und Bewahren: Festschrift für Willy Weyres zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres,* edited by J. Hoster and A. Mann, 377. Köln: Greven & Bechtold. [13] Gieselmann, Reinhard, and Oswald Mathias Ungers. 1964. "Towards a New Architecture." In *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th century Architecture,* edited by Ulrich Conrads. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press, originally published as *Zu einer neuen Architektur,* Frankfurt: Verlag Ullstein. [14] Amabile, Luigiemanuele, and Alberto Calderoni. 2022. "Vita est peregrinatio. Il Duomo di Neviges fra sacro e urbano". *FAMagazine* 57/58: 181-189. https://doi.org/10.12838/fam/issn2039-0491/n57/58-2021/705. [15] "In the land of Rhineland-Palatinate 400 churches of monument rank were destroyed wholly or in part. [...] This work of reconstruction was something for which neither the ecclesiastical authorities nor the parishes, neither the state nor those responsible for monument conservation had been prepared. [...] Although there was a backlog of churches still to be built from 1933 and before, this was nothing as compared with the new demand now made. In the decade 1945-55, 323 churches were built in the archdiocese of Cologne alone; in 1956, 240 were at the planning stage". Schnell, Hugo. 1974. *Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany.* Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 75. [16] Cacciari, Massimo. 1995. "Ecclesia". In *Casabella,* no. 640/41: 1. Translated by the authors. [17] Sebald, Winfried G. 1999. *Luftkrieg und Literatur.* Munich: Carl Hansen. [18] Kraus, Stefan. 1997. "Madonna in den Trümmern. Das Kolumbagelände nach 1945." In *Kolumba. Ein Architekturwettbewerb in Köln 1997,* edited by Erzbischofliches Diözesanmuseum Köln. Köln: Walther König, 53. [19] Böhm, Gottfried. 1949. "*Die Gewebedecke*". In *Aufbau-Sonderhefte. Neue Baumethoden,* I, Heft 8, Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann. Frei Otto, also a Pritzker Prize laureate, in his dissertation *Das hangende Dach* published in 1953, offered a critical evaluation of Böhm's fabric ceiling concept in the opening chapter. 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Translated by the authors. [37] Apart from Zumthor, Gigon & Guyer, Petry+Partner, David Chipperfield Architects, van Berkel&Bos. Eun Young Yi, Hermann H. Müller, Fischer+Fischer, Wilfried K. Müller. [38] Pehnt, Wolfgang. 1999. Op. cit., 8. [39] "Auslobungstext, c.1.4". In *Kolumba. Ein Architekturwettbewerb in Köln 1997,* op. cit.,102. [40] Jury excerpt from the award statement. In *Kolumba. Ein Architekturwettbewerb in Köln 1997,* op. cit. [41] Zumthor, Peter. 1998. *Häuser.* Baden: Lars Müller, 286. [42] Zumthor, Peter. 2006. *Atmospheres.* Basel: Birkhäuser, 48. [43] Espuelas, Fernando. 2012. *Madre Materia.* Milano: Marinotti, 175. [44] *Ibid.* [45] *Ibid.* [46] Zumthor, Peter. 2006. Op. cit., 22. [47] Zumthor, Peter. 1998. *Thinking Architecture.* Basel: Birkhäuser, 14. [48] *Ivi,* 11. [49] Schwippert, Hans. 1947. "Theorie und Praxis: Geschrieben Ende 1944". In *Baukunst und Werkform, 1, 18.* Cited In Pehnt W., Strohl H., *Rudolf Schwarz,* 126-136. [50] Kraus, Stefan. 1997. 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THE ABSENCE OF THE PAST AS FUTURE FOR THE CITY: *RECONSTRUCTION AS SITUATED MODERN URBANISM IN POST-WAR MILAN, ROTTERDAM AND WARSAW*

By Tom Avermaete (ETH Zurich) and Leonardo Zuccaro Marchi (Politecnico di Milano)

ABSTRACT

Following the Second World War, numerous European cities grappled with the challenging task of reconstruction. Despite the transformative impact of these reconstruction projects on the urban landscape of Europe, the historiography of urbanism tends to acknowledge them only minorly, often reducing them to the mere creation of new housing developments or city centres.

However, the reconstruction plans for European cities went beyond surface-level planning of neighbourhoods or central city areas. They were intricately connected to specific instances of urbicide and involved elaborate negotiations with pre-existing social, legal, economic, technical and morphological conditions, as well as with prevailing agencies.

Focusing on the cities of Milan, Rotterdam and Warsaw, this article argues that, due to their charged relationship with the existing fabric, urban reconstruction projects appear as alternative approaches to post-war urbanism. They emerge as exemplars of a 'situated modern urbanism' distinct from their counterparts, as they establish a modern urbanistic approach grounded in a highly nuanced understanding of the dimensions of time and agency.

THE MANY FACES OF URBICIDE: MILAN, WARSAW AND ROTTERDAM

The Second World War caused an annihilation of cities across the European continent. While the initial appearance of the debris in various cities might have seemed similar, the actual manifestations of urbicide varied significantly. The Italian city of Milan, for instance, after the Second World War, was a true 'scattered city' as regards its built fabric and possibly even more as regards its social tissue. To counter the Fascist regime, the Allied

Forces primarily employed psychological warfare as their key strategy. Creating psychological trauma with the Milanese rather than the total physical destruction of the city by so-called 'terror bombing' was the approach employed by the British Royal Air Force between 1940 and 1945[1]. It consisted of minor but recurrent attacks, which generated significant psychological and moral impact, anxiety and panic. The effect on Milanese morale was enormous, leading some observers to conclude that "The Italian psychology was unsuitable for war[2]".
The eradication of morale was paired with a 'scattered destruction' of various parts of the built environment. Small pieces of urban fabric were destroyed all over the city, turning Milan into a porous urban entity full of cavities and voids. The scattered pattern of destruction was not only the result of the dispersed character of the 'terror bombing' strategy but also of the material qualities of the city. The modern areas with wide streets (some more than 8-9 metres) and the typical use of bricks and reinforced concrete were not affected as much by the bombings and the resulting fire[3]. The older neighbourhoods with their wooden buildings were easily destroyed by fire:

> Among the ruins of the ancient houses, the modern concrete buildings which resisted the fire became disproportionally visible. The face of the city became forever deformed[4].

Although three million square metres of Milan remained untouched by the bombs and fire[5], at the end of the war, approximately 6-7% of all buildings were destroyed, and 13-15% were damaged[6]. This implied that about 75,000 dwellings were destroyed (*vani distrutti*) and 162,000 were damaged, which amounted to 237,000 inhabitable dwellings, and a similar number of families on the streets[7]. Around 331.800 people lost their houses during the war, and until 1953, the reconstruction development could only restore less than half the demolished rooms with prolonged and enormous housing hardship caused by the bombings (figg. 1 and 2)[8].

Figure 1. Ruins in Milan after the bombing in 1943 ©Lamberto Vitali, Fondo Lamberto Vitali Fotografo. Civic Photographic Archive, City of Milan (location: inv. LV 1165)

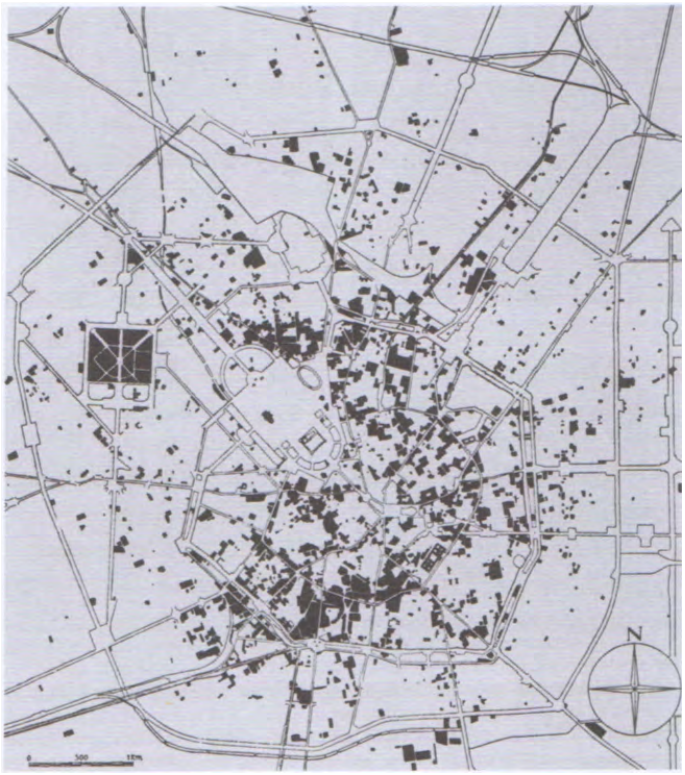

Figure 2. "Tutta la Rovina" - Map of destruction in Milan, in G. De Finetti, Milano, Costruzione di una Città, a cura di G. Cislaghi, M. De Benedetti, P. Marabelli, Hoepli: Milano 2002, p. 432

While in Milan destruction had been scattered and recurrent, in the Polish city of Warsaw urbicide took a more encompassing form. During the Second World War, the capital of Poland became the focus of some of the fiercest Nazi policies aimed at the systematic and scientific annihilation[9] of the entire city as a physical, social, industrial, cultural and political centre, including "the biological extermination" of its inhabitants[10].
A key aspect of this policy involved the complete obliteration of the entire constructed landscape of Warsaw. It aimed to eliminate completely every aspect and component of the urban structure, leaving no exceptions. The devastation extended beyond buildings, streets and infrastructure; even trees were included in the demolition strategy. The overarching goal was a systematic and comprehensive *tabula rasa.* This destruction policy was complemented by two other annihilation strategies: segregation and re-founding. High walls with watchtowers were constructed so that the northern part of Warsaw could be enclosed and segregated from the rest of the city. This new zone was turned into an intra-urban prison, which detained 400,000 Jewish citizens and became known as the Jewish Ghetto (figg. 3 and 4)[11].

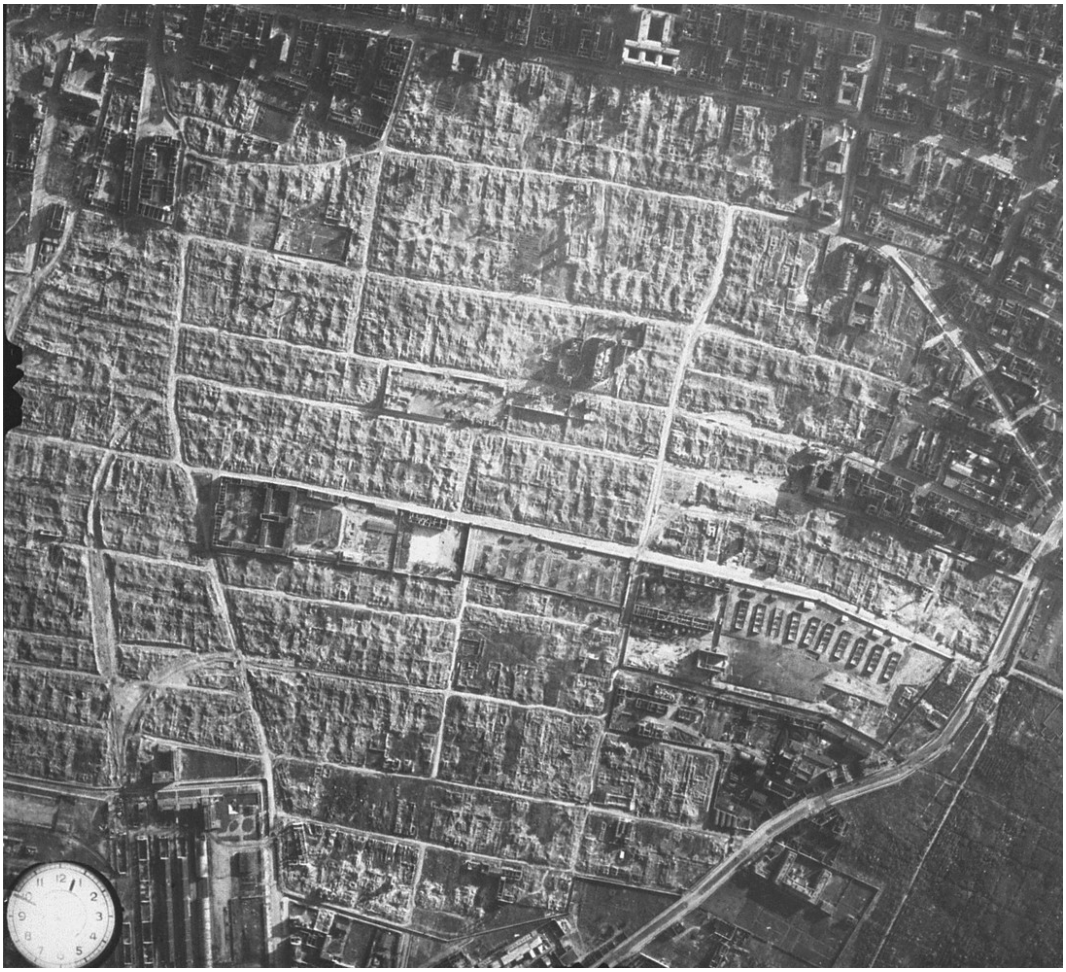

Figure 3. Aerial photograph of northern Warsaw Ghetto area (looking south, north direction located at bottom). In the middle German Concentration Camp in Warsaw (named KL Warschau or KZ Warschau), created in 1943. Public domain, in Wikipedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)

Figure 4. The full destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, as a reaction of Hitler to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. North-west view, left - the Krasinski`s Garden and Swietojerska street, photo taken in circa 1950. Public domain, in Wikimedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)

A third element of the Nazi annihilation strategy consisted of the formulation of an entirely new plan for the city. Nazi town planner Friedrich Pabst and his team from Wurzburg considered the tabula rasa as the ultimate basis for the re-foundation of 'Warsaw, the new German City' (*Warschau – die neue Deutsche Stadt*)[12]. The plans envisaged a city that was only 1/20 of the existing Warsaw. This new German city would be inhabited by 130,000 German inhabitants and 80,000 enslaved Polish people, replacing the previous population of 1,310,000 Varsovians.

As a result, Warsaw faced one of the most extensive and totalizing destructions during the Second World War. A capital that took seven hundred years to grow was transformed into a material and social "dead city" in a short

time[13]. More than 250,000 Varsovians were murdered during the battle against the Nazi invasion in 1939[14]. In total, 800,000 citizens of Warsaw died during the war[15]. Next to these personal losses, the built environment was also strongly affected. Between 75% and 85% of the entire city was destroyed[16]. The Polish monuments were almost all destroyed: 782 historic buildings of the existing 957 were demolished. However, the everyday urban fabric of Warsaw was also strongly affected. In 1939, Warsaw counted 595,000 dwellings. In 1945, only 165,000 were still inhabitable[17].
After the Second World War, Warsaw was no more than a field of rubble. Twenty million cubic meters of rubble and ruins were amassed in the downtown area[18]. Of the total of 3,708 million cubic feet of buildings that Warsaw consisted of before the war, the Nazis demolished no less than 2,600 million. In 1945, Warsaw was confronted with a total amount of rubble of 720 million cubic feet (fig. 5)[19].

Figure 5. Rare Agfacolor photo (invention from 1936) dated August 1944 taken in Warsaw, Poland in the Old Town Market Place (Zakrzewski's Side) during the fight of Poles against the German Nazis called the Warsaw Uprising. Author Ewa Faryaszewska. Public domain, in Wikimedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)

A similar image of vast destruction characterized the Dutch city of Rotterdam as a result of the accumulated bombings by Nazis and the Allies. The former bombed the city centre on 14 May 1940 as a way to provoke the capitulation of the Netherlands. The latter conducted a raid on the western side of Rotterdam in 1943 to halt its function as a logistic hub for the Nazis. After the first Nazi attack, the city centre appeared as a complete tabula rasa with only a few buildings left and the majority of homes, department stores, factories, workshops, warehouses, schools, hospitals, churches and stations entirely destroyed[20]. The destroyed city covered an area of 258 hectares[21]. The urban fabric of the historical centre of Rotterdam was turned into a vast open field. The social fabric saw the disappearance of 850 citizens, while 80,000 people or

13% of the population, were left homeless. The estimated cost of the damage was about 420 million Dutch guilders, corresponding to over three billion euros in today's money[22]. In the Allied raid in 1943, a further 2,600 homes were destroyed, and approximately 1150 citizens died[23]. As a result, at the end of the Second World War, Rotterdam was the most damaged city in the Netherlands (figg. 6a and 6b; figg. 7a and 7b).

The different patterns of annihilation soon became the canvas on which a set of modern urban design approaches for reconstruction would be developed. While these reconstruction efforts were very different, retrospectively, they all appear as forms of 'situated modern urbanism' that differ from their contemporary counterparts in that they were based on nuanced attitudes to the temporal and agency dimensions of the city.

Figure 6a. Rotterdam, Coolsingel before bombardment, 1933. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-168-03-9, 1933
Figure 6b. Rotterdam, Coolsingel after bombardment, 1946, specific. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-254-2-1, 1946

Figure 7a. Rotterdam, Oude Haven before bombardment, 1933. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number 1970-483, 1933
Figure 7b. Rotterdam, Oude Haven after bombardment, 1946. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-257-19a, 1946

(RE)PRESENTING THE MEMORY OF THE ANNIHILATION

A first temporal dimension with which many of the reconstruction projects engaged was the traumatic memory of the recent past. Paradoxically, the 'tabula rasa' of the Second World War would not lead to celebrating a progressist dimension in urbanism, as so many architects and designers of the modern movement had claimed, but rather to a sophisticated engagement with what existed before. Though this engagement with an annihilated past

seems a common denominator of many reconstruction projects, it took many forms.
In the city of Milan, it took the form of an urbanistic census. Eight so-called neighbourhood commissions were given the duty to analyse the character of urban destruction in their respective areas. In order to gain knowledge rapidly about the reconstruction, the city administration had developed the so-called Urbanistic Census (*Censimento Urbanistico*), which would act as an essential analytical tool for the registration by the various Neighbourhood Committees. The Urbanistic Census consisted mainly of a Statistical Scheme [*scheda statistica*], comprising an A3 page with a neighbourhood plan (scale 1:2000) and a table in which the damage could be described in numbers or percentages. The data on the plans of various Statistical Schemes were subsequently rewritten and summarized in one Main Plan of Milan (1:5000-1:2000)[24]. The Urbanistic Census was undertaken in no less than 45 days and offered in this short period a solid reference basis for the conception and development of reconstruction plans[25].
While the engagement with the recent past took the form of a quantitative analysis in Milan, in Rotterdam, the symbolic dimension was paramount. At a very early stage, the city government realized that the trauma of the war needed two types of monuments. It commissioned memorials such as the sculpture 'The Destroyed City' (1951) by the Russian-born French sculptor Ossip Zadkine (fig. 8), which symbolized the blood and horror of the war with a void in the body like the destroyed heart of the city[26]. At the same time, however, the city government erected another type of monument that illustrated the solidarity that the annihilation had provoked. A good example was the illuminated sign on the main Coolsingel street with the text 'Get to work' [*Aan den Slag*] (1945), which encouraged the citizens of Rotterdam to join in collaborative action for the reconstruction of the city. As an observer remarked,

> Amidst the memorials erected to those who fell in the war, this monument will rise and call us to work. Before us lies the main task of building a new city. Employers and workers must join together and persevere. They must work and create work. May this memorial urge them on and inspire them[27].

Figure 8. Rotterdam, Monument "Verwoeste stad" by Ossip Zadkine in new location. ©Verhoeff, Bert / Nationaal Archief/CC0 2.24.01.05 Bestand 927-6843

ALTERING HISTORICAL URBAN CONDITIONS AND PLANNING CULTURES

Next to representing the memory of the recent past, urban reconstruction projects also seem to be characterized by a positioning vis-à-vis historical urban conditions and planning cultures. In Milan, for instance, radical reconstruction was not a new phenomenon. Before the Second World War, Italian prime minister Benito Mussolini had already implemented the politics of 'disembowelment' or *sventramento*. It was aimed at radically modernizing the existing urban structure with new roads, new urban public spaces and new buildings by using the pickaxe and evacuating the residents from the city centre ("Sfollare le città")[28]. Prominent architects, such as Piero Portaluppi and Marco Semenza, won in 1926 the competition for a new urban plan of Milan, which was "based on the idea of the almost total destruction of the actual city, for the reconstruction of a new one[29]". Some of these plans were implemented and caused the loss of almost 60,000 dwellings in the city centre [30].

This existing culture of demolition and reconstruction created a unique openness to develop new architectural forms, which had already gained momentum in the interwar period in the name of hygienic principles, social betterment, progress and innovation[31]. Moreover, the previous celebration of the 'pickaxe' had also installed an attitude which looked upon destruction as a profitable condition from which the modernization of the city could emerge. As the renowned Italian architect Nathan Ernesto Rogers maintained in 1945, in Milan the urban voids were looked upon as sites of new possibilities:

> For years and years we have used the pickaxe to develop new logical principles of science and art. The fatal laws of war have replaced it and devastations with unacceptable proportions are the result. Hopefully, all of this disaster is not in vain. Let's profit as much as possible[32].

The numerous demolitions of Milan initiated a unique theoretical debate amongst architects, urban planners and politicians on the relationship between modernity and tradition, about how new buildings relate to the forms and practices of the historical past. This debate would culminate in discussions about context (*contesto*), ambience (*ambiente*) and pre-existing ambience (*preesistenze ambientali*). These concepts allowed architects and urban planners to relate to the past without copying historic buildings and neighbourhoods[33]. In other words, urban designers and architects could conceive of the past as a 'context' or an 'ambience' that would be complemented and further developed by their new buildings and neighbourhoods[34]. The complementarity between tradition and modernity embraced the reconstruction process and debate[35], and it will upsurge as a symbolic presence in Milan with the BBPR's Torre Velasca (1958)[36], the emblematic counterforce to abstract modernism at the last CIAM meeting[37] and a "homage to a historical centre virtually destroyed by real estate speculators"[38], for Manfredo Tafuri. This attitude of openness towards the past was not only a matter of single buildings but also of neighbourhoods and even of the entire city. As architect Giuseppe De Finetti maintained in 1946, "The war is cursed: but there is also a merit (...) it could liberate Milan without further delay from the regulatory plan that is so deleterious for its economy, for its life[39]". Hence, the destruction of war was seen by many of De Finetti's contemporaries as an excellent reason to abandon previous urban plans and to modernize the radio-concentric forma urbis of Milan, which had passed

from a metropolis to a megalopolis with a parasitopoli of uncontrolled expansion in the periphery[40]. From this perspective, the destruction of the war became an opportunity to restructure the entire city[41].
In the Polish city of Warsaw, reconstruction was similarly considered as a counterproject for the dwelling conditions in the city before the Second World War. In the interwar period, the city's development was strongly affected by the speculative logics and rules of private enterprises. Critics had pointed out that this mode of urban development created substantial social disparities. Some of them observed that the large luxury bourgeois flats "had at least ten times as much light and air as the inhabitant of a one-room flat[42]". Also the density of inhabitants per flat was criticized and open for improvement[43]. Reconstruction became an important moment for improving the living conditions, particularly for the working class. The reconstruction plans can be considered a 'counterproject' for the existing dwelling conditions that aimed to resolve issues of overcrowding, as well as to guarantee better standards of light and air, and better hygienic conditions. Generally, the reconstruction process was conceived as a transition from a capitalist mode of urban development to socialist values and ways of urban planning.
In Rotterdam, reconstruction was considered an improvement strategy for historical urban conditions from its inception. The urbicide of the Second World War was generally regarded as the perfect opportunity to address many of the problems of industrial pre-war Rotterdam, including overcrowded and impoverished neighbourhoods and the absence of broad-scale modern infrastructures in the existing city. The old medieval centre of Rotterdam was poorly built and highly criticized for its chaotic and haphazard planning. Reconstruction was a major occasion for modernizing the city. This desire for modernization was already palpable among politicians, architects and urban planners even before the war[44]. The urban destruction was regarded as an occasion to improve the hygienic and spatial qualities of the old urban structure. In the reconstruction plans, an image of a new city was created that was characterized by openness, spaciousness and air, transforming the ratio of open space in the city centre from 44.5 % to 69.4%[45].

DEFINING THE MULTIPLE TEMPORAL LAYERS OF THE FUTURE CITY

Not only an engagement with the recent memory of the city and its history characterizes the urbanism of the reconstruction projects, but also a vision of the temporal layers of the city. Rethinking the future of the entire city as a 'matter of reconstruction' was, from the very beginning, an ambition in Milan. In 1942, a new National Urban Law (No. 1150) was ratified, which paved the way for a new planning instrument: the General Regulatory Plan or *Piano Regolatore Generale* (PRG). Specific for the PRG was that it considered the entire city. It defined reconstruction as a matter of various temporal layers of urban development, establishing an equivalence between areas that had to be preserved, transformed, rebuilt or expanded. In order to approach the city as this simultaneity of temporal urban layers, the PRG provided the legal basis for expropriation and for the firm embeddedness of plans for single neighbourhoods within the vision for the wider urban territory. Above all, however, the *Piano Regolatore Generale* was an instrument for considering the various actors and logics that could contribute to the development of the various temporal layers of the city. The plan offered a detailed overview of the investments to be made by the city government to safeguard the collective interest and decide which ventures could subsequently be left to private and individual investors (fig. 9)[46].

Figure 9. PRG of Milan, area outside the ring road, project of the urban planning division, 1944-45. Luigi Lorenzo Secchi Archives Fund. Unit: Section A, 18, File 2, Historical Archives and Museum Activities Service, Politecnico di Milano, ACL

In Warsaw, the multiplicity of temporal layers was also at the heart of the urbanistic approach to reconstruction. Under the heading "Functional Warsaw", a notion already proposed in the 1930s by the modernist architects Jan Chmielewski and Szymon Syrkus, the Polish capital defined its urban reconstruction strategy. This encompassed the rapid development of new neighbourhoods that were based on adaptations of pre-war CIAM principles of the so-called 'functional city'' such as the Kolo I housing estate (1948-49), which was composed of prefabricated elements, open ground floors and green spaces in between buildings. At the same time, however, Functional Warsaw also envisaged the rebuilding of the entire historic centre, including the reconstruction of eight hundred demolished buildings and the exact reproduction of numerous historical monuments, as a counterforce to the Nazi attempt to eradicate Polish identity and culture[47]. The reconstruction of Warsaw illustrates a modern urbanistic approach in which different temporal layers coexist: the immediate construction of new housing neighbourhoods combined with the equally important reconstruction of the historical city's memory and identity.

This coexistence of temporalities required a firm legal basis also in Warsaw. Following the Decree of 26 October 1945, all the land within the borders of Warsaw was transferred to municipal property. The municipalisation of land was considered a basic prerequisite for the capital's reconstruction, restoration and development. Unlike in Milan, this implied that the state was the sole actor of the reconstruction, engaging with the different temporal regimes of the city. As some observers noted, it deprived private owners of

their direct, active contribution to the development of the city[48]. At the beginning of the 1950s, all of the central districts belonged to the city, while the surrounding belt was mainly privately owned.
In the Dutch city of Rotterdam, the various temporal layers of the future city were also at the heart of the reconstruction plans. Already during the Second World War, plans for rebuilding were drawn up and all the ruins were cleared. After demolishing unrepairable buildings and removal of the rubble, emergency housing and shopping facilities were erected. An essential characteristic of these extremely rapid reconstruction processes was the existence of clear-cut but flexible plans that allowed for immediate action but also encompassed the necessary elasticity to adapt to evolving conditions. City architect Willem Gerrit Witteveen was tasked with a new reconstruction plan just four days after the bombing on 18 May 1940.
Profiting from the ongoing debates on city modernization, city architect Witteveen swiftly formulated his proposal for the initial Reconstruction Plan. A pivotal aspect of his plan was its characterization as a flexible framework. This framework not only aimed to delineate the contours of future urban development but was also conceived as a document intended to stimulate discussions with the various stakeholders engaged in the city's reconstruction.
However, in July 1942, the occupation authorities mandated a halt to all construction activities. This mandated pause prompted a re-evaluation of the initial plans and instigated a renewed focus on functional modernization. Six years after the inception of the first plan, in 1946, the Basic Plan devised by the new city architect Cornelis van Traa was officially adopted. Like its predecessor, Van Traa's Basic Plan took the form of a flexible framework rather than a rigid plan. Notably, only 31% of the land was earmarked for rebuilding, allowing significant portions of Rotterdam to remain open for prospective urban transformation and development.

In addition to their distinctive approach to the temporal dimensions, urban reconstruction projects often also displayed a specific attitude towards the question of agency in urbanism. While urban planners or urban designers typically were seen as the unquestioned main agents in post-war urban projects, a conception that would only be fully questioned in the late 1960s, the scope of the agency was often broadened and multiplied in the reconstruction plans of the 1940s and 1950s.
One approach to expanding the concept of agency in urbanism involved incorporating a diverse range of expertise. In the case of Milan's reconstruction, a notable decision was made not to base the planning and design process only on the 'internal knowledge' held by the functionaries of the city administration and city planning offices. Instead, Milan's mayor and vice-mayors opted to activate the collective expertise available in the city, encompassing private individuals, associations and firms outside of the administration. To achieve this, the mayor established the Study Group for the New Plan of Milan, also called *Il Parlamentino* by Mayor Grippi, comprising 125 members, the majority of whom were external. These members were organised into 20 Commissions, each responsible for different aspects of the reconstruction process[49]. This expansive apparatus of commissions enabled Milan to leverage expertise well beyond what was contained within existing city planning offices, ultimately accelerating and enhancing the quality of the reconstruction. This significant reservoir of expertise played important roles in various stages of urban reconstruction.
In contrast, Warsaw's first president-mayor, architect Marian Spychalski, centralized most of the technical decisions and implementation for the city's reconstruction[50]. Several governmental agencies were established to coordinate and direct the various stages of the process. The Bureau for the

Reconstruction of the Capital (BOS), installed by the Polish National Council and the inaugural government agency responsible for rebuilding Warsaw, undertook pivotal roles such as damage assessment, debris removal coordination, masterplan drafting and historical building research. Similarly to Milan, BOS sought expertise beyond the existing city administrations, attracting architects, experts and even students who worked on design projects related to Warsaw's reconstruction[51]. This collective expertise converged within BOS, which was responsible for crafting the blueprint of the new Warsaw and initiating the reconstruction.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AS A FULLY-FLEDGED ASPECT OF MODERN URBANISM

A second way to multiply agency in urbanism, involved initiating public participation in the planning process. While mainstream urban design culture began to emphasise participation only in the late 1960s, public involvement appears to have been a prerequisite in the context of urban reconstruction, particularly in Milan.

The idea of collective participation into the decision-making for Milan's reconstruction gained broad acceptance and urgency after the war[52]. This shift towards participation was driven by the new democratic spirit that followed the liberation from fascist dictatorship, marked by events "such as the first democratic administrative consultation after twenty years, the free political elections, the referendum[53]". To facilitate this participation, a design competition was considered the most appropriate approach, allowing various ideas for reconstruction to be discussed with the wider citizenry. Hence, an ideas competition was launched by the Municipality of Milan in November 1945, attracting 96 proposals from 106 teams, including renowned architects and urban planners[54]. These teams were invited to discuss their projects in a public meeting at Castello Sforzesco, fostering a broad civic open discussion to engage the entire city. As a result, the first *Piano Regolatore Generale* of Milan (1948 - Piano Venanzi), drew upon the competition entry by the AR team (Architetti Riuniti- Albini, Belgiojoso, Bottoni, Cerutti, Gardella, Palanti, Perresutti, Pucci, Putelli and Rogers) whose proposal became a frame of reference for the city's reconstruction. Moreover, it introduced the proposal of a second centre of the city as a counterforce to the existing monocentric, opening a further discussion for "following studies on the polycentric city as an urban model of development[55]" (fig. 10).

Figure. 10. "New city plan, planimetry of the centre as at 2000". The 1948 town plan: planimetry of the centre, within the circle of the bastions. Luigi Lorenzo Secchi Archive Fund. Unit: Section A, 18, File 2, Historical Archives and Museum Activities Service, Politecnico di Milano, ACL

In Warsaw, the city government recognised the invaluable reservoir of enthusiasm, initiative and perseverance within the returning population. Agencies involved in the reconstruction saw this enthusiasm as a crucial resource to be harnessed. Warsaw employed various means to bring the urban reconstruction project to the citizens and make it a collective effort. The nationally distributed illustrated magazine *Stolica* (Capital city), an official publication of the Bureau for the Reconstruction of the Capital (BOS), served as a weekly progress report. Articles, reports on cultural activities, and editorial commentary published in *Stolica* kept the public informed on all matters connected to reconstruction. The resulting engagement of the public in Warsaw's rapid reconstruction was evident in their contributions of "fifty million man-hours," particularly in rubble removal[56].
In the city of Rotterdam, participation was also considered an essential dimension of urban planning. To sustain public involvement, Rotterdam's municipality initiated tours. These so-called 'Reconstruction Rides' organized by the RET - the city transport service - were very popular with both professionals and the wider public from 1946 onwards[57]. In addition, the municipality invested intensively in publications that could generate enthusiasm for the reconstruction with different private investors and the broad public. Magazines like *Rotterdam Builds!* and *The City on the Maas*, along with films such as *And Still...Rotterdam!* and *Keep At It!* showcased the ongoing reconstruction process and conveyed ideas for the city's development to

citizens[58]. Tours, publications and movies were not only means for involving the public in the reconstruction but also served to acquaint them with the new identity of their city, fostering enthusiasm, pride, hope and optimism among Rotterdammers.

RECALIBRATING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

In reconstruction projects, the broadening and widening of urban agency not only involved the inclusion of unconventional expertise and the involvement of the wider public in urban planning decisions but also the recalibration of the relationship between public and private agencies. In the early stages of Milan's reconstruction, the state assumed a firm regulatory role. As an observer of the early reconstruction efforts in Milan noted, "Since the bombing, private capital in Milan has built more cinemas than new homes[59]". In response, the Municipality of Milan determined that certain aspects of the built environment should not be entirely left to private initiative, with housing being a particular focus of public attention. As a result, the municipality started acting as a regulator and took a prominent role in directing the reconstruction process that guided private initiatives.

A distinctive facet of this regulatory role was the municipality's decision to introduce a period of 'calm down' in reconstruction activities. This strategy involved freezing construction resources for a specified period, allowing for the development of qualitative reconstruction plans. Implemented in Milan until 1946, this suspension strategy halted major building activities to prevent the dispersion of construction materials, the overuse of the transport system, and the scattering of workers. The legal approval of the 'release' (*lo sblocco*) occurred in 1947, coinciding with the legalisation and implementation of the first General Master Plan. This strategic approach enabled Milan to formulate a coherent reconstruction strategy, ensuring that private initiatives did not obstruct collective interests and the long-term vision for the city's development.

In Rotterdam, the implementation and development of the Witteveen plan were orchestrated through two government agencies: ASRO (Advisory Office for Rotterdam City Plan) and DIWERO (Rotterdam Reconstruction Department). These agencies were responsible for formulating reconstruction plans and the actual rebuilding[60]. These agencies could immediately make concerted action since the destroyed land in the centre was expropriated and requisitioned by the municipality of Rotterdam. Private owners were granted a new building site with an equivalent economic value to the previous one if they committed to rebuilding. Compensation for lost buildings was contingent upon the completion of the reconstruction, calculated based on the selling value during the destruction with added interest[61].

However, planning the reconstruction of Rotterdam was not only a matter of state initiative. A group of local businessmen led by Cees van der Leeuw, the director of the Van Nelle factory – a symbol of industrial and architectural modernization - founded "Club Rotterdam." Collaborating with progressive modern architects of the Opbouw group, they influenced the design of a new functionalist plan for Rotterdam and actively engaged with the Advisory Office for the Rotterdam City Plan. In Rotterdam, the private sector collaborated with the architectural community and became an important agent in the reconstruction process. The Club Rotterdam ensured that the city's economic interests were integral to urban reconstruction.

A SITUATED MODERN URBANISM

This concise examination of urban projects in Milan, Warsaw and Rotterdam reveals the rich spectrum of modern urban design approaches developed during the reconstruction processes following the Second World War. The radical absence of the past, due to the vast spatial and social annihilation of the war, seems to have induced a different type of modern urbanism that stands out because of its unconventional engagement with the dimensions of time and agency.

Distinguishing themselves from contemporary urban planning ventures, the urban reconstruction initiatives in Milan, Warsaw and Rotterdam uniquely address the temporal strata of the city. In these urban reconstruction projects, urban design is firmly anchored in the memory of the city, its history and the coexistence of different temporal layers, including future ones.

Simultaneously, these reconstruction endeavours stand out for their unconventional conceptualization of agency in urbanism. Unlike other post-war European urban planning projects that primarily vested agency in state actors, the reconstruction efforts in Milan, Warsaw, and Rotterdam demonstrate an atypical commitment to broaden the scope of urban expertise, to include the wider public in urban decision-making and to recalibrate the relationship between state and private actors.

This dual focus on time and agency outlines the tenets of what we propose to term 'a situated modern urbanism.' Such urbanism not only illustrates the complex challenge of reconstructing cities after the spatial and social annihilation of war. It also illuminates how, within the precarious and charged context of reconstruction, the tenets of a different urbanistic approach were formulated that offered an alternative to the general incapacity of modern urbanism to engage with multiple time dimensions and diverse agencies.

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NOTES

[1] See: Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. "Premessa. Milan alla fine della Guerra". In *Milan 1946. Alle origini della ricostruzione*, edited by Giangranco Pertot, Roberta Ramella et al., 11. Milan: Silvana Editoriale. [2] Gribaudi, Gabriella. 2005. *Guerra totale. Tra bombe alleate e violenze naziste: Napoli e il fronte meridionale, 1940-1944*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 48. Quoted in Baldoli, Claudia. 2010. "I bombardamenti sull'Italia nella Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Strategia anglo-americana e propaganda rivolta alla popolazione civile". In *DEP Deportate, esuli, profughe. Rivista telematica di studi sulla memoria femminile 13-14*, 39. [3] See: Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. Op. Cit., 14. [4] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. *Milano. Costruzione di una città*, edited by Giuseppe Cislaghi, Mara De Benedetti, Piergiorgio Marabelli, 436. Milan: Hoepli. [5] *Ivi*, 451. [6] See list of destroyed buildings: Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 307. [7] *Ibid.* [8] Consonni, Giancarlo. 2022. 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[16] These numbers depend upon sources: 75% is mentioned in: Dziewulski, Stanislaw, and Stanislaw Jankowski. 1957. "The Reconstruction of Warsaw." *The Town Planning Review* 28, no. 3 (October): 63; 85% is the number stated in Ciborows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 62. [17] Dziewulski, Stanislaw, and Stanislaw Jankowski. 1957. Op. cit., 64. [18] Chmielewski, Jan Maciej, and Monika Szczypiorska. 2015. "Could Warsaw be differently rebuilt - alternative history of the city." Accessed December 15th, 2023. http://www.kaiu.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=446:kaiu-1-2015-j-m-chmielewski-m-szczypiorska-abstract&catid=80:1-2015&Itemid=56. [19] Ciborows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 56-62. See: Wółkowski, Wojciech. 2021. "Architecture in Warsaw, 1939–1944." *Journal of East Central European Studies* 70: 689-708. [20] The Nazi air raid of the 1940 destroyed 25,479 homes, 31 department stores, 2,320 smaller shops, 31 factories, 1,319 workshops, 675 warehouses, 1,437 offices, 13 banks, 69 schools, 13 hospitals, 24 churches, 10 charitable institutions, 25 city and state buildings, 4 stations, 4 newspaper headquarters, 2 museums, 517 cafés and restaurants, 22 party venues, 12 cinemas, 2 theatres and 184 other commercial buildings. [21] Plan Witteveen, the first reconstruction plan https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/tijdlijn/plan-witteveen/. See McCarthy, John. 1998. "Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging, The case of Rotterdam." *Cities* 15, no. 5: 337-344. [22] Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam, 2, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl. [23] Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam, 1, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl. See Couperus, Stefan. 2015. "Experimental Planning after the Blitz. 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[33] These debates took amongst others place in the Milanese architectural magazine *Casabella-Continuità* (before *Costruzioni-Casabella*) edited by Ernesto Nathan Rogers in the 1950s. [34] After the war, this debate was still undeveloped and the quantitative dimension of the destruction revealed the cultural inadequacy in the fields of restoration, urban design to face it. Finally, as De Finetti remarks "the profane thought of rebuild the ancient buildings as they were, ... is the only one that has been affirmed with great force in Milan". De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. Op. cit., 436. [35] About the reconstruction of historical buildings, like the Santa Maria della Pace convent in Milan, by Ignazio Gardella and Giovanni Romano, see Barazzetta, Giulio, Guerritore, Camilla, and Marco Simoncelli. 2023. "An Exemplary Case Study of Post-WWII Reconstruction in Milan." *Nexus Network Journal* 25: 319-338. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00004-022-00639-3. [36] See also Neri, Raffaella. 2019. "Milan 1945, the Reconstruction: Modernity, Tradition, Continuity." Conference proceedings. In Haddad, Elie (Chair), Butelski, Kazimierz, El-Daccache, Maroun, El-Khoury, Roula, and Bogusław Podhalański, *Post War Recontruction. The Lessons of Europe* (Beirut: Lebanese American University, 2018), 31. [37] See Zuccaro Marchi, Leonardo. 2018. *The Heart of the City: Legacy and Complexity of a Modern Design Idea*. London: Routledge, 100. [38] Originally in Italian: "Omaggio a una Milano che la speculazione aveva praticamente distrutto". Tafuri, Manfredo, and Francesco Dal Co. 1976. *Architettura Contemporanea*. Milano: Electa, 339. [39] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. Op. cit., 451. [40] With the war, the last urban plan by Albertini ("Milano del duemila" - 1934) was abandoned. The war highlighted the necessity of concrete plans and sanctioned the rejection of megalomaniac, huge, unrealistic, utopian urbanization of the all Milanese territory (13.100 hectares) designed for) a population of 2-3 millions of inhabitants (1.139.000 inhabitants in 1939 in Milan). Other variations already tried to reduce and reframe the plan before the war, such as the plan by Luigi Lorenzo Secchi. [41] After the war, the new mayor- Antonio Greppi- and all the vice-mayors have been previously involved in the Resistance against fascism. There was strong political will to contrast the previous regime, which was mirrored in the planning process as well. The abandonment of the previous plans was also expression of a political position. One of the vice-mayors – Vincenzo Rigamonti - was directly dealing with "War damage" issue ("Danni di Guerra"). Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. Op. cit., 17. [42] Boleslaw, Bierut. 1951. *The six-year plan for the reconstruction of Warsaw*. Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 91. [43] *Ibid.* In 1939 small flats – one/two rooms – were the 68.6% of the total flats. The density of the one-room flat was 3.8 persons per room, the three-room flat was 1.6 and the six-room flat was only 0.9. [44] See Meyer, Hans. 2002. Op. cit., 89. [45] Reinhardt, Hans. 1955. *The Story of Rotterdam. The city of today and tomorrow*. Rotterdam: The Public Relations Office of the City of Rotterdam, 31. [46] See: Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 37 . [47] See: Mumford, Eric. 2000. *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 182-183. [48] Chmielewski, Jan Maciej, and Monika Szczypiorska. 2015. "Could Warsaw be differently rebuilt - alternative history of the city." Accessed December 15th, 2023. http://www.kaiu.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=446:kaiu-1-2015-j-m-chmielewski-m-szczypiorska-abstract&catid=80:1-2015&Itemid=56. [49] *Ibid.* One Central Commission [Commissione Centrale], 13 members, coordination role, definition of zoning and functional distribution in the city; Eight Neighborhood Commissions [Commissioni di quartiere], 44 members; Nine Technical Consultative Commissions [Commissioni consultive tecniche], 53 members; One Advisory Board of the Regulatory Plan for completing the permitting applications to build [Commissione consultiva di Piano regolatore], 15 members; One General Inspection board [Commissione generale di controllo], 19 members. [50] Ciborows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 66. [51] *Ivi*, 144. [52] Until the period of reconstruction, there were three methods for commissioning urban plans that were adopted in Milan: the direct commissioning to well know professional figures, the design by technical bureaucracy, and the ideas competition. The first methods was ill judged because cultural reasons and inopportune political influences. The bureaucratic choice was in stark contrast with the idea of "urban plan as an art work" and with the necessity of fresh innovative ideas. The idea competition remained the main methods for a new plan of reconstruction. [53] See Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 37. [54] Riboldazzi, Renzo. 2016. Op. cit., 61. [55] See: Neri, Raffaella. 2019. Op. cit., 34. See: Bonfante, Francesca, and Cristina Pallini. 2015. Op. cit., 142-160. [56] Ciborows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 147. [57] "Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam", 1, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl. [58] "Post-War Reconstruction". Accessed December 16th, 2023. https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/post-war-reconstruction/. [59] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2016. Op. cit., 441. [60] Engineer Johan Ringers was the government minister who oversaw the entire reconstruction. "Plan Witteveen, the first reconstruction plan". Accessed December 12th, 2023. https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/tijdlijn/plan-witteveen/. [61] Reinhardt, Hans. 1955. Op. cit., 8.

BARI AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY *A CASE OF MEDIEVAL URBICIDE*

By Giulia Bellato (Trinity College, Cambridge)

ABSTRACT

In 1156, King William I of Sicily mounted a campaign of destruction against the city of Bari, in Apulia, intending to punish its inhabitants for their insubordination. Despite the citizens' pleas, "the most powerful city of Apulia, celebrated by fame and immensely rich, proud in its noble citizens and remarkable in the architecture of its buildings" was swiftly transformed into piles of rubble, as a contemporary chronicler recounts. Focusing on the twelfth-century destruction of Bari, this paper engages with the theme of urban destruction in the past. The study of destruction in its various forms, be it because of natural catastrophes, conflicts, economic rapaciousness, or urban renovation, is a topic which has been garnering an increasing amount of cross-disciplinary interest in recent years. Within this context, a vibrant current of work examines the concept of urbicide, or the wilful destruction of a city's buildings deliberately undertaken to destroy urbanity. While this concept has been employed productively to study modern-day examples, it has been applied much more cautiously to the study of cities in the pre-modern world, leaving a significant gap in the scholarship. Yet, the framework of urbicide can be a valuable tool for understanding destruction in the past. When applied to the Middle Ages, for instance, it can help highlight what constituted "a city" and "urbanity" in the perspectives of a medieval urban resident and allow us to explore the motivations of the destroyer as well as the reactions of observers and contemporaries. Utilizing a combination of chronicle, documentary and material evidence, this paper will explore the destruction of Bari, focusing on the its violent transformations and on the significance of the buildings that were targeted. It will argue that the destruction aimed not so much at obliterating the city in its entire physical entity, but rather specifically at erasing its urbanity, effectively committing an act of temporary urbicide.

INTRODUCTION

> *Having won this victory, the king [William I of Sicily] led his army up to Bari; the population of the city came out to meet him without weapons, and begged him to spare them. But looking at the ruins of the royal citadel which the people of Bari had destroyed, he said, 'My judgement against you will be just: since you refused to spare my house, I will certainly not spare your houses [...] the walls were first brought down to ground level, and the destruction of the entire city followed. That is why the most powerful city of Apulia, celebrated by fame and immensely rich, proud in its noble citizens and remarkable in the architecture of its buildings, now lies transformed into piles of rubble.*
>
> Hugo Falcandus[1]

This dramatic narrative recounts the events that marked the final stages of a large-scale rebellion led by the city of Bari, among others in Apulia, against the Norman power centred on the Sicilian court of Palermo. At the time of these events, Bari had been under Norman control for about 85 years, since Robert Guiscard's conquest of the city in 1071, but had displayed little tolerance for Norman authority during this period. The city not only possessed a rich history as a Byzantine provincial capital, but also boasted a strong tradition of local politics which had, on occasion, led to periods of independent rule. About a year before the events narrated above, its citizens had allowed a Byzantine army to enter the city and use it once again as their Apulian foothold, from which to mount a broader and more generalised offensive against Norman control over the region[2]. This passage is the most renowned and frequently cited account of the city's destruction, ordered by the Sicilian ruler William I, after regaining control of the city. Its author, (pseudo) Hugo Falcandus[3], was a contemporary writer based at the Palermitan court and he is generally recognised as possessing considerable insight into the political events of his time, notwithstanding his significant biases. Falcandus depicts a clear "eye for an eye" dynamic of destruction: the splendid architecture of the former Apulian powerhouse being razed in retaliation for the destruction of William's own stronghold within the city, the Norman fortress, which had been damaged during the insurrection.

The deliberate, targeted destruction of the built environment featured frequently in the medieval world as a tool of political violence, as it still does today. Medieval chronicles are rife with reference to urban towers, rural castles, city walls, and other significant monuments being destroyed during struggles for power. These acts were not always, and often not primarily, driven by strategic military necessities but instead stemmed from a more complex dynamic involving both symbolic and practical rationales. While deliberate political destruction is still being investigated in a rather piecemeal fashion by medieval historians and archaeologists, it is of great significance to the study of medieval politics and urban life. Studying the logic behind destruction allows us to understand better not only the tangible manifestations of power and violence in relation to the materiality of the built environment, but also the less tangible world of ideas: about space, authority, and identity more broadly. Combining these elements then allows us to look at those complex phenomena that inextricably link the physical and social fabrics of the city with the collective memories and identities of its inhabitants.

This paper will explore the destruction of Bari, focusing on the types of buildings that were targeted during the attack. Medieval sources testifying to destruction are notoriously hard to interpret: narrative accounts often employ rhetorical language when describing episodes of destruction, intentionally drawing parallels with famous ancient examples (e.g. Troy and Carthage) or biblical ones (e.g. Shechem, Babylon, or Jericho). At the same time, the archaeological evidence presents its own set of issues. Even when traces of destruction are identifiable during excavations or surveys, there are substantial methodological risks in attempting to link them precisely to historical events and ascribing them to deliberate actions, particularly within urban settings[4]. Despite these challenges, the destruction of Bari is well documented by a wealth of textual sources produced both from within and outside the city. These have been meticulously examined by historians, with the objective of comprehending the repercussions of King William's fury on

the city's structures. In addition, archaeological findings contribute to our reconstruction of the medieval city. Utilizing a combination of these sources, the initial section of this article will provide an overview of Bari's urban landscape at the time of the attack. Then, it will focus on its violent transformations and on the significance of the buildings that were targeted, arguing that the destruction aimed not so much at obliterating the city in its entire physical entity, but rather specifically at erasing its urbanity, effectively committing an act of temporary urbicide.

URBICIDE

The concept of urbicide has gained increasing prominence since the 1960s, particularly, though not exclusively, within the work of architects, sociologists, journalists, geographers, and contemporary historians. It has been used to study a variety of phenomena relating to the destruction of a city not just in its physical manifestations, but also as a living organism and as a political community[5]. The primary objective of an act of urbicide is understood to be that of "destroying urbanity" by eradicating the structures that define a city as such and which embody civic life and ideals[6]. It thus provides a valuable framework for examining a particular form of urban destruction in which demolition is carried out as a type of political violence aimed at affecting the inhabitants in practical, ideological, and cultural terms, through the targeted destruction of the buildings. The urbicide framework found particular resonance in relation to the urban destructions undertaken during the Yugoslavian conflicts of the 1990s, but in recent studies it encompasses a broader spectrum of cases and causes (from warfare to speculative developments, industrialisation/deindustrialisation, ideology, and more)[7]. Nevertheless, its reception within studies of deliberate destruction in the ancient and medieval past has been more cautious. Part of the reason is linked to the kind of resources, in terms of time, expenditure, and technological abilities required for effective urbicide. In a recent volume on city destruction in Ancient Greece, for instance, the editors rightly remarked on the rarity of urbicide in the ancient Greek world. They noted that "the notion of victors systematically razing constructions to the ground is a vivid and efficient literary symbol, but it is far removed from the realities and efforts it implies"[8]. This is clearly also linked to the matter of the reliability of the written sources, which are not necessarily accurate in quantifying the extent of the damage, or at least impossible to verify. Finally, contemporary scholars have also at times expressed hesitancy regarding the possibility of using the concept of urbicide to explain destruction in the past. That it is because it relies on a specific cultural construction of the city that encompasses an idea of 'urbanity' which might not always be fitting the context of historical cities[9].

This paper will assess the applicability of the urbicide framework to medieval city destruction. It does not aim to serve as a definitive test for the universal validity of any specific model of urbicide applied to cities in the past. Instead, it employs urbicide as a lens to highlight distinct characteristics of medieval urban destruction. This framework allows us to reflect more deeply on the concept of urbanity as understood by medieval urban dwellers, as well as highlighting the significance and the underlying principles of a destructive practice which appears pervasive in the medieval world.

BARI IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Medieval Bari occupied the small peninsula known today as “Bari Vecchia”, encircled by the sea to the north, west, and east, and protected by defensive walls (Fig. 1). During the early medieval period, the city underwent periods of Lombard, Islamic, and Byzantine rule, all while maintaining a robust tradition of local political activity. By the time of its destruction, it had enjoyed centuries of political and economic significance, in virtue of its historical role as the capital of the Byzantine *thema* of Longobardia, of its economic and trading networks, and its advantageous position on the Adriatic Sea coast. This political tradition and the city’s enduring wealth, in addition to the presence of an active and well-established Jewish quarter, all contributed to a twelfth-century urban space marked by centuries of diverse influences.

Figure 1. Plan of Bari following Musca’s hypothesis on the location of the twelfth-century walls. Image by the author, based on Musca 1981: 37, Nuzzo 2015: 26

Before the conquest by the Normans, the political heart of the city had been the *praetorium,* also known as the catepan’s court, a complex comprising several structures and most likely fortified[10]. After Guiscard’s conquest, however, this area underwent a significant transformation into a religious centre, with the construction of the St. Nicholas Basilica, aimed at housing the relics of the saint which had been brought from Myra in 1087 (Fig. 2). The construction of the Basilica resulted in a city that revolved around two major religious centres (in addition to an array of smaller churches), the Cathedral of St. Sabinus and the new Basilica. This conversion of the old Byzantine praetorium area into a religious centre carried a significant political message from the new authority and St. Nicholas became a prominent pilgrimage destination, enjoying substantial patronage not only from the Normans but also from the papacy in Rome, especially in the person of Urban II[11]. The Norman castle, which was located near the port, one of the most vital assets of the city, served as another focal point of political authority and the sources show that civil judges operated here at least from 1100[12].

Figure 2. Basilica of St Nicholas, late 11th century (photograph by Eletto Luigi, with kind permission)

The residential network of the city was dense and compact in its layout[13]. By the twelfth century, the typical middling house in Bari was a *casa/domus orreata*, a two-storey building often organized around a shared court that could house wells and *guttae* for water collection and waste disposal. A staircase, often external and sometimes made of stone (*scala petrinea*), offered access to the upper floor. A notable architectural feature frequently mentioned in the written sources was the *guayfo*, a large terraced platform or balcony that overlooked either the courtyard or the public road. References to upper floors, staircases and *guayfi*, along with frequent mentions of arches, indicate a city where building by exploiting the space vertically was the norm. This architectural model, inherited from the Byzantine period, appears to have persisted even during the Norman era, alongside an increasing proliferation of towers and of tower-houses, a kind of structure which started appearing in the 11th century and would then become characteristic of the 12th. Several later examples of Bari tower-houses can still be observed in locations like Vico della Torretta, via Martinez, via Palazzo di Città, and Piazza Cola Gualano, although these structures have undergone modifications over the centuries (Fig. 3)[14]. The changing forms of the buildings are accompanied also by changes in the arrangement of the residential patterns: during the twelfth century, written sources document a growing agglomeration of buildings in *insulae* and in *vicinii*, dense neighbourhoods organized around a pole of attraction which could be an élite residence or a (sometimes private) church. The concentration of the urban environment is further testified by the presence of houses and tower-houses built right against the defensive walls of the city, once again indicating a dense, compact style of living[15].


Figure 3a. Medieval tower house in via S. Sebastiano (13th century), (photographs in the public domain, Catalogo Generale dei Beni Culturali)
Figure 3b. Medieval tower house in via della Torretta (12th-13th century), (photographs in the public domain, Catalogo Generale dei Beni Culturali)

THE DESTRUCTION

When the destruction began, the first structure to be destroyed seems to have been the city walls, as reported by Falcandus. It is worth noting that this was not the first instance of the Normans destroying Bari's defensive walls. In 1139, a previous attack led by Roger II using siege machinery had caused substantial damage to the walls, so much that it had also resulted in the collapse of the adjacent residential buildings[16]. We have other evidence, beside Falcandus' report, that the walls were heavily compromised in the 1156 attack, including the collateral (perhaps partial) destruction of a monastery which was situated by the fortifications, S. Bartolomew *iuxta antitum muri*. An inscription commemorating the monastery's restoration in 1180 explicitly stated that this reconstruction was deemed necessary due to its "*diruta sorte gravi*"[17]. The precise extent of the wall's destruction is difficult to estimate, due to the lack of definitive archaeological evidence, though a combined study of extant architectural and written evidence has shed light on a section of their likely location (fig. 4)[18].

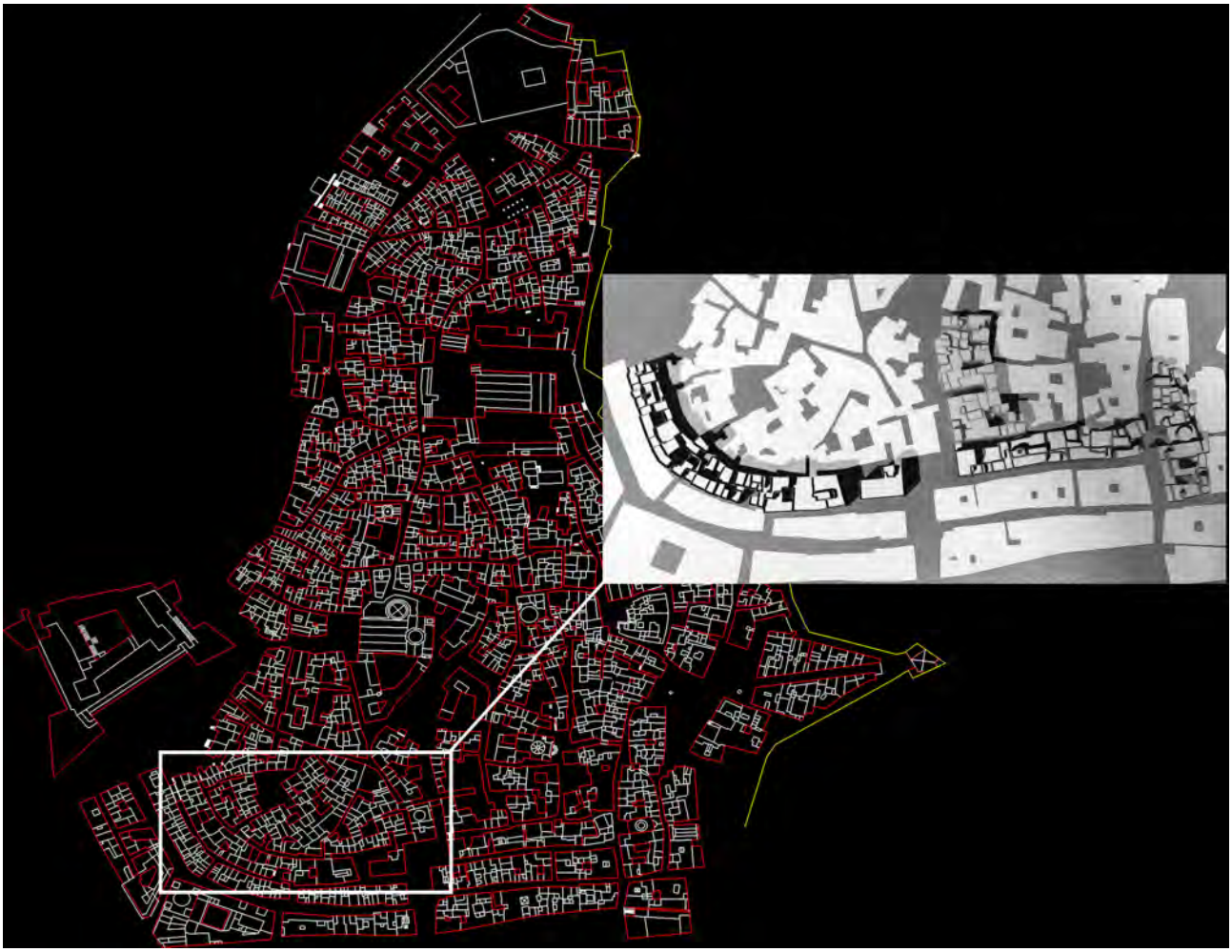

Figure 4. Reconstruction of the most likely location of part of the medieval walls, following the curvature of the buildings (images by Paolo Perfido, reproduced with kind permission)

The destruction of the city walls was significant beyond its military implications. The *murum urbis* constituted a key element in the citizens' conceptualisation of their own city. While certain neighbourhoods, houses, and churches could extend beyond the physical confines of the city walls, the walls were the visible marker that defined a city as such and helped define its inhabitants as citizens. Consequently, they often became prime targets during medieval urban destructions[19]. In the mid-7th century, for example, Lombard king Rothari attacked a series of Ligurian cities and, after their defeat, he stripped them of their defensive walls. The chronicler Fredegarius, documenting these events, noted that the king "destroyed the walls to the foundations, so that those cities would be called villages"[20]. The destruction of the walls effectively transformed the cities into something lesser, effectively negating their 'cityness'. In the case of Bari, the *Annales Ceccanenses* records that in the year 1156 King William of Sicily fought against the Greeks near Brindisi, and he defeated them. Then he went to Bari and destroyed it, and "*fecit ex eo villas*"[21]. Some have interpreted this passage to mean simply that the population was dispersed into the countryside, which indeed was the case, as we will see below. However, when comparing this passage with the earlier one by Fredegarius, it becomes evident that the destruction of Bari's walls was also understood to mean a symbolic vilification in the same vein as that which befell the Ligurian cities, transforming it from a great city to a more rural place through the destruction of its boundaries.

The demolition of the city walls was also part of a deliberate effort by the king to forcibly alter the status of its inhabitants, effectively stripping them of their citizenship by erasing both the conceptual and practical boundaries of their city. A few documents dated to the years immediately following the destruction, recording the transactions of former citizens who had relocated to neighbouring Apulian areas, bear witness to the profound impact of this attack on both their identity and legal standing. For example, in 1157, when a certain Kiramaria decided to sell her properties to someone named Iohannes, both parties are described as "*olim barenses*", meaning "formerly Bari citizens". In 1158, it is Bisantius Struzzus, son of Bisantius who describes himself as "olim civitatis Bari". Similar formulations can be found in various documents from the same period[22]. In normal circumstances the agents involved in these transactions would be referred to as simply 'Bariots' or 'citizens of Bari', typical of the formulaic language employed by the notaries registering the acts. The modification of these formulae is thus made even more significant by the fact that it disrupts an established notarial custom and can thus be perceived to have specific legal significance. It can be seen as an attempt at committing to written memory the former juridical status of the individuals, essentially resisting its loss and the associated loss of the legal rights and privileges that came with it.
The erasure of the status of 'city' for Bari through the destruction of its walls also meant an erasure (or, at least a temporary suspension) of the status of citizens for its former inhabitants, visible in their notarial activities. At times, we also get a glimpse of the emotional dimension of the destruction, most likely a reflection of individual feelings: two fragments of charters include the sentences: "Ut barenses Barum revertantur" and "si ex indulgentia predicti domini nostri regis iamdicta civitas recuperata fuerit", expressing the wish to be able to return to the city[23].

It was not solely through the destruction of the city walls that this transformation was enforced, but also through that of the residential environment of the city.
As the chroniclers report, the king granted the citizens two days to vacate the city with their belongings before embarking on the demolition of buildings: "The king arrived with his army, a strong hand, and an outstretched arm and he forcefully besieged the city and he captured it, though he allowed them [the citizens] to depart freely, moved by compassion[24]". "They were allowed a truce for two days, during which period they were to leave, taking all their things with them[25]." The choice to let some time lapse, between the capitulation of the city and its destruction, underscores the fact that this was executed as a deliberate act of systematic political violence, rather than being driven by military necessity.

Evaluating the extent of the destruction within the city's residential network is an endeavour fraught with significant challenges. From the point of view of the material evidence, one of the foremost difficulties lies in the practicality of conducting extensive archaeological investigations, particularly in an urban centre like present-day Bari, where the constraints of space, infrastructure, and development make large-scale excavations virtually unfeasible. The other is the methodological challenge posed by the attempt to connect with certainty any evidence of destroyed residential buildings with specific historical events that might have caused their ruin. Indeed, no indisputable trace of the 1156 destruction has ever been found in the archaeological record of the city. The clear evidence of medieval residential buildings uncovered through excavations in the old city centre, for instance, is now believed not to be directly linked to the 1156 events, but rather to urban restructuring[26]. The documentary evidence is also of difficult interpretation. If we look at some

surviving documents dated to the first decade after the destruction, we find records of property transactions involving houses that appear to have survived relatively unscathed[27], providing a contrasting perspective to the image of the city as a "pile of rubble," as described by Falcandus. At the same time, other documents produced in the same years do include references to properties within the city that were either destroyed or damaged. For example, Kiramaria, whom we encountered earlier, mentioned in one of her property sales a "*casili diruto quo est intus diruta civitate Bari*[28]."A foreign eyewitness, the Jewish author Benjamin of Tudela, passed through Bari less than five years after the destruction, during his Mediterranean journey and described it as a "great city destroyed by King William of Sicily". He added that by then, it was "not only devoid of Israelites but also of its own people, and entirely ravaged[29]." Some years later, we find people selling destroyed houses within the city[30], and even at the turn of the century there are still mentions of destroyed properties in the sources: in 1199 a *casa diruta* was confiscated and in 1200 the noblewoman Laupa sold "*unam domum in maiori parte diruta*", located in an aristocratic neighbourhood[31]. These accounts suggest that at the close of the twelfth century, there were still visible scars on Bari's urban landscape resulting from William I's demolitions, in the form of partially destroyed private buildings. Rather than treating this varied evidence as contradicting, turning to the concept of urbicide can be a useful way to approach the issue of understanding the impact of the residential destruction, provided we approach it in a qualitative, rather than quantitative, manner. As mentioned above, one of the difficulties in applying the concept of urbicide to the pre-modern world is that complete and utter destruction was hard to achieve in practical terms, contrarily to what can be achieved with modern-day tools. This is especially true for twelfth-century Bari, since, by the time of the 1156 event, many of the buildings in the city centre would have been constructed from stone rather than perishable materials. Systematic destruction of these structures would have been a lengthy and costly undertaking. However, I posit that achieving large-scale destruction was not necessary to accomplish the goal of erasing urbanity. Especially when combined with forced exile, the targeted destruction of a few significant buildings would have been sufficient to dismantle the local political and social networks that were deeply ingrained in the city's residential fabric. William's primary aims were precisely the disruption of these networks and the alteration of the city's identity, rather than the total obliteration of every physical urban structure.

In medieval cities like Bari, where neighbourhoods could coalesce around specific elite residences, these buildings served both as visible markers of the social status of their owners and as practical centres of power. Abundant evidence reveals that in Bari, these houses were pivotal locations for arranging meetings, making decisions, forming alliances, and striking deals[32]. They were the physical centre of a social network that extended beyond direct family members to encompass relatives and a broader array of associates[33]. As such, we often find competing groups vying for their control. During periods of internal factional struggle, for instance, the demolition of the house of a political enemy could mark the victory of the destroying party and there are numerous references to deliberate house destructions in Bari which are closely tied to periods of internal strife. Towers and tower-houses, in particular, formed a visible landscape of power meant to dominate the skyline of the city and, as such, their control had significant consequences in political terms. During Robert Guiscard's campaign to conquer Bari, one of his notable demands was the surrender of the house of Argyros, a local leader, "since he knew that it was higher than the neighbouring houses" and he "hoped that by obtaining it and from its elevation he might control the whole city[34]." They

were both a practical means of domination and a symbol of acquired authority. Consequently, erasing these conspicuous landmarks from the urban landscape would have signified the removal of the family's authority from the city in similarly symbolic and practical terms.

From a material perspective, as previously noted, Bari's urban fabric consisted of a tightly interconnected system of buildings that were often interdependent. Houses not only shared internal courtyards but also main walls, supporting arches, and passageways[35] (Fig. 5). In this context, the targeted destruction of even a few selected buildings had the potential to disrupt a much wider area than the single residence. Even assuming that only a percentage of the city's buildings suffered severe damage, the written sources testify to the impact on the inhabitants. In documents issued in the years after 1156, not only the city is frequently described as *diruta*, but various contracts and agreements often include expressions of hope that "through the leniency of our king, we might one day recover our city[36]." These sentiments underscore the enduring impact of the destruction on the city's identity, the longing for its restoration, and the feelings of denied belonging to its collective on the part of the exiled citizens, regardless of the precise quantitative extent of the residential demolitions.

Figure 5. Tower house in Strada Arco della Neve (Google Earth)

The rationale behind the choices made during the destruction becomes even more apparent when we consider another type of building that characterized the urban landscape of Bari. While the walls and residential buildings were the primary targets of William's army during the attack, there is a notable category of structures that were largely spared: ecclesiastical institutions. Except for the case of St. Bartholomew mentioned earlier, there is no clear evidence to suggest that churches and monasteries were systematically targeted in the assault.

An examination of religious buildings mentioned in documents from the 12th and 13th centuries revealed that out of 32 known churches from the earlier period, at least eighteen still existed in the later era[37]. The absence of mentions of the others in written sources does not necessarily indicate their ruin either, as they may have continued to exist. One papal document from 1177 does mention the dilapidated condition of the church of St. Nicholas *de lu portu*, describing it as "*diruta*[38]." However, archaeological investigations conducted in several Bari churches, including St. Nicholas *de lu portu*, did not reveal any evidence of violence datable to the mid-twelfth century[39]. The fate of the cathedral of St. Sabinus has also been debated. An older tradition believed that the restoration the cathedral underwent in late twelfth-century may have been repairs due to following the Norman attack, though there is no direct evidence to support this interpretation[40]. Additionally, a document from 1160 records a series of intact houses adjacent to the cathedral, suggesting that this area may not have been significantly affected by the destruction[41]. It is more plausible that the refurbishment efforts were driven by competition with the Basilica of St. Nicholas, which enjoyed substantial wealth and patronage due to the relics of the revered St. Nicholas of Myra. The Basilica was indeed spared any damage during the attack, a fact that contemporary authors explicitly documented. As previously mentioned, this church was not only a significant pilgrimage centre but also a stronghold of Norman power in the city, which would have guaranteed its protection (Fig. 6). Similarly, other religious institutions closely associated with royal authority seem to have survived, such as the monastery of St. Scholastica. Four years after the destruction, the monastery was under the governance of *domina* Eustochia, who was the "sister of Lord Maio, the great admiral of admirals, and of Lord Stephen, likewise a royal admiral", two of the most high-ranking figures at the Palermitan court[42]. It is likely that Eustochia rose to the role of abbess even earlier, as Falcandus informs us that Maio "appointed his family and relations to the highest offices of the realm" and "gave clerics appointments of great honor" as early as the summer of 1156[43]. This would suggest that St Scholastica had also managed to remain unscathed, confirming the image of relative continuity in the religious life of the city.

Figure 6. Aerial view of Bari vecchia, with the Norman-Swabian castle in the bottom-left corner, the cathedral at the centre, and St Nicholas in the top-right corner (Google Earth)

In addition, this also reveals that the destruction was not indiscriminate, but rather followed a precise rationale and was the result of deliberate consideration on the part of the destroyers. We know that the St Nicholas area, which had been rebuilt after substantially reworking the site of the former Byzantine praetorium, was not just a church, but a whole complex that still was fortified in the 1150s[44]. This allowed it to function as a relatively independent neighbourhood, a sort of city within the city, which also housed markets and even a *xenodochium* for travellers[45]. In the *Breve Chronicon de Rebus Siculis*, it is explicitly mentioned that "the neighbourhood of Saint Nicholas was spared out of devotion so that the pilgrims who came to worship that saint could find the necessary supplies[46]." The decision to spare this area thus served two distinct purposes: the first was to support a prestigious religious centre that had been closely linked to the southern Italian Norman power since its establishment. The second was to maintain an area within the city that still retained a degree of liveability, including access to food and essential supplies for travellers, as indicated by the *Chronicon*. The key detail is that this was not intended for the citizens themselves, but rather for pilgrims coming to venerate St. Nicholas's relics and other external visitors. The choice to spare St. Nicholas, along with other religious institutions in the city, thus further illustrates a rationale of destruction aimed at targeting the urbanity of the place, the physical landscape that fostered the daily lives of its citizens, rather than engaging in indiscriminate demolition of the entire urban area. William's strategy effectively involved the targeting of the destruction so that the city would become unliveable and inaccessible to its own citizens, while carving out spaces which could continue to operate as enclaves with their own characteristic urban character, different and capable of surviving independently from that of the main city.

CITIZENS WITHOUT A CITY - A CITY WITHOUT CITIZENS

There are different ways of evaluating the success of William's endeavour. On one hand it seems clear that unlike other medieval cities that suffered destruction[47], Bari was never fully abandoned. Even outside of the confines of the St Nicholas neighbourhood, we know that there was a degree of activity in the city already in the years immediately following 1156, as testified by the documents which record the presence and the work of the royal curia in Bari[48]. However, for the majority of the population, the situation must have been quite different. As the *Chronicon* recounts, "the inhabitants of Bari [...] did not return to their properties if not after the death of king William I, [when] queen Margaret his wife had them recalled; and for 11 years they dwelled as exiles, living under their vines and their fig trees. [...] Instead, the leading men among the citizens of Bari travelled with their families to the [...] emperor of the Constantinopolitans, who gave them the city of Spita/Spica to settle in[49]." The long exile appears confirmed once again by the documentary sources, as still in 1167 they record the transactions of former inhabitants who continued to reside in neighbouring areas and on occasion even include their hopes that one day the city would be returned to its citizens, as seen above[50]. The memory and longing for Bari's restoration clearly persisted among its displaced residents.

The impact of the destruction on the people was profound and enduring even after the royal pardon allowed for their return. Approximately half a century after the events, local judges compiled the *Consuetudini Baresi*, a heterogeneous written collection of customary laws that likely combined older oral customs with written laws[51]. Throughout this compilation, the

demolition of the city is a recurring theme, with numerous references to the loss of acts and *chartae* in connection with the city's destruction. Consequently, many entries in the Consuetudini are dedicated to providing instructions on how to resolve disputes related to dowries, property ownership, lost documents, debts, and various other disagreements when the original proofs were lost in the "*destructionem patriae*[52]." The compilation of the Consuetudini, perhaps even more than the accounts of chroniclers, serves as a vivid testament to the anxieties and disruptions caused by the widespread losses that followed 1156 and by the breaking down of the networks that regulated everyday life as a consequence of it.

This evidence makes it clear that William was extremely successful in committing a form of temporary urbicide against the Apulian centre. Bari experienced a deliberate act of political violence that was not intended to obliterate the entire urban fabric but rather to dismantle and harm specific structures or groups of buildings closely associated with the identity, politics, and daily life of its citizens. The city walls and the residential buildings were the main targets, while the major religious institutions of the city, especially those which had a connection with the Norman authority, were allowed to remain mostly intact. Notably, St. Nicholas Basilica was left standing and was allowed to function as an isolated urban island, distinct from its surrounding environment. Using the framework of urbicide allows us to study the events of 1156 beyond answering the simple question of whether the city was truly empty or thoroughly destroyed. Firstly, it enables us to engage with the information provided by textual sources in a different manner: instead of solely searching for the "truth" concerning the physical extent of the destruction, it allows for an examination of the choices made regarding which structures were to be demolished or spared. This analysis can be carried out with a focus on the impact on the lives of the citizens, their sense of identity, and their daily routines within the city. In this context, it becomes necessary to detach the concept of urbicide from specific considerations of scale or of the practical feasibility of destruction. Secondly, the framework of urbicide need not be reserved for the study of contemporary destructive events. Rather, it can also offer a valuable tool for contemplating what constituted "a city" and "urbanity" in the perspective of a medieval urban resident, allowing us to explore the motivations of the destroyer as well as the reactions of observers and contemporaries.

NOTES

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ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE BETWEEN HUMAN DESTRUCTION AND NATURAL DISASTERS *STRATEGIES FOR CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT*

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ABSTRACT

The study proposed was inspired by my conviction that when we discuss architecture and restoration it's important to reflect on a subject we cannot ignore: the protection and safeguard of so-called 'endangered' cultural and architectural heritage. Often we discover that some categories of mobile or immobile 'riches' are isolated, derelict or dilapidated due either to local indifference, the economic and social destitution of certain countries, or the powerlessness and possible complacency of international organizations to intervene in specific geographical and cultural areas. These territories are subject of crisis because of social, political and religious reasons, and the heritage is often point of assault and destruction. Communities should work jointly on common goal to support initiative to provide better protection of the cultural heritage. Therefore it is important to involve local authorities in trying to encourage 'active protection' and participation. Our objective is the implementation of international cooperation project to enhance the architectural heritage. Complicated situations that still direct the community into destructive scenarios where it is inevitable to think of the reconstruction in response to that need of 'rimemorativa (remembrance)', the "Istanza psicologica" theorized by Roberto Pane, which claims to 'forget' wounds inflicted in a manner so violent and unexpected. These areas have important conservation problems, all connected with the theme of the ruins; it is one of the conceptual issues of the restoration discipline. The ruin, can only be the subject of essential protection and preservation interventions, far from recoveries for that "unity" and "completeness" image no longer accessible and much less desirable. Any additions and partial additions must meet the criteria of tolerability and eligibility 'formal', as well as being limited only to products that need urgent conservation work and suitable protective methods. Finally, the paper concludes with different case studies in order to draw attention to these problems and encourage the drafting of protection and restoration proposals as part of a much desired 'internationalization' of the world's cultural heritage. To sum up, the research aims to involve the international debate on cooperative behaviors in the management and enhancement of the architectural heritage, actions for the formation of a unique historical and cultural identity rather than a cause of conflict, hostility and destruction.

INTRODUCTION

> *Ma ricostruendo,*
> *torneremo a possedere quello che abbiamo perduto?*

Renato Bonelli[1]

When we discuss architecture and restoration it's important to reflect on a subject we cannot ignore: the protection and safeguard of so-called 'endangered' cultural and architectural heritage.
Even if the international community appears to have finally understood that all cultural heritage belongs to the whole of humanity and therefore needs to be preserved, often we discover that some categories of mobile or immobile 'riches' are isolated, derelict or dilapidated due either to local indifference, the economic and social destitution of certain countries, or the powerlessness and possible complacency of international organisations to intervene in specific geographical and cultural and confessional areas.
In the last few decades we have often witnessed situations of negligent disinterest, illegal trafficking of artistic and archaeological assets, and disastrous natural events (earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, etc.). That is not all. Many news agencies promptly report on religious conflicts that spark the destruction of any tangible artefacts not part of the autochthonous culture of that area.
The alarming state of conservation of heritage sites and monumental buildings, in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Nepal, Syria, and Yemen, calls the attention of the international community. These territories are subject of crisis for social, political and religious reasons, and the heritage is often a point of destruction. Communities should work jointly on common goal to support legislative initiatives, protection policies, enhancement of the management processes, to provide a better protection of the cultural heritage and to 'value' the places.
Therefore it is important to sensibilise and involve local authorities in trying to encourage 'active protection' and participation. Our objective is the implementation of an international cooperation project to enhance the architectural heritage. Complicated situations that still direct the community into destructive scenarios where it is inevitable to think of the reconstruction in response to that need of 'rimemorativa' (remembrance)' which claims to 'forget' wounds inflicted in a manner so violent and unexpected.
These areas have important conservation problems, all connected with the theme of the ruins; it is one of the conceptual issues of the restoration discipline. The ruin, can only be the subject of essential protection and preservation interventions, far from recoveries for that 'unity' and 'completeness' image no longer accessible and much less desirable. Any additions and partial additions must meet *criteria* of 'minimal intervention', tolerability and eligibility 'formal', as well as being limited only to products that need urgent conservation work.
Numerous documents and various organizations international, governmental and nongovernmental, are devoting themselves, in recent years, to the defense of such heritage through the definition of recommendations and operational proposals ranging from conflict prevention to the protection of monuments during hostilities to restoration[2].

The essay presents some case studies in order to draw attention to these problems and encourage the drafting of protection and restoration proposals as part of a much desired 'internationalisation' of the world's cultural heritage.

RUINATION VS RECONSTRUCTION/RECOVERY: RESPONSES TO THE DIRECT IMPACT OF WAR

Many institutions, national and international, could join together and agree on this line of action (Iccrom, Icomos, Icom[3], Ifla, Ica and Unesco); out of all these agencies, it was above all Unesco which, at the end of its general conference held in October 2003, adopted a declaration condemning the international destruction of cultural heritage[4]. This declaration fully respects current legal agreements and is an important point of reference for the international juridical protection of cultural heritage during wartime and periods of peace. However, the dramatic events of the past few years and latest international events require a more up-to-date proposal to encourage the participation of all the communities considered by the consolidated international collectivity as socially and culturally 'difficult'. Most recently, the United Nations Security Council, by resolution 2347 of March 24, 2017[5], have supported precise positions by adopting acts that condemn the intentional destruction of cultural property without territorial limitations and for any kind of traumatic event.
The international Unesco conference held in Warsaw, from 6 to 8 May 2018, wanted with the *Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage* "to summarize previous discussions and experiences regarding the recovery and reconstruction of Unesco World Heritage sites, and attempt to develop the most appropriate, universal guidelines for moving forward with properties of exceptional value at the time of destruction, notably for historic urban areas[6]". The participants deeply concerned by the growing impact of armed conflicts and disasters on important cultural and natural heritage places, have identified eight key points and defined a set of principles: Terminology-recovery/reconstruction, Values-authenticity, Conservation doctrine-cultural landscapes, Communities, Allowing time for reflection, Resilience, Capacities and sustainability, Memory and reconciliation, Documentation and inventories, Governance, Planning-Historic Urban Landscape, Education and awareness raising, considering, moreover, that the recovery of the cultural heritage lost or damaged as a result of armed conflict offers unique opportunities,

> (...) promote dialogue and lay the ground for reconciliation among all components of society, particularly in areas characterized by a strong cultural diversity and/or hosting important numbers of refugees and/or internally displaced people, which will lead to new approaches to recovery and reconstruction in the future[7].

Faced with these devastating, complex scenarios, we 'initially' and inevitably focus on complete reconstruction so as to satisfy our psychological, i.e., "rememorative"[8] need to try and 'forget' violent, abruptly inflicted wounds. In fact, when these circumstances occur, civilized society tends to want to implement programmes to recompose and restore the destroyed assets.

Relevant examples are the initiatives currently underway in war zones or areas that have suffered catastrophic events.
After a natural disaster or destructive war episode communities instinctively want to 'heal' the sudden interruption separating them from their past. They try to rapidly reactivate "continuity with their past" by "rebuilding in situ"[9] (fig. 1), since they consider this the only way to regain their historical identity; very, very seldom do they adopt reconstruction mechanisms focusing on modification, i.e., on "guidelines of change[10]".

Figure 1. Warsaw, Poland, Old Town Market Place. After the Warsaw Uprising, it was systematically blown up by the German Army

Sites affected by social and political controversies, i.e., places rife with ancestral issues such as ethnic conflicts, religious discriminations and insults are another important issue for architecture and archaeology. We are all familiar with the expropriation, destruction or trafficking of cultural archaeological assets in the Maghreb, Syria, Egypt and Iraq; these actions are the tangible result of an ideology imposed by regimes that unscrupulously exploit archaeology. Tangible proof comes from the activities of radical Islamist movements that often focus on artistic heritage and violate any tangible asset not part of the culture of that specific area. Examples include: the looting of the museum in Mosul (2003 and 2015); the fire in the library of the oldest university in the Maghreb located in Timbuktu (Mali, January 2013) (fig. 2)[11]; the destruction of the mosque of the prophet Jonah (Nabi Yunis) in Iraq (2014); five of the six world heritage sites in Syria, including the ancient city of Palmyra[12] and the old districts of Aleppo; the National collection of the Bardo, in Tunis, after the terrorist event (March 18, 2015) maintained, as a testimony, "the signs of the attack" as a place of memory of a tragic moment for the community[13]; the demolition of the Bamiyan Buddhas (Afghanistan) in 2001; and the attack in Jehanabad (Pakistan) in 2007 where a similar Buddhist iconography suffered the destructive anthropic actions (fig. 3).

Figure 2. Timbuktu, Mali, January 2013, Islamist insurgents retreating from Timbuktu set fire to a library containing thousands of priceless historic manuscripts. Artwork in the public domain ©Unesco

Figure 3. Jehanabad, Pakistan, Buddha defaced on October 10, 2007. Artwork in the public domain, photo credit: John Moore/Getty Images

On September 27-30, 2017, Unesco, together with the Government of Afghanistan and Tokyo University of the Arts, convened a technical meeting followed by a public Symposium in Tokyo entitled The Future of the Bamiyan Buddha Statues: Technical Considerations and Potential Effects on Authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value. These events provided an opportunity to discuss the reconstruction of the Buddha statues, which were destroyed by the Taliban in 2001. These forums were also the occasion to examine, discuss, and assess the possibility of reconstruction of one or more of the Buddha statues at the Bamiyan World Heritage property according to different proposals presented by international experts: how can reconstructed heritage using non-original materials be considered to retain authenticity?[14].

Furthermore, we should not forget the disastrous events caused by wars and political attacks intended to wipe out the identity and historical memory of the populations involved. This will be followed by illustrating some of the most significant examples of many reconstructions, including the different solutions adopted: from the recovery of old buildings to brand new constructions, from simplified reconstruction to reintegration.

The strategic bombing of the island of Malta during the Second World War (1940-1942) destroyed many of its historical buildings, including the Royal Opera House in Valletta, also known as the Royal Theatre[15]. Destroyed in 1942, many reconstruction proposals have been presented over the years[16], including a project of Renzo Piano who decided not to recompose the fragments – now part of the image of the city – but by reinterpreting the area of the abandoned ruin as a huge, open-air theatre where the nineteenth-century remains of the columns merge with the steel pylons of a system of transparent screens that are vertically lowered during performances to close off the theatre and create the stage (fig. 4).

Figure 4. Valletta, Malta, Royal Opera House, Triq ir-Repubblika. Artwork in the public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org, photo by Frank Vincentz

Piano explains that his idea merges:

> (...) past and present, history and modernity, in a town like Valletta and on the remains of a building dear to many people [...] Destroying the remains and replacing their function would have been the real sacrilege. I believe, instead, that by preserving the ruins, giving them a role and dignity, and by adding mechanical elements and modern stage machines [...] we have done something extraordinary, a magical gesture[17].

In this case the ruin becomes a monument not only to itself, testifying to violence, for example Hiroshima in Japan (August 6, 1945), but also a "political act of condemnation[18]"; the surviving piece of evidence is frozen in time as an everlasting memory of the event so that it cannot be easily forgotten should the ruin be reconstructed. The same idea inspired the imposing, temporary installation, *The Stairs*, inaugurated on May 16, 2016 in Rotterdam, a city extensively destroyed during the Second World War (fig. 5)[19].

Figure 5. Rotterdam, Netherlands, The Stairs, leading up to the roof of an office block in city centre. Artwork in the public domain, https://www.dezeen.com

The installation was erected to recall the bombing in 1940 and commemorate the 75 years during which the city has been rebuilt (1946)[20] thanks to a reconstruction plan of the city centre developed in line with the Master Town Planning Scheme envisaged for the future city.
How can we not be reminded of the current crisis situation: the war in Ukraine and destruction of the cities, has opened a new debate on reconstruction. The transformation process should be led by Ukrainian actors and Ukrainian institutions and it should be informed by a deep knowledge and experiential grounding in Ukrainian culture, society and heritage with attention to cities, architecture, art, culture and psychological trauma[21]; a reconstruction can usefully be informed by comparisons with other places and contexts which have undergone –or are still undergoing– processes of ruination and renewal[22].

NATURAL DISASTERS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECONSTRUCTION

The destruction caused by natural events is no less challenging. Italy is a high seismic risk country with a complex, vulnerable and compromised hydrogeological system. There have been several positive experiences; one example is the earthquake in Friuli where the community participated and actively rebuilt its historical, cultural and social identity. Others have been negative and debatable, i.e., the earthquakes in Campania, Sicily, Umbria, not to mention the ongoing situation in L'Aquila, in Emilia Romagna and the last tragedy of 24 August 2016 between Umbria and Marche.

Italy has very limited reconstruction options. In fact, previous choices show they vary between reconstruction, *in situ*, or buildings in new settlements, far away from the urban nucleus. However both solutions appear to ignore the need to understand the situation on the ground. Instead this premise should be the strong, starting point to promote different rebuilding approaches on a 'case-by-case' basis depending on the cultural identity of each specific site. Any approach must also consider the individual needs of the community so as to safeguard and protect memory as well as the spirit of the site.

After most of these events communities hit by earthquakes tend to want to remain and rebuild in the same place: this happened in Friuli, after the earthquake in 1976, when the community made a conscious decision to reconstruct the city's lost identity with all its historical meaning and memories. In Gemona the choice was based on the principle "as it was, where it was", but with more of a humanist rather than architectural approach; this solution reassured the populations that did not want to feel uprooted. On that occasion the town planner Giovanni Pietro Nimis essentially focused on an independent political project. His approach was further enhanced by the fact that Friuli is a peripheral, independent region with a special statute, and that the citizens actively participated in its reconstruction, sharing directives and choices to achieve a common goal.

Shifting a community to a neighbouring area and building in a different territory sparks further disorientation and changes to the inhabitants' habits, plus an inevitable loss of cultural identity and sense of belonging to a place. Fully aware of the difficulties involved with moving out of the urban nucleus, in Pescomaggiore the inhabitants of the small late medieval municipality at the foot of the Gran Sasso mountain decided to implement an ambitious programme after the earthquake on April 6, 2009 that destroyed most of the houses. They took part in an innovative, participative project and chose to self-finance and self-built an eco-village adjacent to the urban nucleus: the so-called EVA (Self-built Eco Village) with housing units that had minimum environmental impact and respected antiseismic regulations[23].

After the earthquake on November 23, 1980 in Irpinia a difficult reconstruction based primarily on safety and prevention ultimately altered the typological and morphological relationships of the towns, disrupted their fabrics and created anonymous 'places' with which the community is unable to identify.

Then there is the case of Salemi in Sicily (Belice Valley) where since 1982 the old town centre is still being rebuilt after the earthquake in 1968. The exemplary renovation of Piazza Alicia is based on a design by Roberto Collovà, Álvaro Siza and Orazio Saluci; the architects have tried to 'reconvert' the ruins in order to 're-establish' the city (fig. 6).

Figure 6. Salemi, Italy, Alicia square, Roberto Collovà, Álvaro Siza and Orazio Saluci. Photo by Vidal Gomez Martinez, 2018

The design does not involve the reconstruction of the Mother Church, but turns the dilapidated nave of the destroyed church into a new, renovated space, i.e., into a new square bordered by the ruins of the apse and the 'footprints' of the columns. The square is also embellished by urban furniture made from leftover elements.

After the 1997 earthquake in Umbria and Marche a new institutional model was tested right from the start. It involved nominating three commissioners: two regional Presidents, who focused on planning, and the General Director of Cultural Heritage who concentrated on the historical and artistic heritage. Instead in 2009, immediately after the earthquake in the Abruzzi, a political decision was taken to build nineteen new settlements, the so-called 'new towns', while the reconstruction of the old town centre was initiated only a few years later.

Most of these interventions, proposals and considerations were provided exclusively by the town planning sector which tends to establish categories of catastrophes and interventions without considering the data and 'values' of the places in question. This often creates an insurmountable gap between "historical method" and "Hermeneutic method"[24], processes that cannot find a point of contact. Likewise, it's impossible to make the nostalgic supporters of reconstruction "as it was, where it was" dialogue productively with those who enthusiastically defend "new at all costs"; on the contrary, this sterile debate has led either to unsuccessful projects or missed opportunities.

All this undoubtedly means that designing is complex: it must succeed in sparking mediation between extreme positions, trying to acknowledge the different 'values' of places and architectures and identifying multiple, versatile, 'suitable' and ad hoc solutions for every post-traumatic situation, as well as representative, identity-oriented proposals for the entire urban system.

These projects have to be able to evolve and adapt to different contexts, above all they must be capable of 'preserving' the bond between citizens and their city so as not to lose the sense of community that characterises urban centres; they must neither disrupt the complex system and nature of the city, nor try to find opportunities to rebuild something that is irremediably lost.

In a document dated June 20, 2012, the National Association of Historical and Artistic Centres defined the objectives for the reconstruction of old town centres in Emilia Romagna. These objectives are to "safeguard the meaningful relationship and identity of places and layouts, starting with collective spaces, and respect their function and morphology, even when part of the urban fabric has to be demolished and rebuilt in order to guarantee the safety of the

inhabitants. Reconstruction that respects the meaning of public space is a priority for the revival of social life and a tool to accelerate work on private heritage[25]".
All the aforesaid examples are certainly very different, complex experiences that have almost never taken into consideration the needs and characteristics of the places in question; they have focused more on fixed reference models rather than on the uniqueness of historical and environmental values or on the multifaceted history and culture of Italy's territories and historical centres.
Eight actions, based on historical knowledge, are all that is needed to reconnect the fragments to the rest of the city system: repair the lacerations in the urban and/or architectural organism; 'stitch' together pieces of the frayed urban fabric; reinterpret the 'empty spaces' without "destroying structural values which are often the key qualities of so-called 'basic construction'[26]"; allude to the losses without necessarily duplicating the city of the past; reinsert the remains in a compatible context. Simply put, the aim is to rewrite the past, but with a contemporary slant, and to look towards the future without stylistic tricks or reproductions.
It's crucial to continue to design, to try and use reconstruction to maintain the history, art and culture of old town centres. On this issue Paolo Portoghesi said in an interview:

> We urgently need to design. Structural rigidity is not enough: we need to work together so that the characteristics of municipalities destroyed by earthquakes are as similar as possible to their former characteristics[27].

We remember, also, the Gorkha Earthquake (April 12, 2015), in Nepal, where thousands of houses and temples were destroyed, with entire villages flattened, especially those near the epicenter. Unesco and the National Society for Earthquake-Nepal (NSET) jointly organized the 19th Earthquake Safety Day symposium *Lessons from the Gorkha Earthquake: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities for Safeguarding, Re-strengthening and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage* on January 26, 2017. The main issues raised by participants, ranged from the lack of periodic maintenance of heritage structures, to the importance of documentation and community engagement. Other topics included the seismic strengthening of heritage structures and the need of following conservation guidelines while respecting traditional building material and techniques[28].

UP IN FLAME: ARCHITECTURE DESTROYED BY FIRE

Fires are no less important or problematic, whether they be accidental or started by man either during wars or in times of peace. These are tragic events for our cultural heritage and long debates and discussions often continue at length during their reconstruction. For example, several Italian theatres destroyed chiefly by malicious fires and rebuilt exactly as they were. One such theatre is the Petruzzelli in Bari ruined by a fire in 1991 and rebuilt in its original *facies* in 2009. Another is the Fenice Theatre in Venice which, after a disastrous fire in 1996, was rebuilt *à l'identique* in December 2003[29].
Or, more recently, the Glasgow School of Art devastated by a fire on May 23, 2014 and currently part of an accurate rebuilding project, especially as concerns the furnishings and decorations of the Mackintosh Library (1897-1899). The building, considered to be Charles Rennie Mackintosh's masterpiece, was restored and reopened in 2019, with the enlargement of the

building on Steven Holl's design. But, five years later, on June 15, 2018, a second blaze took hold of the school's Mackintosh building, also causing major damage to neighbouring properties such as the O2 ABC venue[30].
The reaction of the international architectural community to the episode was strong. The immediate debate over the building's fate pitted the opinions of scholars and architects against each other, culminating in the decision to rebuild the 'Mack' announced by the school's director, Tom Inns. The course to be taken for the building's future was not a foregone conclusion: proposals to demolish in favor of a new building and those to construct one while retaining the historic façade were weighed[31].
What has re-emerged in the above-mentioned cases is "a sort of 'retrospective trend'"[32] to revive what is lost. Instead reconstruction could take place by establishing a "free formative process, the result of which would be nothing but a new building" duplicating its "spatial, but not formal data[33]".
And how can we forget the Notre Dame Cathedral fire on April 15, 2019, a very complex topic that deserves an in-depth study not a few lines but of an extended and articulated debate on the discipline of restoration which we defer to another occasion[34].

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS DISFIGURED

Italy also has to face other 'evergreen' destructive activities such as the theft and looting of artworks, vandalism and terrorist attacks of 1993, the destructive 30th anniversary of which marks this year: how can we forget the bombs against the churches of St. John Lateran, St. George in Velabro in Rome and the Tower of the Georgofili Academy in Florence.
During the night of July 27-28, 1993 the mafia launched a terrorist attack against several buildings: the PAC, in Milan (Pavilion of Contemporary Art in Via Palestro) and two monumental buildings in Rome: the Loggia of Benedictions in St. John Lateran, and the Church of St. George in Velabro (fig. 7).
The next day the Superintendency for Environmental and Architectural Heritage of Rome began to meticulously collect all the rubble and debris around St. George in Velabro. Immediately afterwards it used the funds allocated by the Ministry for Civil Protection pursuant to the Decree issued by the Prime Minister's Office and disbursed by the Prefecture of Rome to begin the long, challenging reconstruction of the thirteenth-century portico, almost completely destroyed by the blast. Together with all the political parties it tried to heal this serious wound inflicted not only on the State, but also on Italy's historical, artistic and architectural heritage. Another approach was adopted for the reconstruction of the Georgofili Tower in Florence (May 27, 1993): a decision was taken to leave a visible sign of the event. In fact, the old and reconstructed parts were treated differently and left divided by the fracture caused by the bombing[35].

Figure 7. Rome, Church of St. George in Velabro, during the night of July 27-28, 1993 the mafia launched a terrorist attack which destroyed the medieval portico. Photo by the author

Pursuant to this event a lively, multifaceted debate on the problems involving reconstruction after traumatic events began to appear in the pages of specialised periodicals. Experts, politicians and scholars all tried to suggest the right solution to one of the key conceptual issues of restoration: when something is destroyed should we preserve or rebuild? Obviously, there were multiple answers: restoration, a 'critical' approach, conservation of the ruins, and a 'modern' intervention capable of dialoguing with the remains. The latter based on the theoretical and methodological approach of the current culture of conservation.

ABANDONED ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Another alarming event is the rejection and abandonment of archaeological sites not linked to the majority culture, or the occupation of these areas as the training camps of terrorist armies: in Pakistan, Swat Valley, Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq.

For example, several Buddhist-style architectures in the Swat Valley in Pakistan, less well-known artefacts of the artistic production of the Grand Gandhara documented in Afghanistan. These archaeological areas are exposed not only to the weather (earthquakes, floods, monsoons), but also to the actions of man (fires, explosions, abandonment and looting). These actions threaten their physical integrity and compromise their features, meanings and 'value'; in short, we risk losing this heritage forever. Most of these deliberately forgotten ruins that have survived the ravages of time are often considered artefacts linked to the landscape, elements bearing witness to a heritage that still exists but is waiting to be 're-acknowledged' and enhanced. The international community, however, appears disinterested and is careful not to talk about these sites or communities isolated and left alone to deal with

the problems involving what is left after the destruction of their unique, inimitable heritage. Notwithstanding their current isolation, in the past generations of Italian scholars and archaeologists have worked together to uncover and discover some of these settlements; for example, the work performed in Saidu Sharīf by the Italian Archaeological Mission from the 1950 to 2007, when political events forced it to abandon the project, but now again active (fig. 8)[36].

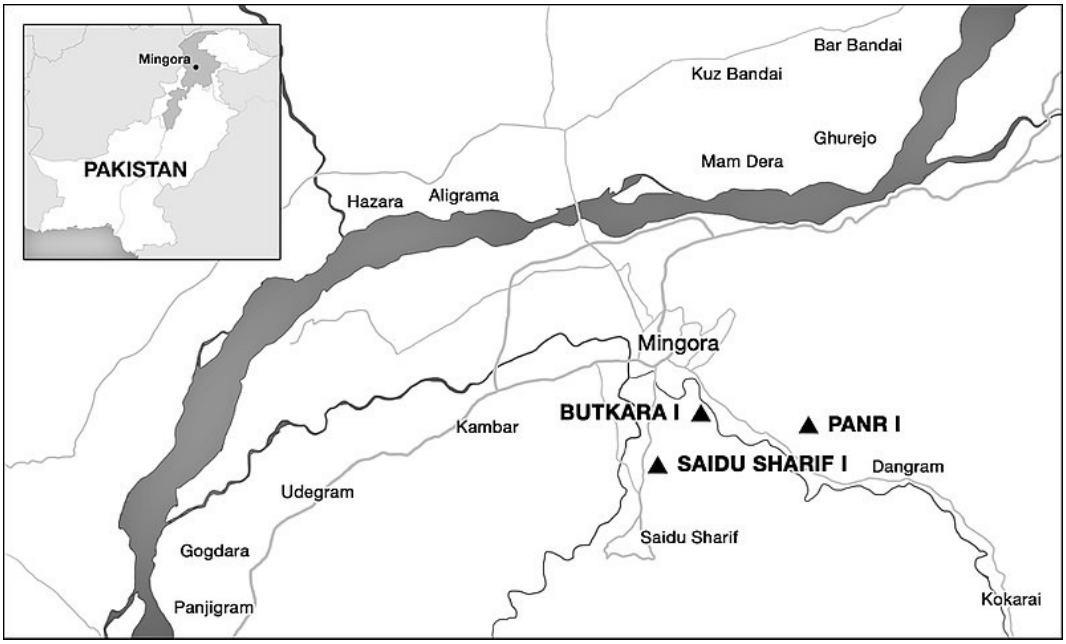

Figure 8. The Swat Valley. Map showing the excavation sites of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan: Butkara I, Pānr I and Saidu Sharif I. Artwork in the public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archaeological_Sites_Swat_Valley.jpg, photo by Antonio Amato

These areas have serious conservation problems, all linked to their ruins[37]. This is one of the key conceptual issues of the discipline of restoration, i.e., abandoned sites where the "rudero (ruin)"[38] inevitably establishes an indivisible relationship with the natural environment. The very few artefacts that have survived the ravages of time represent elements connected to the landscape; they are the remains of a heritage that still exists but has to be 're-acknowledged' and enhanced.

The formal incompleteness of the ruin and its strong link with the surrounding environment means that its material nature can only be defended and maintained; these are 'basic' actions and do not represent a desire to implement a restoration project focused only on accomplishing a 'united' and 'complete' image that is no longer achievable and much less desirable.

An analysis of the material decay would make it possible to adopt a 'cautious' operational strategy, i.e., the implementation of interventions tailored to the needs of each artefact so as to prolong the life of the ruin. In other words, actions to protect pre-existing elements. Measures should involve: cleaning, control of the decay and infesting vegetation, construction of structural facilities, consolidation and reintegration of missing parts, and the protection of wall tops and surfaces. The current state of these ruins makes it inevitable and urgent that we proceed by adopting 'minimum interventions' and compatible operations. Any additions and partial completion must satisfy criteria of physical and chemical tolerability as well as be 'formally' admissible; they must also be limited to those artefacts requiring urgent

conservative interventions and suitable protective measures.
After a preliminary study phase a protection and enhancement plan involving local populations and workers would need to be drafted for the site in question. Local administrators must be sensitised and involved in 'active protection', even when the cultural and political premises are in contrast with the past history of the site. In order for protection and enhancement plans to be drafted for the site, the scientific community should show greater interest in these unquestionable 'values' of history and places (fig. 9).
Given the destruction and looting in Tunisia[39] (fig. 10), Libya and Egypt, part of this approach involves the democratisation processes triggered by political and social changes, i.e., the so-called 'Arab springs', which took place in several societies in the Middle East. This problem chiefly involves archaeological sites in these countries where inestimable historical cultures have either been destroyed or wiped out.

Figure 9. Swāt, Pakistan, Tokar-Dara 1 complex. The main stūpa and the monastery. Photo by the author, 2007

Figure 10. Tunis, the National collection of the Bardo after the terrorist event, March 18, 2015, maintained, as a testimony, "the signs of the attack" as a place of memory. Photo by the author, 2015

Numerous archaeological sites and architectures have either been abandoned or are crumbling to pieces; these conditions are often caused by disastrous situations in neighbouring countries, but also by disinterest and lack of appreciation by the international cultural world and the countries where these artefacts are located. In fact, we often witness a certain lack of involvement and 'controlled' silence by the international community *vis-à-vis* certain situations and communities isolated and left alone to deal with these problems. Compared to their current isolation, in the past these geographical areas were visited by generations of Italian scholars who collaborated to explore, discover and restore a heritage acknowledged as unique by the international community.

Palmyra is one case in point. Although most of the city had already been destroyed in recent years, in the last time it has come into the international spotlight because further destruction has been inflicted on its artefacts: the *proscenium* of the Roman Theatre and the *Tetrapylon*, the grand colonnade considered a world heritage site by Unesco[40]. However, despite such a despicable situation, this supranational organisation is unable to implement any preventive measures, much less diplomatic initiatives or sensitisation programmes, "concrete actions against heinous crimes such as the destruction of the history and artefacts of ancient civilisations, often linked to the illegal trafficking of cultural assets used to finance terrorism[41]".

The *Technical Meeting on the Recovery of the World Heritage Site of Palmyra* took place on December 18, 2019 at Unesco's Headquarters, with the aim of reflecting on, and discussing the recovery of the archaeological site, as a World Heritage property, requesting to limit restoration works to first aid interventions until the security situation has improved, therefore allowing for detailed studies and extensive fieldwork, as well as discussions on defining optimal approaches[42].

PROTECTION AND SAFEGUARD OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

All these very different kinds of problems involve the protection and safeguarding of all tangible and intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property, documentary, archaeological, artistic and musical. In fact, as part of our intangible cultural heritage, music is often either forgotten or handed down only from generation to generation.

On October 17, 2003, in its closing statements the Paris Convention for the Safeguard of immaterial cultural heritage focused on the protection of the so-called "immaterial cultural heritage of the community[43]". More recently, the *Québec Declaration* (2008) on the spirit of place defined intangible heritage as "memories, narratives, written documents, festivals, commemorations, rituals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colours, odours, etc."[44] and accordingly required them to be safeguarded.

One example of a musical heritage that needs to be safeguarded is of Tunisia, specifically the museum of musical instruments created by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger (1872-1932), researcher, pioneer and patron of traditional Arab music. In the early nineteenth century he turned his own home in Sidi Bou Said, a *town* in northern *Tunisia,* into a centre for musical education and execution.

Likewise, but in the literary field, the situation is becoming increasingly critical in Yemen. In fact, its cultural heritage is now at risk.

This is why we must support the efforts of the writer Arwa Othman, founder of the bayt al-mauruth al-shaabi (the house of popular traditions). The house has

a collection of photographs, papers and documents referring to nineteenth-century Yemen, as well as musical instruments and all sorts of objects and knick-knacks. Today most of this heritage has been destroyed by fundamentalists, but some of it has been hidden away in the houses of those loyal to the institution, in the hope that better days will come in the future and a new house be found in which to display the objects.
Instead on a more positive note we should mention the library in Fez, one of the oldest in the world, founded in 859 A.D. by Fatima Al-Fihri; it has approximately 4.000 precious volumes including treatises of medicine in verse, books on astronomy, and manuscripts[45]. In the last four years al-Qarawiyyin has been restored by Aziza Chaouni, a socially committed architect who has fought to allow access to the library by a more diversified public.

CONCLUSIONS

The post-World War II season led to the emergence of the modern debate on architectural restoration and awareness of the identity value of monuments and historic centres severely damaged during the world conflict, though, for example, the *Hague Convention* for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954). Cultural heritage has increasingly been regarded as a global asset, leading to the emergence of national and international associations, institutions and entities active on preservation issues. Today, in different ways and at different scales, restoration and historical sensitivity play a constant social role in conflict-ridden territories and in sites and cities subjected to terrorist attacks in various ways. This phenomenon is embodied in the affirmation of local identity and the attempt to safeguard, document and intervene in the effects of these events in crisis areas.
In territories undergoing recovery, in fact, the heritage of history, to whatever phase it belongs, must be perceived as a valuable asset for future social and economic development, both for the possibility of attracting investment – for specialized, cultural and sustainable tourism purposes – and for the setting up of new productive activities. It would be necessary, therefore, to sensibilize and involve the local administrative apparatus in 'active protection', even when cultural and political assumptions come into conflict with the past of places. Moreover, the scientific debate focuses on sustainable reuse of historical settlements and on the stratigraphic overlapping "ancient-new".
Hopefully it will be possible to spark an important debate and discussion on intervention *criteria* and methods during times of crisis as well as share the different perspectives, methodologies and practices used to not only tackle difficult situations, but also ensure proper conservation of our Heritage and increase reciprocal respect and dialogue between all interested parties and actors, however diverse they may be.
The goal of this paper was to not only draw attention to the problems involving the protection of cultural heritage in extreme situations, but also encourage a commitment by international organisations to cooperate in the management and enhancement of architectural heritage and create a single, joint, cultural and historical identity rather one which causes conflict, hostility and destruction.

NOTES

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[11] Unesco has initiated a restoration and building programme in Timbuktu; this project is co-funded by the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, which provides technical support and salaries for local workers. [12] Reports also mention the destruction of the *proscenium* of the Roman Theater and the *Tetrapilus* of the archaeological site. Mattioli, Massimo. 2017. "Chiudiamo l'Unesco. L'Isis devasta il teatro di Palmira, e l'organismo assiste imbelle". *Artribune*, January 10, 2017. Accessed May 1, 2017. http://www.artribune.com. [13] Gallico, Sonia, and Maria Grazia Turco. 2016-2017. "Tunisia: il restauro dopo la 'Rivoluzione'. Considerazioni su alcune esperienze". *Confronti* 8-10, January 2016-June 2017: 142-52. [14] Unesco. 2017. *The Future of the Bamiyan Buddha Statues: Technical Considerations and Potential Effects on Authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value*. October 11, 2017. 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[23] The design by architects Paolo Robazza and Fabrizio Savini of BAG studio, with the support of bio-architecture expert Caled Murray Burdeau, consists of the use of wooden structures and thatch bale infill to create buildings that fit into the agricultural landscape; this is followed by the use of voltaic systems and heating with wood stoves. [24] Bertin, Mattia. 2013. "La città di soglia, uno strumento per unificare l'analisi delle esperienze di rigenerazione urbana". In *La ricostruzione dopo una catastrofe: da spazio in attesa a spazio pubblico*, edited by Valter Fabietti, Carmela Giannino, Marichela Sepe, 22-26: 24. Roma: INU Edizioni. [25] *ANCSA: salviamo le città e il territorio storico*, punto 4. Accessed January 20, 2017. http://www.ancsa.org/it/index.html, June 20, 2012. [26] Miarelli Mariani, Gaetano. 1993. *Centri storici note sul tema*. Roma: Bonsignori Editore, 94. [27] Picardi, Andrea. 2016. "Come ricostruire dopo il terremoto. Parla l'architetto Portoghesi". *f. 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[32] Miarelli Mariani, Gaetano. 1996. Op. cit., 34. [33] *Ibid.* [34] The reopening of Notre-Dame is announced for the 8th December 2024; the supervision of the restoration is entrusted to the architect Philippe Villeneuve: the general principle is to rebuild the cathedral identically, including the spire. The redevelopment of the surroundings area is being carried out by the team of the Belgian architect and landscape architect Bas Smets, project involving of green spaces. [35] AA. VV. 2002. "La chiesa di San Giorgio in Velabro a Roma. Storia, documenti, testimonianze del restauro dopo l'attentato del luglio 1993". *Bollettino d'Arte*. [36] Present director is Luca Maria Olivieri. [37] Cimbolli Spagnesi, Piero. 2013. *Lungo il fiume Swāt. Scritti di architettura buddhista antica*. Roma: Aracne; Turco, Maria Grazia. 2014. *Complessi buddhistici nella Valle dello Swāt. L'area sacra di Tokar-Dara 1. Tipologie, tecniche costruttive, problemi di conservazione*. Roma: Aracne. 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[44] *Québec Declaration on the preservation of the spirit of place*. Québec, Canada, October 4, 2008: 3. Accessed March 20, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-646-2.pdf. [45] Among the texts: a 9th century copy of the Quran, written in Kufic characters, and one of the Gospel of Matthew, dating from the 12th century.

WHERE THE BRICKS ARE FALLEN *MONUMENTALISATION AND REUSE OF RUINED CHURCHES IN POST WAR BRITAIN*

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ABSTRACT

In the choruses from The Rock (1934), T.S. Eliot speculates on what the future holds for the Church, summed up in the rejection and abandonment of sacred buildings. To the ethical decadence of the world, the poet opposes a new spirituality, capable of redeeming the city in the conviction that "the Church must be forever building, and always decaying, and always being restored". This symbolic rebirth of the church building became crucial in the aftermath of WWII, prompted by the debate on what to do with ruined churches, many of which had been damaged during the recent German air raids. Various personalities, such as the historian Nikolaus Pevsner and the architect Henri Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, expressed themselves on the subject through newspapers, books and radio broadcasts. Among the options, the preservation of churches' remains and their eventual transformation into war memorials, as proposed in the volume Bombed Churches as War Memorials (1945), harked back to that 'pleasure of ruins' so much celebrated by the English Romantic tradition and, more recently (1953) by the writer Rose Macaulay. On the other hand, the reconstruction of churches implied different approaches to restoration. While some famous churches were rebuilt in a philological manner, economic and technological reasons often encouraged reconstructions in simplified forms that only vaguely evoked ancient ones. In some cases, ancient fragments or rubble from the sacred ruins were integrated into the new structure as relics, testifying to the spiritual value attributed to the church's martyred body. Reconstructions also impacted the building's functionality. In many cases, a major liturgical reordering was carried out, improving the adherence of sacred space to modern liturgical principles. Meanwhile, the increasing secularisation of the 1960s gave rise to the phenomenon of redundant churches. Some of them were left in ruin and threatened with demolition, stimulating the establishment (1969) of the Redundant Churches Fund. Others were restored and converted to new secular use. Through the analysis of some case studies, the contribution investigates the monumentalisation and reuse of ruined churches in post-war Britain. The phenomenon was related to theories of restoration, social and urban planning policies, liturgical needs, and the sensitivity of designers called upon to respond to the complexity and contingency of the subject.

INTRODUCTION

There are many architectural testimonies left by buildings damaged or destroyed by wars, just as there are many ways in which they can be repaired[1]. In addition to restoration *à l'identique*, i.e. the recovering of the 'original' facies, one can proceed with a new design substituting the old building, a re-functionalization of the remains, a reintegration of the ruins into the landscape, a recomposition into a new structure, and so on. The choice is conditioned by multiple and varied evaluations: economic, cultural, symbolic, technical. Ultimately: political. Above all the reasons and choices hovers the reminder of the intangible value of memory, understood as a collective feeling and as the identity glue of a community, which buildings have materially represented in order to hand it down from generation to generation[2]. John Ruskin, in order to emphasize how, in architecture, memory is combined with the living testimony of man's manual ability, acting in a specific cultural and social context, wrote:

> Let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them[3].

The memory of men, of which the stones are repositories, sums up both the spirit of those who shaped the material – the shared sentiment of a community that wanted the building – and the response to a moral imperative of transmitting immaterial values through a concrete artefact.
These conditions are particularly and traditionally suited to religious architecture. Indeed, it is the choral product of architects, engineers, artists, craftsmen, and simple workers, whom Romantic culture was pleased to imagine united and driven by a common spiritual feeling. Their hands ennoble matter, transforming it from brute matter to signified matter. In sacred architecture, the metaphysical purpose of human effort establishes a stringent link between the immanent and transcendent dimensions of construction. At this juncture, the symbolic charge of the building infuses a special character, of intrinsic sacredness, to the very material of construction. Consequently, in agreement with Ruskin, the use of an ecclesiastical building, and even its remains, is inevitably conditioned by the original consecration, whose spirit is preserved and transmitted to future generations.
It is not useless to recall that in English culture, the mnemonic process stimulated by the vestiges of ruined architecture is charged with aesthetic meanings and moral exhortations that descend from the Romantic concepts of the sublime and the picturesque. The literary *topos* of the sublime, unleashed by ruins and their capacity to evoke imaginary reconstructions, have persisted until contemporary times. In particular, it influenced several projects for the reconstruction of sacred architecture mutilated by the Second World War.
Still in the first half of the 20th century, the fascination with the allure of ruins was driven by an enduring wave of writers and artists, who were engrossed in what can be described as a resurgence of "modern romanticism[4]". This artistic and literary movement breathed new life into the exploration of decayed and dilapidated landscapes, inviting artists to delve into the profound emotions evoked by these remnants of the past. In their vision, the crumbling architecture served as a mirror through which society could confront its own transience and reflect on cyclical patterns of growth and decline. A similar interpretation was provided by the Anglo-Catholic writer Thomas Stearn Eliot. In 1934 he composed *The Rock*, a play cenetred on the construction of a new church building by a group of men from London. In the choruses, the author engaged in contemplation regarding the forthcoming trajectory of the Church. This was encapsulated in the rejection and abandonment of sacred

edifices. In response to the moral decline prevalent in the world, the poet posited a novel form of spirituality, one endowed with the potential to redeem the urban landscape. This conviction held that 'the Church must be forever building, and always decaying, and always being restored[5]'. Eliot saw the Church as the emblem of an enduring cycle of construction, decline, and renovation.

The allegorical revival of church structures praised by Eliot assumed a pivotal role in post-World War II Britain, particularly in the context of the deliberations concerning the fate of ruined churches. Many ecclesiastical sites had suffered damage during the recent air raids by German forces, thereby prompting a profound discourse on their future.

RUINS OF WAR

During the Second World War, Britain had been hit by some of the heaviest bombings, resulting in a large number of ruins. This spurred a renewed and extensive discussion on the reconstruction of cities, as noted by scholars[6]. This discourse dates back to the 1943 exhibition on 'Rebuilding Britain,' which was organized at the National Gallery by the Royal Institute of British Architects[7]. While the post-war destruction promoted a new approach to land planning, the extensive presence of ruins also revived romantic sentiments[8]. The theoretical basis of Anglo-Saxon post-war ruinism was founded on a number of writings, including The *Bombed Buildings of Britain*, edited by historian James Maude Richards with notes by John Summerson[9]. It was written with the dual function of an obituary and a pictorial register of the buildings destroyed by Nazi air raids[10]. To appreciate the pictorial aspect, the reader was asked to consider the rubble as ruins, that is, as an architectural event in its own right[11]. Although, the authors warned, what remains of the destroyed buildings represents a loss of life and material goods, the persistent symbolic value justifies the admiration reserved for their contingent state. An analogous reading was made in *Pleasure of Ruins* (1953, fig. 1), in whose pages Rose Macaulay extended the 19th-century Romantic tradition to the rubble of the Second World War:

> The bombed churches and cathedrals of Europe give use, on the whole, nothing but resentful sadness, like the bombed cities [...] Caen, Rouen, Coventry, the City churches, the German and Belgian cathedrals, brooded in stark gauntness redeemed only a little by pride: one reflects that with just such pangs of anger and loss people in other centuries looked on those ruins newly made which to-day have mellowed into ruins *plus beau que la beauté*[12].

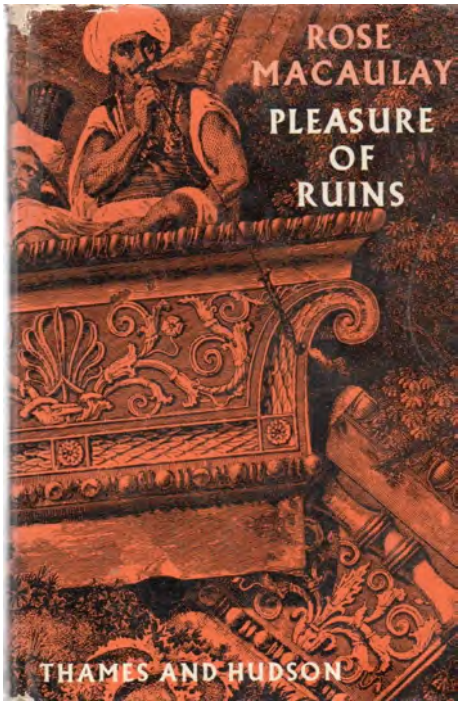

Figure 1. Cover of Rose Macaulay, Pleasure of Ruins (1953)

Although not primary military targets, many churches had been destroyed during the Nazi raids. In those cases, the contemplation of ruin did not always prevail over the demand for the rebirth of bombed-out churches. In post-war England, ravaged by five years of Nazi bombing, the future of ruined churches was a hot topic of debate, in which designers, historians, and architectural critics take part. Prominent among them were the names of the legendary Nikolaus Pevsner and the architect Henri Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, nodal references in the field of sacred architecture, who were interviewed in two BBC radio shows immediately after the destruction[13].

In Goodhart-Rendel's interview, recorded in the aftermath of the 1941 bombing, the testimonial value of the wounds of architecture emerged. It was proudly displayed on the body of the building like the scars on the bodies of warriors:

> I hope our British cities will be proud of their scars, as heaven knows they have the right to be, and will not putty up all the shrapnel holes and mend all the broken stones without need. Where these defects spoil good architecture they should of course be effaced, but in many buildings the architecture will not seem to posterity nearly so important as the scars[14].

Goodhart-Rendel's reflection on the cautionary and celebratory significance of the scar, contrary to ruinist thinking, was however conditioned by the primary interest of the integrity of the building[15]. Pragmatically pursuing the goal of reuse, the architect proposed three paths to take in the case of bombed-out churches: repair, reproduce, replace. Repair was seen as a must for damaged churches; but if the extent of destruction was huge, they were not to be rebuilt exactly as they were. This would be a double mistake, firstly because of the outdatedness of the old space compared to modern worship needs, and secondly because of the historically questionable artificiality of reconstruction. Only when some original fragments survive, Goodhart-Rendel

admitted the possibility of replicating the original design, although it was preferable to "embody the ancient work in a new design [...] letting the building look what it is, a mixture of old and new[16]". The churches rebuilt by Goodhart-Rendel still looked as Victorian architecture, in the name of a stylistic continuity that made it difficult to distinguish between the pre-existing and the new intervention. Instead, the variety of approaches envisaged by his words emerged in the daily practice of other British designers, called upon to apply restoration principles according to the contingencies of the case[17]. Among those most active in post-war sacred architecture was the couple John Seely and Paul Paget, who reconstructed the interior of St Andrew's Church in Holborn in a manner philologically faithful to the original[18]. They also authored more liberal reconstructions, exemplified by the work for St Mary's Church in Hammersmith, London. Erected on the site of a 19th-century chapel totally destroyed by Nazi bombing except for the crypt, the new church exhibited modern forms and materials, although hybridized by citations of traditional architecture: from the lunetted aedicule on the façade to the sequence of polylobate concrete beams, which recalled the hammer-beam roof of English Gothic (figg. 2a and 2b).

Figure 2a. Façade of St Mary, Edith Road, London, by Seely and Paget. Photo ©John Salmon (cc-by-sa/2.0)

Figure 2b. Interior of St Mary, Edith Road, London, by Seely and Paget. Photo ©John Salmon (cc-by-sa/2.0)

The freedom to differentiate reconstructions from their original designs offered a multi-faceted array of benefits, particularly from an economic, technical, and distributional point of view. In cases where the integrity of the building envelope needed to be conserved, a common approach emerged: incorporating a self-sustaining internal structure that capitalizes on contemporary construction methods. Simultaneously, the restoration of churches swiftly evolved into a chance to modernize the liturgical area, modifying its proportions to align with the community's evolving requirements and adjusting the emphasis on various liturgical focal points. Primarily, when circumstances allowed, reconstruction opened doors to the reimagining of church spaces as a cohesive entity, enhancing the feeling of affiliation among the entire worshiping congregation.

RADICAL REORDERING

The necessity to undertake reconstruction using contemporary materials and in alignment with modern liturgical principles was central to the report presented by Bristol architect Thomas H. Burrough at a conference in Attingham Park, Shrewsbury, in 1961[19]. In the reconstructions of church interiors, labeled as radical reordering by Burrough, new materials like steel and reinforced concrete maximized open space without additional supports. The new layout enhanced altar visibility and symbolically represented the unified congregation participating in the liturgy[20]. Burrough implemented this approach in various reconstructions within the Bristol diocese. Notably, in the case of the Holy Trinity Church in Hotwells (1959), only the neoclassical façade and perimeter walls were retained[21]. The former walls surrounded an open layout marked by slender vertical seams of rolled steel, encased in

wooden boxes adorned with black and gold. Likewise, in 1957, Burrough reconstructed St. Andrew's Church in Avonmouth (fig. 3), using reinforced concrete pillars to divide the nave from the remodeled aisle, "rebuilt more like a second aisle to increase the effect of space[22]".

Figure 3. St Andrew, Avonmouth, reconstructed in 1957 by Thomas Burrough. Archive of St Andrew's Church Avonmouth

In the Bristol diocese, an alternate approach was embraced for the neo-Gothic All Saints Church in Clifton. Designed between 1868 and 1872 by the renowned architect George Edmund Street and subsequently modified by George Frederick Bodley and F. C. Eden, the church had witnessed the early Anglo-Catholic endeavors in liturgy, influenced by continental styles. Ravaged during the bombing raids of 1940, minor harm befell solely a portion of the bell tower, sacristy, and narthex[23]. Renowned church architect William Randall Blacking was entrusted with the task of reconstructing the church. His project aimed to conserve the outer walls of the structure while adapting the plan according to the surviving remnants. Unfortunately, upon Blacking's passing in 1958, only a provisional church, featuring a canopy that still drapes over the high altar, had been realized. The responsibility then shifted to Robert Potter, a pupil of Randall Blacking, who encountered insurmountable challenges in maintaining the existing walls. Consequently, he dismantled the perimeter walls, retaining solely the belfry and narthex from the original edifice[24]. These elements were linked with a contemporary structure, consecrated in 1967 (fig. 4).

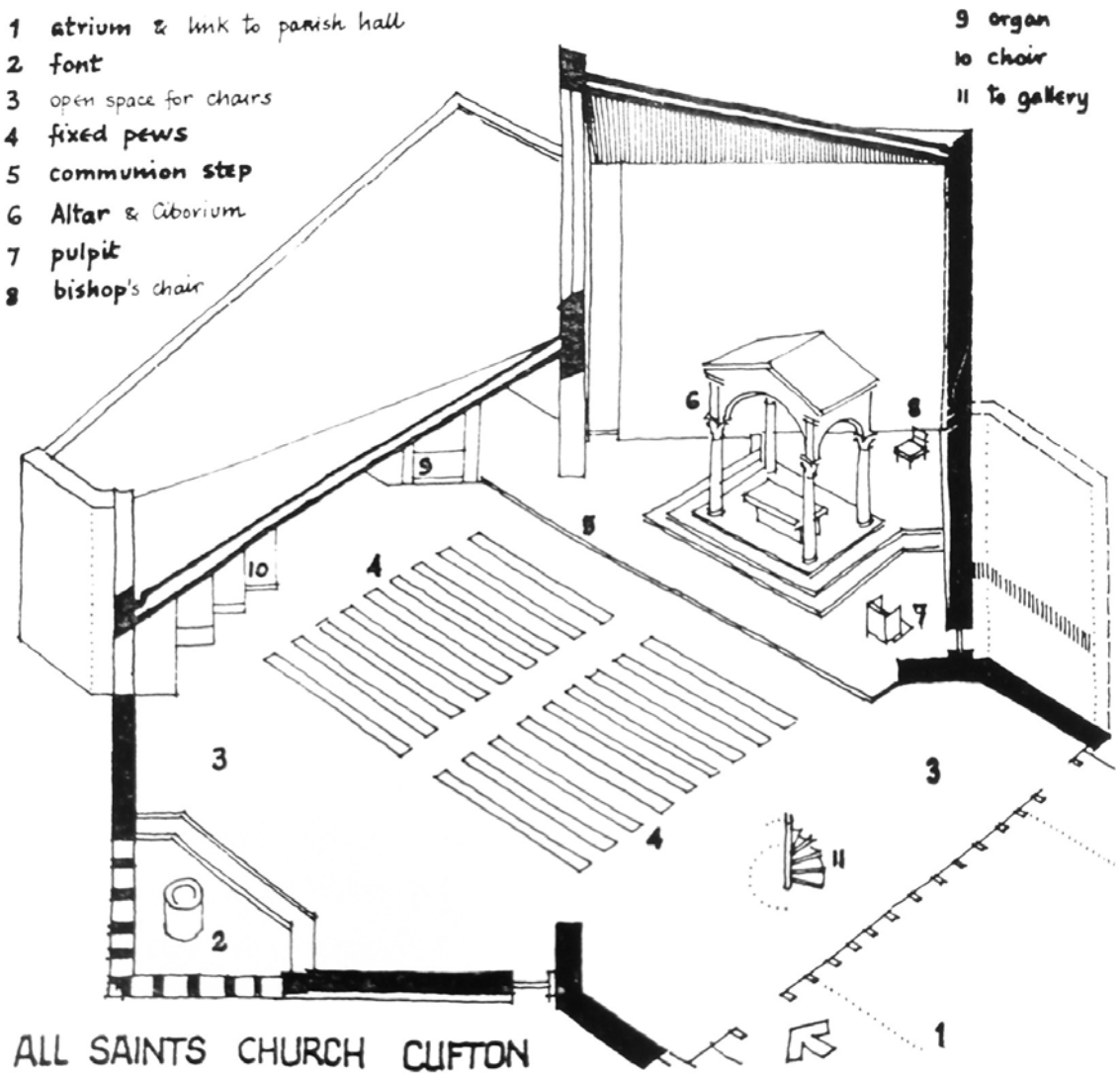

Figure 4. All Saints, Clifton, rebuilt in 1967 by Robert Potter. Axonometric cutaway

Between the narthex and the sacristy, a novel rectangular structure featuring opposing triangular apses was introduced. This addition prompted a 90-degree rotation of the interior layout, departing from that of the former nave. The reconstruction eloquently demonstrated a cognizance of modern liturgical concepts. Positioned in alignment with traditional eastward orientation, the new high altar took its place to the east, while on the western side, the baptistery emerged, enveloped by tall stained-glass windows crafted by John Piper. Unobstructed by columns, the expansive unified space offered clear sightlines, extending even to the upper gallery, where the women's chapel was situated. This elevated section was ingeniously cantilevered, resting on the perimeter walls, with its sole central support being a spiral staircase.

The importance of music was visually underscored by the strategic placement of the organ close to the altar and congregation, as if its harmonies were harmoniously interwoven with the voices of the faithful. Adjacent to it, an

original Gothic archway – the entrance of the former Street's church – led to a porch dating back to 1909, which was thoughtfully transformed into the Chapel of St. Richard of Chichester. This chapel stood as a tribute to the church's founders[25].
The connection between the former church and the modern construction was even more apparent externally. The new structure, resembling a crystalline form with its faceted design and vertical bands of glass, dynamically echoed the vertical essence of the Gothic aesthetic. Atop the masonry tower, a tall spire crafted from laminated wood and adorned in aluminum provided the crowning touch. The distinct geometric forms and varied hues of the new design served to accentuate the contrast with the remaining remnants of the Victorian church, standing as lasting reminders of the devastation.

ANTIQUITY AS SACREDNESS

Beyond their role as vessels of historical recollection, ruins embodied the deep-rooted core of ritualistic sanctity. This notion mirrored the theological principle underpinning relics, where material substance carried the ability to convey the sacred through contact, fostering an alluring interplay between the tangible and the spiritual. Similar to relics, the vestiges of churches also necessitated presentation and display[26]. In instances where ruins emerged due to wartime devastation, the fundamental concept lied in the belief that the material of the religious building gained added sanctity through the martyrdom endured by the building. Therefore, incorporating the rubble into a newly built church renewed its sacredness *ab origine*. Certainly, the repurposing of debris as construction material for religious architecture became a common practice in post-World War II Europe. This act symbolically embodied the parable of Christ as the living stone (1 Peter 2:4-5). Examples span from the walls "made from the stones of a ruin" in Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp (1951), which reused the "rubble stone" of the previously bombed chapel[27], to the incorporation of ancient stone by Rudolf Schwarz in the new building of St. Anna in Duren (1956)[28].
In the context of British architecture, Stephen Dykes Bower led the reconstruction of St. John the Evangelist in Newbury (1955–57), incorporating glass and brick salvaged from the earlier Victorian church designed by William Butterfield[29]. Singularly, George Pace, who also participated in the 1961 conference at Attingham Park, adopted a unique approach by repurposing entire sections of a ruined church in York to construct a new building[30]. The old St. Mary Bishophill Senior in York, which had been abandoned since 1930 and was eventually demolished in 1963, was partially re-erected within the new church of the Holy Redeemer (1962-64)[31]. Pace not only preserved historical traces of the demolished church as relics but also incorporated them as characterizing elements into the layout of the new space. The pointed arches of the old church defined the new southern aisles, while the concrete frames of the southern wall found their spaces adorned with timeworn stones. A substantial ancient portal stood as the demarcation between the vestibule and the nave. The lectern and the altar stone of the Lady Chapel reused materials from the same site (figg. 5a and 5b).

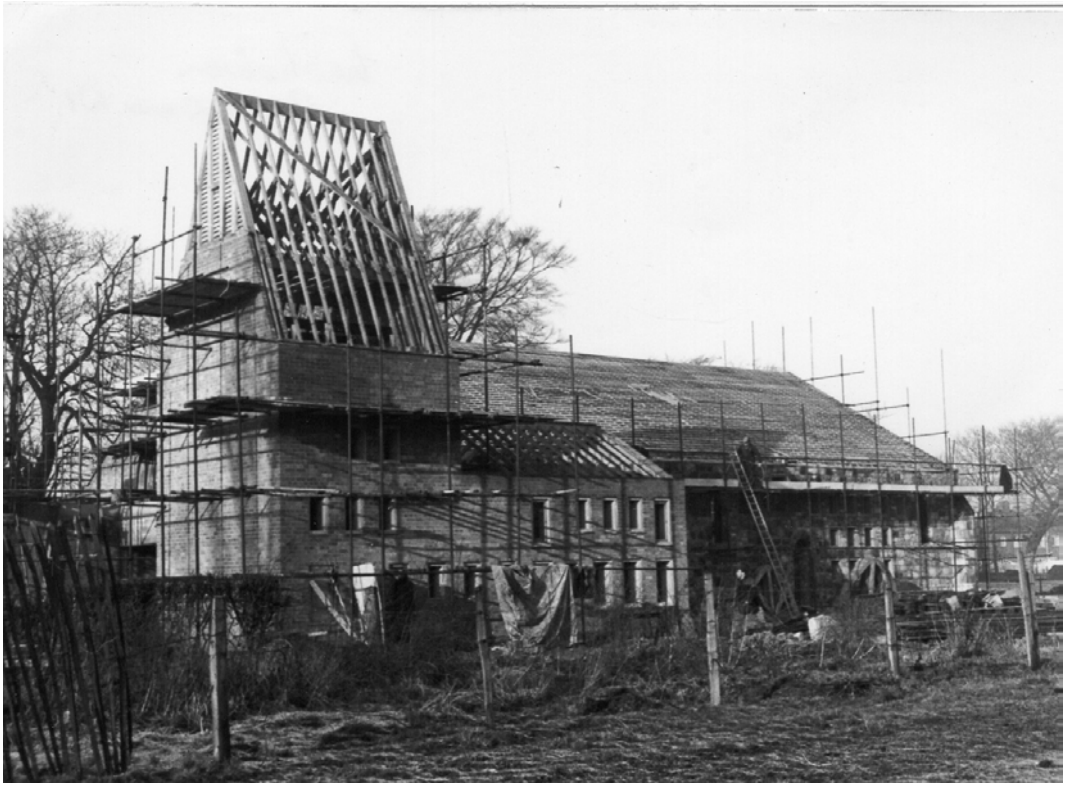

Figure 5a. Holy Redeemer, York, by George Pace. View of the exterior under construction. Archive of the Holy Redeemer Church, York

Figure 5b. Holy Redeemer, York, by George Pace. The interior soon after completion. Archive of the Holy Redeemer Church, York

OUT FROM THE ASHES

In different scenarios, even if not employed directly as salvaged materials, ruins forged intangible connections with the site's memories, amplifying the symbolic significance of the new buildings erected on the site. This premise was accompanied by a set of methods that the architects implemented to augment the sanctity of ancient remnants. For instance, in the project for the chapel of the *Madonna in den Trümmern* (Our Lady in the Rubble) erected in Cologne (1947), Gottfried Böhm attached a new small octagonal sanctuary to the remains of the Romanesque church of St. Kolumba[32]. Stones, decorative fragments, the stumps of pillars, and sections of the original church floor were intentionally placed around the contemporary perforated structure. This arrangement established a tangible and symbolic link between the ongoing celebration within the chapel and the unfolding garden of ruins outside, connecting them materially and visually[33]. Böhm's intervention had a worldwide echo. In Britain, a notable instance revolved around Coventry Cathedral. Situated in the heart of the Midlands, the city suffered devastating bombings during the Coventry Blitz on 14 November 1940, leading to the destruction of St. Michael's Cathedral in a blaze. The lingering remnants were captured in the aftermath of the attack by several artists, but the most touching images were those painted by John Piper. While falling within a particular artistic tradition, characterized by its textured impasto and vibrant hues, Piper's portrayals of the bombed Coventry Cathedral surpassed mere contemplation of life's transience. They depicted the tangible essence of the ruins as a corporeal presence:

> The walls have fallen, but in Piper's paintings there is an insistence on substantiality. Stones, bricks, mortar plead against transience[34].

The cathedral's deteriorating walls assumed an iconographic significance, akin to the wounded bodies of martyrs, laid bare for believers to attest to their historical existence. The remnants attained such a profound symbolic status that they provided a striking setting for the installation of the new bishop, Neville Gorton. This event occurred on 20 February 1943 amidst the cathedral's ruins (fig. 6), within a symbolic milieu that ignited the city's imagination, akin to the Phoenix ascending from its ashes that was added to the city's coat of arms[35].

The remnants of the church served as a precursor to its reconstruction, ranking among the initial focal points of Gorton's time as bishop. In fact, in 1942, Gorton enlisted architect Giles Gilbert Scott to formulate a design. Scott's blueprint aimed to conserve the vestiges of the Gothic structure, seamlessly fusing them into the neo-Gothic architectural style. However, this amalgamation of styles inadvertently diminished the distinctiveness of the ruins, subsequently obscuring their symbolic essence. The project encountered opposition from numerous critics, including James Maude Richards and Nikolaus Pevsner, to the extent that Gilbert Scott tendered his resignation in 1946[36]. A few years later, in 1951, a competition was organized to select a design for a new cathedral.

Figure 6. Enthroning ceremony of Bishop Gorton through the ruins of the old Coventry Cathedral. 1943. Private Archive

The brief for the new cathedral only required the tower and the two medieval crypts to be kept, while giving freedom to the designer to integrate or demolish the remaining parts. The several proposals elaborated the relationships with ruins differently[37]. For instance, Alison and Peter Smithson's entry, showed at the "20th century form: Painting, sculpture and architecture" exhibition (1953) at the Whitechapel Art Gallery and enthusiastically described in the pages of *Liturgy and Architecture* (1960) by Peter Hammond[38], preserved only the old apse, isolated as a holy relic, alongside the crypts and the tower. Simultaneously, the architects separated the new church from the old one by employing a distinct materiality and elevated it from the 'archeological' level through the use of pillars. In another entry, Colin St. John Wilson, who would become famous above all for the project of the British Library (1973-1997, with Mary Jane Long), and Peter Carter proposed a spaceframe canopy[39]. It formed a transparent glass box that established direct visual contact between the rituals inside and the ruins outside, which were limited to the apse and tower and isolated from the new building. The project, which aimed to blend religious symbolism and advanced

technology in a novel form that Wilson termed 'mechanolatry', was featured in the *Architects' Journal*, receiving approval from architects and critics such as Reyner Banham[40]. However, these projects were deemed by the jury to clash with their extreme modernity, and furthermore, they only preserved a small portion of the overall ruins. For these reasons, they did not win the competition.

When comparing the competition for Coventry's cathedral with those for the rebuilding of churches in other countries, it's interesting to note that a few years later, a similar debate surrounded the competition (1957) for the reconstruction of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin[41].

In this case, only a section of the old German church, damaged during the bombing, was retained. As in the projects for Coventry of Alison and Peter Smithson or Colin St. John Wilson and Peter Carter, the remnants of the Berlin church were kept isolated and distinguished in terms of language, proportions, and materials from the new modern structure erected (1959-1963) by Egon Eiermann.

Coming back to Coventry, the winning proposal by Basil Spence, reached a compromise. It conserved a much larger section of the old cathedral and recalled its size and its atmosphere through a neo-Gothic church constructed with modern techniques. Although it was harshly criticized by critics for its old liturgical conception and architectural language, the project signified a fresh trajectory for the reconstruction of churches ravaged by bombing.

Spence conceived the idea of erecting a contemporary cathedral using stone and reinforced concrete, situated alongside the boundaries of the former structure, which was retained in nearly all its fragmented state:

> As soon as I set foot on the ruined nave I felt the impact of delicate enclosure. It was still a cathedral. Instead of the beautiful wooden roof it had the skies as a vault. This was a Holy Place, and although the Conditions specified that we need to keep only the tower, spire, and the two crypt chapels, I felt I could not destroy this beautiful place, and that whatever else I did, I would preserve as much of the old Cathedral as I could[42].

The outline of the medieval structure then defined the boundaries of a garden of remembrance, eternally carrying the scars of conflict. The fragments left behind by the cathedral, ravaged by bombings, stood in stark juxtaposition to the vitality of the revived contemporary edifice, which rose prominently beside the time-honored Gothic windows. This architectural interplay was eloquently articulated by Spence:

> I saw the old Cathedral as standing clearly for the Sacrifice, one side of the Christian faith, and I knew my task was to design a new one which should stand for the Triumph of the Resurrection[43].

The remains of the demolished church acquired an equivalent theological importance and liturgical purpose as the newly restored church (fig. 7).

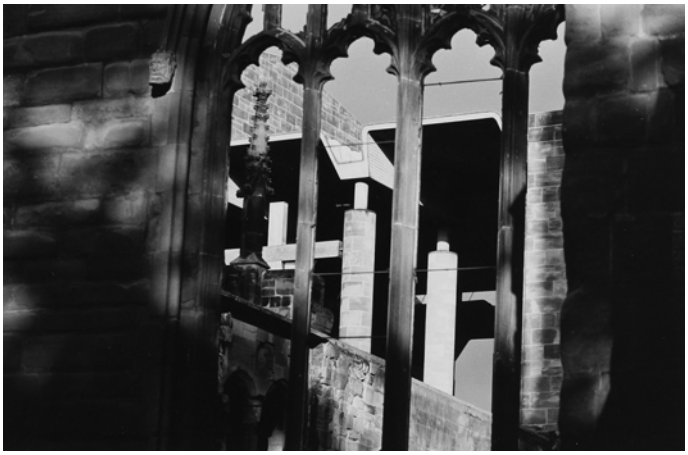

Figure 7. The new Coventry Cathedral, by Basil Spence, seen through the remains of the old Cathedral. 1991 ©Deutsche Fotothek / Borchert, Christian

The liturgical impact became apparent through the ceremonies held within the confines of the former cathedral, as well as in the repurposing of its materials. Notably, this was exemplified by three nails salvaged from the ruined medieval roof, integrated into a cross fashioned by sculptor Geoffrey Clarke for the new high altar, imbuing them with a contemporary relic-like significance.

Despite the obsolescence of its liturgical conception, not updated to the liturgical innovations experimented in those years, the cathedral's long, majestic interior had a positive impact on the public, quickly becoming the major attraction of the city. Moreover, it was used as a space for lay representation, hosting events such as ballets and concerts, in line with the widespread practice of secular use of church buildings promoted in those years[44].

Through the blueprint of the new Coventry Cathedral, the devastated church was transformed into a Sanctuary of Remembrance (figg. 8a and 8b). This designation infused the location with sanctity derived not solely from its religious role but also from the recollections of the incidents it bore witness to. This very objective was equally pursued in the restoration of St. Martin Le Grand Church in York, which had suffered destruction due to bombing in 1942 (figg. 8c and 8d)[45].

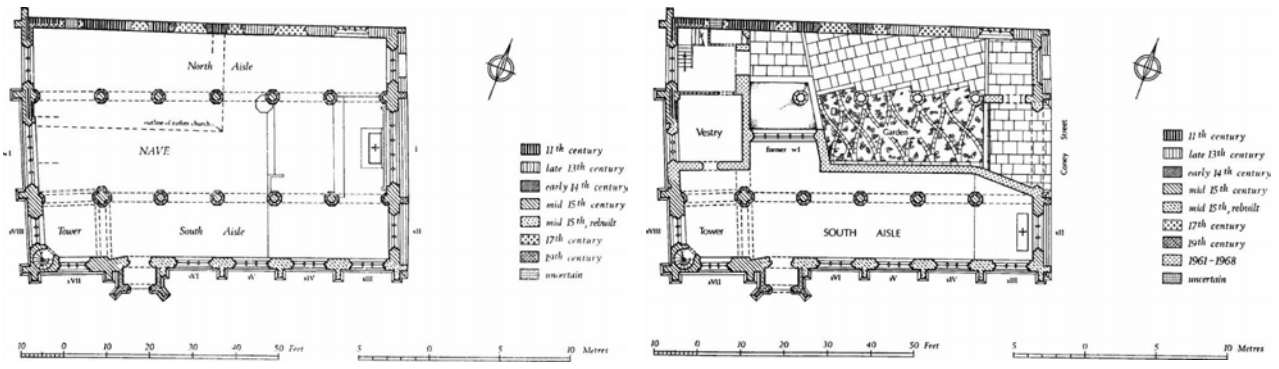

Figure 8a. St Martin Le Grand, York. Plan before George Pace's intervention. Courtesy British History Online
Figure 8b. St Martin Le Grand, York. Plan after George Pace's intervention. Courtesy British History Online

Figure 8c. St Martin Le Grand, York. Exterior view. Courtesy British History Online

Figure 8d. St Martin Le Grand, York. Interior View. Courtesy British History Online

Between 1961 and 1968, architect George Pace oversaw the restoration of the liturgical hall, revitalizing only a segment of the original layout. This newly defined space, slightly more expansive than the south aisle, was conceived as "a shrine of remembrance for all who died in the two world wars, a chapel of

peace and reconciliation between nations and between men[46]". With the exception of the vestibule and a small office nestled in the north-west corner, the remaining expanse encompassing the nave and north aisle was intentionally left open. This space underwent a transformation into a *hortus conclusus*, reminiscent of Gethsemane. Within this garden of memories crafted from stone, the remnants of four pillars from the ancient nave, while bearing the scars of wartime destruction, evoked the imagery of the fractured column associated with the Passion of Christ. Augmenting the contemplative role of the area, a commemorative cross and a bench were positioned, underscoring its sacred nature. Enhancing its sanctity were a water pool and a deciduous tree. This same principle of distinct structures was applied by Pace in his restoration of All Saints' Church in Pontefract[47] (Pace 1990, 138-139). The aged ruins underwent rejuvenation through the incorporation of a novel structure, finalized in 1967, inserted within the confines of the former nave walls[48].

GARDENS OF MEMORY

Initially intended for different functions, the area within the borders of ruined churches, once officiated, persisted as a space of reverence. It continued to serve as a locus for devotion and religious practices. This concept should be understood by delving into the Latin root of 'cultus', which encompassed both the notions of worship and cultivation. The connection is not happenstance: within churches ravaged by the Second World War, left as mere ruins, the remembrance of those who perished in the conflict flourished intangibly, paralleled by the growth of physical vegetation. In this context, as expressed by Marc Augé in his acclaimed essay on ruins and wreckage, these earthly vestiges of buildings guided people us in the craft of perceiving time, facilitating a richer understanding of history to flourish:

> While everything contributes to making us believe that history is over and that the world is a spectacle in which that end is represented, we need to rediscover time in order to believe in history. This could be the pedagogical vocation of ruins today[49].

A multitude of churches that had been devastated were indeed converted into commemorative gardens, a strategy that was already under consideration in the United Kingdom after the war's conclusion[50]. This concept was exemplified by the significant volume on *Bombed Churches as War Memorials* (1945), that expanded on a suggestion first put forward by *The Architectural Review*.
The magazine had published an editorial advocating for the preservation of city ruins[51]. The discourse was taken up again in a letter to *The Times* by a group of intellectuals[52].
They were: landscape architect Marjory Allen, historian David Cecil, art historian Kenneth Clark, Anglican canon Frederic Arthur Cockin, writer Thomas Stearns Eliot, architect Harry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, biologist and writer Julian Huxley, Keynes, and ecologist Edward James Salisbury. The letter, dated August 15, 1944, insisted that the war memorials erected after the war were unworthy of the sacrifice they commemorated and that a new kind of memorial was needed. Therefore, they proposed to use ruins for this purpose, with minimal work done to preserve them from further decay, reorganizing them as gardens. Ruined churches, in particular, could also be used for open-air services and were mainly intended as instruments against collective forgetting:

> The time will come –much sooner than most of us to-day can visualize– when no trace of death from the air will be left in the streets of rebuilt London. At such a time the story of the blitz may begin to seem unreal not only to visiting tourists but to a new generation of Londoners. It is the purpose of war memorial to remind posterity of the reality of the sacrifices upon which its apparent security has been built. These church ruins, we suggest, would do this with realism and gravity[53].

The letter was re-published in *The Architectural Review*, as well as in *Bombed Churches as War Memorials*. The book summarized the debate, and expounded it with inputs from architects Hugh Casson, Brenda Colvin, and Jacques Groag. The volume opened with a foreword by the Dean of St. Paul Walter R. Matthews, who warned against an excessive pragmatism that could compromise the intangible and spiritual value of beauty:

> The devastation of war has given us an opportunity which will never come again. If we do not make a City of London worthy of the spirit of those who fought the Battle of Britain and the Battle of London, posterity will rise and curse us for unimaginative fools[54].

In the following pages, authors advocated for turning of ruins into monumental forms, proposing specific transformation projects (fig. 9)[55].

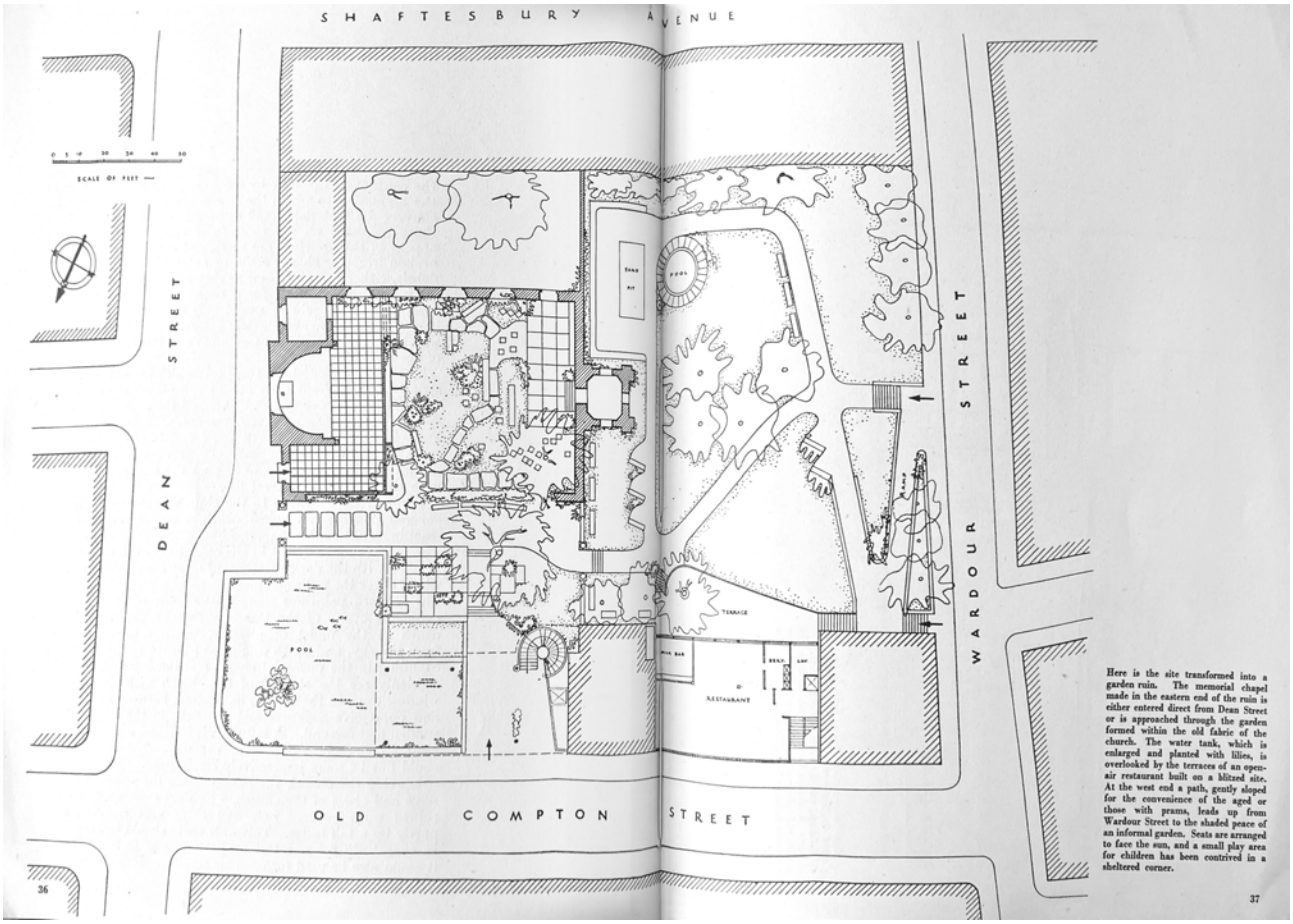

Figure 9. Transformation of St Anne, Soho, into a garden ruin. Project by Jacques Groag from Bombed Churches as War Memorials (1945)

The proposition found practical implementation in several instances. One such case was the Gothic St. Peter's Church in Bristol, constructed on the grounds of the city's inaugural church. It was intentionally preserved in its ruined state, standing as a testament to the toll of war. A similar trajectory unfolded for St. Dunstan in the East Church in London—a venerable medieval edifice previously reconstructed after the Great Fire of 1666, featuring a bell tower by Christopher Wren, with its nave revamped in 1817-21 by David Laing. Ravaged by the Blitz in 1941, only fragments of the tower and certain walls endured. Consequently, in 1967, the City of London Corporation chose to transform its remnants into a public garden space. This narrative resonated with the fate of Christ Church Greyfriars, situated not far away in London. Originally reconstructed (1687) by Wren following the fire, it suffered fire damage in 1940, leaving behind only the tower and stone walls. Following the ongoing debate, in 1949 the decision was made to leave the church in ruins[56]. In ruined churches, the completeness of the architectural structure was inconsequential, even if elements like the roof or substantial sections were absent. It was the enclosure itself that defined the space and established its initial purpose: the area within it was consecrated and set apart from the ordinary ground. The significance of this spatial delineation was evident in actions such as the restoration of St. Mary Aldermanbury Church, one of Christopher Wren's designs in the City of London. After extensive debates regarding whether to preserve or demolish its ruins, driven by the potential economic use of the property, the remnants of the edifice were relocated to the Westminster College campus in Fulton, Missouri. There, the church was reconstructed as a tribute to Winston Churchill. In contrast, the original location was transformed into a garden, inaugurated in 1970, which maintains the outline of the old church's footprint on the ground[57]. In this instance, the architectural imprint acted as a form of metonymy, or that rhetorical device where a part signifies the entirety. It represented an intangible and spiritual fragment that resided within the communal consciousness, infusing the physical remnants of the structure with added sanctity.

CONVERSIONS

While facing occasional allegations of sacrilege, the incorporation of secular activities that engaged the faithful beyond regular service hours played a pivotal role in rejuvenating numerous religious communities. In fact, churches had been grappling with the rising tide of secularization, resulting in dwindling attendance rates, particularly pronounced among Anglicans, which left many places of worship virtually deserted. Consequently, several parishes found themselves unable to cover the upkeep expenses of expansive historical structures. As a result, a considerable number of historic churches were labeled as 'redundant', and a portion of these left to languish, were intentionally left to decay, often with the removal of roofs, windows, and doors. An illustrative case was St. Peter's in Edlington, South Yorkshire, which later found rescue and repurpose for civic use, while many others faced the imminent threat of demolition. Against this problematic background, in 1957, Welsh journalist and Conservative MP Ivor Bulmer-Thomas formed 'The Friends of Friendless Churches. The founding group also included the aforementioned Harry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, John Piper, John Summerson, and Thomas Stern Eliot, as well as figures such as politicians Roy Harris Jenkins, Rosalie Glynn Grylls and John Lindsay Eric Smith, or poet John Betjeman[58]. The main goal of the association was to "save disused but beautiful old places of worship of architectural and historical interest from demolition, decay and unsympathetic conversion[59]".

The society actively advocated for the safeguarding of churches and their transformation into appropriate functions. In this regard, certain functions were deemed compatible with the character of church buildings, while others were seen as potentially compromising the essence of the structure. Activities related to governance, administration, and culture were generally perceived as more harmonious with the building's nature, whereas commercial and leisure-oriented activities were often regarded as insufficiently reverent towards the building's inherent spirit.
An emphatic resistance, for instance, thwarted the conversion of St. Mark Church in Clerkenwell, London. Erected between 1825 and 1827 in the Gothic style, the church was conceived under the guidance of William Chadwell Mylne. During the Blitz in 1941, the structure endured damage, including partial destruction of the roof. Architect H. Norman Haines, who would later design Christ Church in Cardiff (1963), spearheaded the restoration efforts, successfully concluding them in 1962. The roof was meticulously reconstructed using a steel framework, bolstered by six newly added slender concrete columns (figg. 10a and 10b).

Figure 10a. St. Mark Church, Clerkenwell, before the reconstruction by H. Norman Haines. Courtesy British History Online

Figure 10b. St. Mark Church, Clerkenwell, after the reconstruction by H. Norman Haines. Courtesy British History Online

In 1968, the task was assigned to Basil Spence to diminish the church's footprint to accommodate new areas for a school. These encompassed a capacious assembly hall, cafeteria, music and gymnasium spaces, a kitchen, restrooms, and service facilities on the first level. Additionally, classrooms were envisaged on the two upper floors, seamlessly integrated within the height of the nave. The bell tower was intended to house tranquil rooms for reading and relaxation. Nevertheless, the proposal faced an obstacle as planning permission was ultimately declined[60].
During that period, debates regarding the suitability of conversion initiatives held significant prominence. Following instances of ill-considered abandonments and conversions of churches, the urgency was apparent. This led to the emergence of the Redundant Churches Fund through the *Pastoral Measure* of 1968 and the *Redundant Churches and Other Religious Buildings Bill* of 1969. Eventually evolving into the current Churches Conservation Trust, the Fund's inception was driven by the mission "to hold and preserve for the Church and the nation the redundant churches committed to its care[61]". The guidelines pertaining to redundant churches originated from pastoral reorganization endeavors and aimed to address the issue of redundancy arising from the shift of residential communities away from urban centres. The matter of church redundancy represented a pivotal moment in the trajectory of conservation policies, leading to a permanent shift in how both dilapidated churches and their upkeep were perceived and managed.

CONCLUSION

In post-war Britain, the reconstruction of ruined churches swiftly evolved into a chance to modernize the liturgical area, tailoring its dimensions to the community's contemporary requirements and recalibrating the emphasis on liturgical focal points. Most notably, when circumstances allowed, the process of reconstruction facilitated the reimagining of the church's space as a

cohesive whole, enhancing the feeling of belonging within a unified congregation of worshippers.

Erecting fresh religious structures on the sites of obliterated churches, preserving the vestiges of ruined churches, repurposing discarded materials in new constructions, or converting religious buildings, may seem to contradict the rational principles of technological efficiency and, at time, economics. Nevertheless, the abundance of historical instances and their prevalence in a country like England, frequently linked with a pragmatic and cost-effective approach to urban growth, highlight the involvement of another essential dimension in architecture: memory[62].

In the context of ruined churches, the concept of memory takes on a dual significance. The first aspect is associated with location. As historic church structures endure through time, they seamlessly meld with the landscape and are regarded as an inherent part of it, embodying the essence of a place. Thus, the ruined church encapsulates a memory intricately tied to the genius loci. Conversely, and in line with the romanticized notion of ruins, the ruined church incarnates a concept that surpasses its physical location, pertaining to the spiritual identity of a community, denomination, or even a nation. This dual facet of memory finds its roots in Greek mythology, where Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory, emerged from the union of Gaia, the earth, and Uranus, the sky. This allegory represents the fusion of these two realms: the terrestrial and the transcendent[63].

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are owed to Claudia Conforti, Maria Grazia D'Amelio, Manolo Guerci and Sofia Nannini. The title is a quotation from Eliot, Thomas Stearns. 1934. The Rock. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. P. 10: "Where the bricks are fallen. We will build with new stone. Where the beams are rotten. We will build with new timbers". The lines are a quotation of Isaiah 9:10 "The bricks have fallen down, but we will rebuild with dressed stone; the fig trees have been felled, but we will replace them with cedars".

NOTES

[1] Several publications have been produced on the subject, including: Diefendorf, Jeffrey M., ed. 1990. *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Magger, Tino, ed. 2015. *Architecture RePerformed: The Politics of Reconstruction*. Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate; Allais, Lucia. 2018. *Designs of Destruction: The Making of monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. [2] On the aesthetics of Ruins, see: Ginsberg, Robert. 2004. *The Aesthetics of Ruins*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi. In particular chapter 9 *Building with Ruin*, 185-200; Stewart, Susan. 2020. *The Ruins Lesson: Meaning and Material in Western Culture*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press. [3] Ruskin, John. 1849. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 233. 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Solihull: Helion & Company Limited. [7] *Rebuilding Britain*. 1943. London: Lund Humphries. [8] Clapson, Mark, and Larkham, Peter J., eds. 2013. *The Blitz and its Legacy: Wartime Destruction to Post-War Reconstruction*. Farnham: Ashgate. [9] Richards, James Maude, ed. 1942. *The Bombed Buildings of Britain, a Record of Architectural Casualties, 1940-41*. Cheam: Architectural Press. [10] *Ivi*, 2. [11] The transition from rubble to ruins is a key concept. On this theme, applied to the ruins of demolitions, see also: Conforti, Claudia. 2017. "Dalle macerie alle rovine: la misura etica del restauro." In *Gli edifici di via della Conciliazione: Propilei, San Paolo, Pio XII, Convertendi: Ricerche e indagini per il restauro*, edited by Maria Mari, 141-145. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. [12] Macaulay, Rose. 1953. *Pleasure of Ruins*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 454. [13] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Reflections on ruins*. 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[20] The focus on the altar corresponds to the central position that the Eucharistic rite assumes in the Anglican liturgy of the 20th century. See also: Grieco, Lorenzo. 2020. "'Ancient Churches and Modern Needs.' Reordering Anglican Churches in Postwar Britain." In *Architectural Actions on the Religious Heritage after Vatican II*, edited by Esteban Fernández-Cobián, 195-210. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. [21] The design of the 19th-century church was by Charles Robert Cockerell. [22] Burrough, Thomas Hedley Bruce. 1962. Op. cit., 58. Burroughs' restoration of St Andrew's Church has been modified by a recent (2018) adaptation of the building, which has divided the double floor plan into two narrow spaces, reducing the space for the service to a long nave. [23] On the churches destroyed during the Bristol Blitz, see: Crossley Evan, Martin John. 2000. "The Church of England and the City of Bristol: change, retreat and decay - reform, revival and renewal?." 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[33] The relationship between the chapel and the exterior has been changed by Peter Zumthor's design, which, while keeping Böhm's intervention intact by encapsulating it in level zero of the Kolumba Museum, has transformed the contemplative-ritual power of the ruins into an archaeological stratification. The garden is no longer a place marked by the transience of matter but has taken on the form of a crystallised ruin, with an approach comparable to that adopted more than a century earlier (1806) by Raffaele Stern in the restoration of the southern spur of the Colosseum. [34] Harris, Alexandra. 2010. The *romantic moderns: english writers, artists and the imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper*. London: Thames and Hudson, 268. [35] See the recording of the event: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=974zj_BkbY4, accessed December 11, 2023. [36] Campbell, Louise. 1992. "Towards a New Cathedral: The Competition for Coventry Cathedral 1950-51." *Architectural History*, no. 35: 208-234. [37] *Ibid.* [38] Hammond, Peter. 1961. *Liturgy and Architecture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 135-136. [39] Kite, Stephen, and Sarah Menin. 2005. "Towards a new cathedral: mechanolatry and metaphysics in the milieu of Colin St John Wilson". *Architectural Research Quarterly* 9, no. 1: 85-88. [40] Thomas, Percy, Edward Maufe, and Howard Robertson. 1951. "Coventry Cathedral Competition." *The Architects' Journal* 115, no. 2947 (August 23): 249-262. [41] James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. 2018. *Modernism as Memory: Building Identity in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 67-72. [42] Spence, Basil. 1962. *Phoenix at Coventry: The Building of a Cathedral*. London: Geoffrey Bles, 5-6. [43] *Ivi*, 6. The same juxtaposition becomes an iconographic motif in the tapestry that serves as a perspective fugue for the nave of the new cathedral. 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[58] They were all very active in campaigning. Goodhart-Rendel was also a member of the Incorporated Church Building Society, as John Betjeman was a founding member of the Victorian Society. [59] friendsoffriendlesschurches.org.uk/about-us/. Accessed August 2023. [60] Temple, P., ed. 2008. *Survey of London*. Vol. 47. London: Yale University Press, 192-216. [61] api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1968/may/09/pastoral-measure; api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1969/feb/19/redundant-churches-and-other-religious. [62] On Memory in architecture see Treib, Marc. 2009. "Remembering Ruins, Ruins Remembering". In *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, edited by Marc Treib, 194-217. New York/Oxon: Routledge. [63] Hesiod, Theogony, 135.

MULTIFACETED DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION *HAMBURG'S BORNPLATZ SYNAGOGUE AND ITS COMMUNITY*

By Lisa Henicz (ETH Zurich)

ABSTRACT

In 1945 most European cities lay in ruins. But not all ruins were caused by bombings and not all destruction was material. Germany's authoritarian regime disrupted the demography, traumatized societies for generations to come, and scarred the urban fabric even before the war began. As an example of this multifaceted destruction, this paper examines the defilement and subsequent demolition of the Bornplatz synagogue in Hamburg as well as the annihilation of Hamburg's Jewish community during the Nazi regime. Currently, the reconstruction of the Bornplatz synagogue is being discussed with arguments revolving around questions of Jewish visibility and cultural manifestation in the contemporary city, as well as the memory of a lost identity. A reason for the controversy's complexity is the multilayered character of the synagogue's destruction in 1939: not only architectural but also symbolical and socio-demographical.

In 1906, the first detached synagogue in northern Germany was inaugurated on Hamburg's Bornplatz at the heart of the then predominantly Jewish Grindel district. As an unmatched pinnacle for the city's Jewish culture, the 1,200-seat synagogue was of major symbolic importance to the community. Only 32 years later, during the *Reichspogromnacht*, it was defiled by Nazi vandals and could no longer be used for services. The purchase contract from 1902 stated that the site had to be returned to the city if no longer used as a house of worship. In 1939 this clause enabled the Nazi administration to enforce the synagogue's demolition and to repurchase the then-empty land. A high-rise bunker was built in one part of the site–the rest was used as a parking lot until the 1980s.

In this paper, I blur the edges between the architectural and the societal *Stunde Null* in post-war Europe. Exemplary of the destruction of both the Bornplatz synagogue and its community are investigated as are the succeeding difficulties of their rebuilding. My focus is the impact of these parallelly evolving histories of architectural and socio-cultural destruction and reconstruction on the collective identity and the architectural discourse in Hamburg.

INTRODUCTION

The question of how to deal with lost Jewish heritage in Germany after 1945 only slowly gained momentum. Guilt and shame silenced a public discourse on the annihilation of Judaic culture and most sites of destroyed Jewish heritage remained fallow until the 1990s, when increasing amounts of memorials and synagogues were built. Since 2019, a possible reconstruction of the Bornplatz synagogue in Hamburg (demolished in 1939) has been publicly discussed. The heated debate poses questions of Jewish visibility and cultural manifestation in the contemporary city, as well as the search for a lost identity. It therefore stresses the codependency of architectural and socio-cultural heritage in the urban context.

In this article, I analyze the Bornplatz synagogue architecturally to elaborate on the effect its demolition had on society and the urban fabric. Furthermore, I introduce the Jewish community at the time of the synagogue's construction and trail its fate beyond the historic fracture marked by the Holocaust. By portraying the demography of Hamburg's Jewry since 1945 I contextualize the current debate, focusing on the longing of today's Jewish community for a nonexistent continuity with a heritage that was never theirs.

The collective phantom pain caused by the destruction of the Bornplatz synagogue is exemplary of a non-canonical lost heritage. The complex impact of the destruction of the Second World War on German society has been the focus of the work of Aleida and Jan Assmann for decades[1], the loss of Jewish heritage in the urban fabric is even harder to grasp. Partly, because for the second half of the 20th century, both the political narrative and individual memories negated the national socialist past[2]; and partly, because the direct victims of the destruction, most dead or exiled, were no longer part of German society. Basing my theoretic approach on Halbwachs' definition of *collective memory*[3], I argue that the Holocaust as a demographic fracture strongly impacts today's debate on the reconstruction of the Bornplatz synagogue.

After 1945, the former synagogue was voluntarily forgotten by the public and alternative urban narratives shaped the neighborhood's collective memory. 50 years after its destruction the city[4] turned the site into a memorial, thus shifting the discourse from forgetting to remembering. The site has since functioned as a *lieu de memoire* for the few decendants of Hamburg's Jewish community before 1945[5]. The heritage of today's Jewish community in Hamburg is drastically different from the prewar one. This discontinuity in collective memory needs to be considered when the trauma caused by the destruction of the Bornplatz synagogue and the motivation for its reconstruction are analyzed. This article pursues the question of how the idea of a lost architectural heritage becomes a powerful strategy for creating a sense of belonging and unity. An important aspect of my argument is the symbolic importance of the synagogue to the community in the early 20th century in comparison to the community today.

THE BORNPLATZ SYNAGOGUE

On January 10th, 1902, the head of the German Israelite Community (GIC) addressed the mayor of Hamburg in a letter, explaining the necessity for a new synagogue and asking to initiate the search for a suited site[6]. City and GIC soon agreed on a lot at the then northeastern side of the Bornplatz (fig. 1).

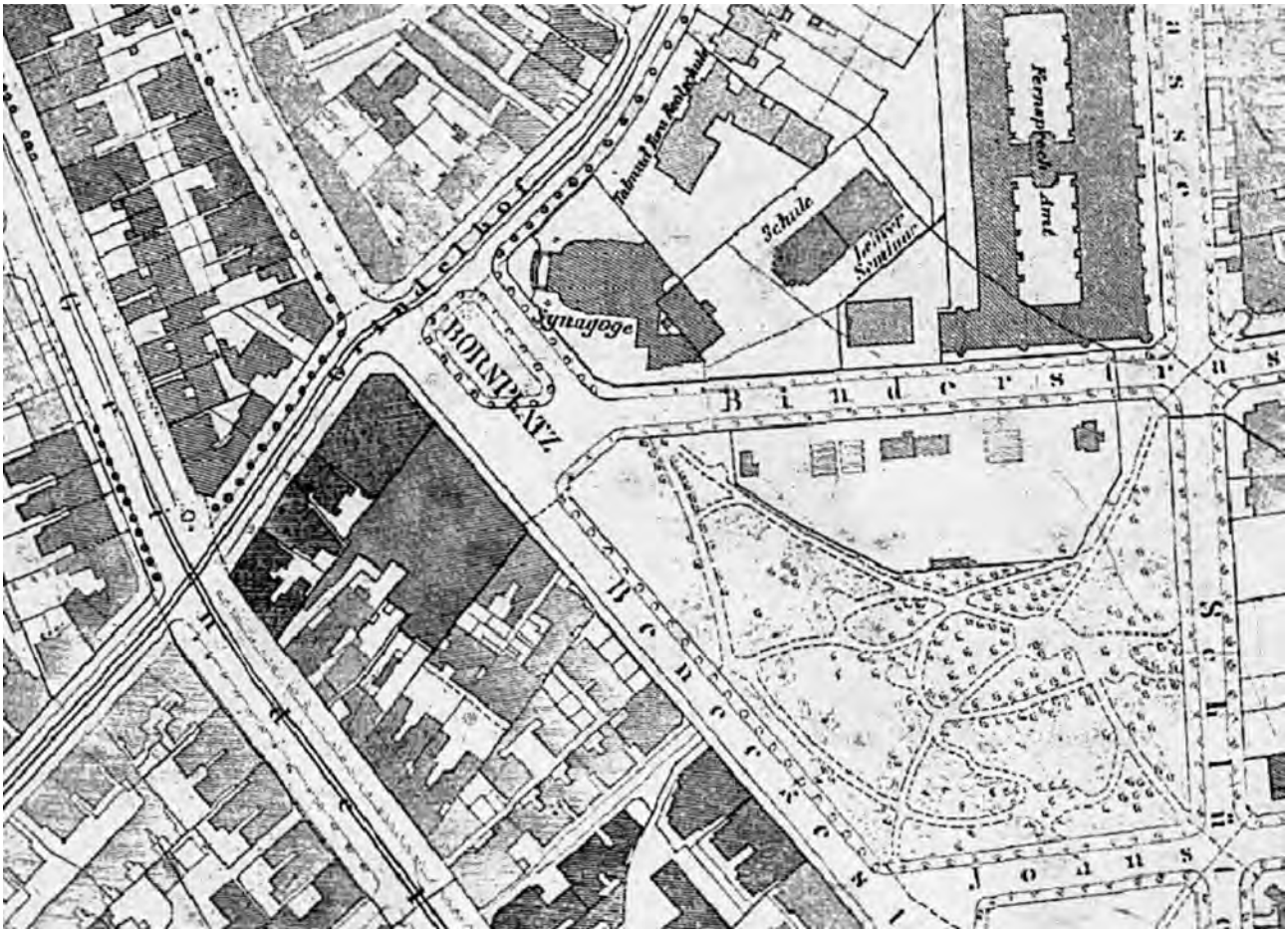

Figure 1. Historic site plan of the Bornplatz (1921). Source: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Kulturbehörde

Only the GIC's wish for a reduction in the price per square meter caused minor delays. The final contract had to be approved by the senate and the parliament that accepted the 50 percent markdown under one additional condition, forbidding the GIC to sell the plot to any third party or to use it for anything other than a place of worship[7].

Already seven months before the amended contract was signed on December 10th, 1902, the Jewish architect Semmy Engel presented a first design proposal for the Bornplatz synagogue. However, it took several alterations and a scarcely documented architectural competition to finalize the plans which in the end were designed and realized in cooperation with a second Jewish architect: Ernst Friedheim[8].

Construction broke ground on March 23rd, 1905[9]. The synagogue was designed as a neo-Romanesque centralistic building with an east-westerly orientation. The main portal faced the western corner of the lot and thereby opened the synagogue towards both the square as well as the adjacent streets Grindelhof and Bornstraße[10]. The building was erected as a concrete structure with iron scaffolding and faced with ocher-colored brick masonry, as well as red sandstone and clinker details. The axisymmetric main building was supplemented on its right with a building wing containing community rooms, and offices, as well as a smaller prayer room for 100 people. A mikvah was situated in its basement, whereas the main synagogue's basement housed the technical facilities as well as two apartments for staff.

From the main portal, male visitors reached the prayer room through a vestibule with coatrooms on both sides. Women entered the synagogue through two side entrances into stairwells that led up to screened-off galleries. Crossing the threshold of the square prayer room, one faced the Torah shrine

located in an elevated apsis in the east. The latitudinal section evokes the feeling of naves guiding the viewer towards the shrine. However, the lateral naves were topped with the women's galleries (fig. 2).

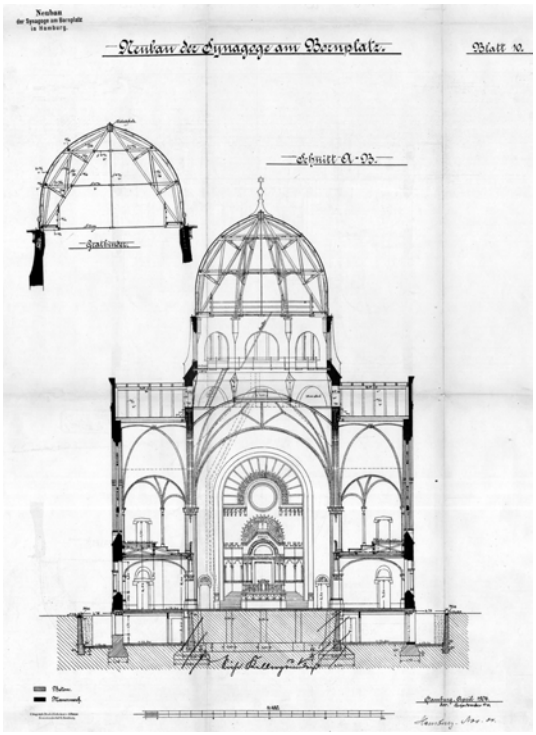

Figure 2. Section through the prayer room. Source: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, fond 522-1, signature: Jüdische Gemeinden, No.447
Figure 3. Historic interior photo of the prayer hall (ca. 1906). Source: Image archive Jewish history online by the IGdJ, No. 18-005

One of the few interior photos (fig. 3) shows the prayer room with rows of benches facing the Torah shrine. Plan and exterior photos suggest a centrality of the building, with the almemar centered underneath the rib-vaulted dome (figg. 4 and 5). The interior dome was only half of the height of the external 39-meter-tall cupola.

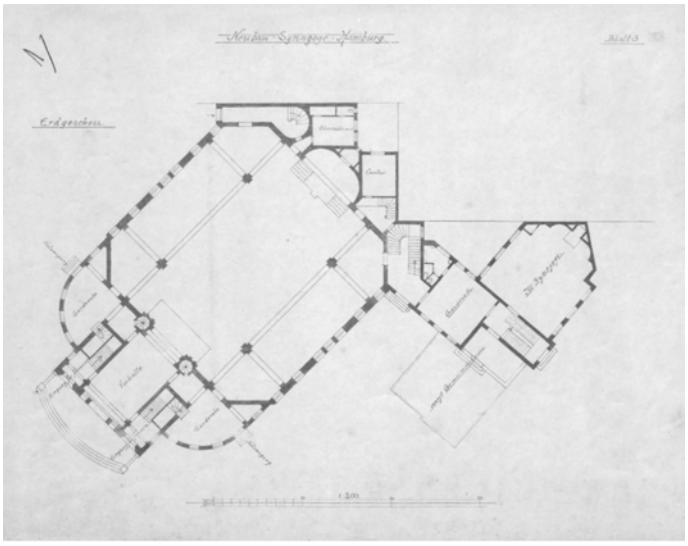

Figure 4. Ground floor plan. Source: STAHam, 522-1, Jüdische Gemeinden, No. 447

Figure 5. Historical exterior photo (1906). Source: SHMH, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Inv.-No.:2008-1015

This elevated cupola, visible from afar, exemplified the synagogue's importance to the Jewish community in Hamburg. This is also stressed in the description of the synagogue's inauguration by a touched journalist in the local newspaper on September 14th, 1906. He stated that "the illuminated house of God shining bright with lights, gave an imposing sight"[11] and closed his report of the festivities by paraphrasing the rabbi:

> After emphasizing the importance of the house of worship, he concluded with the wish that the synagogue may be a beautification to the patrial city and forever a blessing to the community[12].

The monumental synagogue at the center of the vibrant Jewish Grindel district had such an immense symbolic meaning to the Jewish community for three reasons: Firstly, it was unprecedented in visibility. In northern Germany, all former Judaic places of worship were either located in courtyards or their facades were interchangeable with those of the neighboring edifices. This had been due to the historic need to protect Jewish structures from antisemitic aggression as well as to the late legal equality for Hamburg's Jewry[13].
Secondly, by having the same urban features as a cathedral, the synagogue became a landmark and the Bornplatz developed into the cultural core of the growing Jewish neighborhood. It hereby epitomized the significant improvement of the situation of the Jewish population since 1860. With the unification of Germany under the Prussian emperor, Jewish culture flourished in Hamburg for the first time since the Napoleonic occupation in 1811-1814. This demographic shift towards a growing Jewish middle class was especially visible in the newly constructed residential areas outside of the former city gate Dammtor. Whereas in 1870, 75 percent of the Jewish population lived in the poor quarters of the Alt- and Neustadt, 50 years later 70 percent lived in the neighborhoods Havesterhude, Grindel, and Eimsbüttel[14]. The construction of a central synagogue represented not only the growing wealth of the Judaic populace but more importantly their optimism for a better future in the German Empire.

This confidence also manifested itself in the synagogue's stylistic features. Most Jews in 19th-century Hamburg were patriotic Germans[15]. During an age of increasing nationalism, and architecturally dominated by the ideas of historicism, it became a fundamental task to find a suitable architectural heritage for German synagogues.
Gottfried Semper's so-called *Semper Synagogue* in Dresden, which was consecrated in 1840, is often named as the one inspiring Engel for the Bornplatz synagogue[16]. Semper's synagogue has been a frequently cited example for curiously both the positions taken in a dichotomous discourse on Jewish historicism[17]. One group turned to the oriental roots of Jewry: The interior of the synagogue in Dresden showed Moorish and Byzantine motives. Their opponents worried that orientalistic motives would needlessly alienate the Jewish minority from their Christian neighbors. Instead, they argued for a Romanesque revival which the plan and exterior elevations of Semper's design are prototypical of. Hamburg's prominent example of the neo-Romanesque style was the Bornplatz synagogue, hence, making it an important symbol for the Jewish self-identity as part of German culture[18].
The emblematic importance of the Bornplatz synagogue for Jewish culture only intensified with the rise of the national socialists and the increase of antisemitic aggression in Germany. As a member of the community claimed:

> Almost nothing has remained for us in these days but our synagogue. It has become our spiritual home and the place where our entire religious and cultural life takes place[19].

The devotion to their house of worship was economically expressed in 1938 when the GIC renovated the interior of the synagogue[20]. That same year, during the *Reichspogromnacht* on the night of November 9th a pseudo-spontaneous act of Nazi vandalism destroyed synagogues all over Germany. The freshly refurbished Bornplatz synagogue suffered only minor damages caused by two fires. However, repairs were needed before the defiled synagogue could have been reopened for spiritual service[21]. This interruption of the synagogue's usage as a place of worship was exploited by the officials who referred to the amended purchase contract from 1902. Leo Lippmann, head of the GIC's last board of directors, surrendered to the national socialists' line of argument. Since all legal autonomy was lost when the dissolution of the GIC was enforced in December 1938, Lippmann's priorities were financial damage control as well as the salvation of sacred objects[22]. The lot at the Bornplatz was repurchased by the city on May 2nd, 1939. The demolition of the synagogue began only a few days later[23].
The actual ruination of the Bornplatz synagogue did not take place during the *Reichspogromnacht*, but months later in the form of a planned and legally justified destruction. The demolition of the Bornplatz synagogue cannot be justified by the immediate damages caused in the morning hours of November 10th. Instead, it was a deliberate act by the national socialist government to obliterate Jewish heritage.
Even before the demolition started the city ordered for the building material to be orderly stored on site for later purposes[24]. A few months after the demolition was completed the urban composition of the Grindel district was substantially altered. In 1940, construction for one of Hamburg's first high-rise bunkers began. Instead of on the site of the former synagogue, the bunker was mostly positioned on the square itself, thereby dividing the former Bornplatz into what is today the Allende Platz in the south-west and the Joseph-Carlebach Platz in the north-east.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN HAMBURG

From the socio-architectural aspects described above, I will now shift the focus towards the societal situation of Hamburg's Jewry. The rise of the national socialists in Germany marked the end of the short period of Judeo-cultural prosperity. Jewish life in Hamburg until the late 19th century was dominated by antisemitism and legal inequality. Especially within the city, the Jewish minority was suffering from residency- and labor restrictions[25].
During the French occupation in 1812, the GIC was founded as an institutional umbrella for all three of Hamburg's groups of Jewish faith. With its 6,300 members, the GIC became Germany's largest Judaic union[26]. It however took another century to arrive at the Jewish self-identity depicted previously. The Hanseatic city of Hamburg only granted Jewish men the right to become citizens and to vote in 1860. During the Weimar Republic at the height of the roughly 70 years of cultural flourishment, the GIC counted 20,000 members. The Grindel district became a vibrant hub for Jewish life and culture. Kosher stores, cultural clubs, theaters, and cafés lined the streets around the Bornplatz synagogue[27].
The community's steady growth and socioeconomic success as well as the general optimism at the time manifested themselves architecturally in the synagogue. Especially the following excerpt of a poem, published for the inauguration of the Bornplatz synagogue, highlights the pride and patriotism of the people:

> At a time when in the neighboring land
> The houses of our brothers are scorched and exploded;
> Where hundreds by assassin's strokes
> Are slaughtered, thousands harassed.
>
> Where oh so many are cheated of their fortune
> And robbed of their life's highest good;
> Where even synagogues are reviled and plundered,
> And tormented, stoned, those who believed in God.
>
> At this time here in German lands,
> In Hamburg, our dear father city,
> A new, beautiful house of God has risen,
> Which the congregation has erected[28].

Retrospectively, these words filled with enthusiasm for the German nation are hard to read aloofly, knowing that 29 years later almost to the day the *Nuremberg Laws* deprived all Jews of their German citizenship.
The horrifying rationality and efficiency of the national socialists' persecution of Jews will not be the focus of this article. However, several numbers need to be mentioned to understand the magnitude of sociodemographic change Hamburg's Jewry underwent during the past 100 years. Apart from the millions killed in the Holocaust; antisemitism, legal discrimination, and other limitations of the mundane provoked grave waves of Judaic emigration.
In 1926, the GIC had 20.749 members, by 1940, less than 2,000 Jews were registered in Hamburg, and after the war, on July 8th, 1945, twelve of 80 surviving Jews in the city gathered to institutionally found a new Jewish Community[29]. As these mortifying numbers demonstrate, architectural reconstruction was neither an immediate priority nor a possibility.

Instead, the main motivation for the re-establishment of a Jewish Community was an attempt for legal continuity with the original GIC to facilitate later restitution[30] . However, the small Jewish community rivaled the GIC's legal succession with a British organization coordinating the compensation of Jewish property taken or damaged by the national socialists. In the Britishly governed Hamburg, the Jewish Trust Cooperation (JTC) focused its efforts on collecting funds for the newly founded state of Israel where many of the heirs had migrated to. To most, the thought of rebuilding Judaism in Germany seemed unrealistic, which is why the demands of the JTC dominated the negotiations and the majority of the financial compensations never reached the Jews that remained in Hamburg[31]. In 1951, the restitution case for the Bornpatz synagogue was opened. Initial negotiations between the JTC and the city failed due to drastically divergent price expectations. To accelerate the payment, a lump sum agreement of 1,500,000 Mark for twelve formerly Jewish lots was signed in 1954. The site of the Bornplatz synagogue belonged to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg until 2023[32]. Legally and practically, the GIC had ceased to exist by the end of the war.

Hamburg's Jewry remained without a new synagogue until 1960. Located in a residential area, the synagogue Hohe Weide is exemplary for many post-war synagogues in Germany. Despite the attempts of denazification, for the most part, Germany was still operated by the same staff as during the national socialist regime. The decentrality of the new synagogue derived from the heteronomy of these defectors. Other than hampering the restitution payments, officials with continuous careers often aimed to banish Jewry out of sight[33].

Like many other German sites of former synagogues, the empty square next to the high-rise bunker was destined to be forgotten by the general public. Used as a parking lot, the grounds of the Bornplatz synagogue were only reacknowledged by officials in the 1980s[34]. On the 50th anniversary of the *Reichspogromnacht*, a floor mosaic by the artist Margit Kahl was inaugurated (fig. 6).

Figure 6. Photo of the floor mosaic by Margit Kahl (1988). Source: Yad Vashem Photo Archive, Signature- 2957/6

It depicts the ceiling plan of the destroyed synagogue on the otherwise empty square[35]. A *lieu de memoire* for some, today the square is predominantly used as a shortcut for students hurrying towards the contiguous university.
For Germany's Jewry, the most important demographic turning point since the holocaust was the collapse of the USSR. Due to the significant number of formerly Soviet Jews migrating to Hamburg, the 1990s marked the first substantial increase of members for the Jewish Community Hamburg (JCH). Today the JCH has 2,300 members, predominantly with an Eastern European heritage[36].
Since the early 2000s, the needs of the JCH have shifted. The Talmud Tora school, formerly adjacent to the Bornplatz synagogue, was regifted by the city to the JCH in 2002, making this an important precedent case for today's debate. Other than acknowledging the insufficiency of the reparations paid in the 1950s, this was a first step in moving the center of Jewish life in Hamburg back to the Grindel district.
An increase in antisemite activity throughout Germany has intensified the discussions on Judaic visibility and its place in German society. Especially the attack on the Synagogue in Halle in 2019 fueled both: the demand for a more openly celebrated Judaism as well as security concerns. In the case of the JCH, the enhanced exposure posed the opportunity to address the wish to reconstruct the Bornplatz synagogue. While growing antisemitism might explain the wish for a centrally located and prominent synagogue, the call for a reconstruction of the demolished neo-Romanesque building caused a multi-faceted debate.
Reconstructions of Prussian monuments in Germany are often interpreted as a sign of nostalgia for a national identity predating the collective guilt of the Holocaust. However, it would be absurd to accuse the JCH of denying the annihilation of Jewish culture. Nonetheless, there has been strong critique against the intended erasure of the memorial by Margit Kahl. Erika Estis was one of the Holocaust survivors who found emotional words against the reconstruction:

> The attempt to replicate that old synagogue is despicable and the destruction of the entire memorial to a former time is heartbreaking to those of us whose families lived, worshipped there, and were exterminated. [...] I understand that people like me don't live in Hamburg anymore but the newcomers must respect our former culture, our history, and anything else is unacceptable[37].

As Estis is one of the few living members of the original GIC, her open letter is an important source for the experienced distinction between the GIC and the JCH. By negating a shared heritage, this letter stresses the ambivalence in the current debate between honoring past injustice and allowing future generations to prosper.

CONCLUSION

The prominent Bornplatz synagogue of 1906 stood for the belief in a better future, today its reconstruction is wished to do the same. However, the original building of the Bornplatz synagogue does not comply with contemporary requirements. The JCH's wish to reconstruct the Bornplatz synagogue is multilayered and needs to be discussed as such. Primarily the JCH desires an upgrade of their built infrastructure in the form of a cultural center as well as a new synagogue[38]. Secondly, Jewish culture should no longer be banned to the periphery especially since the Talmud Tora school has been shifting the Judeo-cultural core back to the Grindel district. The idea of

architectural reconstruction appears to be an attempt to justify the project at the historic location.

As previously mentioned, in the German architectural heritage discourse, the intention of conservative reconstruction is often associated with the desire to retrospectively build a "better past". The JCH is arguing that they wish to reconstruct the synagogue to build a better future. I have aimed to contextualize the community and the building of the original Bornplatz synagogue, to illustrate the demographic fracture that took place in the 20th century. The current debate shows the JCH's urge to legitimize their presence in the Grindel district by reviving anachronistic architecture. The idea of the lost heritage becomes more powerful than the actual edifice itself. However, analyzing the current debate with Arendt's thoughts on the discursivity of society, only public discourse can create a city's heritage[39]. Even if, as elaborated above, the GIC and the JCH share little commonalities, the debate itself resuscitated Jewish heritage in the Grindel district. The Bornplatz synagogue was then and is again a powerful symbol for a better Jewish future in Hamburg.

NOTES

[1] Assmann, Aleida, and Ute Frevert. 1999. *Geschichtsvergessenheit - Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang Mit Deutschen Vergangenheiten Nach 1945*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. [2] For a focused overview of important turning points in German heritage construction see: Jaeger, Susanne. 2012. "Interrupted Histories: Collective Memory and Architectural Heritage in Germany 1933–1945–1989." In *Heritage, Ideology, and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Matthew Rampley, 1st ed., 67–92. Boydell and Brewer Limited. [3] Halbwachs, Maurice. 1967. *Das Kollektive Gedächtnis*. Stuttgart: Enke. [4] The "free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg" has been and still is today a city-state with its own constitution. Therefore, the terms "state" and "city" can be used interchangeably in this context. [5] Nora, Pierre. 1990. *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis. Kleine kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Band 16*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach. [6] Letter by Levin Lion from 10.01.1902, fond 311-2IV, signature 7072, STAHam. [7] Purchase contract from 10.12.1902, Anlage No. 18 der Mittheilungen des Senats an die Bürgerschaft vom 23.01.1903, fond 311-2IV, signature 7072, STAHam. [8] Rohde, Saskia. 1991. "Synagogen im Hamburger Raum 1680 - 1943." In *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Universität Hamburg zur Ausstellung "Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg,"* edited by Arno Herzig, 159, Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz. [9] Hamburgische Nachrichten from 24.03.1905, fond 731-8, signature A680 Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz, STAHam. [10] Engel's original proposal ignored the traditional orientation of synagogues towards the east and positioned the main portal perpendicular to the square, disregarding the legally binding setback lines. The city rejected this first proposal which resulted in the diagonal placement within the urban layout (Bericht der Bau-Deputation from 30.06.1902 and Skizze zu einer Synagoge am Bornplatz, fond 311-2IV, signature 7072, STAHam). [11] "Das lichtgefüllte, im hellen Lichterglanz erstrahlende Gotteshaus gewährte einen imposanten Anblick." All translations are by the author unless indicated otherwise. [12] "Nachdem er die Bedeutung des Gotteshauses betont hatte, schloß er mit dem Wunsche, daß die Synagoge der Vaterstadt zur Zierde, der Gemeinde stets zum Segen gereichen möge" (Hamburgische Nachrichten from 14.09.1996, fond 731-8, signature A680 Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz, STAHam). [13] Cohen, Martin. 1930. "Ein Streifzug durch die Deutschen Großgemeinden. Hamburg." *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 1930. [14] Lorenz, Ina. 2005b. "Die Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg 1860 – 1943 Kaiserreich – Weimarer Republik - NS-Staat." In *Zerstörte Geschichte: Vierhundert Jahre Jüdisches Leben in Hamburg*, edited by Ina Lorenz, 135. Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung. [15] Herzig, Arno. 1991. *Die Juden in Hamburg: 1590 Bis 1990 ; Wissenschaftliche Beiträge Der Universität Hamburg Zur Ausstellung "Vierhundert Jahre Juden in Hamburg."* Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 25. [16] Although, no personal records by the architect can be found to prove this. [17] For more detail on the provenance of Semper's stylistic choices see: Giese, Francine, and Ariane Varela Braga, eds. 2018. *The Power of Symbols*. Peter Lang AG: Lausanne. [18] Wischnitzer, Rachel. 1964. *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Jewish Publishing Society, xxix; Hammer-Schenk, Harold. 1981. *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert, (1780-1933). Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Juden*, Bd. 8. Hamburg: H. Christians, 233; Krinsky, Carol Herselle. 1988. *Europas Synagogen: Architektur, Geschichte und Bedeutung*. Stuttgart: Dt. Verl.-Anst, 28. [19] "Uns ist in diesen Tagen fast nichts geblieben als unsere Synagoge. Sie ist uns unsere seelische Heimat geworden und der Ort, an dem sich unser ganzes geistiges und kulturelles Leben abspielt" (quoted by Stein, Irmgard. 1984. *Jüdische Baudenkmäler in Hamburg. Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Juden*. Hamburg: Christians, 80). [20] Baupolizeiliches Protocoll, fond 324-1, signature K2928, STAHam. [21] Negotiations between Leo Lippman and the city, fond 311-2IV, signature 2646, STAHam. [22] Lorenz, Ina 1994. "Juden in Hamburg 1941 Und 1942 - Die Sogenannten Lippmann-Berichte." *Aschkenas* 4; 2005a. "Aussichtsloses Bemühen: Die Arbeit der Jüdischen Gemeinde 1941 bis 1945." In *Zerstörte Geschichte: Vierhundert Jahre Jüdisches Leben in Hamburg*, edited by Ina Lorenz. Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung. [23] Fond 311-2IV, signature 2646, STAHam. [24] Notiz der Bauverwaltung Tiefbauamt vom 28.03.1939, fond 311-2IV, signature 2646, STAHam. [25] The international importance of the Hanseatic port resulted in several Jewish families being looked upon favorably by the senate, due to their international connections and wealth. Families such as Heine, Warburg, or Ballin provided influential members of society. Nevertheless, their success was the exception. See Freimark et al. (Freimark, Peter, Institut für die Geschichte der Deutschen Juden (Germany), Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit (Germany), and Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, eds. 1983. *Juden in Preussen, Juden in Hamburg. Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Juden*, Bd. 10. Hamburg: Christians.) for a detailed chronology of Hamburg's Jewry. Freimark, Peter. 1991. "Innerhalb des Deutschen Judentums hatten Die hamburger Juden ein eigenes Profil." 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In *Spuren der Vergangenheit sichtbar machen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Hamburg*, edited by Peter Freimark, Hamburg: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung: Institut für die Geschichte der Deutschen Juden. [28] "Zu einer Zeit, wo man im Nachbarreiche / Die Häuser unsrer Brüder sengt und sprengt; / Wo Hunderte durch Meuchelmörderstreiche / Man niedermetzelt, Tausende bedrängt. / Wo ach so viele um ihr Glück betrogen / Und ihres Lebens höchsten Guts beraubt; / Wo man selbst schmäht und plündert Synagogen, / Und peinigt, steinigt, die an Gott geglaubt. / Zu dieser Zeit ist hier in deutschen Landen, / In Hamburg, unserer teuren Vaterstadt, / Ein neues, schönes Gotteshaus erstanden, / Das die Gemeinde sich errichtet hat". (Zur Einweihung der neuen Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz. Hamburg d. 13.09.1906, fond 731-8, signature A680 Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz, STAHam). [29] Lorenz, Ina. 2005b. Op. cit., 145. [30] Heinsohn and Institut für die Geschichte der Deutschen Juden 2006. [31] Lorenz, Ina, and Jörg Berkemann. 1995. *Streitfall Jüdischer Friedhof Ottensen. [1], Wie lange dauert Ewigkeit: Chronik*. Hamburg: Studien Zur Jüdischen Geschichte 1; Schreiber, Ruth. 1997. "New Jewish Communities in Germany after World War II and the Successor Organizations in the Western Zones." *Journal of Israeli History 18* (2–3): 167–190. [32] As this paper is written, on September 23, 2023, the Parliament voted to transfer the property to the JCH without cost (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg 2023. Drucksache 22/12944). Fond 311-2IV, signature 2647, STAHam. [33] Klei, Alexandra. 2018. "Jüdisches Bauen in Nachkriegsdeutschland: Möglichkeiten und Bedingungen." In *Architektur und Akteure*, edited by Regine Heß, 43:161–74. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 168. [34] Hamburger Abendblatt from 11.02.1982, fond 731-8, signature A680 Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz, STAHam. [35] Die Welt from 11.09.1988, fond 731-8, signature A680 Gemeindesynagoge am Bornplatz, STAHam. [36] Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland. n.d. "Jüdische Gemeinde Hamburg KdöR." Accessed September 1st, 2023. https://www.zentralratderjuden.de/vor-ort/gemeinden/projekt/juedische-gemeinde-hamburg-kdoer/. [37] Estis, 2021. "Auszüge aus Briefen von Erika Estis und Ofra Givon." Accessed August 13th, 2023. https://www.patriotische-gesellschaft.de/de/unsere-arbeit/stadt/bornplatz-synagoge.html. [38] Wandel Lorch Götze Wach. 2022. "Wiederaufbau Bornplatzsynagoge Hamburg". [39] Arendt, Hannah. 1960. *Vita activa oder Vom tätigen Leben*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

LOSING MEMORY *ORDINARY HERITAGE AND MEMORIAL RUPTURE IN THE RECONSTRUCTED VILLAGES OF SAINT-DIÉ-DES-VOSGES*

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ABSTRACT

The architecture of the Second Reconstruction in France emerged from a national policy aimed at rebuilding the country after the Second World War. The Saint-Dié-des-Vosges district is characterized by two specific features: physically, a highly dispersed housing layout in a predominantly rural mountainous region; and historically, the context of a brutal German retreat known as the "scorched earth" strategy.

This article examines the role of remembering these destructions in the Reconstruction policy at the time and in the recent preservation of the reconstructed buildings. Amid oblivion, denial, and the choice to remember, the memory of the destruction tends to fade away.

INTRODUCTION

Our paper is based on architectural and historical research conducted by four architect-teachers since July 2018 as part of a partnership between the LHAC and the agglomeration of Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, France. The study focused on post-World War II housing and public buildings involving a comprehensive examination of departmental archives, municipal archives of Saint-Dié, and those of six rural municipalities: Anould, Ban-sur-Meurthe, Gerbépal, Jeanménil, Saint-Léonard, and Saulcy-sur-Meurthe[1].

The architecture of the Second Reconstruction in France was shaped by a national policy aimed at rebuilding the country after the Second World War[2]. The district of Saint-Dié-des-Vosges is marked by two distinctive features: physically, a highly dispersed housing layout in a predominantly rural and mountaineer area; historically, the context of a brutal German retreat known as the "scorched earth" strategy.

This region has received much less attention than other areas of French reconstruction, such as the north or west of France, and specific cities like Le Havre, Royan, or Tours. However, the Vosges, and more specifically the arrondissement of Saint-Dié, presents a unique case with valuable lessons to offer. Firstly, the diversity in the scale of the reconstructed municipality, ranging from hamlets to dispersed villages, through the town of Saint-Dié, resulted in a local adaptation of the methodology proposed by the *Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme*. This adaptation fostered new stakeholder

dynamics and greater freedom for the architects responsible for reconstruction in small communities[3]. Secondly, the remote nature of the communities affected by the disaster facilitated the reuse of local construction techniques to rebuild the area[4].

On the one hand, the extensive use of local materials and traditional forms has ensured a certain continuity in the architectural identity of these villages. Thus, the material identity of the studied villages does not seem to have been affected by the systematic physical destruction of farms, dwellings, and communal buildings. On the other hand, the scars left by the events, despite their tragic nature, appear to be gradually fading from the collective memory. We argue that this is due to the gradual disappearance of traces of the destruction in architectural forms that no longer exhibit ruins and have not yet been the subject of any cultural interpretation.The absence of a memorial specifically dedicated to the memory of these events may reflect the trauma of a destruction that was not only rapid but also pointless in strictly strategic terms. This specific absence may also highlight the challenge of representing a painful memory in physical space.

To what extent does the process of turning reconstructed buildings into heritage sites tend to prioritize the preservation of physical artefacts over the intangible traces of destruction?

This historical research draws on a large corpus of archives to provide a detailed analysis of the area under study. It also incorporates authors and sources from other disciplines, particularly sociology and philosophy, to characterize complex concepts such as memory and identity. Beyond proposing a multidisciplinary analysis, the aim here is to interrogate the built heritage as a medium for memorialization.

After analyzing the devastation caused by the scorched earth strategy in this region, we will examine how the reconstruction facilitated the preservation of the memory of the events. Subsequently, we will shift our focus on the current heritage policy regarding these reconstructed objects and explore whether the physical remnants of the reconstruction take precedence over the intangible memories of the destruction.

NOVEMBER 1944: DESTRUCTION AND LIBÉRATION IN THE VOSGES

At the end of Second World War, European countries were affected to varying degrees. In Great Britain, 4,700,000 buildings were damaged, with 200,000 of them being totally destroyed[5]. In the Netherlands, 82,000 homes were destroyed and 50,000 were damaged. However, it was certainly in Germany that the destruction was most severe. A total of 2,340,000 homes were completely destroyed, constituting 20% of the 1939 stock, while an additional 2,500,000 were partially damaged[6].

Following the conclusion of World War II, France was ravaged by four years of occupation, spoliation, and bombing. Approximately 600,000 people died directly because of the war, and an additional 530,000 died from its consequences. The entire region is affected by the destruction: 74 departments are involved, with 420,000 residential buildings that suffered complete damage, and 1,900,000 partially damaged. Additionally, 5,000 farms are destroyed or rendered unusable, along with industrial facilities and critical infrastructure such as bridges, railroads, roads, docks, and canals, leaving behind a lunar and ruined landscape[7].

More specifically, the Vosges area, a predominantly rural and semi-mountainous department of the Lorraine region, suffered extensive destruction during the Second World War. In November 1944, the Germans executed a retreat by burning the cities and villages they abandoned, following a policy known as the “scorched earth” strategy[8]. The district of Saint-Dié-des-

Vosges was the most severely affected. The *Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme* (MRU) reported 4,600 destroyed buildings and 8,900 partially destroyed buildings out of a total of 30,000 in 1952[9].
Following the Allied landings in Normandy on June 6, 1944, the German army stationed in the Vosges was ordered to establish a defensive position to the west known as the "Schutzwall West." The Vosges massif became the site of daily confrontations between the German armed forces and the local resistance, which consisted of numerous maquis. The German operation "Waldfest," launched in September 1944[10], initially aimed to suppress local resistance movements, evacuate the civilian population, and destroy towns and villages. Resistance fighters were deported to Germany as forced laborers, local populations were displaced, and goods such as machinery, livestock, and food were requisitioned[11].
In Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, the destruction began in September 1944 with Allied bombing raids. From November 9 onwards, Nazi troops ordered the residents to evacuate the town. The fire started on November 14, 1944, and lasted for five days[12].

> Saint-Dié est durement meurtrie et près de la moitié de ses habitants, soit 10 000 personnes, se trouvent sinistrés ; plus de 1 500 immeubles sont détruits, faisant de cette ville la plus endommagée du département, devant Gérardmer, La Bresse et Épinal[13].

Some iconic buildings, such as the cathedral, were demolished with dynamite (figg.1 and 2).
Certainly, the case of Saint-Dié and its surrounding area is not unique. The city centers of numerous French cities were bombed during the conflict. The case of Brest has been studied by Le Couedic (1948-...), who demonstrates that the reconstruction project results from a "highly liberal interpretation of certain features of the old city[14]" with the goal of maintaining a subtle continuity between the remnants of the historic city and the modern reconstruction project. In this way, the adaptation of roads to accommodate the demands of automobiles, the strategic distribution of activities and people in optimal.
Cities in the northern part of France, such as Douai, Valenciennes, and Lille, share similarities with the Saint-Dié conurbation, as they were extensively destroyed in the aftermath of the Second World War. In Douai, approximately 830 buildings, or 11% of the housing stock, were completely destroyed, and 4,000 were partially damaged. The Lille region was heavily affected by the strategic bombing of rail hubs and industries in 1944[15]. In Lens, destruction was widespread, with an estimated 800 buildings completely devastated, 900 were badly damaged, and 1,500 were immediately repairable[16].

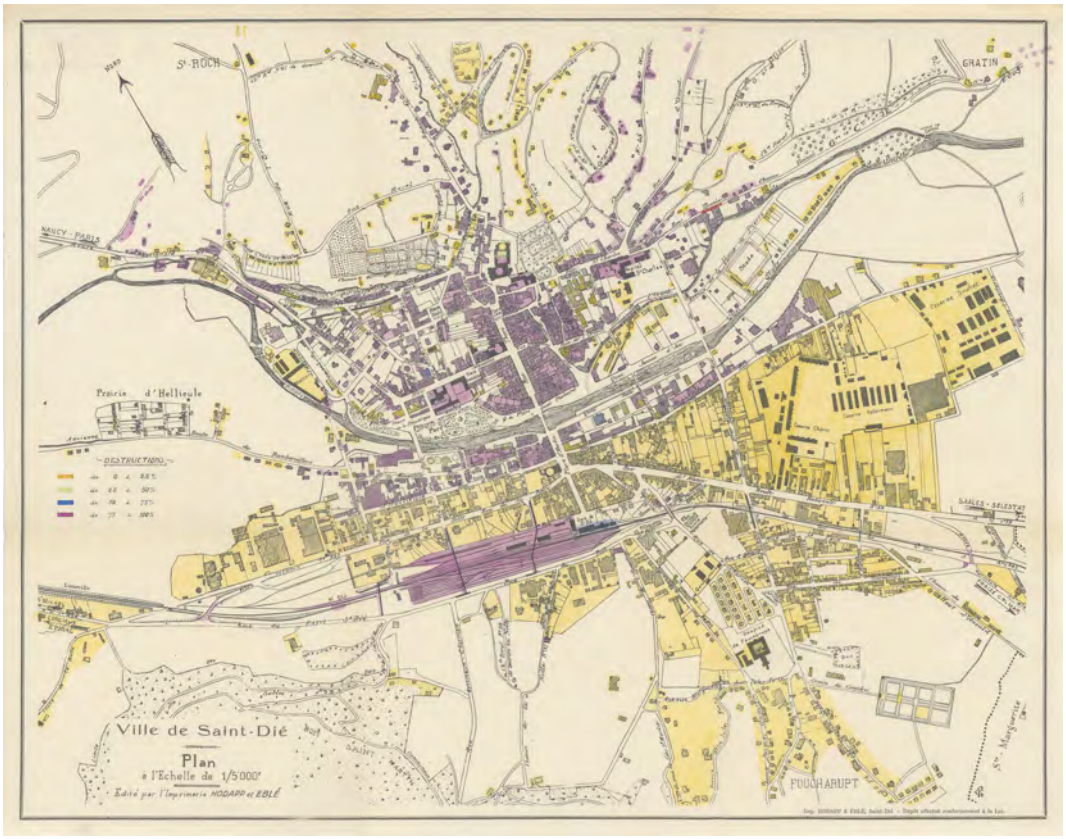

Figure 1. Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, destruction map, ca. 1946, Archives nationales, 19900181 210

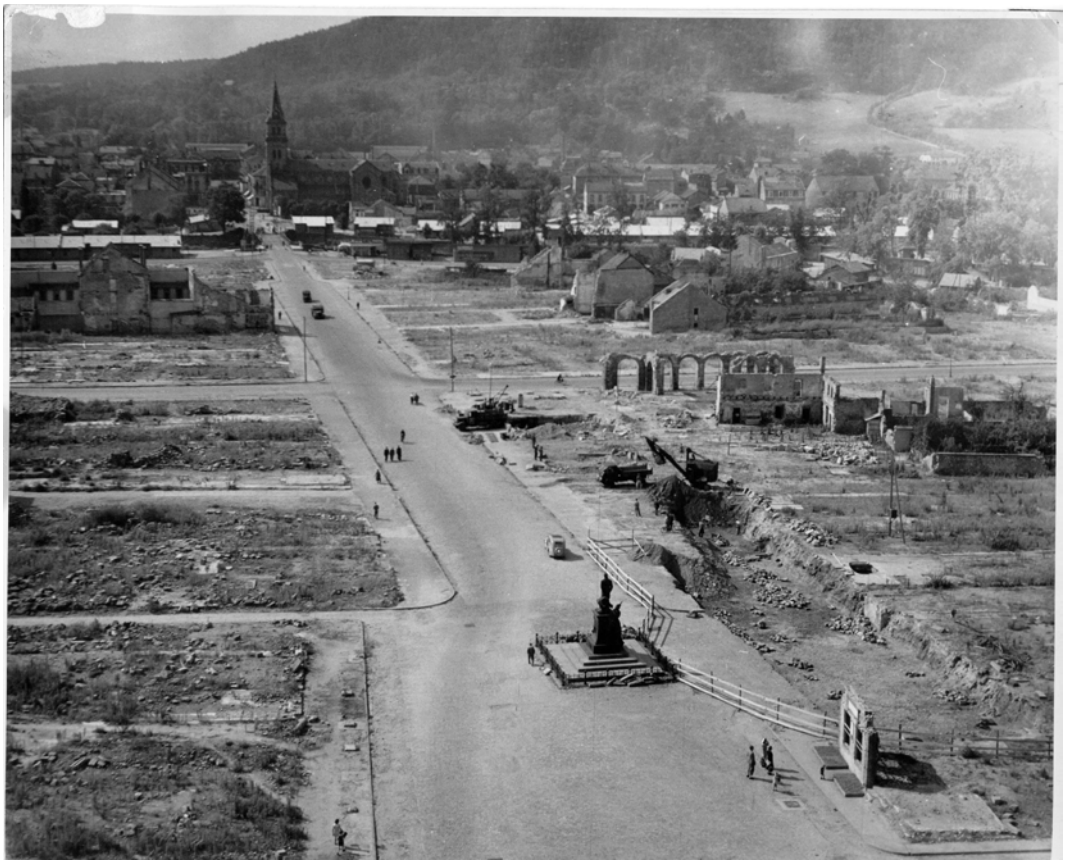

Figure 2. Saint-Dié-des-Vosges , downtown destroyed, ca. 1945, collections de la ville de Saint-Dié-des-Vosges

In mid-November 1944, in response to the rapid advance of Allied troops, Nazi forces set fire to nine villages in the Vosges mountains to hinder the enemy from accessing supplies[17]. Despite focusing on town and village centers, the destruction was not limited to strategic targets. After ordering residents to evacuate, the Germans destroyed all public and residential buildings, as well as all means of production (industrial and craft facilities) and transport (bridges and infrastructure).

"SCORCHED EARTH" STRATEGY AND MEMORIAL IMPACT

The scorched earth policy, initially a military strategy to facilitate the retreat of German troops, also functions as a symbolic act of violence intended to weaken occupied populations by erasing all traces of the past. Pierre Delagoutte (1934-2000) reports the testimony of a resident who, upon returning to the village after being evacuated, painfully describes the discovery of the ruins:

> Le lendemain matin vers les huit heures je viens du Préxetin au Village. Tout est brûlé ! Devant cet amas de ruines qui sentait le chaud je ne puis contenir mon émotion. [...] Il y a des soldats américains au village. On les entend plutôt remuer de la ferraille ou des caisses que de les voir. Ils cherchent à s'installer à peu près dans les caves des maisons démolies[18].

The destructions left behind a painful memory, serving as a poignant reminder of the assertion of Nazi power over an occupied territory engaged in resistance. As noted by French geographer Vincent Veschambres (1966-...), demolition is motivated both economically and ideologically[19], as it always represents[20].
Considered one of the greatest tragedies in contemporary local history, the German destruction in the Vosges remained a taboo for many years. The memory of the Nazi sacking was suppressed by residents and institutions in favour of a patriotic narrative centered on the memory of the Libération (e.g., through commemorating dates and honoring the memories of those involved). However, as the war ended, the municipalities in the Saint-Dié district were characterized by a new landscape of ruins, vacant lots, and piles of rubble. The initial efforts involved clearing traffic routes, demolishing ruins, and relocating disaster victims[21]. A provisional city was established: the debris was sorted and carefully arranged according to the original plot structure, to recreate the vanished urban layout (fig. 3). Camps of wooden barracks were slowly constructed on the outskirts of the devastated areas (fig. 4).

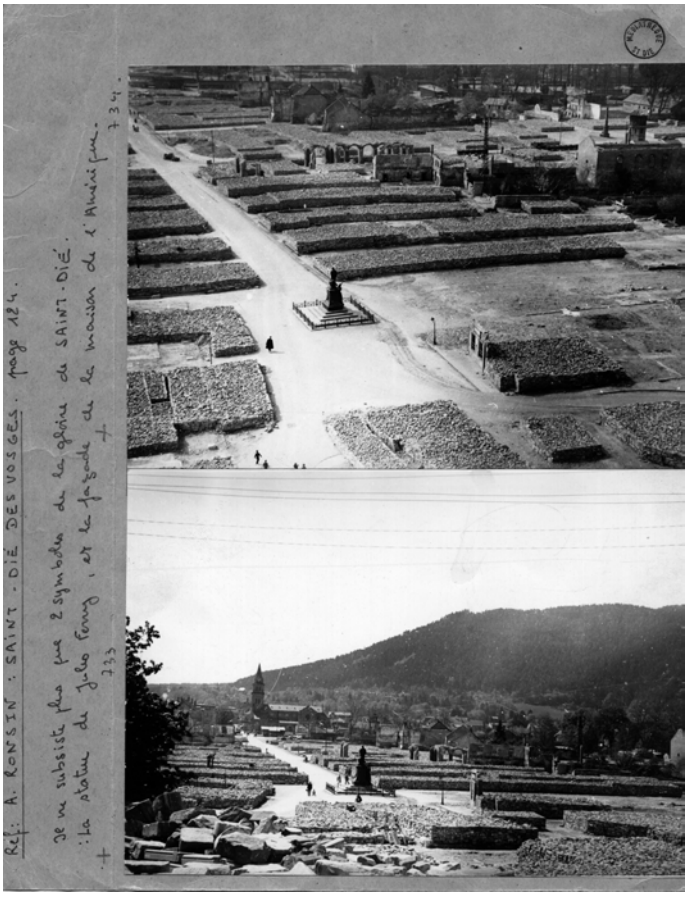

Figure 3. Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, piles of rubble grouped and cubed, ca. 1945, collections de la ville de Saint-Dié-des-Vosges

Figure 4. Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, the temporary huts of Reconstruction, La Vaxenaire, 1947, collections de la ville de Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, N29 B

HANDLING MEMORY IN POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The Second Reconstruction era has sparked a wealth of literature, ranging from the ground-breaking research of Kopp (1915-1990), Boucher (19XX-...), and Pauly (1958-...)[22], which highlights the State's role in the reconstruction process, to more recent studies by Palant-Frapier (1976-...), Gourbin (1962-...), and Buffler (1981-...)[23], who scrutinize the architectural intervention and heritage protection of buildings from this period.
Historian Joseph Abram's (1951-...) work offers an initial overview of this crucial period in the history of French architecture. Abram reflects on the debacle and the Occupation, followed by the decade or so after the Liberation. The historian demonstrates how an original technocratic apparatus was established in 1940 and how a new generation of professionals attempted to address the new "problems of modernity[24]".
The European cases were examined in the publication edited by Barjot (1950-...), Baudouï (1958-...), and Voldman (1946-...). The publication highlights the surprising nature of reconstruction, particularly noting that the anticipated stagnation of European countries did not materialize. Instead, the ruins were cleared, the cities rebuilt, and the states reformed[25]. In this context, Kuisel's (1935-...) work has demonstrated how "the Liberation and the post-war years represent a significant shift in the economic structure of twentieth-century France[26]".
The Second Reconstruction is a significant period in the history of architecture in France[27]. The French government established a new administration[28] entirely dedicated to rebuilding France from the ruins: the aforementioned MRU (Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme). Initially, the primary operationsinvolved clearing mines and rubble from the affected areas, followed by rebuilding through the approval of architects, organization of building sites, and planning of programs. The process lasted about ten years from approximately 1945 to 1955[29], following the Libération. The architects involved in the process adhered to the modern principles of the "ville radieuse", such as protection against humidity and inclement weather, sunlight and ventilation, running water, indoor toilets, electricity, central heating, etc[30]. The urban renewal project includes plot-based regulation and consolidation, the enlargement of urban blocks, the straightening and widening of streets, and the opening of the built-up area[31]. This occurred irrespective of whether the buildings were reconstructed identically or in a modern style.
In response to the scale of the destruction, the MRU harbors significant ambitions for Saint-Dié's district.Georges Michau (1895-1954) was specially appointed as the chief architect to lead the reconstruction.Unfortunately, we do not have extensive records of Michau's[32], but numerous traces of his activities in Vosges have been discovered. Like all chief architects[33], his role was to coordinate the reconstruction on a territorial scale, supervise the operating architects appointed by the MRU, and approve their projects[34].
For each disaster-affected commune, the government appointed an architect-urban planner to create the primary graphic documents and develop the reconstruction and development plan (PRA). In the Vosges region, the PRA for Saint-Dié[35] was assigned to Jacques André[36] (1904-1985), an architect from Nancy, while the remaining affected villages were grouped based on their geographical location. For example, the five disaster-stricken rural communities in the Meurthe valley were assigned to Parisian architect François Boleslas de Jankowski (1889-1972)[37]. For each development plan implemented between 1945 and 1946, the architect designed a memorial to commemorate the human losses caused by the Second World War. These war

memorials serve as structuring elements of the new town centers. Often located near the local church and town hall, as in Saint-Léonard and Anould, these structures shape the public space by dominating the village's main square. The memories associated with these monuments are so strong that they can sometimes create a new sense of centrality. This is the case in Saulcy-sur-Meurthe, where the war memorial is integrated into a new rectangular square and serves as a focal point for a new district called "Le Village" (fig.5). As historian Antoine Prost (1933-...) has demonstrated, the placement of the war memorial in the 20th century was a highly strategic and symbolic decision, progressively defining the village's space. Initially installed in the church square, which could also serve as the forecourt of the town hall, the war memorial was always erected in the most bustling location in the village.

> Les monuments aux morts tirent d'abord leur signification de leur localisation dans un espace qui n'est pas neutre. Les dresser dans la cour de l'école, sur la place de la mairie, devant l'église, dans le cimetière, ou au plus passant des carrefours n'est pas un choix innocent[38].

In the case of reconstructed villages, the memorial is situated in a strategic area, as are all war memorials. It serves to convey the memory of human losses and commemorates victory. Moreover, the memorial can play a role in restructuring the public space of the town center during the reconstruction process. It becomes a compositional element in the design of new PRAs. Occasionally free-standing and rarely rebuilt on the site of the now-defunct First World War memorial, it becomes part of a square, landscaping, or urban development. It offers a "rural urbanism" that is entirely dedicated to remembrance.

Figure 5. Saulcy-sur-Meurthe, war memorial perspective, July 1956, AD88, 1152W1078

THE MANY ROLES OF MATERIAL MEMORIALS

These early monuments interest us for two reasons. Firstly, they were designed as a continuation of the memorials built after the First World War. They quantify the human casualties caused by the war and list the names of those who perished. The Saulcy war memorial illustrates this continuity through its composition: it symmetrically contrasts the losses of the First World War with those of the Second (fig.6). Secondly, these commemorative sites help propagate a patriotic memory, specifically the memory of national victory and the heroic deeds of soldiers who fell in battle for France. Lastly, these monuments aim to facilitate the act of mourning by providing a place for reflection that embodies the grief shared by the entire population.
Unlike human losses, there are no memorial sites dedicated to transmitting the memory of the physical destruction of the vanished urban fabric. However, architects and urban planners of the Reconstruction are integrating urban remnants into new PRAs. To preserve the identity of each urban area, these plans respect the original municipality's morphology and the design of certain roads. The vast majority of PRAs also advocate for the reconstruction of symbolic and religious sites in their original locations.
These plans illustrate the desire to establish connections between the disappeared state and the current state, as well as to leave a "mark" as Veschambre describes it. Here, the trace of a preserved road corresponds to a

> signature intentionnelle: elle est pensée et produite pour rendre visible une personne, un groupe, une institution, pour constituer le support d'une identification (individuelle ou plus généralement collective), et pour représenter au final un attribut l'acteur ou du groupe en question[39].

The path that once served as a road in the 18th century or the site of a church is now reimagined by the architect-urban planner, who incorporates their own unique vision into it.

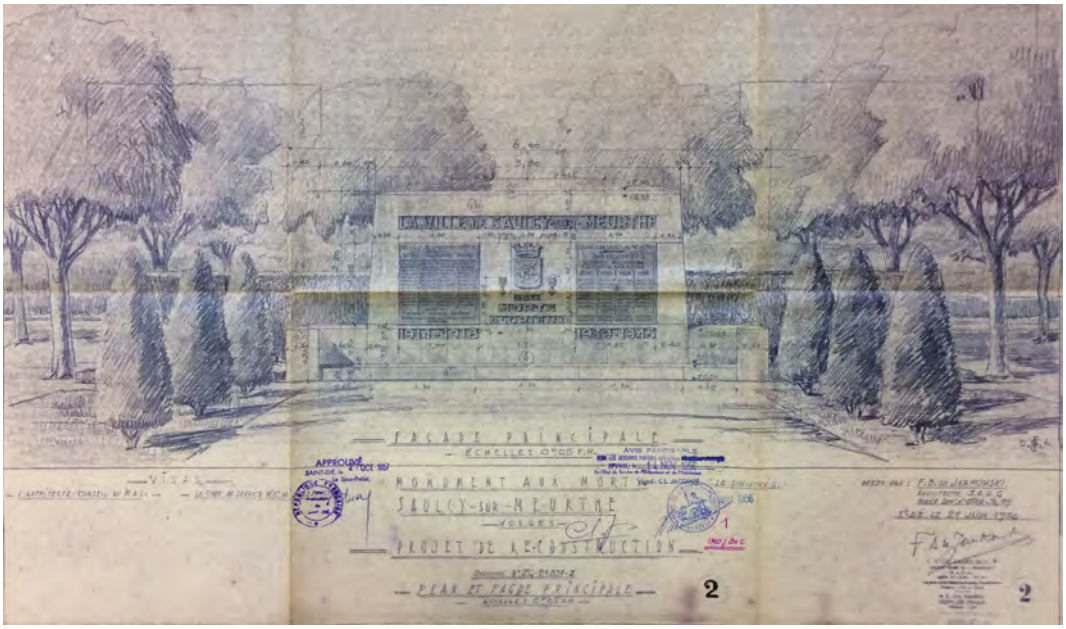

Figure 6. Saulcy-sur-Meurthe, war memorial elevation, July 1956, AD88, 1152W1078

REBUILDING WITH THE “TRADITIONNEL ÉVOLUÉ”

Georges Michau holds a specific opinion about the architectural style to be imposed on the Vosges territory.He aims to implement a standardized architecture, following the “MRU-style” characterised by architectural historian Danièle Voldman as “rigoureux et reproductible[40]”. In Saint-Dié, Michau directed the drafts toward a modern and industrialized style, incorporating concrete frames, modern materials, and serial construction.
During the Reconstruction, some historical materials of architecture were rediscovered due to energy shortages: adobe, stone, ceramic and structural gypsum being among them. French architect Pol Abraham (1891-1966) proposed an update of the ancient techniques by combining historical skills with mechanical tools trough the normalization of the construction sector[41]. This is what Marcel Lods (1891-1978) refers to as “traditionnel évolué.” The “traditionnel évolué” consisted of modernizing and streamlining established construction techniques, processes, tools, and materials[42]. It served as a middle ground between traditional construction methods (typically used for renovating historic monuments) and fully mechanized prefabrication (used for producing standard residential buildings). It was in this trend that the essence of the Second Reconstruction’s architecture was embodied[43].
For Abraham, this conception of heavy masonry is key to the permanence of architecture: he can’t accept that a building can be constructed like an industrialized car, for example[44].
In the case of Saint-Dié’s district, this conception of “traditionnel évolué”[45] is characterized by using some local building materials. The Vosges sandstone (“grès rose”) is probably the most common and applied in various ways: as an apparatus in the substructure of common buildings or in external elevation of the uncommon ones, as well as rubble stones covered with lime or cement coating. However, the Reconstruction does not only restore the ancient buildings with those historical materials. Some of exogenous ones are used in specific purposes: steel for carpentry, concrete for basements, lintel, columns, and beams, for example. In fact, architects have no choice to manage with available materials (fig. 7).
This differs from other French regions. In the Hautes-Alpes region, for example, approximately 60 rural villages were bombed in 1944, and industrialized materials were employed instead of local materials, causing harm to the local economy. For instance, cinder blocks and concrete were extensively used for load-bearing masonry, while stone was only used for facing. Window frames were crafted from prefabricated concrete elements, and roofing materials exhibited greater diversity, with mechanical terracotta tiles replacing traditional canal tiles, and corrugated iron supplanting wooden shingles[46].
The “traditionnel évolué” style is prominently reflected in the overall appearance of buildings. In the urban area of Saint-Dié, as well as in the rural areas of the Vercors, the reinterpretation of reconstructed buildings is evident in their volumetric design. The clustering of previously scattered buildings results in a change of scale[47] compared to traditional constructions, and specific functions of the farmhouse are much more clearly defined. In the villages under examination, farmhouses are consistently composed of three sections: one for the dwelling, another for the barn, and the last for the stable. In addition to the material approach, the architects responsible for the reconstruction of each individual building employed a variety of architectural vocabularies to preserve landmarks for the local population and blend in with the Vosges mountainous landscape.
Indeed, the central administration adopted an intermediate solution between identical reconstruction and a complete eradication of the past. It aimed to

avoid both the reconstitution of destroyed cities and the creation of cities designed according to a theoretical scheme that disregarded the past. Furthermore, it sought to avoid pitting materials against each other, choosing between architectural pastiche and the dominance of concrete[48]. This approach encourages architects to seek new solutions to the problems posed by destruction, while also considering the traditional way of life. Many reconstructed towns draw inspiration from ancient plans, preserving the logic of the island through buildings constructed in line with the streets.
This approach, described by some researchers as "moderate modernism," provides further evidence of the particular attention paid by rebuilding architects to reinvesting existing traces and preserving the material and architectural history within these reconstructed communities:

> La divergence entre régionalistes et modernes a aussi créé de nouvelles formes architecturales synthétisant les avantages des deux conceptions, tout en tentant d'en limiter les désagréments. Cette tendance que l'on peut qualifier "de modernisme modéré" insiste sur la nécessité de reconstruire selon des normes contemporaines (hygiène, confort, salubrité, industrialisation, circulation…) tout en préservant les repères des populations, leur mémoire, leur territoire, leur culture par une intégration forte des constructions dans le paysage local[49].

Figure 7. Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, Thiers Street and a rebuild building, 2019 (photograph by the authors)

EVERYDAY PATRIMONIALIZATION

The focus of heritage protection underwent a gradual shift, moving from the conventional emphasis on the object itself, as defined by the canons of art history, to encompass the immediate environment of the protected object (including its surroundings and context), and eventually expanded to include natural landscapes by 1970. The preservation of historic monuments broadened in its scope, now extending beyond prestigious buildings, to encompass everyday structures that bear witness[50] to their cultural and technical context (e.g., mailman Cheval's famous *Palais ideal*, 1879-1912), as well as various domestic or industrial buildings.

In France, this protection is accompanied by a significant increase in heritage classifications and preservation. In 2007, there were over 43,000 protected monuments and an average of 140 new classifications annually. This surge in classifications has been paralleled by an abundance of literature since the early 1980s[51], including symposia, theses, articles, journals, and books.

Old town centers are receiving increasing attention from public authorities. The heritage value of buildings and town planning is recognised by various stakeholders, including property vendors, elected representatives, and residents. This value is the result of the struggles that began during the Reconstruction period, when the issue of renewing unhealthy housing estates in historic town centers arose. These struggles led to the introduction of several national bills aimed at protecting and organizing the city's heritage and development. As a result, it became apparent that the morphology of old buildings was fixed[52].

Early research on the architecture of the Second Reconstruction period began in France in the 1990s[53]. Numerous targeted studies have enabled the construction of an initial inventory of architectural works in certain regions (primarily North and West France) and the characterization of the urban developments inherited from this period.

At the local level in the Vosges region, architectural historians are studying the reconstruction of Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, focusing on the reconstruction plan proposed by Le Corbusier (1887-1965). This plan resulted in a well-known conflict with the town-planning architect Jacques André[54], who was commissioned by the MRU. The legacy of the Second Reconstruction in the Vosges did not become a subject of research and a heritage to be preserved and promoted until the 2010s.

This period also corresponds to the first studies conducted by the *Inventaire régional du Grand Est*. While some thematic surveys focused on specific geographical areas (e.g., rural architecture in the Hautes-Vosges and reconstructed farms[55] or churches), a few towns were the subject of comprehensive studies, such as the small towns of Gérardmer or Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, or the reconstructed village of Corcieux[56].

The growing interest in the history of the Second Reconstruction explains the robust heritage and cultural policy implemented by the Saint-Dié community of communes from 2013 onwards. The first step in this policy was the awarding of the *Architecture Contemporaine Remarquable* (ACR) label to the rebuilt city center of Saint-Dié in 2015. The UNESCO World Heritage listing of Le Corbusier's Usine verte in 2016 also signifies the beginning of a new initiative: the development of a regulatory framework for the protection of a territory (referred to as SPR, for *site patrimonial remarquable*). The reconstructed village of Corcieux will be fully ACR-certified in 2016, along with several other buildings dating from the same period.

RAISING INHABITANTS' AWARNESS

In addition to these protection initiatives, between 2016 and 2021, additional efforts were made to raise awareness about the architecture of the Second Reconstruction period, creating opportunities to engage with local communities. The local authority, through exhibitions at the Saint-Dié Museum, publications, mediation workshops, and guided tours is committed to promoting a local heritage that has been overlooked and underappreciated by the public.

Residents do not fully appreciate the historical value of the buildings constructed during the Reconstruction period. This is partly due to the complexity of the buildings, which may be difficult to understand without formal architectural education. Additionally, their everyday use may overshadow their significance as monumental structures.

Simultaneously, the population is aging, and the acquisition of these historical buildings by a younger demographic is accompanied by a desire to enhance housing. As a matter of fact, some of the housing that met the comfort standards of the 1950s and 1960s may be seen as quite outdated today. The renovation and modification of these houses (e.g., through external insulation or extensions, figg. 8a and 8b) also affect their authenticity and the historical value derived from the cognitive access to their historical context.

Today, temporality is shifting: the witnesses of demolitions or reconstruction are disappearing. Reconstructed buildings have become a common sight, unrecognizable to most residents. The memory of the "scorched earth" is fading across generations. No intentional monument has been created to convey this painful memory and commemorate the destruction. Only a few reconstructed buildings remain to bear witness to the devastation on the territory, but they are not considered heritage sites.

Figure 8a and 8b. Saulcy-sur-Meurthe. The presbytery before (on the left) and after (on the right) the external isolation with polystyrene panels and coating, 2019-2021 (photograph by the authors)

NON-PERCEPTUAL PROPERTIES AND HISTORICAL VALUE

The historical value of the reconstructed buildings is not always visually perceptible. When standing in front of an object, we can only perceive its formal properties, such as construction techniques, materials, and typology.However, the cultural heritage of the Second Reconstruction is also characterized by relational properties.When we refer to “relational properties,” we are talking about the imperceptible properties of the built object that play a part in its historical evaluation. These properties include having a specific author, being constructed at a particular time, and being the

result of a unique policy or historical event. One way to comprehend the significance of non-perceptual properties in the evaluation of cultural heritage is presented by American philosopher Robert Audi (1941-...), who distinguishes these types of properties as artistic. He explains that these properties, such as "being painted by Rembrandt and being original in the relevant genre, a property works in any artistic medium are eligible to have. The former (on my view) does not bear on strictly aesthetic properties, as opposed to what we might call artistic properties[57]". The relevant artistic properties of the Reconstruction heritage in Vosges are, for our case, those of being authentically built during the Reconstruction period.
Another way to distinguish these properties is by considering their role in characterizing the genesis of the built object. The fact that a building has been conceived by certain people, in certain conditions, reflects features of the object that no direct experience of it can account for, as the American art philosopher Monroe Beardsley (1915-1985) puts it:

> I call a reason Genetic if it refers to something existing before the work itself, to the manner in which it was produced, or its connection with antecedent objects and psychological states[58].

These properties include being built through a decision process established by the MRU or being the result of heated debates between chief architect Michau and operating architect Jankowski, as seen in the case of Saulcy's public buildings among others[59].
A third way of using non-perceptual properties in evaluation is to consider the relations an object may have with other objects. The reconstructed architectural objects in St-Dié, being constructed within the framework of a national policy and specifically using a standardized local building method, are characterised by a collective status. This unique axiological characteristic is referred to as "regime de communauté"[60] by French art sociologist Natalie Heinich (1955-...).
All these accounts of non-perceptual properties explain the challenge of extracting the historical value of our objects. This challenge contributes to the modern transformation of the concept of heritage, shifting it from an aesthetic and perceptual focus to a cognitive and non-perceptual one. According to the French geographer Vincent Veschambre,

> [...] la conception du patrimoine a notablement évolué durant ces quarante dernières années : elle est passée d'une vision classique, esthétisante, du type histoire de l'art à une vision beaucoup plus ethnologique, voire sociologique[61].

> Mais cette évolution ne signifie pas pour autant que la conception classique, monumentale a disparu, notamment chez les acteurs de la protection du patrimoine. En cette conception ethnologique ne s'est pas traduite de manière spectaculaire en terme [*sic*] de protection[62].

In Europe, everyday architecture constitutes 70% of the construction industry, with a significant portion[63]. Thus, while the memory of Reconstruction is preserved by the buildings before us, the painful memory of the Destruction remains elusive in their sole experience.

MEMORY OBJECTS: NATIONAL GLORIFICATION VS. LOCAL PAIN

Collective memory is a constantly evolving social construct:

> La mémoire ne doit pas être confondue avec la "vérité" du souvenir : c'est une logique sociale, une structure qui donne du sens au passé. Et ces structures ne sont jamais le reflet du réel, mais justement, des constructions [...][64].

> L'individu évoque ses souvenirs en s'aidant des cadres de la mémoire sociale. En d'autres termes les divers groupes en lesquels se décomposent la société sont capables à chaque instant de *reconstruire leur* passé[65].

Reconstructing memory is akin to distorting historical truth. French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) claims that collective memory is a social construct created to fulfill human needs: the need for social unity and the need for continuity. As a result, society tends to erase from its memory

> tout ce qui pourrait séparer les individus, éloigner les groupes des uns des autres, et qu'à chaque époque elle remanie ses souvenirs de manière à les mettre en accord avec les conditions variables de son équilibre[66].

The formation of collective memory is rational and reconstructed based on the "social frameworks" essential for recognizing and situating memories. Social frameworks consist of language, time, space, and experience.
As previously mentioned, the memory of the Second World War in the Vosges region does not necessarily restore the truth of the events following the Liberation, but it does offer consolation. The issue is more practical than epistemological, as it involves commemorating Victory and justifying loss. It also serves to encourage the mourning process of the affected population and maintain social cohesion. In the early stages, memory and history were in competition with each other. French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005) highlights "l'étrangeté de l'histoire, l'interminable compétition entre le vœu de la fidélité de la mémoire et la recherche de la vérité en histoire[67]". While remembrance aims to unite people and commemorate the national Victory, the historical account points to the unique nature of the Vosges region and its destruction, which cannot be equated with the rest of France. The pursuit of historical truth necessitates historians and architects to emphasize this painful memory and remember the specific impact of the devastation caused by the scorched-earth policy.

PATRIMONIALIZATION AS THE PROCESS OF MAKING MEMORIAL ARTEFACTS

The tension between history and memory is at the heart of the actual patrimonialization policies aimed at preserving the last remaining witnesses of these dramatic times *viz*., the rebuilt buildings.
The heritage policies implemented over the past two decades have selected and protected rebuilt complexes as well as isolated buildings, emphasizing the reconstruction policy. The purpose of these examples is to document the new urban planning and architectural systems implemented by the architects

hired by the MRU, offering insight into the methods used to rebuild quickly while integrating modern principles. This new heritage also offers an opportunity to explore the mass production and standardization that took place in the region during this period.
However, the painful memory of the destruction that led to this heritage remains the most difficult to convey. Out of habit or convenience, it is rarely addressed in regulatory protection tools such as SPRs or ACR labels. These protection and safeguard perimeters precisely define the reconstructed buildings that are most emblematic of the reconstruction policy. These tools are used to manage an existing material heritage that is evolving in nature.
This case study of the Saint-Dié-des-Vosges district is a perfect illustration of the challenge of creating space for multiple memories, especially those that are painful. In France, the memory of the destruction caused by the Second World War is primarily preserved through sanctuaries transformed into sites of martyrdom, such as the devastated village of Oradour-sur-Glane. But is it necessary to suppress the destruction in reconstructed areas? Minimizing destruction as part of the heritage process tends to undermine the primary purpose of preserving these buildings: they are rebuilt because they have been damaged or destroyed. Couldn't the policy of heritage preservation facilitate the transmission of memories?
The question persists: how can we preserve the intangible identity of this heritage? Several mediation tools, such as panels, exhibitions, publications, etc., have been designed to convey specific historical truths and intangible values. They remind us of the context in which these buildings were created and the people who built them.
Although necessary, this process of preserving heritage is gradually supplanting the painful memory of destruction and reconstruction with the memory of the state's rebuilding efforts. For example, temporary settlements and barracks have vanished from the landscape, and the few remaining examples are not afforded protection. No images depicting the destruction or ruins are to be found within the perimeter of a particular memorial site. Patrimonialization, while still in progress, seems to entail a significant selection of memorials. In the absence of effective means of transmitting local memory of the destruction, the very act of patrimonialization tends to cause this specific memory of the fading into oblivion.

CONCLUSION

The opening section of this article establishes the context for our study. By recalling the devastation caused by the Second World War in France and the Vosges, and by emphasizing the systematic policy of "scorched earth" following the German retreat, we have demonstrated that destruction embodies a "painful memory" driven by both economic and ideological motives.
By situating the reconstruction of Saint-Dié within a broader comparative literature, we were able to highlight its unique characteristics and parallels with other national and European cases. We have also demonstrated the role played by chief architects in the process of "reasonable modernization" of rebuilt centers, particularly in emphasizing the memory of the war through the construction of war memorials. War memorials play a central role in reconstruction plans, both in a physical and symbolic sense.
The third part of the article, which combines historical and philosophical methods, enables us to discuss the process of turning these everyday architectures into cultural heritage.

By showcasing the architectural significance of these commonplace buildings and engaging the residents of the reconstructed villages, we argue that the memory of reconstruction is preserved in the authenticity of these structures. As historian Rémi Baudouï points out,

> [...] le cycle de la destruction est aux origines d'un traumatisme qui obère les facultés de penser la ville détruite comme produit de l'instant de guerre, circonscrit entre passé et futur. À cette vision de la déchirure du sinistré, se superpose une vision politique du dépassement de la revendication locale au nom de l'idéal politique de l'après-guerre. *Le Silence de la mémoire* signale la nécessité de dépasser l'histoire du lieu par l'idéal de modernisation défini comme le ciment pour restaurer la nation[68].

The fourth and final section emphasizes the significance of preserving the buildings that were reconstructed to maintain a collective memory of the damage and the local efforts made. This position involves an operational approach and the recommendation of architectural solutions that can be partially implemented as part of an improvement project in collaboration with local stakeholders[69]. The deliberate preservation of reconstructed architecture is a key aspect of a well-considered design approach, which contributes to the success of the architectural project and adds value to the area.

NOTES

[1] A first phase (2018–2019) allowed us to report on the specificities of the reconstructed buildings, to build an important historical database, and to share our results through a travelling exhibition open to the public. [2] Kopp, Anatole, Frédérique Boucher, and Danièle Pauly. 1982. *L'architecture de la Reconstruction en France, 1945-1953*. Paris: Le Moniteur; Barjot, Dominique, Rémi Baudouï, and Danièle Voldman. eds. 1995. *Les Reconstructions en Europe (1945–1949)*. Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe; Dautry, Raoul. 1945. *La Reconstruction de la France*. Paris: Service-Echos; Voldman, Danièle. 1997. *La Reconstruction des villes françaises de 1940 à 1954: histoire d'une politique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

[3] As an example, we can mention the specific role assigned to the "communal architect" in the reconstruction of the villages in the arrondissement of Saint-Dié. Appointed by the municipal council of each village, rather than by the Ministry, the municipal architect was officially responsible for reconstructing municipal buildings under the supervision of the chief architect of the arrondissement. However, the architect's responsibilities could vary, including creating plans for communal facilities, urban development plans, and town center drawings, coordinating architects hired for projects in the community, and providing advice to the town council. [4] Steinmetz, Hugo, et. al. 2023. "Leçons constructives de la Seconde Reconstruction". In *Architecture et urbanisme de la Seconde Reconstruction en France. Nouvelles recherches, nouveaux regards, nouveaux enjeux*, edited by Christel Palant-Frapier and Camille Bidaux. Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses Universitaires de Rouen et du Havre (to be published). [5] Guerrand, Roger-Henri. 1992. *Une Europe en construction. Deux siècles d'habitat social en Europe*. Paris: La Découverte, 179. [6] *Ivi*, 182-183. [7] Berstein, Serge, and Pierre Milza. 2010. *Histoire de la France au XX^e siècle*. Tome II. 1930-1958. Paris: Perrin, 456. [8] Regarding the prioritization of cities as targets for destruction, please see: Voldman, Danièle. 1997. Op. cit., 70 sq. [9] AD 88, fonds de la Reconstruction dans les Vosges, 1815W1965, Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, Destructions par arrondissement, Vosges, janvier 1952. [10] For information on the fighting during the Liberation of Eastern France in 1944, see: Drévillon, Hervé and Olivier Wieviorka. eds. 2018. *Histoire militaire de la France. Tome II. De 1870 à nos jours*. Paris: Perrin, 468-475. [11] Delagoutte, Pierre. 1987. *Gerbépal Mon Village*. Rambervillers: Holveck, 73. [12] Thilleul, Karine. 2018. *La Seconde Reconstruction à Saint-Dié-Des-Vosges. Débats Urbains, Patrimoine Humain*. Paris: Nouvelles éditions Place, 10. [13] *Ibid.* [14] Le Couedic, Daniel. 1983. "Brest, Une reconstruction autre". In *Les trois Reconstructions : 1919-1940-1945. Volume 3. 1940-1960. Industrialisation : Reconstruction et exportation de la société française*, edited by Jean-Pierre Épron, 27-32. Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture. [15] Roger, Philippe. 2017. "Douai et Lille de la Seconde Reconstruction à l'aménagement urbain". In *Reconstruire le Nord-Pas-de-Calais après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1944-1958)*, edited by Michel-Pierre Chélini and Philippe Roger, 284 sq. Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion. [16] Lefevre, Christophe. 2017. "La Reconstruction de Lens (1944-1946)". In *Reconstruire le Nord-Pas-de-Calais après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1944-1958)*, edited by Michel-Pierre Chélini and Philippe Roger, 303. Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion. [17] Grand Est et al. 2016. *Corcieux, Un bourg Reconstruit, Alsace Champagne-Ardenne Lorraine*. Lyon: Lieux dits, 12. [18] Delagoutte, Pierre. 1987. Op. cit., 77. [19] Veschambre, Vincent. 2008. *Traces et mémoires urbaines : enjeux sociaux de la patrimonialisation et de la démolition*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 115. [20] *Ibid.* [21] Cupers, Kenny. 2018. *La banlieue, un projet social. Ambitions d'une politique urbaine, 1945-1975*. Paris: Parenthèses, 43 sq. [22] Kopp, Anatole, Frédérique Boucher, and Danièle Pauly. 1982. Op. cit. [23] Buffler, Éléonore, Patrice Gourbin, and Christel Palant-Frapier. 2020. *Protéger, valoriser, intervenir sur l'architecture et l'urbanisme de la Seconde Reconstruction en France. Actualité et avenir d'un patrimoine méconnu*. Gand: Snoeck. [24] Abram, Joseph. 1999. *L'architecture moderne en France. Tome II. Du chaos à la croissance. 1940-1966*. Paris: Picard, 60.

[25] Barjot, Dominique, Rémi Baudouï, and Danièle Voldman. eds. 1995. Op. cit., 335 sq. [26] Kuisel, Richard. 1981. *Capitalism and the State in Modern France: Renovation and Economic Management in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 187. [27] Prothin, André. 1946. "Urbanisme et Reconstruction". *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 7-8 (September): 2. The journal provides a comprehensive overview of the goals and initiatives associated with the reconstruction of the country, as well as with guidance on methods and legislative measures. [28] See in particular : Candré, Manuel, and Danièle Voldman. 1995. *Une politique du logement. Ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme. 1944-1954*. Paris: Plan construction et architecture. Institut français d'architecture. For more information on the creation of the MRU, see: Voldman, Danièle. 1997. Op. cit., 119 sq. and Voldman, Danièle. 1983. "Aux Origines Du Ministère de La Reconstruction". In *Les trois Reconstructions : 1919-1940-1945. Volume 3. 1940-1960. Industrialisation : reconstruction et exportation de la société française*, edited by Jean-Pierre Épron, 1-4. Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture. [29] For regional or local studies on the second reconstruction in France, refer to the following sources: Vermandel, Frank. 1997. *Le Nord de la France, laboratoire de la ville: trois reconstructions, Amiens, Dunkerque, Maubeuge*. Lille: Espace Croisé; Jeanmonod, Thierry, Gilles Ragot, and Nicolas Nogue. 2003. *L'invention d'une ville : Royan années 50*. Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine; Bonin, Hubert, Sylvie Guillaume, and Bernard Lachaise. eds. 1997. *Bordeaux et la Gironde pendant la Reconstruction, 1945-1954*. Talence: Maison des sciences de l'homme; Plum, Gilles. 2011. *L'architecture de La Reconstruction*. Paris: Nicolas Chaudun; Vayssière, Bruno. 1998. *Reconstruction. Déconstruction. Le « hard French » ou l'architecture française des Trente Glorieuses*. Paris: Picard; Chélini, Michel-Pierre, and Roger Philippe. eds. 2017. *Reconstruire le Nord-Pas-de-Calais après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1944-1958)*. Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion; Dieudonné, Patrick. 1994. *Villes reconstruites: du dessin au destin. Volume I*. Paris: L'Harmattan; Bouillot, Corinne. 2013. *La reconstruction en Normandie et en Basse-Saxe après la Seconde guerre mondiale*. Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre; Auger, Jack, and Daniel Mornet. 1986. *La Reconstruction de Caen*. Rennes: Ouest-France; Bonillo, Jean-Lucien. 2008. *La reconstruction à Marseille: architectures et projets urbains, 1940 – 1960*. Marseille: Imbernon. [30] Guerrand, Roger-Henri. 1992. Op. cit., 174. These comfort features are described in greater detail in the following section: *Ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme. 1945. Charte de l'architecte*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 16-17. [31] *Ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme. 1945. Charte de l'urbanisme*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. [32] Only his student record from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Paris exists. See his entry in: Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure. 2015. "Dictionnaire des élèves architectes de l'École des beaux-arts de Paris (1800-1968)". https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/396feccb-32d5-4ecf-a605-4fd85428c974. [33] On the Chief Architect's missions, please see: *Ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme. 1945. Charte de l'architecte*. Op. cit., 10. [34] Grand Est et al. 2016. Op. cit., 13. [35] André, Jacques. 1946. "Saint-Dié, Plan d'aménagement". *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 7–8 (September): 78. [36] Bauer, Caroline. 2022. *Les frères André. L'architecture en héritage, architectures contemporaines*. Paris: Hermann, 20 sq. [37] Jankowski drew up PRAs for several ruined rural communities: Anould, Corcieux, Gerbépal, Saint-Léonard and Saulcy-sur-Meurthe. See also his student file available in: Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure. 2015. "Dictionnaire des élèves architectes de l'École des beaux-arts de Paris (1800-1968)". https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/fa0238ab-48b9-46c2-adc7-eefa3c572106. [38] Prost, Antoine. 2013. "Les monuments aux morts. Culte républicain ? Culte civique ? Culte patriotique ?". In *Les Lieux de mémoire. Tome I. La République*, edited by Pierre Nora, 204. Paris: Gallimard. [39] Veschambre, Vincent. 2008. Op. cit., 10. [40] Voldman, Danièle. 1997. Op. cit., 151. [41] Abraham, Pol. 1946. *Architecture préfabriquée*. Paris: Dunod. [42] Jambard, Pierre. 2009. "La construction des grands ensembles, un échec des méthodes fordistes ? Le cas de la Société Auxiliaire d'Entreprises. 1950-1973". *Histoire, économie & société*, no. 2: 138. [43] Delemontey, Yvan. 2015. *Reconstruire la France. L'aventure du béton assemblé. 1940-1955*. Paris: Éditions de la Villette, 101. [44] *Ivi*, 130 sq. [45] Monnier, Gérard. 2000. *L'architecture du XX^e siècle*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 75 sq. [46] Lyon-Caen, Jean-François, et al. 1983. "La Reconstruction dans les Alpes Françaises (1945-1955)". In *Les trois Reconstructions : 1919-1940-1945. Volume 3. 1940-1960. Industrialisation : Reconstruction et exportation de la société française*, edited by Jean-Pierre Épron. Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, 35. [47] *Ivi*, 35. [48] Sanyas, Hélène. 1983. "La profession d'architecte et le contrôle architectural durant la période de la reconstruction (1940-1945)". In *Les trois Reconstructions : 1919-1940-1945. Volume 3. 1940-1960. Industrialisation : Reconstruction et exportation de la société française*, edited by Jean-Pierre Épron, 5-12. Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture. [49] Doyen, Mathilde, Toussaint, Aline, and Vanessa Varvenne. 2020. "L'architecture de la seconde reconstruction, un patrimoine pour le parc ?". In *Protéger, valoriser, intervenir sur l'architecture et l'urbanisme de la Seconde Reconstruction en France. Actualité et avenir d'un patrimoine méconnu*, edited by Éléonore Buffler, Patrice Gourbin and Christel Palant-Frapier, 50. Gand : Snoeck. [50] Heinich, Nathalie. 2009. *La fabrique du patrimoine. «De la cathédrale à la petite cuillère»*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 18. [51] *Ivi*, 21. [52] Linossier, Rachel, et al. 2004. "Effacer, conserver, transformer, valoriser : le renouvellement urbain face à la patrimonialisation". *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, no. 1 (2004): 24. [53] Buffler, Éléonore, Gourbin, Patrice, and Christel Palant-Frapier. 2020. Op. cit., 20. [54] Bradel, Vincent. 1994. "Saint-Dié : sans Corbu ni maître". In *Villes reconstruites. Du dessin au destin. Tome 1*, edited by Patrick Dieudonné, 293-304. Paris: L'Harmattan. [55] Henry, Jean-Yves. 2013. "La Seconde Reconstruction Dans l'est Des Vosges". *Situ*, no. 21 (July). [56] Grand Est et al. 2016. Op. cit. [57] Audi, Robert. 2014. "Normativity and Generality in Ethics and Aesthetics". *The Journal of Ethics*, no. 4 (December): 375. Original emphasis. [58] Beardsley, Monroe C. 1958. *Aesthetics: Problems in the Philosophy of Criticism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 457.

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ARCHITECTURE AND REPRESENTATION *ETCHING, ENGRAVING, PAINTING*

Edited by Fabio Marino and Elena Fioretto (Politecnico di Milano)

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Anthony Vidler

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This was the last lecture that Anthony Vidler[1] delivered at the Polytechnic of Milan during Mantovarchitettura Festival in 2020. Summer had just begun, after months quite complicated and unusual times, trying to cope with the catastrophic consequences of the pandemic emergency. Despite everything, Mantovarchitettura proceeded nonetheless, entirely online, thanks to the contributions of architects and scholars who had participated in previous editions over the years. Such as Vidler who remotely, from his home and ill for a while, showcased emblematic works of architect-artists who, in representing architecture, had managed to construct design theories, revealing overlaps and mutual influences that blur the boundaries of the two disciplines. A journey that has started from the dawn of the Enlightenment, reviewing French architects of the 18th century, and then Schinkel and Soane, extended to the contemporary era, using the architect-painter Aldo Rossi to guide the conclusions of his discourse. This lecture on the relationship between architecture and representation allows for some reflections on the process that unfolds between the development of an idea and its materialization. Vidler's arguments – fragments of memories and anecdotes about the great

revolutionary French architects – ideally connected to an Enlightenment dimension, stimulate reflections on the concept of transformation – change of states, in their scientific sense related to the world of physics – and transition. This encourages thoughts about how to approach contexts that have experienced destruction in its various manifestations. Vidler concluded his lecture by demonstrating the difference between those who have the ability to enter the spirit of the past and bring it into the present time, and those who simply copy the past in a banal or highly abstract manner. These issues are not different from those faced by anyone who deals with the not-so-simple problem of relating to what is already destroyed, or at risk of irreversibly dissolving and being lost forever.

> Drawing, painting, working in three dimensions in the arts is an essential characteristic of architectural design. All the most successful architects I know have been painters, have been sculptors, have been interested in a whole range of techniques of representation, including all the contemporary architects who are now experimenting more and more with representation in computerization. So, the first moment where architecture and representation coincided together in a very fundamental way was, of course, the emergence of ways of representing perspective in the Renaissance. And this had an immediate impact. Immediately façades in the Renaissance are in fact designed in order to be seen in prospettiva, in perspective. And so, we have the ideal cities of the Renaissance, all constructed according to perspective.

The relationship between architecture and painting has always been very strong. The way of representing architecture has varied over the centuries, not only as a result of a perfection in technique, but by indulging the creative genius of artists and their aspirations to communicate new meanings. Some ways of representing architecture, contribute to prefigure certain architectures, suggesting atmospheres, or states of mind, revealing precise intentions of the architect.

> The relationships between architecture and painting is very strong. We have a whole series of paintings by Poussin, who in fact copied most of his architectural inventions from Palladio's unbuilt works. We have a very strong relationship also with Canaletto, who is developing a Fantasia di Venezia, a fantasy of Venice producing in venetian context the fantasy of the building of Palladio's unbuilt project: a dreamlike vision of Venice as it would have been had if Palladio built it. And this is a fantasy vision that appealed enormously to a number of architects through the 19th and 20th century. It became one of the primary images of the, what he called the Architettura Analoga, the Analogues architecture, of Aldo Rossi. And of course, the extraordinary fantasies of the Carceri, the prisons, that Piranesi developed between the 1750s and the 1770s. There are two versions of the invented prisons, the carceri d'invenzione, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and the way in which these particular techniques of engraving and etching led to the possibility of a sense of atmosphere. I want to talk about atmosphere that was

> suggested in the carceri of Piranesi, which became extraordinary popular, and were printed and distributed throughout Europe, and are especially popular in France. These are of course impossible environments. There is a wonderful essay by Manfredo Tafuri, early in his work La sfera e il labirinto, where he talks about the relationship between these two states of the carceri, the first and the second, and the impossibility of the perspectives within these states. You can actually trace through each of these traits, states the whole series of different perspective views, a whole different set of viewpoints, so there is never one single viewpoint. All viewpoints are fractured and broken as these prisons fall apart in the vision Piranesi.

The argument moves from the visionary architects of the French Enlightenment, that Vidler knows well. Architects who are also painters, or aspire to be.

> I will be talking about three or four architects each of who have a different relationship to painting, and have different relationship to representation. We are talking about Étienne-Louis Boullée, who has a very powerful relationship to the notion of painting. I will be talking about Claude Nicolas Ledoux, who has an equally powerful relationship to the notion of engraving. And we will see that Boullée, who always wants to be a painter, and Ledoux, who was trained to be an engraver, have developed very different architectures out of their forms of representation. So, I want to suggest that the form of representation is selected by an architect. It reveals what is a very powerful determinant of the architecture of that particular architect.
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> So Boullée, who was one of the earliest professionals in Paris, trained in the school of Blondel in the middle of the 18th century. He did not want to be an architect. He always wanted to be a painter. In fact, he tried. His father was an architect, and his father did not want him to be a painter. He thought that if Boullée had become a painter he would have not make any money, and he wanted his son to go into a proper trade like architecture, where he would have made some money and he would have been a proper professional. Boullée always tried to be a painter. He actually worked in the studios of many of the painters from Hubert Robert atelier, and others painters of the 1740s and 1750s, before he was forced by his father to enter architectural school. He left behind, at his death, just after the French Revolution in the 1790s, an essay which he never published, that circulated among his friends but he never published it. It was published for the first time in the 20th century and translated by none other than the architect Aldo Rossi, who found in it a particular way of thinking about architecture that stimulated his ability to criticize the functionalism of modern architecture in the 1920s and 1930s.
>
> So, we have Aldo Rossi in the 1970s translating Boullée, and if you look at the front page of Boullée book, Architecture, Essay on the art, underneath he places an epigraph: Ed io anche son pittore. An epigraph that was taken from the famous Baroque painter Antonio da

Correggio: and I also am a painter. So Boullée never wanted to be mistaken just for an architect. He hardly built anything, but presented his work in painting after painting after painting. This is what Rossi says about Boullée. Boullée is not simply an 18th century enlightenment, a rationalist, he is an exalted rationalist. Esaltato! For Rossi means that Boullée tried to bring the theme of architecture to an experienced level where the emotions that the architecture provoked, given the subject of the architecture, were very perceptible in the architecture itself. In Architettura, Saggio sull'arte you can see exactly what Boullée preferred: "painters are so much more free, are so much more liberal and open then architects; architects are always obliged to fall under the powers of the client, whereas painters can develop in their paintings l'immagine sublime". And it is that word sublime, sublime that I want to follow through Boullée, because it becomes the key word for his architecture. He tried to emulate the painters that began to develop a kind of imaginative sublime. And that word in that moment, in the 1750s and 1760s, was an incredibly powerful word. It was a powerful word in the sense that painters were beginning to experience and to experiment with the effects of emotion. For several years Boullée worked in his atelier showing two things: one the effect and emotions of age, and then the effects and emotions created by light, by chiaroscuro. The development of this notion of sublime by Boullée then becomes a question of how to illustrate the powers of science, which had been developed in the Enlightenment by scientists and especially scientist like Newton.

The English philosopher Edmund Burke in his book published in 1757, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, demonstrated that all art did not have to be beautiful, that all art could also be in his terms sublime and be promoting of the most extraordinary powerful emotions: the question of the terrible, the question of terrible terror, the question of obscurity, the question of size of dimension, the question of privation, the question of seeming infinity. All these senses, that one had in nature in nor nature from volcanoes to forests, to the immensities of the sea, could be seen as aesthetic sensations, which Burke called the sublime, where the uniformity and succession of elements, the hugeness of elements, light the brilliance of the sun's light, the darkness, the shift between white and obscurity, light and darkness, would all render the works of poetry, the works of literature, works of painting, and for Boullée the works of sublime architecture. The sublime image of knowledge that Boullée developed out of a painting into architecture, and out of an architecture into a sense of sublimity of knowledge, and the depth and the extraordinary visions of knowledge that the Enlightenment had brought all the way back to antiquity.

If Boullée, the exalted rationalist, sought in his designs to emulate the painters who represent the sublime, Ledoux not only represented it but also constructed it, in a precise and geometric way, anticipating the rational abstractions of modernity.

So, I want to turn to a more cheerful architect. An architect who built a lot more than Boullée. A contemporary of Boullée slightly younger, about eight years younger: Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. He left series of buildings, a lot of buildings still exist. He was trained as an engraver and as a student he used his talents as an engraver to earn money while he was going to architecture school. He used all the talents of shading, of drawings, of engraving in this enlarged version of his book *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation*. A book that has got several hundred pages and an extraordinary text, almost a utopian text, but at the same time is full of paintings and engravings that in end are the inspiration for his books. He designed an antique frontispiece for his book, penetrating the kind of mystery of going behind the title *Architecture, considered in relation to Art, Morals and Legislation*. The first architectural monograph to be developed by an architect that in its tittle deals with the relationship between architecture and society. And accordingly, he developed engraving after engraving, hundreds of engravings, many of them not done by him, but done by engravers under his supervision. In his work *A play on the bridge of boats*, that bridge of boats which was such a common device in army is idealize by Ledoux. These of boats are no longer war boats, but they are swans. He looked at all the engravings in the encyclopaedia of the various structures and forms of everyday life. So, if you compare this engraving with the engraving of the military bridge of boats in the encyclopaedia, you will see that he is moving from reality into ideal through his own techniques of engraving. Ledoux used the engraving in order to develop the whole series of ideal monuments based on geometry.

And here you see the different between Ledoux and Boullée. Ledoux also has a sense of the sublime, but his sublime is based on abstraction, is based in pure geometry, is based in the pure cubic geometry of the Enlightenment, is based in rationalism and we saw Rossi talking about Boullée's exalted rationalism. Rossi will also speak about conventional and geometrical rationalism of Ledoux. So Ledoux is in the end much more of an architect, much more of an engraver, much less of painter then Boullée. Ledoux took the form of everyday life and turned it into geometry and made a geometrical element for the building up of his ideal city. He took an engraving from encyclopaedia and turned it into the architecture idealization for his ideal city. So, the play between painting and architecture of Boullée develops a kind of atmospheric architecture and the engraving and architecture of Ledoux develops an architecture of precision and geometry. An architecture that was thought by many in the 1920s, the era of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, and Adolf Loos had anticipated in its abstract geometry, the abstract geometries of modernity.

Figure 1. Caspar David Friedric, Der Mönch am Meer (1808-1810)

> Shifting to Germany and the circle of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and to another painter, Caspar David Friedrich, who is the painter of the sublime. Burke had been translated in German and everyone was understanding the possibilities of developing painting that could appeal to the deepest and most terrifying emotions. The emotions of the ruined abbey and the emotions of the ruined trees, so nature and art ruined within the eternal flux of nature and given a representation of terror, of the terror of time, the terror of history, the terror of decay. And in the *Mönch am Meer*, *The Monk by the sea*, a sense of the infinity of the sea, the infinity of the sky, the solitary nature of the individual, the alumnus of the individual, the terror of infinity as Burke would say, is imaged in Caspar David Friedrich's painting. At beginning of the 19th century in the moment of historical transformation, where revolution in France and Germany have brought about new states, have brought about the fall of monarchies, where history stretched behind and the future stretch in front in an unknown void, the monk on the sea was alone not just in nature but also in time: the sublimity of temporal depth. Schinkel who was a colleague and friend of Caspar David Friedrich in Berlin also had aspiration to be a painter. Schinkel represented the allegory of the notion of an architecture that emerges out of nature, and the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages actually that emerges as a not just an imitation but almost organically coming out of the ruins of nature itself. So, we get the sense of architecture that organically emerges out of life through the painting of temporality, through the painting of panoramas and his own sense of history of architecture that emerges in the same way from simple block of stone all the way through the arches.

In conclusion, Vidler states how through painting, it is possible to achieve the research of the sublime, which has united so many architects and artists, who have often worked together to achieve this goal. The architect whose work aspires to such a quest finds in painting the perfect medium to experience the sublime, which is not necessarily realisable. This is

reminded of certain architectural paintings by Aldo Rossi, or Gandy's ruins, which construct new meanings and exorcise the uncertainty of the future, which does not exclude destructive scenarios.

> And in England John Soane, who was not a painter, became very close friends and supporters of a painter. Joseph Michael Gandy was someone who all his life worked for Soane, illustrating Soane's buildings in the way that Soane, the architect, wanted them illustrated. Between 1788 to 1853 Soane draw up the labyrinth of the different halls, the different rooms of the Bank of England, each one of which is constructed according to Soane's imitation of Rome. There is an extraordinary painting that Gandy proposed to demonstrate - this is something that if you are going to be in any way architects you should begin to take this to heart - to the Bank of England management that if they had built the building that Soane had just designed, if they had built this in two thousands of years it would look as good as the ruins of Rome.

Figure 2. Aerial cutaway view of Soane's Bank of England by J.M. Gandy (1830)

> It demonstrates to the client that even if his building fell into ruins, it would look great and it would look just like Rome. So, this is how an architect and a painter can work together to deal with time, to deal with the future, to deal with the terror of the future. You can actually anticipate the future by ruining the design you just made in order to demonstrate that it will make a good ruin.
>
> And finally Aldo Rossi and the way in which in his work *L'Architettura della città* of 1966 took the 18th century, Boullée and Ledoux and an 18th century architect Milizia, as the basis for his own form of architectural typology. Of course the cemetery of San Cataldo, where the painting of the cemetery becomes as powerful, and certainly this painting was with many other of the same kind finished many many years before the actual cemetery was built and became an image that circulated through the world. An image of the way in which Aldo Rossi would take from the 18th century and transformed the 18th century into a form of Neo-razionalismo of not rationalism but Neo-rationalism demonstrated in

his exhibition at the Milanese Triennale of 1973, where he developed the whole theory of Neo-rationalism out of the 18th century, out of his translation one year earlier of Boullée and exalted version of modernism. In other words, for him the rationalism of the 18th century transformed by Boullée into an exalted rationalism, will become for him a way of transforming modernism, the geometrical modernism of Le Corbusier and others in the 1920s into an exalted form of modernism, bringing together the two in painting. So, it is through painting, I recall, actually Rossi brings his architecture to a perfect state, in a way that the actual buildings themselves may not always give you that sense of a sublime experience.

NOTES

[1] Anthony Vidler (1941-2023) was an English architectural historian, noted expert on the life and work of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Graduated at the University of Cambridge, he received his Ph.D. from Technical Univesity of Delft, and then began his career at Princeton University in 1965, before moving to the Univesity of California in 1993. Afterward, he was the dean of the Cooper Union's architecture school from 2001 to 2013 taking over John Hejduk's legacy.

GOODBYE HISTORY, HELLO HAMBURGER REFLECTIONS ON THE INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF THE AMERICAN CITY

Edited by Rosa Sessa (Università di Napoli Federico II)

TITLE
Goodbye History, Hello Hamburger. An Anthology of Architectural Delights and Disasters

AUTHOR
Ada Louise Huxtable

PUBLISHER
The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation

CITY
Washington, D.C.

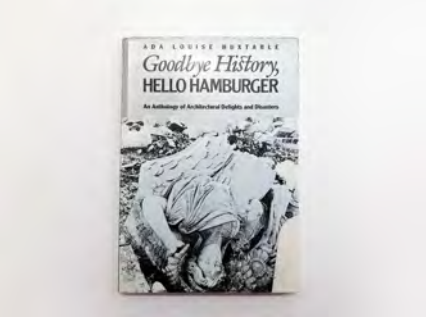
YEAR
1986

DIMENSION
178x254 mm

PRINT LENGHT
206 pages

LANGUAGE
English

ISBN
0891331190



The long and successful career of Ada Louise Huxtable (New York, 1921-2013) is one of many firsts: first woman to win a Fulbright Fellowship in Architecture in 1950, first appointed full-time critic of architecture for an American newspaper – the *New York Times* – in 1963, first Pulitzer Prize winner for Distinguished Criticism in 1970.
Since the post-war period, her voice has always been the most recognizable in American architectural journalism and criticism, two fields that she contributed to establish and evolve. Her splendidly written, acute, and often caustic observations on the many changes occurring in the American-built world were, at the same time, the most awaited by her affectionate readers, as well as the most feared by architectural firms, politicians, and building contractors.

In the ever-changing built context of the United States from the Fifties onwards, Huxtable has started and shared many subjects of discussion and reflection arising from the vivid observation of the reality around her. Saluting with sharpness the many achievements in the fields of architecture and planning, she witnessed with her incisive pen the rise and evolution of different new sensitivities in design. Her writings didn't spare to direct many ferocious attacks against the demolition of landmarks and their replacement with "shoddy or undistinguished" new projects or, even worse, with "reproductions... preferred to originals". She vehemently warned the public opinion about the approval of urban plans that she reputed a danger against the quality and character of the built environment, "a good way to kill off a city, as well" [p. 49].

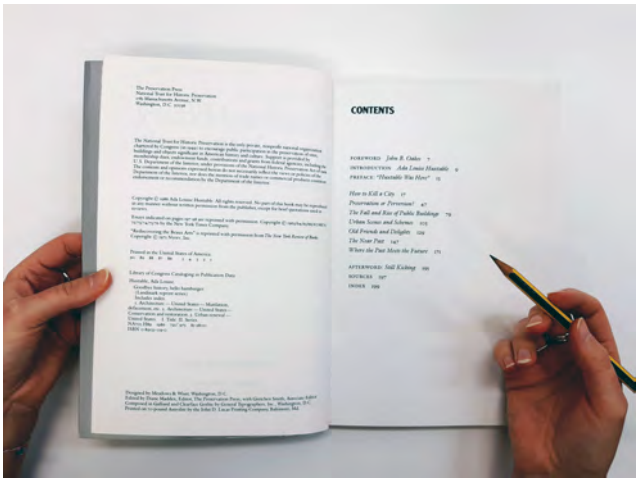
Her most famous pieces devoted to the causes of preservation and restoration, in all of its multifaceted and eclectic definitions, are collected in the 1986 book Goodbye History, Hello Hamburger. As anticipated in the exquisite subtitle, the *Anthology of Architectural Delights and Disasters* collects 63 articles documenting Huxtable's view on the topics of urban and architectural preservation, mostly published in the pages of the *New York Times* during the Sixties and the Seventies. Her major object of research is New York and the urban development occurring in its boroughs, and especially in Manhattan. But Huxtable's pieces address the many changes in the American city in general, among them the "side street sabotage" in Syracuse, controversial restoration projects in Baltimore, and the loss of Mapleside historic house for a Burger King in Madison, Wisconsin, a story that is also recalled in the title of the book.

The articles are ordered in seven thematic sections, named in no less evocative way then the title of the book itself: *How to Kill a City, Preservation or Perversion?, The Fall and Rise of Public Buildings, Urban Scenes and Schemes, Old Friends and Delights, The Near Past, Where the Past Meets the Future*.
In all of these sections, Huxtable wrote about the deliberate destruction of the historic urban fabric as well as the intentional demolition, alteration, replacement or counterfeit of significant buildings considered by the critic as an essential matter of the public good, major factors in "the city's future quality and identity" [p. 11].

In the second section, *Preservation or Perversion?*, are present the articles which recount the story of the most passionate and lost battle of Ada Louise Huxtable in this field: her fight at the forefront to save the original Pennsylvania Station in New York, completed by McKim, Mead and White in 1910 and demolished, among harsh criticism, public protests and much dismay, in 1963. In her column, *The Impoverished Society* (May 5, 1963),

Huxtable announces that: “The final defeat for Pennsylvania Station was handed down by the City Planning Commission in January, and the crash of 90-foot columns will be heard this summer”. The piece continues describing the tragic fate of Penn Station as a “civic loss” that impoverishes the whole society: “We can never again afford a nine-acre structure of superbly detailed solid travertine [...]. It is a monument to the lost art of magnificent construction, other values aside. The tragedy is that our own times not only could not produce such a building but cannot even maintain it” [pp. 47-49].
The subsequent article, *A Vision of Rome Dies*, adopts a bitter obituary literary style: “Pennsylvania Station succumbed to progress at age 56 [...]. The passing of Penn Station was more than the end of a landmark. It made the priority of real estate values over preservation conclusively clear” [p. 49]. This is a point steadily supported by Huxtable, that on various occasions pointed out the responsibility of the real estate market for the disappearing of “the texture, quality and continuity of the city” [p. 14]. Calling New York “the Mortal Metropolis” in opposition to the “Eternal City”, Huxtable analyzes the “Roman splendour” of Penn Station from an economic, functional, as well as aesthetic and historic points of view, with precise references to classical architecture that reveal her deep knowledge of Italian culture gained first-hand during her scholarships to Italy [pp. 49-51].

Her writings made Huxtable a competent and appreciated voice among American scholars and professionals in the fields of preservation and urban planning, among them Giorgio Cavalieri, Jane Jacobs, and Lewis Mumford, as well as among associations and organizations which asked for her collaborations, such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation, that is also the publisher of this book. Protagonist on the cover of *Goodbye History, Hello Hamburger* is the sculpted marble angel of Pennsylvania Station thrown to the ground, reduced to pieces, and surrounded by rubble. No doubt, Penn Station remains Huxtable’s first and fieriest campaign against the degradation not only of landmarks but also of the sense of the city. The final lines of *Farewell to Penn Station*, a short comment published in the *New York Times* on October 30, 1963, reveals Huxtable’s position on the problematic legacy to pass to future generations: “We will probably be judged not by the monuments we build but by those we have destroyed”. And yet, this sounds not as a nostalgic weeping over the past, but as a firm call to take action for the protection of the future.



PAGES FROM "GOODBYE HISTORY, HELLO HAMBURGER. AN ANTHOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURAL DELIGHTS AND DISASTERS" BY ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE (1986)

“ITALIA DA SALVARE” THE DESTRUCTION OF ITALY AS A SHARED CONCERN

Edited by Alessandro Benetti (Politecnico di Torino)

TITLE
Italia da salvare. Mostra nazionale per la tutela del patrimonio culturale

ORGANISERS
Italia Nostra, Touring Club Italiano

PRESIDENTS OF THE EXHIBITION
Giorgio Bassani and Ferdinando Reggiori

RESEARCH DIRECTOR
Renato Bazzoni

LOCATION
Palazzo Reale, Milano

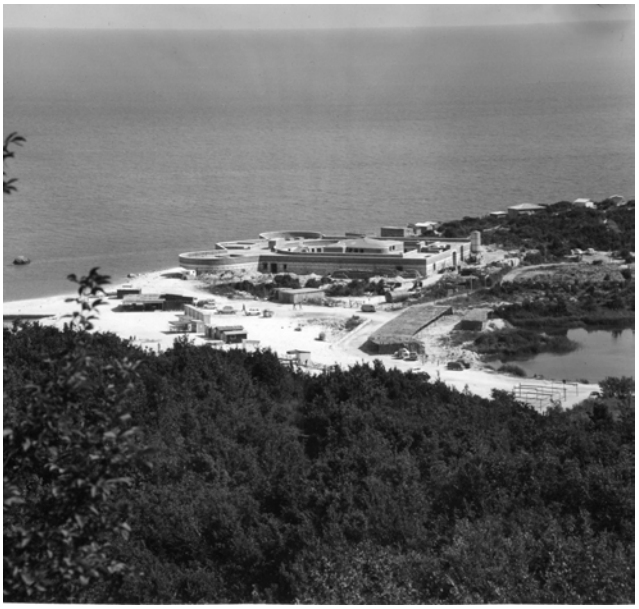
PERIOD
April 7th-May 1st,1967

In 1979, in his *Semiologia del paesaggio italiano*, geographer Eugenio Turri proposed a vivid comparison to describe the transformations of Italian cities and territories over the previous three decades. He stated, amongst other things, that "It is difficult to trace equally conspicuous ones, in a similarly short span of time (...) unless we consider the effects due to cataclysmic events or violent episodes such as the descent of the barbarians or certain disastrous wars (...). But here we are in the realm of destructive phenomena. Can we also call recent transformations destructive?". In fact, since the mid-1950s several intellectuals and critics agreed on the uncanny similarities between the effects of wartime bombings and other attacks, on the one side, and those of the hectic construction activity that characterized the decades following the economic boom, on the other. Many considered that Italy was being destroyed both in times of war and in times of peace. This is also testified by the popularization of the metaphor of the "vandal", borrowing the evocative name of a so-called barbarian population, which invaded Italy since the 3rd century AD, to identify the perpetrators of the worst threats to the country's heritage at all scales. *I vandali in casa* (Vandals at home) is the catchy title of the 1956 collection of articles on the topic by archaeologist Antonio Cederna, a nationwide leading figure in the debate on these issues. A much broader, multi-voiced discourse on the destruction of Italy was elaborated and circulated between the 1950s and the 1970s: "A critical literature specifically oriented toward exposing abuses on the urban and rural landscape", in the words of architects Giovanni Durbiano and Matteo Robiglio from 2003. The 1967 exhibition "Italia da salvare", jointly organized by Italia Nostra and the TCI – Touring Club Italiano and first held at Milan's Palazzo Reale, is a crucial moment of expansion and dissemination of the body of knowledge on the destruction of Italy.

The exhibition opened to the public on April 7th and its closing date was postponed from April 25th to May 1st. Giorgio Bassani and Ferdinando Reggiori, national leaders respectively of Italia Nostra and the TCI, were its official Presidents – as the colophon defined them – but the main researcher and its actual *deus ex machina* was Renato Bazzoni, architect and photographer, a member of the Milanese section of Italia Nostra and later co-founder of the FAI – Fondo Ambiente Italiano. The visit itinerary unfolded through two of Palazzo Reale's most monumental spaces, Giuseppe Piermarini's grand staircase and the famous Hall of Caryatids. In the words of its organizers, "The exhibition (...) examines the whole of this immense heritage, which it is the duty and general interest to protect and pass on, and poses the problems involved in its preservation: that of the urbanized complexes constituting the most varied forms of habitat, that of human interventions in close contact with the surrounding landscape, and that of the natural environments which retain their characteristics of integrity and primordiality". The exhibition's main feature were the 500 pictures providing a comprehensive overview on the state of Italian monuments, cities and landscapes, with a specific attention to the most derelict, damaged and endangered of them. Images were organized thematically, rather than on a geographical basis. The sequence of topics progressively widened the scale of observation and shifted the focus of attention from the artistic heritage to the natural landscapes and the environment. A short visit guide was published, finely laid out by graphic designer Pino Tovaglia, who conceived the striking black cover, pierced by a white and red cut which recalls a bleeding wound. On the contrary, no full catalogue ever saw the light, due to budget and logistics constraints.

While scholarly research on “Italia da salvare” is still quite limited, it can be considered a major event in the debate on the transformations of Italy in the second half of the 20th century, in many regards. First, for the quantity and quality of the research and original documentation that was produced for its preparation. A team of seven architects-photographers, also including their coordinator Bazzoni, explored the whole of the Italian peninsula over more than two years, realizing 25 thousand shots overall. Never before had such an ambitious campaign been launched to document the landscapes of the post-economic boom country. Second, the exhibition was one-of-a-kind for the multiplicity and the diversity of the actors involved in its making. The collaboration between Italia Nostra, a then young heritage defense association, and the TCI, a seven decades old society for tourist promotion, was anything but predictable. In fact, as historian Chiara Baglione explains in her recent essay on “Italia da salvare”, the two organizers engaged in particularly heated discussions when it came to the definition of the exhibition’s exact angle of observation on Italy, as well as of the title that could better translate it. The final, more optimistic formulation “Italia da salvare”, suggested by the TCI, was preferred over Italia Nostra’s more apocalyptical proposal “Italia che rovina”. Still, it is undeniable that the unifying element between the two actors, both very popular at the time and counting on the support of hundreds of thousands of members, was a similar perception of the ongoing destruction of the universally cherished *Bel Paese*. This same concern allowed to bring on board numerous sponsors, including companies such as Pirelli, and media partners, in particular the *Corriere della Sera*, the Italian leading newspaper directed at the time by Milanese industrialist and philanthropist Giulia Maria Crespi. Furthermore, the President of the Italian Republic, Giovanni Gronchi, granted its patronage to the initiative.

To conclude, “Italia da salvare”’s outreach was possibly unprecedented for an exhibition about heritage and landscape, their destruction and the importance of their preservation. During its three-weeks opening time, it welcomed more than 50 thousand visitors, ten times more than its organizers’ expectations. In the following months, it was restaged in Rome, Verona, Bologna and Venice, as well as at New York’s MoMA, with the updated title “Art & Landscape of Italy. Too Late to be Saved?”. Furthermore, before, during and after April 1967, both Bazzoni and Cederna – who actively contributed to its preparation and signed one of the visit guide’s main essays – helped making its topic paramount in the public debate. They did so by publishing countless articles on “Italia in rovina” (“Italy in ruins”), “Italia a pezzi” (“Italy torn into pieces”) and “Italia da salvare” on a multiplicity of media, including the *Corriere della Sera*, the weekly magazine l’*Espresso* and the interior architecture magazine *Abitare*. While it is, as usual, difficult to precisely identify and quantify their audience, meaning both their readers and the exhibition’s visitors, “Italia da salvare” undoubtedly stands out as an ambitious, one-off attempt at turning the destruction of Italy, be it real or feared, into a public concern.



Portonovo (Ancona): panorama with hotel ©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

Numana Bassa Riviera del Conero (Ancona) ©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

Numana Bassa Riviera del Conero (Ancona): parking spaces ©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

Numana Bassa Riviera del Conero (Ancona): coastal images. Provincial road Numana - Porto Recanati ©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

Numana Bassa (Riviera del Conero): aspects of the beach on a summer day
©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

Portonovo (Ancona) ©Foto Zoppini, Fondo R. Bazzoni - FAI

ORIGINAL SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS TO BE SHOWN AT "ITALIA DA SALVARE".
THESE PHOTOS HAVE NEVER BEEN EXHIBITED

HISTORY OF RECONSTRUCTION - CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY TOWARDS A REPRESENTATION OF THE PHENOMENON

Edited by Elena Pozzi (Gallerie degli Uffizi)

TITLE
Geschichte der Rekonstruktion - Konstruktion der Geschichte

AUTHOR
Nerdinger, Winfried

PUBLISHER
Prestel

CITY
Munchen

YEAR
2010

DIMENSION
250x310 mm

PRINT LENGHT
512 pages

LANGUAGE
German

ISBN
3791350927 - 9783791350929

Build or Rebuild: yes, no, how and when? The issue is still today the subject of incredible debates involving architects, conservators and urban planners, who cannot however ignore the common opinion of those who use that architecture, and the cultural dynamics, historical facts or events, traumatic or voluntary, which determine its destruction; in other words: reconstruction cannot ignore the reasons of the destruction.

For this reason, after 20 years of research on reconstructions designed and carried out all over the world, in the exhibition "*Geschichte der Rekonstruktion - Konstruktion der Geschichte*" (History of reconstruction - Construction of history), held in Munich in 2010, Winfried Nerdinger, together with Markus Eisen and Hilde Strobel (the group of curators), given up describing the phenomenon of reconstruction according to the more classic chronological order, preferring a thematic order. The exhibition was in fact divided into ten sections based on causes and contexts that can be identified behind the reconstructive measures - such as political, religious, memorial or ritual. For each thematic area, dozens of selected building examples were documented with photographs, engravings, plans, films and models; moreover, along the exhibition rooms, an unfolded "photographic volume" gave the perception of the immense number of reconstruction interventions carried out (about 200 photographic examples in three series, *original state - destruction - reconstruction*). The examples of reconstructed buildings, from ancient times to the present, and from very different regions of the world, impressively demonstrated that reconstruction is not an isolated fact: it has been practiced at every moment of history, in every latitude, and always took place with the approval of the citizens.
As the exhibition, born following the debate that arose within the conference The principle of reconstruction (24 and 25 January 2008) at the ETH in Zurich, the large format catalogue offers a basic overview of the topic. In over 500 pages, around 150 reconstructions are elaborated in detail, divided into ten thematic areas. The catalogue is accompanied by specialist articles that provide an in-depth view of the current state of research and discussion.

"*A copy is not a fraud, a facsimile is not a fake, a cast is not a crime and a reconstruction is not a lie*" writes Nerdinger in the introduction to the volume in an attempt to deprive the term "reconstruction" of its moral value. Reconstruction depends on the reasons that led to destruction, which for a building is being restored and after how much time. When a lost or destroyed building is reconstructed, nothing is consequently falsified. It is always a new building which, despite its historical forms, is recognizable as a repetition by contemporaries and by subsequent generations, through adequate sources and documents. It will become a monument itself.
In her contribution Aleida Assmann addresses the theme of reconstructions starting from a criticism of the present, stating that the past has tacitly taken on a quality that was once attributed only to the future, that of an inexhaustible resource for renewal and change. She focuses on the episodes of reconstruction after the Second World War, moving from the example of the historic center of Warsaw to the Parliament of Berlin, when after bombings and symbolic demolitions, architecture had to respond to existential dramas for the community, such as the resolution of relationship with the past and attitude towards the future.

In their intervention, Fernando Vegas and Camilla Mileto introduce religious continuity as a reason for reconstruction and further construction of places of worship, through assimilation or usurpation. In the evolutionary perspective of the history of architecture, for example, Greek temples, from wooden constructions, were replaced over time with stone buildings, to then be reinvested with religious meaning, and therefore transformed for use or for shape: it happened in the case of the Cathedral of Syracuse. The following examples retrace processes and reasons for reconstructions for religious continuity, ideally introducing Niels Gutschow's contribution to the cyclical renewal of sanctuaries in the East, and in particular in Nepal, India and Japan.
Among the contributions that address the theme of reconstructions in antiquity, the one of Hubertus Günther opens up questions, dealing with architecture of the Renaissance as a reconstruction and reinterpretation of the ancient. In it, the term "reconstruction" forcibly silences the consolidated terms of "copy" and "citation", as well as the phenomenon of "reception of antiquity". Eva-Maria Seng presents examples from the period between 1600 and 1800, including the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Orleans, or the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Valencia. She concludes that the concept of reconstruction can actually be applicable to explain the different building measures of reconstruction, renovation or copying. What remains clear is that for all processes it is necessary to reflect on their political implications. Further on in the text, the contribution by Uwe Altrock, Grischa Bertram and Henriette Horni addresses the topic with reference to the Central European cases of the "wave" of postmodern reconstructions. They highlight political background and cultural climate, such as the "pressure to individualize" and the "longing for home," as the reasons for (re)constructive efforts.
At the end, starting from a reflection on the relationship between ruin and reconstruction, Uta Hassler's contribution invites to a renewed reflection on the theoretical history of the conservation of the 20th century. Therefore, through examples of preserved ruins, such as Heidelberg Castle, or reconstructions conservative of traces of historical events and past destructions, as in the case of the Glyptothek in Munich, or the Neues Museum in Berlin, the contribution critically questions the semantics of the different concepts of reconstruction. Finally, underlining the influence of the aesthetics of the unfinished, of the fragment, it highlights how "*Abstaining from reconstructing historical models is just as possible as repeating existing models; a differentiation of the "side-by-side co-existence and counter-existence of different temporal layers*" remains essential (p. 188).

The exhibition catalogue, which follows the contributions, presents some of the hundreds of examples on display in the exhibition, all more or less similar or different from each other. The vast repertoire leads to a vision of the reconstructive phenomenon as a transcultural historical experiential process generated by various factors. In this way, it becomes clear the questionability of general appropriation for or against the 'reconstruction', and the focus shifts to the relevant time periods and decision-making processes considering the past - as original state, the destruction - political debate and cultural context, and the future - as reconstructive solution. Despite the lack of references and comparisons with failed episodes of reconstructions, which could have broadened the scope of the investigation, the value of the work also lies in the attempt to shed light on the jungle of terms and phenomena that can be collected under the keyword "reconstruction", developing a specific thematic glossary (copy, imitation, dismantling, etc.).

1.3 | «Goldener Pavillon-Tempel» (Kinkaku-ji), Kyoto, Japan
erbaut: Mitte 14. Jahrhundert
ursprünglich: 1398 (verändert, 1955)
wiederhergestellt: 1950, 1955–1955

Am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts trat das Hofleben der Kaiserlichen Stadt Kyoto einen beträchtlichen Wohnsitz im Hügel des Kitayama-Gebirges. Der zukünftige Besitzer, der Shogun Yoshimitsu Ashikaga, baute dort Hirschpark, Teich für Ohrgeschwindigkeit und begann 1394 einen ausgedehnten Garten an. Sein Sohn wandelte während des Umbaus in einen traditionellen Tempel mit dem Namen Rokuon-ji um. Heute ist der Tempel unter dem Namen Kinkaku-ji («Goldener Pavillon-Tempel») bekannt.

1397 wurde der Tempel nach der Asketik stilvoll gemischten Methode vollständig abgebaut und mit wesentlichen strukturellen Verbesserungen in derselben schönen Bereichen wieder aufgerichtet. Durch den Einsatz verstärkter Pfeiler und die Vergoldung des Kupferdaches im oberen Zeitabschnitte sowie die Einfügung eines völlig neuen Kupferdaches im unteren Dach konnten die stark durchhängenden Traufen gestützt werden. Auf die oberste Ebene kam noch dem Bau das Lotosblatt als Zeichen der 9. Jahrhundert entworfen gewordenen Stilform unter den Gesimsen kommt durch diese vielfältigen Maßnahmen verändert wurden. Die Anbringung der Traufen beliebte Kragplatte stärkten Einbindung konnte und stellte die Leichtigkeit der ursprünglichen Bauform wieder her.

Am 2. Juli 1950 brannte der nach dem Gönner von 1955 zum Nationalschatz (Kokuhō) deklarierte Tempel ab. Die zunächst darauf folgenden Rekonstruktion, ein neues «Kinkaku» (siehe), bezeichnet wird, integrierte keine der vorhandenen Elemente, lediglich über die exakte Aufstellte aus der Zeit von dem Abbau von 1950 auf die Dokumentation des Tempels nach der Wiederaufbauung von hervorragende Grundlage. Aktionsartige Zeichnungen alter Bauteile dokumentierte zudem die Verbindungen seine Ausführungen, die bei der Wiederaufrichtung verwendig gewesen waren. Da der rekonstruierte Tempel ein wichtiger Element der Gartenanlage ist, beteiligte sich die Stadt an der Kosten. Mit der Rekonstruktion galt das historische Bauwerk, indem ab wurden und wurde lediglich aus den Lust der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung gerissen.

Im Juni 1987 wurde der Tempel als einer der ersten 14 Bauwerke des Landes nach dem Krieg unter erneut erlassenen Gesetz zum Schutz vor Schäden und Feuer durchaus besser hergerichtet. An der Rokuon-ji 1994 als Ort besonderer landschaftlicher Schönheit genommen mit 15 weiteren Tempel- und Gartenanlagen Kyotos in die Liste des Weltkulturerbes aufgenommen wurde, was der Kinkaku-ji zusätzlich Kyotos in die Liste des Weltkulturerbes aufgenommen wurde, was der Kinkaku-ji zusätzlich

Nora Zollschan

Lit.: Kunsthistoriker (Hg.) 1998, S. 80

1.4 | Bhairava-Tempel, Bhaktapur, Nepal
erbaut: 1717
zerstört: 1934
wiederhergestellt: 1934–1940

Die wichtigste Gottheit der Stadt – in der Umgangssprache Bhaktapuris oder ganz einfach «Stadt», schriftlich «Ihr Meister» genannt – ist im Obergeschoss des Bhairava-Tempels, einem Tempelgebäude mit drei aufeinanderfolgenden Dächern, anzutreffen. Gemessen an seiner Grausamkeit Bhadrakālī bildet Bhaktapuris das mythische Paar, das von den Neuankömmlingen der Apfel und großen Feiergang eine Rose durch die Stadt unternommen, um ans Abgrabungsort der Anfeuchtung der Weltenbaumes hinzuwohnen. Im Gegensatz zu Göttin Sakthikumari ist gegenüberliegenden Rindfleischigen Tempel ist der Bhairava fast in den täglichen und jahreszeitlichen Ritual der Stadt eingebunden. Als Vorgesetzter darf dass er seine Macht aus Bhaktapurs beweist, ist in zwei verschiedenen, ein Übergang Stunden in nächtlichsten Form präsent. Nur für das Ritual im Stunden und Dämmen wird diese Form durch klein, in Messing gestrecken Maskenbefestigt.

Über die frühe Geschichte des Tempels ist wenig bekannt. Legenden berichten jedoch, wie Bhairava einst aus Benares kam, um dem großen Stadtritual beizuwohnen. Einen Eimitter gelang es, der Gottheit den Kopf abzuschlagen, bevor sie sich dimensionalen konnte. Eine städtische einer Tempelinvestitur angebrochter Inschrift aus dem Jahr 1717 erwähnt, dass an der Tempel schon lange zuvor gegeben hat. Damals erneuert König Bhūpatīndra Malla den alten Tempel und stiftete eine zeitliche Spitze sowie ein tönernes Dach. Man darf vermuten, dass die Dachbedeckungen des unteren Daches dem des vorigen Tempels nachempfunden sind, der Neubau aber eine völlig neue, monumentale Gestalt erhielt. Der rechteckige Grundriss und die mittlere Wand symmetrie die Konstruktion einer Weltenraum mit spirituellen Dächern. Nur wenige der nichthinduistischen Götter der Newars, die Bewohner der Kathmandu-Tales, sind nicht in offenen Erdgeschoss des Tempels ständig zugegen, sondern in festgelegten Zeiten in einem Haus, das von den Rituallpriesterschaft aus dem Bassin stand gebaut wird.

Aus dem 19. Jahrhundert ist überliefert, dass der Tempel das starke Erdbeben von 1833 überstand. Zahlreiche Inschriften bezeugen die Gabe von vergoldeten Kupferblechen über der Tür im Erdgeschoss sowie die Vergoldung eines Tympanons im Jahr 1868 durch die Mitglieder einer Familie von Musikern, die in Bhaktapur als Barbier im Dienste des Rāja-Gemeinen standen. Fotografien belegen, dass der Tempel – wie Hunderte anderer Bauten – bei dem schweren Erdbeben im Januar 1934 bis auf die Grundmauern einstürzte. Die Nachkommenschaft Mathemas finanzierten den Wiederaufbau (Jirasdhāra) des Tempels, so dass er als «Namensträgerbau Dritte», das heißt an dritter Stelle hinter den zweihundertjährigen Mondtempel Vinayaka (April/Mai) der Jahre 1980 erneut gewählt werden konnte. An der Dächer des Tempels 1990 erneuert wurden, waren erwachsenen die Enkel des Stifters von 1940, die die Erneuerung der Vergoldung des Tympanons finanzierten. Über Generationen hinweg hat sich also ein enger Familienverband um den Tempel verdient gemacht. Dabei handelt es sich keineswegs um eine verschworene Tat im Name der Erhaltung eines Kulturdenkmals, sondern um eine Ehrerbietung gegenüber der Gottheit, unter deren Schutzherrschaft die Familie steht – und die ihrerseits kein Mitglied der Familienverbunden in Bhaktapur übt.

Wie der Vergleich mit dem Aquarell von 1835 deutlich macht, ist der Bau in seiner Gestalt nicht verändert worden. Obgleich mit Sicherheit weder ein Architekt noch genaue Skizzen von ihm existieren, belegt, wie es – nun sechs Jahre nach einem Erdbeben – ein Erlaubnis, einen Tempel mit der Basis von in der Basis aufgeführten Bauteilen, wie Drehsteinen und Fensterrahmen, wiederherzustellen. Dr. es ist der 1930er-Jahren in Bhaktapur weder Stahl noch Zement gab, griffen Zimmerleute und Maurer auf handwerkliche Techniken zurück, die sich seit dem 17. Jahrhundert nicht verändert hatten. Allerdings wurde bei der Wiederherstellung anderswertiges Nadelholz verwendet, da edlere Hartholz, das schon immer aus den benachbarten, tiefer liegenden Tälern stammte, knapp war.

Zum Zeitpunkt der Wiederherrichtung des Tempels existierte keine Vorstellung von architektonischem Erbe, sondern es galt nur Tempel, die die Götter bewohnten. Es herrschte noch kein Grund, der Kraftgestaltung von Portalen und Fensterrahmen, Dachneigung und Sturbon zu ändern, die sich in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts – auf dem Höhepunkt der newarischen Königreiche – herausgebildet hatte. Die überkommenen Konstruktionen hatten dementsprechende Schwachpunkte, dennoch wurden diese nicht zum Anlass für Verbesserungen genommen. Weitaus wichtiger war die Perfektion der Gestalt als dem «Gesicht» der Tempels. | Niels Gutschow

Lit.: Anonymous 1934

1.5 | Cyasilin Mandap, Bhaktapur, Nepal
erbaut: um 1680–1690
zerstört: 1934
wiederhergestellt: 1987–1990, Niels Gutschow Götz Hagmüller

Das große Erdbeben von 1934 hielt nicht nur den Tempel der Bhairava (Kat.-Nr. 1.4) einstürzen. An demselben Platz wo dem Palast verloren die Shikara-Tempeltürme in Stein der Spitzen, der Palast selbst hätte einen Grundriss wie der Tempel, ein großer, doppeldachiger Tempelbau, der einen Raum und ein quadratischen Pavillon, das sogenannte Cyasilin Mandap stünde am Tag nach dem Erdbeben um. Der Pavillon war weitgehend zu den 1680er-Jahren zurückzuführen worden.

Obergeschoss gab es zwar eine Kultfigur, aber ansonsten fehlt eine Überlieferung über die ursprüngliche Nutzung. Die quadratische Halle auf Pfeilern diente vermutlich Lesungen sowie Versammlungen des Königs. Darüber hinaus überdauerte eine Inschrift mit Gedichten des Königs und seiner Mutter an dem Pfeiler. Im 19. Jahrhundert wurden die tragenden Mittelpfeiler mit Zugang ausgestattet, im Osten

historischen Fotografien eine bessere Evidenz geliefert hätten, wäre eine Wiederherstellung dieser Pavillon eine große Herausforderung gewesen.

Heute: Die Rekonstruktion des Pavillons in keinerlei Weise eine exakte Rekonstruktion. Sie hält die gewisse Wiederherstellung eines dem ein Erdbeben erstörten Bauwerks, das vielen Menschen die Stadt seit in Erinnerung sind. Der Wiederaufbau wurde einen Jahrzehnt vorbereitet, der sich mangels Evidenz meistenteils auf Vorgängerbau ausrichten konnte. Alle wesentlichen Ergänzungen resultieren meist nicht direkten Erinnerungsstücken, der glaubwürdig von dem Ehepaar gegeben wurde, mit an Verbindern der 17. Jahrhunderts zu orientieren. Zum Erstaunen der Bevölkerung erforderte ein solcher Entwurf ein großes Maß an Kreativität. Gleichzeitig waren beträchtliche Zusammenstellungen des Jahrhunderts für die Fertigstellung, so dass ein dem Vorbilds für alle Mitwirkenden Lernprozess wurde. Parallel zum Bau wurden ein Modell im Maßstab 1:20 gebaut und die Ausführungsentwürfen für die unterschiedenen Ebenen angefertigt.

Niels Gutschow

Lit.: Gutschow/Bajracharya 1997; Gutschow/Kölver 1992, S. 95 ff., 148

1.6 | Palast von Mandalay, Myanmar (Birma)
erbaut: um 1857
zerstört: 1942–1945
wiederhergestellt: 1989–1994

Von 1857 bis 1885 diente Mandalay als letzte Hauptstadt der Königreiche Birma. In den 100 Jahren davor war die Hauptstadt nacheinander verlegt worden und hatte sich seit 1837 in Amarapura befunden. Tatsächlich war es politische, ökonomische, klimatische und mystische Gründe für die Gründung einer neuen Stadt gegeben haben. Entscheidend war jedoch, dass der Auftrag übergeordneter Mächte kommuniziert werden konnte – in diesem Fall genauso der Buddha und eine Dimension auf den Prinzipien und der Fortpflanzung des Traumes, in dem die Gründung verborgen wurde, in kosmische Zeitlauf passen, sollte die bedeutungsschwer Hofdarstellung gut zueinander sorgen.

Bei der Gründung der Stadt im Jahr 1857 wurden viele Bestandteile des Palastes von der alten Hauptstadt Amarapura auch Mandalay transportiert und dort wiederverwendet – ganz ähnlich wie dies auch in Japan von 6. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert üblich war. Dementgegen Bestehe die wesentlichen in Mandalay verbaut wurden – darunter gewaltige Stützen mit einem Durchmesser von 1,2 Metern und einer Höhe von bis zu 20 Metern – hatten also ausdrücklich diesen Ort gewechselt. Die Stützen sind die noch geschützten Traufbereiche wurden durch die Erneuerung der Vergoldung und der reiche Lackarbeit zu neuem Leben erweckt.

Die Beschreibung des Palastes durch den französischen Ethnologen Robert Heine-Geldern spiegelt den Abschen einer Generation vor Dekor und Ornament wider: «Allesamt ist für ihn Architektur» ist die farbige Wirkung beziehen, auf die barbarische Pracht der Vergoldung, den Wände und Säulen überziehenden roten Lacken, auf die Balkonreihen aus grünem Glas und die Verzierungen aus Spiegelmosaik» (Heine-Geldern 1924).

1.12 | Grabmal des Babur, Kabul, Afghanistan
erbaut: um 1540
wiederhergestellt: 2004–2006, Ratish Nanda

Der Leichnam von Babur, dem Begründer der Mogul-dynastie in Indien, wurde um das Jahr 1540 von Agra nach Kabul überführt. Um sein Grab herum wurde wahrscheinlich schon zu jener Zeit ein mit Gitterwerk in Marmor eingefriedetes Quadrat von 4,64 Meter Seitenlänge und 2,70 Meter Höhe errichtet. Baburs Enkel Jahangir besuchte das Grab im Jahr 1607 und ließ dort einen sogenannten Kopfstein mit kalligrafischer Inschrift aufstellen. Zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts verloren die Moguln die Kontrolle über Kabul und Afghanistan, das Grab genoss in der Folgezeit keinen besonderen Schutz.
Der erste Bericht über das Grab von 1832 kündete bereits vom Verfall der Marmoreinfriedigung, die kurz darauf völlig verloren ging. Eine Zeichnung aus demselben Jahr erwies sich jedoch als detailreich genug, um einen Entwurf für eine Rekonstruktion anzufertigen. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde um das Grab eine überdachte Pfeilerhalle errichtet, die im Bürgerkrieg der 1970er-Jahre Schaden nahm. Die Halle wurde 2003 im Zuge der Initiative »Bagh-e Babur Conservation« des Aga Khan Trust for Culture zur Wiederherstellung des Gartens des Babur wieder abgebaut. Im Rahmen der Vorarbeiten für die Wiederherstellung der ausgedehnten Gartenanlage des 16. Jahrhunderts durch das Deutsche Archäologische Institut im Jahr 2003 wurden 31 Marmorfragmente der ursprünglichen Einfriedung gefunden, die in der Pflasterung, in Stützmauern und späteren Bauten wiederverwendet worden waren. Auf dieser Grundlage betrieb der Trust die Rekonstruktion der Einfriedigung in den Jahren 2004 bis 2006. In der Begründung berief sich der entwerfende Architekt Ratish Nanda auf die sogenannte »Burra Charter« von ICOMOS Australien (Walker/Marquis-Kyle 2004): Das Grabmahl sei von besonderer »kultureller Bedeutung«, weshalb nicht allein sein historischer Charakter, sondern auch »die Würde des Ortes« wiederherzustellen sei (Urban Conservation and Area Development in Afghanistan 2005, S. 3).
Die einzelnen Bauteile wurden in einer Werkstatt in Delhi hergestellt, um die hohen künstlerischen und technischen Standards des 17. Jahrhunderts zu erreichen, statt »den vergleichsweise niedrigen Standard des 16. Jahrhunderts zu kopieren, der die Fragmente der ursprünglichen Einfriedung kennzeichnet« (ebd.). Die aufgefundenen Fragmente wurden nicht wiederverwendet, um einen einheitlichen Charakter der Oberflächen zu garantieren. Im Herbst 2004 wurde ein Modell im Maßstab 1:10 erstellt, die Durchführung der Rekonstruktion erfolgte 2005. Im darauffolgenden Jahr wurde auch die äußere Ummauerung aus dem späten 19. Jahrhundert – ein Quadrat von 17 Metern Seitenlänge – wiederhergestellt. | Nina Gribat

PAGES FROM "GESCHICHTE DER REKONSTRUKTION - KONSTRUKTION DER GESCHICHTE" BY WINFRIED NERDINGER (2010)

A WASTE OF MANY THINGS THE DEMOLITION OF THE BRUTALIST ROBIN HOOD GARDENS

Edited by Beatrice Moretti (Università degli Studi di Genova)

TITLE
Brutalism as Found. Housing, Form, and Crisis at Robin Hood Gardens

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"Brutalism as Found. Housing, Form, and Crisis at Robin Hood Gardens" (Nicholas Thoburn, Goldsmiths Press, 2022) deals with the controversial case of the social housing complex realized by the Brutalist architects Alison and Peter Smithson in 1972. Located in Poplar, East London, close to Canary Wharf and the Isle of Dogs, the residential estate was composed by 214 *maisonettes* and single-storey flats in two long curved slab-blocks: both buildings were facing each other and bent at plan following the course of the surrounding roads. Between the two blocks, a multi-level garden emphasized the role of the semi-public space with no parking lots or road traffic. In the twilight of the welfare policies implemented after the Second World War and on the heels of the 1973 oil crisis and subsequent recession, this architecture by the leader of Team 10 is not only their first opportunity to create a council estate (i.e., built by the Greater London Council), but also their only mass-housing scheme. Robin Hood Gardens represents one of the emblematic experiments of the so-called Second Modern, engaged in the attempt to overcome the design rigidity of the Modern Movement.

Thoburn's book focuses on the process of crisis that decreed the demolition of the two blocks for the realization of the Blackwall Reach residential development project that will provide more than 1,500 new homes. As the result of experimental field research (2014/2022) enhanced by the use of heterogeneous tools (from architectural analysis, social critique, lived testimony, portrait photography, and critical theory), the study underpinning the book moves between architecture and sociology without neglecting to highlight the spatial inventions of the Smithsons, reading in their *form* qualitative characteristics capable of generating a sense of belonging in the community of residents, mostly coming from a multiracial working class. This is the case of the brutalist language applied by the architects, especially in the use of raw concrete for the construction of the "streets in the sky": the walkways running the entire length of both blocks at every third floor on the external facades giving access to the houses; these "streets" are semi-public meeting places achieved through the ingenious use of a counter-lever.

The "as found" neologism, coined by the Smithsons in the course of their practice, alludes to a brutalist *sensibility*, even a *method*. Rather than relying on predetermined built forms, it establishes an honest relationship with building materials, sites and social conditions. Says Thoburn, "the scheme modulates class society through a set of socio-architectural forms": while Robin Hood Gardens does not possess a coherent architectural identity, it is an *assemblage of forms* engaged in the process of deforming themselves, the site and the society that inhabits them. Striving to avert demolition and debating clichés (is Robin Hood Gardens a "concrete monstrosity" or a "modernist masterpiece"?), Thoburn's research puts the too-often marginalized community of residents at the center and asserts the role of the Smithsons' work as a topological architecture.

A rich investigative material supports the book and has allowed a varied set of dissemination outcomes. Many of the photos and videos taken during the years of field surveys by Nicholas Thoburn and photographer Kois Miah are collected in an online exhibition (brutalismasfound.co.uk). Through five sections ("Streets in the Sky", "Ordinariness and Light", "Concrete, Mass and Repetition", "The Charged Void", "Demolition and Afterlife"), the digital exhibition reports the explorations conducted in the years before the demolition, also thanks to the interview work carried out among residents in English and Bengali by researchers Runa Khalique and

Aklima Begum.

Significant is also the structure of the book which derives from a fundamental aspect of the study, namely "The modulation of class society in the estate's architecture". From this, four major problems emerge that have to do with form: Thoburn calls them *street, house, mass* and *landscape*, from which Chapters 3, 4, 7 and 2 descend. Three more Chapters (2, 5, 8) develop tangentially, focusing on Brutalist languages and on the diagrams, collages and drawings the Smithsons conceived to communicate spatial concepts and formal problems. The underlying idea transferred to readers is that of conceiving the *book as a building*.

The act of demolishing entire architectures or parts of them, inevitably altering their balance and status, is the first stage in a complex process that, not always and not only, leads to physical reconstruction. Well before the actual demolition (approved in 2015 and still ongoing), Robin Hood Gardens was in fact the subject of a mechanism of neglection and disinvestment, symbolizing a brutalist aesthetic to be erased or at least redeemed. A heated debate developed when, following the announcement of the demolition in 2008, Twentieth Century Society and Building Design, supported by international architects such as Richard Rogers and Zaha Hadid, launched a campaign for the preservation of the complex, culminating in an application for protected status (rejected in 2015). As Thorburn highlights, this contrasting narrative was later joined by an apparently opposing aesthetic when London's Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) intervened to save from destruction a three-storey section of the estate. Exhibited at the Pavilion of Applied Arts at the 2018 Venice Biennale, the reassembled fragment of the long-doomed and maligned Robin Hood Gardens was celebrated as a small segment of a masterpiece.

"Brutalism as Found" takes the opportunity of the hotly contested demolition to showcase a new narrative for Robin Hood Gardens. Starting from the observation that the resident community was almost entirely absent from the public debate about the merits, failures and pending demolition of the complex, Thorburn describes Robin Hood Gardens as an extremely *pleasant place to live*.
While it has been described as "a work of architectural rough poetry, awkward and out of joint", the estate allowed for the construction of multifaceted social and architectural forms. Its "vastness" made it a village provided with all the commercial and educational services nearby and populated by a heterogeneous community, the garden bordered by the two concrete blocks offered spaces for play and group gatherings even during holidays, often spent in the city. Therefore, the book is a tool to understand the architecture and to bear it into a future after demolition: its aim is to convey "the affective, imagistic and imaginative qualities of the estate and its lived experience".
In light of this, the destructive act might appear, as in several other contexts similar in time and social background, to be simplistic, even wasteful. As Anne Lacaton stated "[...] demolishing is a decision of easiness and short term. It is a waste of many things – a waste of energy, a waste of material, and a waste of history. Moreover, it has a very negative social impact. For us, it is an act of violence."

Alison and Peter Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, Poplar, London, 1970-1972
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Alison and Peter Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, Poplar, London, 1970-1972
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IMAGES OF ROBIN HOOD GARDENS BY THE SMITHSON (1970-1972) AND NICHOLAS THOBURN PUBLICATION (2022)

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