6   Basel / Switzerland
The *Heimat* Zone. Planning the 'Historic' Town

> ... la forme d'une ville change plus vite, hélas,
> que le cœur d'un mortel !
> ...the form a city takes more quickly shifts,
> alas, than does the mortal heart!
> *(Charles Baudelaire)* [1]

Roadside signs have started appearing in Germany that draw attention to a nearby *Historische Altstadt* (which reads approximately as "Historic Old Town"). That raises the question of whether there can also be non-historical old towns. Lamenting 'manufactured antiquity' has a long history. In his notorious 1933 speech "Zur Rettung der deutschen Altstadt" (On Saving the German Old Town), the art historian Wilhelm Pinder condemned both "Old Heidelberg" and "Old Nuremberg" as fakes – the result in each case of historicist renovations and assimilating infill construction.[2] In particular, to the critical visitor, those famous German Old Towns that have been marketed to tourists for decades can seem like little more than theatrical trickery. The market for this manufactured antiquity has been booming since German unification. However, my question about the 'making' of *Altstadt* is not primarily concerned with the fake or simulated antiquity of many 'historic' town quarters but rather the claims of historicity and authenticity inherent in the concept of *Altstadt* itself. Talk of a badly planned and disfigured, faked and simulated Old Town implicitly assumes that there could be a real and authentic one: the 'real' *Altstadt* as something that has passively come down to us, as historical remains or a document that emerges out of another time and into ours and requires protection from impudent modernity. Yet *Altstadt* is also a phenomenon against which the question of true or false, real or manufactured comes up short. For the making of *Altstadt* is deeply rooted in the history of the city, and, more specifically, in the practices and methods of modern urban planning.[3]

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1   Baudelaire, The Flowers of Evil, 1998 (1857), 175.
2   Pinder, Rede am Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz, 1934, 127.
3   For a full exploration of this thesis: Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010.

Altstadt is a construct in several regards:

- *Altstadt* emerges as the dialectical counter-image of the modern city. In contrast to the acceleration, destruction and alienation of modernity, *Altstadt* offers endurance, order and a sense of home. In brief, the modern city and the modern urban experience are antecedent to the notion of the Old Town.
- *Altstadt* is not a remnant of urban modernization, but a product of it. The construction of the 'historic' town centre is founded in a differentiation of urban space, which, in the form of zoning, is at the heart of modern urban planning.
- And finally: *Altstadt* is not the result of preservation or conservation, but of willful intervention. Rehabilitation is a specific form of modernization that undertakes sanitary, social and aesthetic homogenization. By this means, synthetic islands of tradition are accorded to the modern city, with its lack of boundaries and its dynamism, as special zones.

Counter-Image

Simplifying somewhat, one could say that the Old Town came about during the first modern cultural movement: Romanticism. In 1801, Ludwig Tieck left Berlin, whose "labyrinthine regularity" had become unbearable to him. For his famous book, *Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar*, he reinvented Albrecht Dürer's Nuremberg. Old Nuremberg, with its winding alleyways, old-fashioned ("*altväterischen*") houses and churches, tiny round-paned windows was for him a symbol of a German golden age, a "vigorous centre of German art".[4] Against modernity, with its experiences of dissolution and loss, Romanticism sets the feeling, the character, the soul that it finds in the image of the German *Altstadt*: "German art was once a pious youth, reared at home among relatives and within the walls of a little town. Now that it has grown older it has become a polished man of the world who in ridding himself of his provincialism has sacrificed his feeling, his individuality, his very soul".[5] The city as the vessel of the soul plays an important role in the iconography of Romanticism. In his drawing "Dürer and Raphael before the Throne of Art",[6] Franz Pforr turns "old German" Nuremberg into a kind of attribute of the German artist, while Rome plays the same role for his opposite number, the equally revered Raphael. In Friedrich Overbeck's 1810 portrait of Franz Pforr,[7] the Nazarene, who died young, is portrayed in the position "in which he would perhaps have felt happiest":[8] From an arbour, the observer's gaze is drawn through the alleyways of an old German town towards an Italian coast: pious, orderly domesticity is embodied

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4   Wackenroder/Tieck, Outpourings, 1975 (1797), 49.
5   Wackenroder/Tieck, Outpourings, 1975 (1797), 55.
6   Etching based on a lost drawing.
7   Berlin, Nationalgalerie.
8   Wesenberg, Nationalgalerie Berlin, 2001, 317.

in the intricate and varied beauty of the *Altstadt* with its obedience to a higher order, which in turn opens onto the landscape.

In the dynamic flux of industrialization, the evocation of the good old town took on a new aspect. As a symbol of natural order and integrity, *Altstadt* became the counter-image of the modern city, which was experienced as lacking boundaries, structure and stability. A telling example is the presentation of a city in Pugin's *Contrasts*[9] (fig. 1).
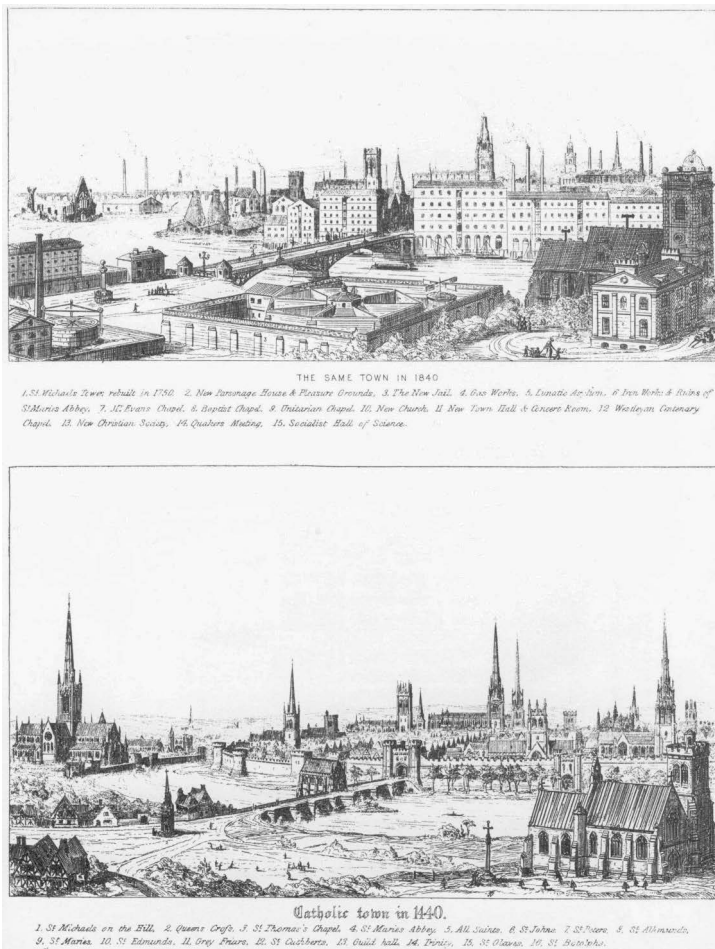

Figure 1: "Contrasts". View of a City 1840 and 1440, A. W. N. Pugin 1841

In this architectural pamphlet, the initiator of the Gothic Revival seeks to prove the superiority of Gothic architecture over Classicism, which he considers degenerate and pagan. The accompanying engravings show the titular "contrasts" – good and bad: a fictitious contemporary city is contrasted with an idealized view of the same town from around 1440. Modern history is presented as an age of decadence and decline. Front

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9   Pugin, Contrasts, 1841.

and centre stands the prison, the new poorhouse, as an emblem of modernity; behind it, fenced off, the madhouse – modernity as discipline and punishment. Modernity becomes distance from God: in the foreground to the right, the grand new parsonage, set down in isolation, casts a shadow over the church, while the old churchyard has been replaced by a pleasure ground; in the background on the left, the large abbey, placed outside the walls in the Roman manner stands in a state of ruin next to the ironworks. Modernity is presented as destruction, including the destruction of manifest architectural order: shortened church towers compete with belching smokestacks; the harmonious silhouette has been destroyed; the waterfront is obscured by giant warehouses. The clear boundary between inside and outside has been dissolved, dissipated; the edge of the town is no longer discernible; the bridge, rebuilt on a giant scale, is reduced to a chasm-like void, a cutting between warehouses. The vibrant density of the centre has given way to the depressing crush of industry and gloomy tenements. The new town here reflects a society whose social and moral order is out of kilter. The historic town is drafted as its counter-image – the embodiment of divine, organic order.

If *Altstadt* here represents order in a disorderly time, it is even more a symbol of permanence in a time of increasing acceleration. The order that the Old Town embodies is that of the permanent, the eternal, the self-evident. In this way, *Altstadt* is constituted precisely where the experience of the city underwent its most extreme transformation in the course of modernity: in relation to time. An oft-cited passage in Baudelaire's Les fleurs du mal identifies this revolutionary transformation precisely: "The old Paris is gone (the form a city takes more quickly shifts, alas, than does the mortal heart!)."[10] Since ancient times, architecture has stood for endurance, for permanence. The city offered a fixed and well-ordered framework, a space that gave shape to a life full of variety. With the new measure of time given – from Dickens's *Hard Times* to Chaplin's *Modern Times* – by the monotonous and untiring up-and-down of the machines, the pistons of the railway, the flow of workers on the way to their shift, this order-giving stone framework is also carried away by modern acceleration. The tempos have switched place, man has been left behind by the transformations of his environment. Modernity is accompanied from the start by an experience of alienation and uprootedness that is perceived as nostalgia, longing for home, or cultural pessimism.

From this perspective, the city/Old Town binary is revealed to be a special case of one of modernity's central configurations: the dialectical construction of history as a present that is moving towards the future, on the one hand, and as tradition, on the other. The new demand for radical contemporaneity, which culminated in the concept of the avant garde, discredited tradition as old in the sense of outdated, incongruous, of the past. On the other hand, the dialectical concept of history emerged from a figure of origins; the progressive present creates tradition as a concept of permanence, familiarity, the eternally valid. He who measures everything against the present will, following Hegel, make the past into heritage.[11] In the accelerated transformation of industrialization, experience of the city splits. Next to modern Paris, Capital of the 19th Century, *vieux Paris* appears as a powerful image of all that is familiar and threatened, and as the (lost)

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10   Baudelaire, The Flowers of Evil, 1998 (1857), 175.

11   Choay, The Invention, 2001, 131–152.

Heimat. The concept of *Altstadt* splits the flow of time, excluding from the present a 'previously'; it distinguishes the contemporary from the conventional, the historical, or better, the permanent: the 'always already' of tradition. The invention of *Altstadt* out of the experience of modernity is clearly inscribed in Pugin's illustration: tellingly, his contrast of the Gothic city and the modern one is not arranged chronologically as before and after. The image of the mediaeval city is constructed by means of its modern view. Here, the *Altstadt* is the image of an ideal type, the counter-image of the new – false – city.

   Altstadt is a figure of origin and tradition wrested from the diktat of modern *être-du-temps* as a place of quasi-timelessness. Yet the concrete Old Town, those 'historic' areas in the hearts of our cities, are also constructions in several regards. Old Towns do not come about as a result of neutral processes such as preservation or conservation. They are generated during the modernization of cities, more precisely in processes of spatial differentiation and homogenization that are at the heart of every instance of urban modernization.[12] The case of Basel, a city whose history, in contrast to that of so many German cities, is not fractured by wartime destruction and post-war reconstruction, outlines these processes of heritage-making clearly and concisely.

According a Place

The construction of *Altstadt* has its origin in the transformations that a city undergoes in the early stages of modernization: when the Old Town is accorded to a rapidly expanding urban area as its "core".[13] This initial phase is defined by the boundary, which once again reveals itself to be the constitutive figure *par excellence*.[14] The city of Basel retained a full set of fortifications well into the 19th century. Until 1856, the gates were locked at night. A broad strip of open land in front of the walls was left unbuilt to maintain a clear field of fire.[15] The city's fortifications thus remained a definite boundary – physically, legally and economically – until the threshold of industrialization. And yet the Trojan Horse of progress had already found its way into the city: the railway. The first station (serving the Strasbourg–Basel Railway) had been kept within the city proper by means of an elaborate and expensive expansion of the city walls. The newly constructed railway gate was locked at night like all the others: a remarkable and pointless attempt to use conventional means to retain mastery over the incoming tide of revolutionary change. The dynamic potential of this new mode of transport created new facts and necessities on the ground. With the decision in 1857 to build the new Central Station outside the walls, the old defences were implicitly abandoned. The law to expand the city of 1859 paved the way for the moats to be filled in, new entrances to be created and the walls and earthworks to be removed. The fortifications were dismantled in stages between

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12   Fehl, Stadt-Umbau, 1995, 13.
13   Vinken, Die neuen Ränder, 2005.
14   Simmel, Sociology, 2009, in particular "Excursus on Social Boundary", 551–570.
15   Siegfried, Basels Entfestigung, 1923, 91–92.

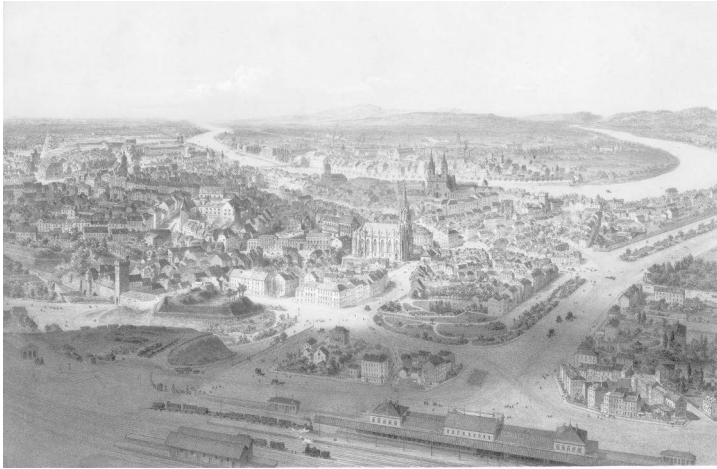1861 and 1878 (fig. 2).[16] In their place, in imitation of Vienna, a circular promenade was created.

Figure 2: Modern Times. View of Basel with the new Station in front of the defortified city, lithograph by Jean Baptiste Arnout 1865

Naturally, these measures were undertaken in the name of modernization. Basel needed to open itself up to its rapidly expanding suburbs, and the circular promenade was to serve as the pivot point by regulating the flow of traffic. The ring also promised social and sanitary benefits: recreation for all, health, fresh air for a densely built city.[17] Last but not least, it was thought of as a beautification measure, as a grand new setting for the city and a stage for modern life. This complete ring of parks and alleys is beautiful, healthful and practical – in short, it is modern, the new face of the city. The *Promenadenring* was the antithesis of the city walls: open instead of closed, dynamic rather than set in stone, connecting instead of protecting. Although it is an emblem of modernity, the ring also contains a powerful moment of continuity. It recalls the city's old boundaries within the modern cityscape. It is not a mere dividing line, but a space with its own order, whose configuration decisively changed how the Old Town is perceived. It is significant, in this regard, that elements of the old fortifications have been utilized in the promenade. Three of Basel's five city gates have been kept as physical documents of the old boundary;[18] more precisely, they were repurposed as monuments.[19] Their restoration was not undertaken in order to re-establish a specific historical state. Rather, it aimed to be characteristic, to recreate a typical 'mediaeval city gate' or even 'Basel city gate', one whose character – that of venerable antiquity, military and economic power, pride – was to be established via aesthetic means (figs 3, 4). The gates'
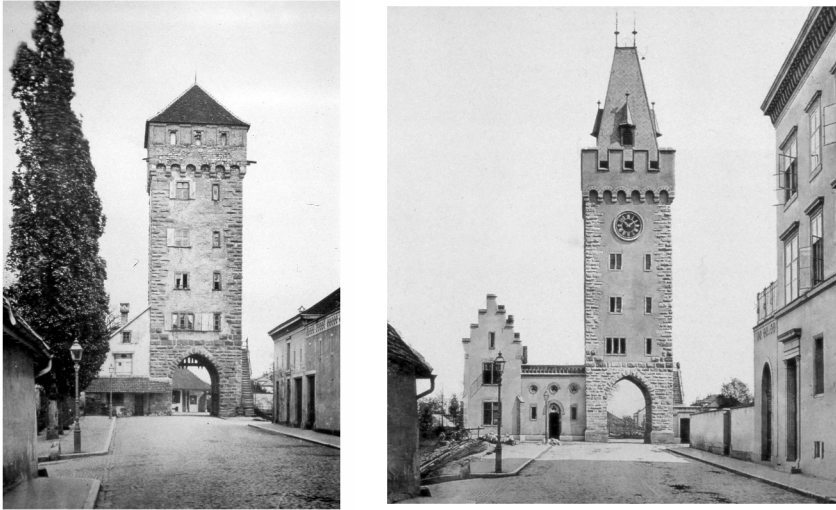
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16   Kreis, Abbruch und Aufbruch, 1995.

17   Falter, Grünflächen der Stadt Basel, 1984, 43.

18   Siegfried, Basels Entfestigung, 1923, 140–146; Kreis, Abbruch und Aufbruch, 1995, 223–228.

19   Helmig/Matt, Inventar Basler Stadtbefestigung, 1989.

character as historical monuments was completed by placing them in small, landscaped parks.

Figures 3, 4: Basel, St. Alban's Gate in 1863 and following its restoration in 1872

The old city gates, whose atmospheric staging as historic monuments owes a debt to bourgeois notions of culture and education, are the most prominent architectural sites around the promenade ring. The monumental gates certify its authenticity as the fortifications' representative and heir. Beyond this, they also cut across the ring's self-referential space. By evoking the opening and closing functions of the city walls, they inscribe the interior-exterior antagonism of the old boundary into the new one. In this, however, there is a decisive drift of meaning: the boundary function of the wall, its establishment of 'interior' and 'exterior' is translated by the ring into 'old' and 'new'. The binary pair ancient town/extensions here superimposed upon the subtexts original/model and organic/planned. It was Heidegger who stated that "a boundary is not that at which something stops but [...] that from which something *begins its presencing.*"[20] And so the promenade ring accords the modern city an interior: an interior that frames itself as particular, as *Heimat*. The urban planning measures undertaken in the name of modernization thus simultaneously transformed the status of the old quarter of town into an *Altstadt* that is the heart and soul of the new city.

Special Zone

These transformations of an older part of town into an *Altstadt* in the sense of a core, centre and origin are preconditions for the concrete generation of 'historic' quarters,

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20   Heidegger, Building Dwelling Thinking, 1971 (1951), 152. Italics in the original.

which occurs in parallel to or, more precisely, as an inherent component of modernization. Of course, not every part of the old city is today part of Basel's *Altstadt*. Since the removal of the city walls, large areas of the city's centre have been modernized to form a central business district and often renovated several times in quick succession.[21] Nevertheless, Basel's impressive urban substance provides an image of a Swiss German *Altstadt* that is very 'well preserved' over a large area. Paradoxically, this image is in large part generated by the mediaeval 'faubourgs' (*Spalenvorstadt*; *St. Alban-Vorstadt*) that were incorporated into the expanded city in the late Middle Ages through enlargement of its ring of walls. While some 70 percent of houses inside the ring have been rebuilt since 1875,[22] the resulting impression is quite heterogeneous. In substantive terms, coherent groups of buildings from the pre-industrial age remain in the area around the Minster and near the Rhine as well as on the slopes above (e.g. Heuberg, Nadelberg, Spalenberg, Leonhardsberg), while other parts have been transformed into a modern business district (fig. 5).

Figure 5: "Altstadt" and 19*th*-century business district. Basel, Marktplatz and Sattelgasse
(Photo: Koch 1898)

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21   Brönnimann, Basler Bauten, 1973; Stolz/Bühler, Basel im 19. Jahrhundert, 1979.

22   Meier, Basel einst und jetzt, 1993, 10.

The area inside the ring is differentiated by topographic means: the so-called *Talstadt* or "valley town" around the market has traditionally contained the most important thoroughfares and shopping streets, which run down towards the old bridge over the Rhine. The old 'faubourgs' and the less convenient hillsides were residential areas or craftsmen's quarters; the *Münstersporn*, which shields the lower town from the Rhine, was long marked by the presence of the Church. Modernization intensified these differences: traffic and trade on the one hand, peace and quiet on the other; even partially neglected areas such as those along the banks of the Birsig river, which crossed the city openly until 1897.

Are today's 'historic' quarters, therefore, remnants of the old city that were not subject to modernization and have since been granted official protection? On more careful examination, a different picture is revealed. The precondition for the emergence of homogeneous old-town districts as 'zones of tradition' is a bundle of urban-planning measures. First, and most significantly, it is a result of spatial differentiation, which has been accompanied by legal provisions and specific building regulations. Basel's *Altstadt* quarters are the result of zoning, i.e. planning legislation that defines business district and 'historic' areas as different zones, and of a modernization practice that aesthetically homogenizes each of these zones. Strictly speaking, Basel's famed *Altstadt* came into existence as a planning zone.

Urban planning emerged as a separate discipline in the late 19th century as a means of regulating the modernization of cities. It initially concentrated on formulating general rules and guidelines and applying them as blanket measures: this is modernization as homogenization. Basel was no exception, and early attempts were made to create uniform rules for the entire city – by defining the minimum width of streets, for instance.[23] For the town centre, this regulation of the streets in accordance with the needs of modern transport infrastructure was known as "correction": this was a major undertaking that required all the houses on at least one side of a street to be torn down one by one to gain a relatively modest increase in width. Because of the size of the compensation payments to owners, this process was only economically and politically viable for a few main shopping streets. Above all, however, the compromises that were necessary to maintain a uniform appearance throughout the city left both parts of Basel unsatisfied. The minimum street width that it was possible to achieve in the centre at great expense around the turn of the century was considered inadequate for the extensions and the modern suburbs.[24] The first generally binding planning laws for Basel were passed in 1919. Significantly, they did not apply to the city centre, but only to the extensions.[25]

Paradoxically, the solution to this problem was the result of radically functionalist urban planning. Its key concept is spatial differentiation, encapsulated in the concept of the zone.[26] The blueprint was given by Le Corbusier, who placed the idea of functional zones at the heart of his thought. In his first functionalist model of a city, "a contemporary city for three million inhabitants" (1922), commercial and administrative, res-

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23   Ratschläge, 315, 1864.
24   Ratschläge, 315, 1864, 7–8.
25   Ratschläge, 2257, 1919.
26   Vinken, Sonderzone Heimat, 2006.

idential and industrial areas are spatially segregated.[27] The functional zones, such as the high-rise business district and the residential districts of large housing blocks that surround it, are also subject to different formal design criteria. Although these radical ideas were initially rejected, the principle of zoning would be adopted universally as the basis of urban modernization. When the first generally binding rules for the whole of Basel were developed in the 1930s, it was divided into planning zones (*Bauzonen*).[28] This also marked the establishment of the

Altstadt in legal terms. For the first time, parts of the city centre that had previously been designated "Planning Zone 5" (*Bauzone 5*) and "Correction Area" (*Korrektionsgebiet*) were defined as *Schutzzonen Altstadt* (Protection Zones), and subject to a special set of building regulations.[29] The *Schutzzonen Altstadt*, however, were, although they were designated as protection zones, were likewise planning zones, and conservation legislation in the proper sense was not established until 1977.[30] The *Schutzzone Altstadt* is what we call a special zone with special rules for building in existing fabric. Whether a new building is constructed, or an old building is renovated remains a question of profitability. All that is asked is that new buildings fit in with the existing structures so that modernization occurs in the image of the Old Town. In place of a general requirement to build to a height of five storeys, as applies to the rest of the city centre, here, individual requirements are based on existing structures. But the regulations applied to new builds within the rehabilitation zone change the parameters of the cost-benefit analysis. Height limits, in particular, reduce the expected return and tend to discourage this kind of investment, instead benefitting the rehabilitation or restoration of historic structures. Thus without considerable support from the city via a local tax, known as the *Arbeitsrappen* (work cent), large-scale renovation would not have been possible.[31] The "clean division between the town centre correction areas and the Old Town rehabilitation zones (*Altstadtzonen*)"[32] created the spatial conditions for the ongoing special treatment of the *Altstadt*, which soon became known as the rehabilitation area (*Sanierungsgebiet*).

"Rehabilitation" added a new urban remodelling process to the established procedure of "correction". The business district was "corrected" (which means rebuilt on a larger scale) to meet investors' expectations of a return, while "rehabilitation" of the "protection zones" created an *Altstadt*. It is important to emphasize that in this context, rehabilitation must also be understood as modernization; at heart it is a kind of radical homogenization of the special zones, one that calls for the "aesthetic and sanitary recovery of the [...] Old Town."[33] Homogenization thus occurs on two levels: on the one hand, as modernization in line with the latest sanitary, social and planning standards; on the other, as beautification according to the conservative doctrine of *Heimatschutz*.

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27   Le Corbusier, Œuvre complète, 1960, 34–39.

28   Wyss, Denkmalpflege in Basel, 1988; Boerlin, Denkmalschutzrecht Basel Stadt, 1974, 27–28.

29   Ratschläge, 3769, 1939, to which was appended the "Decision of the Great Council regarding the establishment of two zone plans for the area of Basel City" (*Grossratsbeschluss betreffend die Festsetzung von zwei Zonenplänen für das Gebiet von Basel-Stadt*).
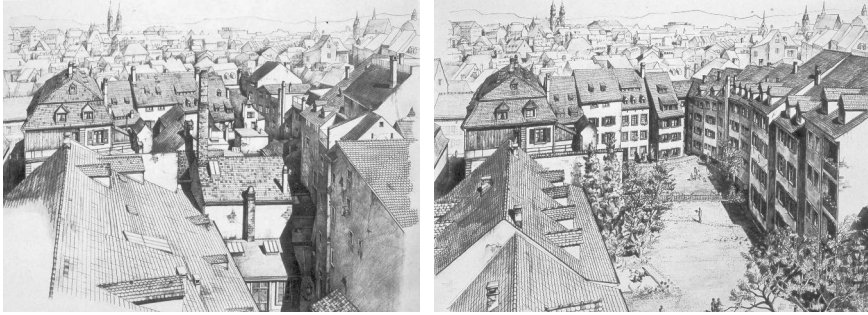
30   Nertz, Umgang des Baslers, 1991, 106.

31   Meier, Basler Arbeitsrappen, 1984.

32   Comment, Basler Arbeiter-Zeitung, 24 September 1945.

33   Burckhardt, Altstadtsanierung, 1945/1946, 1.

In the name of sanitation and ventilation, built-over yards were cleared out ("*entkernt*") and cleaned up (figs 6, 7).

Figures 6, 7: "Clearing out". Sanitization project for the block Schneidergasse – Nadelberg – Spalenberg – Rosshofgasse, 1945

The old unit of the narrow townhouse was replaced by the more practical division into apartments: "a shower-bath in every home" was the slogan of renovation in line with modern sanitary standards.[34] Social homogenization was a desirable side effect. The so-called reintegration of the slums into the economic cycle often led to major population transfers and the exclusion of marginal groups.

"For sanitary, economic and aesthetic improvement, we particularly welcome the clearing of structures from courtyards and gardens, the creation of space between buildings, the removal of additions and particularly rooftop extensions, height reduction, the improvement of shop fittings, and the removal of intrusive elements" (1945).[35] Modernization thus did not take place behind unchanging façades: rehabilitation meant above all – and the degree to which this was the case is often underestimated – aesthetic homogenization, whose impact direction has remained unbroken to this day. We will give a few examples of this. The first is as unspectacular as it is telling. The house at Petersplatz 3[36] appears to have been remodelled several times, most recently in the 19th century, when it received a new façade (fig. 8). The aim of restoration was to remove all these diverse traces, particularly those of 'copyist' historicism, which had been branded as misguided. The 'French' shutters were replaced by the more 'solid' variety common in Basel, shop windows were removed, as were the cornices: all "urban" ambitions that looked to Paris or Vienna were replaced by Old Basel cosiness (fig. 9). Here now stood a house with a brand-new pitched roof as though it had never been any different, the epitome of 'authentic' Old Basel rectitude, timeless and tasteful: *Heimat*.

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34   Arbeitsbeschaffungsbehörden, Altstadt heute und morgen, 1945.
35   Materialien zum Sanierungsgesetz, 1945/1956.
36   Meier, Basler Arbeitsrappen, 1984, 214–215.

Figures 8, 9: Basel, Petersplatz 3, 1962 and following restoration in 1963 (Photos Eidenbenz; Hoffmann)

In 1953, the Art Nouveau-influenced façade of a kindergarten built in 1905 apparently became a foreign body in the *Altstadt* quarter and an annoyance (fig. 10).[37] During the restoration the gable decorating the façade was removed. The foreign-looking mansard roof was replaced by an upper storey in keeping with the area, with mullioned windows, wooden external shutters and a pitched roof (fig. 11). In a more affluent time, the ground floor would probably also have been completely 'dehistoricized', as the the heavy rustication of the socle and the round window and door openings now stand in peculiar contrast to the *Heimatschutz* style of the upper storey.

Overall, a major effort was made to create an *Altstadt* that was profitable and tasteful in equal measure. In many cases, several narrow houses were merged and had storeys added so that it is almost impossible to see how they used to look.[38] New buildings also had to comply with regulations for materials, volumes, and roof and window forms. The model for this was a synthetic and largely ahistorical type of house. On many streets, everything 'alien' has been removed. Only one voice is still permitted to speak, a radical *Heimatschutz* style which, using the same details in every case, is supposed to give Basel's Old Town its unmistakable character: mullioned windows with plain frames and wooden shutters are the leitmotif alongside the inevitable dormer windows (fig. 12, 13).

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37   Meier, Basler Arbeitsrappen, 1984, 435–436.
38   E.g. in the Marktgasse. Cf. Meier, Basler Arbeitsrappen, 1984, 279–280.
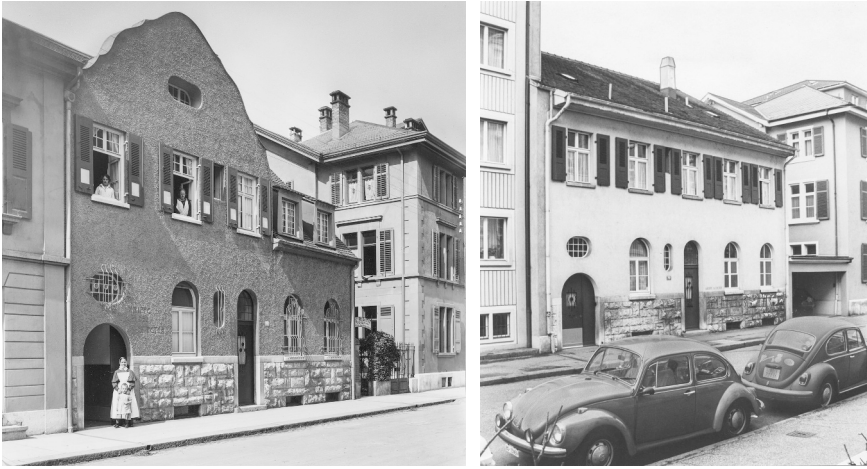
Figures 10, 11: Basel, Mittlere Strasse 79, built in 1905, before and after restoration in 1953

Figures, 12, 13: Basel, Spalenvorstadt 28–20, in 1957 and in 1984 (Photos Peter Heman; Eidenbenz)

The rehabilitation of Basel's historic quarters has become increasingly demanding in conservation terms over the years; for instance, when it comes to dealing with the original material substance of the structures. The guiding aesthetic principles, however, remain unchanged to this day.[39] The results of this decades-long urban beautification strategy are homogenized 'historic' quarters that differ considerably from the surrounding business districts and that are perceived, despite their separation in space, as "Basel's Old Town". This is an achievement of urban planning whose benefits are obvious and yet whose ambiguous aspects should not be overlooked. The longing for a present that is progressing toward the future is a very modern experience; so too is the need for a history rooted in the local and particular. It is this particular constellation that feeds the desire for an "*Altstadt*", which is accorded to the modern city as a "*Heimat* zone".

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39   Wyss, Basler Spuren, 1987.