4 The Spaces of the Monument
Exposing – Framing – Zoning

> We are able to perceive objects only as parts of a spatial arrangement. Being social is therefore explained in a fundamental way by the spatial orderings in which we are embedded.
> *(Martina Löw)*[1]

The construction and production of the spaces of monuments has received little attention and has never been systematically researched. Despite the spatial turn, heritage conservation has a certain ongoing spatial blindness that is built into its origins. It is "a true daughter of historicism"[2] and was given its form as a discipline in the late 19th century. The highest task of the historic monument was originally to commemorate and immortalize the great moments of history. Worth protecting as a "piece of national existence",[3] the historic building presents itself as a historical document of a previous age that is worth preserving, and, on account of its age, as a fragile, endangered "remnant". From the temporal perspective of "survival", the task of heritage conservation is one of constant care and maintenance, of "preservation" – a procedure that should ideally be neutral. As Georg Dehio, one of the early theorists of heritage conservation from the turn of the 19th century – a moment so productive of new disciplinary programmes – put it: "conserve, do not restore".[4] More recent additions to the stipulations of the heritage-conservation catechism, such as preservation of substance and reversibility also argue for minimizing the impact of conservation measures.[5] And conversely, every intervention is considered a falsification. Every embellishment and "renovation", copy and reconstruction goes against a practice that exists as an unbroken chain going back to

1 Löw, Space Oddity, 2015, 7.

2 Dehio, Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1988 (1905), 97.

3 Dehio, Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1988 (1905), 92. For a critical perspective cf. Riegl, Neue Strömungen, 1995 (1905), 220–223.

4 Dehio, Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, 1988 (1905), 102. Cf. Scheurmann, Vom Konservieren und Restaurieren, 2005.

5 For a critical view: Petzet, Reversibility, 1992.

the 19th century and is considered an exception that can only be justified by exceptional circumstance such as destruction in war.[6] The history of heritage conservation is correspondingly presented as a story of progress, in the course of which the norms for the sensitive and appropriate treatment of monuments have become ever more stringent, leading to the ultimate triumph of the obligation towards neutrality – that is until the outbreak of postmodernism, which caused much valuable ground to be lost to visual and pictorial effects, reconstruction, and simulation.[7]

The uncompromising notion that every conceivable interference with a monument is equivalent to an act of destruction has also been repeatedly expressed since the earliest theories of the monument. Its target is the *vandalisme restaurateur*: those embellishments, purifications and reconstructions undertaken in the name of historical accuracy.[8] The call to let monuments "die in peace" is a consequence of the view that every intervention necessarily means appropriation and alienation: "We have no right whatever to touch them",[9] was how the English writer, art historian and social philosopher John Ruskin justified this ideal, which later became known as the principle of "*non toccare*".[10] It should be noted, however, that the supposed neutrality of this principle is only prima facie. Even those ruins entering the twilight of their years in "untouched" beauty only become monuments through systematic measures, such as the allocation of a special status (as monuments that are legally withdrawn from all forms of use). And, above all: it is tied to the ascription of a peculiar spatial status that differs from the functional spaces of modernity. It is precisely in consideration of the substance of the radically neutral ideal of "*non toccare*" that it becomes clear that every historic building is the outcome of planning decisions and spatial operations, which are therefore to be considered as literally constitutive of monuments. An analysis of these procedures not only shows significant differences regarding spatial practices of monumentalization, it also generates new criteria for categorizing and evaluating practices of heritage conservation and urbanism and is, moreover, certainly relevant to the theory of space.

The precondition for the shift in perspective described here was established by the art historian Alois Riegl, who applied his reception-theory approach to the theory of heritage conservation.[11] In the context of his effort to fundamentally reconceptualize the "modern cult of monuments" Riegl considered that the central category of the mon-

6 On the debates on reconstruction in Germany: Sauerländer, Erweiterung des Denkmalbegriffs, 1975 and Lipp/Petzet, Vom modernen zum postmodernen Denkmalkultus, 1994.

7 On the state of this debate cf. Meier/Will, Paradigmenwechsel, 2005.

8 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, the leading theorist of the 19th century, also a strong critic of the *vandalisme restaurateur*, was, however, in favour of critical completion: "To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time." Viollet-le-Duc, On Restoration, 1875, 9 (originally Dictionnaire raisonné, 1875, VIII:14–34, 14).

9 Ruskin, The Seven Lamps, 1849, 187.

10 Used in this sense by Cesare Brandi, cf. Brandi, Teoria del Restauro, 1963.

11 Kemp, Kunstwerk und Betrachter, 1988, 241–242.

ument in the 19th century, that of "historical value", had given way to "age-value".[12] Typical of the new age, he wrote, was "the effort to grasp all physical and psychological experiences not in their objective essence, but in their subjective appearance, i.e. in the effects that they have on the subject".[13]

For Riegl, the replacement of historical value by age-value corresponds to a shift in the effect of the monument (*Denkmalwirkung*) from an experience of culture (*Bildungserlebnis*) to one of feeling (*Gefühlserlebnis*), as well as to a related "mass efficacy" (*Massenwirksamkeit*; which Riegl also described as a "socialist tendency"). In contrast to the exclusive historical value that rests on conventions and knowledge, age-value as "visible antiquity" is accessible to all. In this way, it conveys a quasi-religious "irresistible feeling of participation in the eternal cycle of becoming and passing away" that promises sentimental modern humans "complete redemption".[14] Age-value is thus also a temporal category,[15] one, however, that is not grounded in the substance of the monument but its effect. By means of this turn towards effect, the spatial preconditions of the monument – largely ignored by the theory of the monument – come into view: the perspective and the standpoint of the observer, just as the location of the monument in space, and finally the production of space itself. All measures that constitute and preserve monuments create spaces.[16] Today, it is above all the field of Memory Studies that has started to follow this path again.

For the historian Pierre Nora, the past is given to us as something radically "other" ("radicalement autre"), an "hallucination artificielle", as a world from which we are forever separated and which may only be experienced under conditions of a "régime de discontinuité". The "truth of memory" lies in the fact that this discontinuity may be removed at one stroke ("qui d'un coup la supprime"). Sites of memory are, from this perspective, places where a subtle interplay of insurmountable distance from and unguarded nearness to the past is staged.[17] This ambiguity of the monument, which is the focus of a paradoxical interplay of distancing and appropriation, has shaped the various forms of spatial production that have accompanied the monument since its institutionalization. They can be described as a sequence of processes of inclusion and exclusion, which can switch from exposing and framing to isolation and exclusion. The

12 Riegl, Der moderne Denkmalkultus, 1995 (1903). A translation of this text does exist (Riegl, The modern Cult of Monuments, 1982). However, to remain as true as possible to the wording of the passages cited here, we have opted to translate them ourselves.

13 Riegl, Der moderne Denkmalkultus, 1995 (1903), 156–157.

14 Riegl, Der moderne Denkmalkultus, 1995 (1903), 150.

15 With regard to Riegl, Wolfgang Kemp spoke of a "dehistoricization through temporalization", Kemp, Gesammelte Aufsätze, 1995, 220.

16 There are several relevant passages in Riegl's book on the modern cult of the monument, including, in the chapter on the relationship of present-day values to the cult of the monument: "For age-value, even more energetically than historical value, must oppose the ripping-out of a monument from its previous, quasi-organic contexts and its confinement in museums […]." Riegl, Der moderne Denkmalkultus, 1995 (1903), 177.

17 Nora, Between memory and history, 1996, 12. Our translation remains as close as possible to the wording of the original; cf. Nora, Les Lieux de Mémoires, 1997 (1984–1992), xxxi–xxxii.

background to this shift is an intensifying fundamental conflict at the heart of modernity: the tension between heritage and contemporaneity, between origin and progress, a conflict that – originally grasped dialectically – ultimately finds its culmination in the functional spaces of the modern city.

Exposing/Monumentalization

In her book *The Sociology of Space*, the sociologist Martina Löw illustrated her theses on the social production of space with reference to Jerusalem's Wailing Wall.[18] The composer and pianist Josef Tal describes two very different impressions of space that he received on successive visits to the wall. The first time he approached it through "a dense network of narrow, winding alleyways," of the Arab Old City and ended "all of a sudden […] in front of a sheer wall of huge stone blocks. High above there was a slender strip of blue sky between the confined walls of the alleyway" (fig. 1). On his second visit, after the Six Day War, "the tangle of alleyways in front of the Wailing Wall was cleared. Today, the approach to the wall is via a large, expansive tract that provides space for thousands of visitors" (fig. 2).

Figure 1: Jerusalem, Wailing Wall, around 1910

Tal observed that, although these were "the same stone blocks" that he was visiting, their "language" had been changed by the new surroundings. While the closeness of the space had originally made the wall of the destroyed temple appear more powerful, awakening the impression that the divine presence was hovering "inaccessibly above the immeasurable stone", the constellation had changed as a result of the creation of the wide-open plaza in front of the wall, giving prayer there "a different sense": "The broad space […] sends their wailing echo in the breadth instead of in the height."[19]

18 Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 129–130, 136–139, 144–145.

19 All quotes from Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 129–130.

Figure 2: Jerusalem, Wailing Wall today (Photo: EvgeniT 2013)

Löw uses this example to illustrate the physical aspect of the constitution of space before subsequently examining how institutionalized arrangements, such as power relationships, are reproduced in space.[20] With regard to the example of the Wailing Wall, this concerns the transformation of a religious space into a "security-oriented" space shaped by the "secular demonstration of power".[21] The interventions at Jerusalem's Wailing Wall that Josef Tal describes were politically motivated. Following the capture of East Jerusalem by the Israeli army, Israel planned to develop the city as the symbolic capital of the Israeli state – a development in which the framing of the Wailing Wall as a national monument and the principal locus of political and religious identity played a key role.[22] But there is indeed a long tradition of such spatial practices in the service of heritage politics. In the 19th century, it was established practice to expose monuments by means of demolition – a technique known as *dégagement* or *isolement* – so as to give them a new *mise en scène* in the form of an open square in front of them or around them. Conventionally considered as a means of establishing symbols of the grandeur of power, this was monumentalization in the most literal sense, namely the establishment of a spatial disposition for the newly established category of the historic monument. Exposing is, as the example of the mediaeval cathedrals shows, *the* definitive procedure for the constitution of monuments.

Today, nearly every cathedral presents itself as an isolated or disengaged monumental building whose western façade, topped with towers, is visible across a large and usually symmetrical square or plaza (fig. 3). This image, which we take for granted today and which is closely associated with the building type of the cathedral, is in fact the result of modern urban-planning measures, an early example of which was documented by the architect Le Corbusier for Notre-Dame de Paris (fig. 4).[23]

20 Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 144.

21 Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 145.

22 Ricca, Shifting Symbolism, 2005.

23 Le Corbusier, The City of To-Morrow, 1987 (1925), 269.

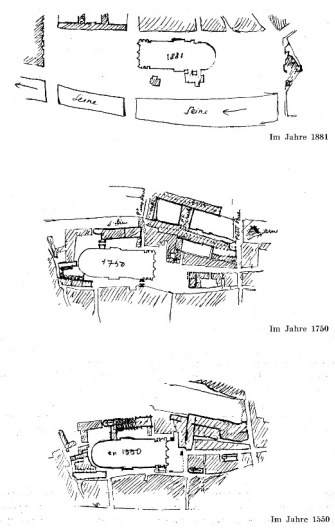

Figure 3: Paris, Notre-Dame (Photo: J. Blum 2006)
Figure 4: Paris, Exposing Notre-Dame, Le Corbusier 1919

Prior to this, Notre-Dame had, like nearly all sacred buildings in similar urban settings, been situated in a densely built neighbourhood. In mediaeval city centres, large open spaces were usually only reserved for the market. Nor were the lines of sight of main thoroughfares oriented towards religious buildings – whether their towers or main façades. Furthermore, the unimpeded view of these grand structures was also obscured by smaller buildings, such as market stalls or masons' lodges, as well as residential houses, which were often built right up against the walls of the great churches. In the Baroque period, as can be seen in Le Corbusier's drawings, the first efforts were made to create a grander setting for the churches by establishing small squares in front of them. Yet the major work of clearing the cathedral squares generally only took place after they had been classified as *monuments historiques*. The aim of the measures that first made it possible to experience the west façades as the "principal view" and an iconic image was not only to expose this façade to panoramic view, thereby transforming it, but also to enhance the effect of the churches on urban space at a distance. In Paris, this was achieved by creating connections with the Seine quays, undertaken as part of a large-scale urban rehabilitation of the *Île de la Cité*. This creation of a new *mise en scène* for historic buildings can be linked to the great modernization projects of European cities, which were largely defined in terms of axial streets and grand squares. In Paris, for instance, the key modernization initiatives of the 19th century went hand in hand with the creation of "broad, purposeful thoroughfares connecting monuments, radiating from *places*, endowed with uniform architecture, and their perspectives closed at each end by some public structure."[24] Laid bare within the body of the city, those mon-

24 Jordan, Transforming Paris, 1995, 195. Italics in the original.

uments, churches or public buildings serve as *points-de-vue* for the new boulevards hat Baron Haussmann had blasted through the densely built quartiers of central Paris.

The presentation of 'important' religious buildings as panoramically visible monuments in open squares soon established itself as a convention in European urban planning. The contrast of these monuments' effect on space and on the observer before and after they were laid bare may still be experienced today by comparing Notre-Dame de Paris and Strasbourg Minster. In the case of the latter, no drastic measures were undertaken. The exquisite west façade of Strasbourg's cathedral with its exuberant stone ornamentation looms up suddenly out of narrow lanes, marking a sudden break in the cityscape; in concrete terms, a sudden shift of scale, materiality and status. It is an experience of contrast comparable to Tal's observation of the Wailing Wall as cited above. The "confined walls of the alleyway", to use Tal's own words again, cause the stones to "appear more powerful", significantly enhancing the sense that the ornate Gothic façades are reaching towards the heavens. A comparison of the two cathedrals also reveals the main effect of exposure: the enhancement of grandeur (distancing, overview, order, clarity) and monumentality. Instead of sequences, intersections, intermixing and overlapping, the Paris constellation invokes completeness and wholeness and produces an emphatic sense of standing-for-itself.

Yet in Tal's statements about the Wailing Wall, a note of ambiguity can also clearly be heard, one that is inherent to the exposing of monuments. On the one hand, this practice aims at the power of the image and monumentalization in the literal sense. On the other hand, it comes at the price of a weakening that can be grasped as a kind of secularization. While it appeared to Tal, in his account of his first visit, that the Almighty hovered "inaccessibly above the immeasurable stone", now the open space before the exposed wall "sends their wailing echo in the breadth instead of in the height"[25] and hence, in plain terms, no longer to God. Tal adds to his description of this transformation that he "will be aware of comparing the Wailing Wall with a museum object".[26] Although the comparison made here between monument and museum was immediately withdrawn, it is highly suggestive. When religious objects are placed in a museum, they are reassessed and revalued as cultural objects, and they enter the canon of bourgeois culture. This goes hand in hand with a weakening of their original significance. In concrete terms, it is a secularization. An anecdote from Cologne sheds some light on the tension that Tal notes between the temple of the muses and religious practice. According to the story, once a week a peasant woman from the Eifel region used to appear in Cologne's Wallraf Richartz Museum of art, where she would pray at a particular altarpiece, until the museum finally stopped her: the museum was a place of exhibition, not of prayer.[27]

In terms of the disposition of space, the comparison made by Tal between the monument and the museum is revealing. By being exposed, the monument, like the museum piece, is prepared, removed from its context so as to be placed on display as an autonomous 'masterpiece' and exemplum.[28] The transformation of buildings into

25 Quoted in: Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 144, 129.

26 Quoted in: Löw, The Sociology of Space, 2016 (2001), 130.

27 Brock, Inszenierung und Vergegenwärtigung, 1997.

28 The consequences of this are discussed in detail in: O'Doherty, Inside the White Cube, 1986.

monuments and their canonization as objects of national secular worship is institutionalized by means of spatial operations that originate in the context of the museum: isolating and framing, and stressing display value over use value. As a central institution of civic learning and culture, the museum can make use of a formally codified framing to undertake this isolation and reinterpretation in the service of aesthetic and moral education. By contrast, the exposure and decontextualization of monuments in the heterogeneous spaces of the city carries the risk of producing an ambiguous figure. In spatial terms, exposure threatens to turn into a lack of mediation, a shift from the *permanent*, *exemplary*, *eloquent* monument to the *artificial*, *isolated*, *dumb* foreign body. Baron Hausmann's urban planning intervention already evoked this effect in the people of his time. The journalist Louis Veuillot wrote in 1867 about the changes to the French capital: "The new Paris will never have a history and will kill off the scent of the history of the old Paris. […] Even the old monuments that have been left standing say nothing, because everything around them is changed. Notre Dame and the Tower of St Jacques are no more in their places than the Obelisk [which was first brought from Egypt in 1836 and set up on the Place de la Concorde, author's note], and seem to have been imported from remote places as vain curiosities."[29] The historic monuments that were exposed and positioned as *points-de-vue* for the new axial streets evoked the impression of having been implanted in their modernized environment. This 'foreignness' of the historic buildings led Veuillot to conclude that the new Paris was without history. The severing of the connection between the monument and its traditional environment makes the link to the past appear precarious. The monument requires mediation to be legible. For historic buildings, the question of the appropriate mediation of a monument appears above all as a problem of framing.

Framing/Mediation

The history of the theory and practice of framing and staging historic monuments has still to be written. The thoughts of Karl Friedrich Schinkel shed a great deal of light on notions of the appropriate framing of the historic building in the early years of its institutionalization. Schinkel was not only the leading architect of his generation, but also the first Prussian state conservator and the 'father' of German heritage conservation.[30] His first restoration project in the province of Brandenburg concerned the ruins of Chorin Abbey, north of Berlin. It was to become a highly successful monument, and, as a unique early example of North German brick Gothic has graced the cover of many surveys of monuments in the region.[31]

Schinkel, who 'rediscovered' the ruins of the former Cistercian abbey during his 1816 tours of inspection, found the complex of buildings in a state of deep dereliction and neglect, in parts turned over to agricultural use. He made a dedicated effort to rescue this forgotten monument. This included the completion of numerous drawings in

29 Quoted in: Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, 1971 (1960), 134.

30 Huse, Deutsche Texte, 1984, 62–83.

31 Vinken, Die künstlerische Entdeckung, 2001, 339–341.

Figure 5: Chorin, "Lateral view of the Abbey, as viewed from the field", Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1816/17

1816/17, which were probably intended for publication.[32] It is likely that Schinkel was inspired by the portfolio that Friedrich Gilly had produced of Marienburg castle in East Prussia in the late 18th century, whose restoration was now imminent – not least because of Gilly's powerful drawings, which had also enjoyed considerable commercial success (1799–1803). Schinkel's drawings aim to present the ruins as, above all, something memorable that can be experienced. Traces of contemporary agricultural activity are hidden. Troublesome extensions and refittings are ignored. For the largest work, entitled "Main view seen from field" (*Hauptansicht vom Felde gesehen*), the chosen perspective emphasizes the largely undamaged portions, giving an impression of intactness. Other representations, attractively composed from an artistic perspective, anticipate Schinkel's presentation of Chorin as a monument (fig. 5). The abbey ruins are here exposed on a broad green and framed by groups of trees, a suggestion that was later taken up by the landscape architect Peter Joseph Lenné: whose plan shows the monument embedded in a landscaped park, enabling a constantly shifting variety of surprising views of the spectacular brick building.[33] Schenkel's drawings of Chorin evoke the Romantic motif of ruins in a park, as emblematically established in through Caspar David Friedrich's engagement with the ruins of Eldena Abbey near Greifswald.[34]

The transformation of a derelict and forgotten old building into a 'valuable historical document' goes together with the establishment of certain aesthetic and spatial concepts. In Chorin, the landscaped gardens around the ruins were composed to enable the varying and surprising views of the spectacular brick building, as mentioned above. The ideal presentation of a monument here includes exposing and framing: measures Schinkel believed emphasized the monumental character of the building, allowing its intended pedagogical effect to unfold completely. Framing thus initiates a double movement: isolation and close focus in the service of exact objectifying perception, and

32 Berndt, Chorin, 1997.

33 Karg, Die Landschaftsgestaltung, 1987.

34 Vinken, Die künstlerische Entdeckung, 2001, 340–342.

simultaneously, even more so than in the case of the exposed or 'disengaged' cathedrals, the foundation of a new 'pictorial' unity that requires a certain distance to capture.[35]

The embedding and framing of historic monuments in green landscapes subsequently also became a popular procedure for historic buildings located within cities. It was particularly valued wherever urban redevelopment generated a need for the creation of new spatial relationships – as with the Tour Saint-Jacques, as mentioned above. A good example is the treatment of city gates, which lost their function during the modernization and expansion of urban areas. In the debates on their preservation – as I have shown for the case of Basel – the possibility of effectively integrating them in the grand public spaces of the modern city played an important role.[36] When Basel's walls were torn down, the initial plan, in order to create a promenade on the model of Vienna, was to replace St Alban's gate with a square containing fountains and greenery. The decision to preserve St Alban's and two further city gates went hand in hand with some revealing changes. First, the gate was extensively restored, in a way one could classify as iconization. The aesthetically problematic isolation of that gate due to the removal of the wall was to be ameliorated by the construction of a neo-Gothic 'picturesque guardhouse'. At the same time, the plans for the area around the gate were significantly altered and a landscaped park was created around the mediaeval building (fig. 6). The image of the 'ancient, greying' city gate, framed by trees, was soon a beloved postcard motif.

Figure 6: Basel, St Alban's gate with newly laid-out park, around 1875

35 Gamper, Die Natur ist republikanisch, 1998, particularly the chapter "Der Rahmenblick", 135–156; cf. also Langen, Anschauungsformen, 1965, particularly the chapter "Einleitung. Das Prinzip der Rahmenschau. Begriffsbestimmung", 5–44.

36 See Vinken, Die neuen Ränder, 2005. Cf. the essay on Basel in this volume (Chapter 6).

Isolation/Exclusion

The embedding of historic buildings in parks is still practised today. Good examples include the ruins of many bombed-out churches that have been repurposed as war memorials and survive in the last meagre green spaces of Germany's modernized cities. In many respects, Hanover's Aegidienkirche is typical. Originally situated in the densely built city centre, after the rubble of war had been cleared, the church's ruins were initially left standing in isolation, surrounded by a carpark. The plans for the rebuilding of Hanover paid no heed to the historic grid of streets or the traditional form of closed-perimeter block construction from the pre-war period. The creation of suburban-style terraced housing along less dense, greener, more 'modern' lines left the ruins of the church, which had once served as the major symbol of identity and the dominant landmark of the district, literally on their own. As in many similar cases, a small park with trees can provide only meagre coverage for this sudden loss of relationships. This case provides a first impression of how the 'Romantic' correlation of the monument with its surroundings has significantly shifted in the modern period. The high period of avant-garde modernism formulated the new ideal of *Être-du-temps* in a break with tradition and the past. In architecture, a rigorous functionalism undermined the meaning of historical forms of building. In this way, the historic building is stripped of its relevance for contemporary creations and reduced to its role as a historical 'document'. This neutralization is also manifest, as we can see, in the spatial dispositions of the monuments: exposing and framing turn into isolation and exclusion.

The principal witness for the conflict between heritage and contemporaneity that is being fought in the modern city is Le Corbusier, one of the protagonists of a functionalist modernity.[37] The Swiss architect, whose 1922 *Ville Contemporaine*, a "contemporary city for two million inhabitants" was the first Fordist urban utopia,[38] was also responsible for the Athens Charter (1933), the founding manifesto of modern urban planning.[39] This was the first time that an attempt had been made to produce binding standards for heritage conservation. During the urgently necessary modernization of cities, according to the Charter's fifth chapter ("The Historic Heritage of Cities") "Architectural assets must be protected" if they "are the expression of a former culture and if they respond to a universal interest".[40] Yet the Charter places tight restrictions on the protection of historic monuments, which should only be preserved "if their preservation does not entail the sacrifice of keeping people in unhealthy condition" and "if it is possible to remedy their detrimental presence by means of radical measures".[41] What this shows is that heritage now needed to fit in with spaces defined in terms of the new standards of rationality, functionality, hygiene. The now precarious position of built heritage is

37 On Le Corbusier's urbanist projects and their spatial implications cf. the essay on the Crises of the Modern City in this volume (Chapter 2).

38 See Le Corbusier, Œuvre complète, 1960, 34–39; cf. Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), particularly 163–177.

39 Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, 1973 (1933), 41–105.

40 Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, 1973 (1933), 86.

41 Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, 1973 (1933), 87.

reflected in its relationship to the functional spaces of the modern city. The Charter's provisions for planning measures as they relate to historic buildings are limited to a few, dry comments. According to the Charter, "The destruction of the slums around historic monuments will provide an opportunity to create verdant areas."[42] The historic buildings embedded in the green corridors of the functional city again evoke the romantic image of the ruins in their park landscape. Yet this is less a mechanism of mediation than a case of isolation and contrast. As for the surrounding architecture, the Charter warns that "using styles of the past [...] for new structures erected in historic areas has harmful consequences" [and] "will [not] be tolerated in any form".[43]

The now spatially irremediable antagonism that arises here between heritage and the contemporary city – which can be viewed in terms of the incommensurable concepts of meaning and function – runs through many of Le Corbusier's urban planning projects, including his plan to rebuild central Paris, which, as *Ville Voisin* (fig. 7), was to be ambiguously given the name of a luxury automobile brand.[44]

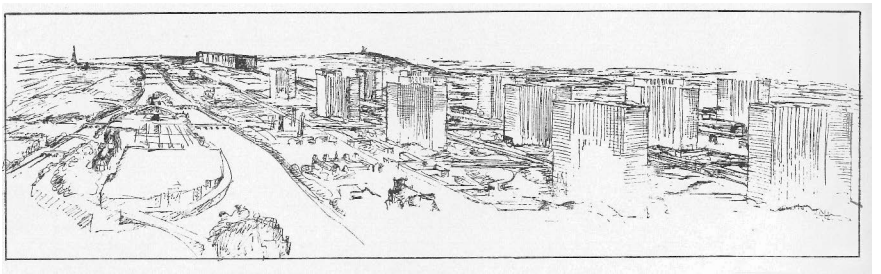

Figure 7: The new centre of Paris. "Ville Voisin", Le Corbusier 1925

To apply the principles developed for the "contemporary city", the radical proposal was to demolish the area north of the Rue Rivoli up to the Gare du Nord, and thus to destroy the historic Marais and Les Halles districts, which had remained largely intact through Haussmann's alterations. They were to be replaced by a group of high-rises, which were to rear up out of green spaces transected by multi-lane highways. Le Corbusier countered the inevitable fierce criticism that this proposed 'destruction' of the French capital would have brought with two lines of argument. On the one hand, he placed his car-centred city in the tradition of the great urban regeneration projects undertaken since the Renaissance, and particularly the remodelling under Baron Haussmann.[45] This is the context in which the sketches for the exposing of Notre-Dame were made. Grand contemporary urban planning, as Corbusier understood it, has always

42 Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, 1973 (1933), 88.

43 Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, 1973 (1933), 88.

44 Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), 277–289.

45 Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), 258–273.

been major "surgery" rather than "medicine": "a genuine sense of liberty drives one to cut, to open up".[46]

The second argument looks towards the question of the historical identity of a city and sees this as upheld by the great *chef d'œuvres* of each era: Notre-Dame and the Louvre, Sacré Cœur and the Eiffel Tower. As long as these key monuments are preserved, Paris will still be Paris – and, as the drawing makes clear, the tower blocks of the *Ville Voisin* are themselves self-consciously positioned in the tradition of these monuments of identity formation and city branding.[47] Polemically, Le Corbusier underlines the relationship between the *Ville Voisin* and Paris's built heritage more strongly: "In this scheme the historical past, our common heritage, is respected. More than that, it is *rescued*."[48] In the new city, in which no more than five percent of the land area is to be built upon, major sites of interest can be exposed and embedded harmonically in green spaces with trees and hedgerows: "The "Voisin" scheme would isolate the whole of the ancient city and bring back peace and calm from Saint-Gervais to the Étoile. The districts of the *Marais*, the *Archives*, the *Temple*, etc., would be demolished. But the ancient churches would be preserved. They would stand surrounded by verdure […]. In this way the past becomes no more dangerous to life, but finds instead its true place within it."[49] Displayed in the green spaces with no context, however, the old monuments have the appearance of foreign bodies within the rational beauty of the urban machine. In contrast to the open squares or Romantic parks of the 19th century, in the shadow of the tower blocks, the monuments have no possibility of imposing themselves on the surrounding space. The garden, once a mediating frame, here functions as a neutral *cordon sanitaire*, an insulating band from the functional spaces of the contemporary city. The dialectical play of exposing and framing has been transformed into isolation and lack of mediation.

Island/Zone

The procedures of isolation and exclusion that we can observe here are not limited to individual monuments.[50] The 'island of tradition' (*Traditionsinsel*) has been an established concept in urban planning since the 1930s.[51] The precursor to this was the growth of an interest in vernacular architecture and the 'historic ensemble', which went hand in hand with an expansion of the concept of the historic monument beyond its formerly exclusive focus on grand individual buildings (castles, churches, town halls).[52] The early German *Heimatschutz* movement made effective use of the new medium of the fine art book to promote the idea of the harmonic constellation of buildings and their setting in

46 Author's translation; the original passage is as follows : "Un véritable besoin de libération pousse à couper, à ouvrir […]." Le Corbusier, Urbanisme, 1925, 254.

47 Le Corbusier, Precisions on the present State, 2015 (1930), 174–177.

48 Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), 287. Italics in the original.

49 Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), 287–288. Italics in the original.

50 For details of the consequences: Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010.

51 On the concept of the *Traditionsinsel* cf. the essay on Cologne in this volume (Chapter 9).

52 For a recent overview: Jakobi, Die Heimatschutzbewegung, 2005.

nature.[53] The focus of institutionalized heritage conservation shifted from individual buildings to heritage areas. The 'island of tradition' is a figure of consensus and compromise between a model of heritage conservation that is strongly focused on visual impact and a functionalist urban planning that wishes to reshape the city as part of a radical and traffic-oriented modernization. It took the destruction of wartime aerial bombardment to make such plans for complete urban redesign a real possibility. For all their shock at the huge scale of the devastation, nearly everyone involved in post-war rebuilding also saw the destruction as a major opportunity. In Cologne, for instance, the wartime Mayor, Robert Brandes, had already begun to ponder: "If the destruction of our cities has any purpose, [then it is that of] clarifying the spiritual and intellectual foundations for planning *the city of the future* and showing the way to this great goal [...]. Entirely new cities will come into existence. At root, surviving districts are a burden."[54] Many conservationists shared the euphoria of a new beginning and welcomed the destruction as an "opportunity that was unlikely to come again" to remove the "dirty slums" and "tastelessness" of the Wilhelmine period.[55] In view of the widespread destruction, the establishment of "historic centres" (*historischer Kerne*) on a modest scale emerged as the preferred means of reinforcing urban identities that had been weakened.

These old town islands, as has not only become evident in recent years,[56] do not depend on either authenticity or continuity. The plans made by Hamburg's city planner, Fritz Schumacher, have come down to us, I which he proposed "joining together [surviving buildings] somewhere to create a 'historic centre' however modest."[57] Hanover's 'old town' was indeed created after the war using this procedure: the few half-timbered houses that had not been destroyed were removed from the city centre, which was rebuilt on 'car-friendly' lines, and assembled near the reconstructed *Marktkirche*, creating an artificial 'island of tradition'.[58]

The plans of the architect and city planner Wilhelm Riphan for the rebuilding of Cologne are instructive regarding the new spatial order.[59] The "backbone of the plan" is the reorganization of the transport infrastructure, which would have entirely reshaped the structure of the city.[60] The rebuilt Mediaeval churches were to be isolated and "set as jewels in the [newly established] green corridors of the city centre.[61] On the Rhine front, Riphan also deviated from a modern layout by establishing an 'island of tradition', justifying this in a way that might sound familiar: "The rebuilding of the area around

53 For instance, the *Blaue Bücher* series, which sold in large numbers (published by Karl Robert Langewiesche since 1902) or the nine volumes of Schultze-Naumburg, Kulturarbeiten, 1901–1917.

54 Brandes, Wiederaufbau und Gemeindeverwaltung, 1944, 1. Italics in the original.

55 Huppertz, Schönere Zukunft, 1945/1947, 2–3.

56 Cf. the essay on Frankfurt in this volume (Chapter 12), and Vinken, Im Namen der Altstadt, 2016.

57 Fritz Schumacher, Zum Wiederaufbau Hamburgs, 1948, quoted in: Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLVIII.

58 Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, 250–251.

59 For a detailed discussion: Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010, 157–178 and the essay on Cologne in this volume (Chapter 9).

60 Huppertz, Schönere Zukunft, 1945/1947, 4.

61 Huppertz, Schönere Zukunft, 1945/1947, 7–8.

Great St. Martin's (rehabilitation of the old town) with the old market will make it possible to preserve what is original and unique about Cologne".[62] The drawing included to illustrate the newly laid out Rhine front reveals clearly the contrast sought between the functionalist post-war modernism and the 'reservation' of tradition that was only tolerated at the edge (see figure 8 in chapter 9 on Cologne in this volume). The fact that this part of the city centre, which had only been restored as a model old town during the Nazi dictatorship, was then in large part rebuilt on 'historical' terms and remains established as Cologne's old town today is one of the great ironies of Cologne's history.[63]

In the 'island of tradition', two central modernist procedures for the constitution of monuments – isolation and exclusion – are transferred from the individual monument to the ensemble. Old town quarters are to be experienced as clearly set apart. To this end, they are subject to ongoing processes of homogenization, via urban beautification and heritage conservation efforts, via the removal of every 'foreign' trace – and now once more via the large-scale construction of historicizing or replica buildings, as in Frankfurt, Hildesheim, Dresden or Potsdam (fig. 8).[64]

Figure 8: Actually brand new. Potsdam Old Market Square (Photo: M. Moldovan 2019)

As discrete old town quarters, they may only be experienced within their defined boundaries by means of special treatment, specifically through the definition and enforcement of a stylistic code, design regulations that also apply to new builds, and replicas. Only through procedures of distancing and isolation can old town zones be distinguished from their modern surroundings, which is what grants them their visual power.

62 Riphahn, Grundgedanken zur Neugestaltung, 1945, 7–8.

63 Cf. Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010, 157–178, and the essay on Cologne in this volume (Chapter 9).

64 Cf. Vinken, Im Namen der Altstadt, 2016, and the essay on Frankfurt in this volume (chapter 12).