Primary Elements:
Typological Innovation and Urban Performance

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Thesis Manuscript
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Contents

Abstract

This doctorate explicates the dynamic relationship between architecture and the city. Drawing upon Aldo Rossi's theories, it argues that architectural artifacts and Study Areas—urban areas with identifiable characteristics—are mutually interdependent in the ongoing transformation of the city. Taking as its subject the central island of Berlin—the 'Spreeinsel'—it first identifies, then explains typological innovations that have caused urban transformations to the 'Hauptstadt'.[1] It accordingly presents a genealogy of the city's present-day condition, examining the trajectory of the Study Area from the enclave of royal residence in the 1800s to its current iteration as Berlin's cultural heart. In the intermediary, it assesses Schinkel's transformation of the island through the opening of the Altes Museum and his other associated cityscape improvements; the GDR's post-war reorientation of the islands' central void spaces towards the east; and the present-day resurrection of the former Berliner Schloß and the implementation of the Museumsinsel Masterplan, each as key moments of alteration.

The thesis focuses on the immanent potential of architecture itself, held autonomously by its conventions, objects, and concepts (collectively, that which comprises its 'material'), advocating that architecture's spatiality has its own reasoning propagated by typology, which operates irrespectively of dialectics beyond its disciplinary frontiers. A logic is developed based on Primary Elements—key urban artifacts which interact with the city's development in a permanent way—and their instrumentality in propagating change in the city. Typology's exploitation of persistence is inherently linked to structuring the urban condition, and architecture therefore is considered to have an effect across time, and an area much wider than its immediate envelope. Accordingly, the focus shifts from theory to practice: from what architecture means, to what architecture does; its consequences, effects, and an examination of its potential for transformation.

Reasoning fundamental instances of urban alteration, exonerates this research from mere historiographical account—that is, an investigation of period or style, or expression of society's needs through time. Instead, it is an analysis that foregrounds typology as architecture's ultimate process of reasoning and its under-explored role in the evolution of the city. Type's agency is reasoned to be held in the characteristics of relations between

1 'Hauptstadt' is German for 'City Centre'.

Study Area and architecture, rather than the architectural object itself, constituting the agent of change and the locus of innovation.

Aims

- To elucidate on architecture's role in the city and its link(s) to urbanism.
- To elucidate on architecture's process of evolution (expressly, the process of typological innovation – opposed to typological repetition or variation).
- To determine and define the differences between 'transformations' and 'variations' in urban formations.
- To ascertain to what extent architecture is an internalised discipline, governed by its own natural law, as opposed to an inherently transparent structure which holds no corpus of knowledge.
- To elucidate on the dynamics and processes which bind Primary Elements to an urban Study Area.

Objectives

- To evaluate a wide spectrum of architectural and urban theory (especially typological and typo-genetic theories), to provide a platform analysing the relationship of architectural typology to the urban area.
- To bring these theories to bear on the real-life case study of central Berlin—where typological innovation can be evidenced and reasoned, to provide valuable insights into its urban performance across different eras.
- To appropriate the typological event to the urban area in which the building is situated and appraise the effect this has had on the typology of the Primary Element, the urban Study Area and its wider agency.
- To assess, synthesise and analyse what dynamics are active in typo-morphological generation and test these instruments across different points in time to substantiate their validity.
- To appraise the catalytic effects of an autonomous architectural discipline to determine when architecture has an agency—In what ways do (or did) typological advancements in the type exert an effect upon the urban fabric surrounding them? How does a given effect operate and at what scale can this effect be observed?

1 Introduction

1.1 A City Understood First through Symbolism and Representation

Following almost three full decades of impasse, conflict, debate, and architectural competitions, in 2020, Franco Stella's reconstructed Berliner Schloß[1] became the second of two major contemporary additions on Berlin's '*Spreeinsel*.'[2] Just 200 metres north, and little over a year earlier in 2019, the James-Simon-Galerie[3] by David Chipperfield opened as Museum Island's newly dedicated assembly and entrance building. Together, their unveiling signalled the completion of post-reunification planning in the geographic, historic, and cultural heart of the city. They consequently belong to an environment highly charged by the area's history and its associations through generations. Their addition unavoidably augments the island's role as a core urban element in Berlin's structure in comparison to the rest of the city, and which predicates this research.

Naturally, change necessarily invites comparison against a former condition, or the characteristics of the individual example against the nature of a series of prior instances. This connects with the study of building types, and the debate of which taxonomies are most pertinently considered in urban discourse. Since the Enlightenment era and the emergence of typological study, there has never been agreement on a single definition of type. In Berlin's centre, it has long been contended that the nature of this transformation has always been registered by architecture's capacity to represent its own virtue and the status of its location. This onus was initiated 200 years ago, when Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum and his alterations to its surrounding setting asserted a new, democratic, and liberated social order against the background fabric of the city. Since then, royal decree proclaimed the Museumsinsel estate a "*dedicated sanctuary to the arts and sciences*,"[4] therefore demanding its symbolic protection, whilst simultaneously

1 Note that the Humboldt Forum is the name of the Institution, which is housed *within* the reconstructed Berlinerschloß, and not the name of the building itself. The '*Berlinerschloß*' can be used to refer to either the 2020 reconstruction, or the original Prussian-era building. It is also referred to in literature (or sometimes translated to English as) as '*the palace*', '*the Stadtschloß*', or just '*the Schloß*'. The terms '*Königliches Schloß*' and '*Preußisches Schloß*' are only used to refer to the Prussian-era Schloß.

2 There are several terms that are used interchangeably for the central island in Berlin, though each strictly encompasses a different area. The '*Spreeinsel*' refers to the entire Spree 'Island', formed by the River Spree to the East and the Kupfergraben Canal to the West. It can also be referred to as Berlin's central island. Museum Island, or '*Museumsinsel*' is often confused with the '*Spreeinsel*', but technically only refers to the Museum Island ensemble of museums to the island's north. The Humboldtforum in the Berlinerschloß is not part of that estate.

3 The construction of the James-Simon-Galerie also includes the inauguration of the Archaeological Promenade, a subterranean connection linking four of the five independent museums on Museum Island. This part of the project is ongoing, though internal connections between the James-Simon-Galerie, the Neues Museum and the Pergamon Museum can already be made.

4 Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Order to Ignaz von Olfers. 1841.

Figure 1.1: View of the reconstructed Berliner Schloß
View from the peristyle of the Altes Museum across the Lustgarten.
Source: Photograph of the author

likening the museum institution to a defence of newfound civil liberties. Museum Island aspired to become the '*Spreeathen*', *the* great democracy of the North, in allegorical reference to ancient Greece.

In Berlin's more recent divided history after World War II, the struggle to highlight political and military ascendency led to Belin becoming a "*battlefield for political symbolism for decades.*"[5] In the east, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) sought to transform the historic city core, which fell under their stewardship, into a new urban composition imposing the scale, monumentality, and significance worthy of a future united German capital.[6] A social, demonstrative centre was founded on the Spreeinsel over the ruins of the bombed Prussian-era Schloß. Meanwhile, arterial connections were forged eastward across wastelands left by war. Stalinallee (nowadays Karl-Marx-Allee) became the processional centrepiece. Its heightened role as host to parades also necessitated representation of the Socialist city's debt to the proletariat: Through its critique of the nineteenth-century Berlin tenement morphology, blended with the imperial-era

5 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 'Longing for Yesterday', 151.
6 'Die Großbauten Im Fünfjahrplan.', 23 July 1950. Walter Ubricht

Figure 1.2: View of the James-Simon-Galerie
View from Schloßbrücke looking north along the Kupfergraben.
Source: Photograph of the author.

configuration of Berlin's main western axis of Unter den Linden, it created palaces of the people, in contradistinction to its west-Berlin counterpart which had been lined with administrative and institutional buildings.[7]

Following reunification, most domestic attention focussed on the Spreeinsel's potential to encapsulate the cultural consciousness of an integrated Germany, yet the interpretations of what this meant were fragmented by each of the historical ruptures Berlin had endured. The Berliner Schloß Association states the reinstated building *"[…] restore[s] the familiar picture of Berlin, complete[s] its historic centre and heal[s] the previously wounded cityscape."*[8] Meanwhile, David Chipperfield testifies that "*the highly symbolic location ultimately encouraged [the practice] to find a reading of the [James-Simon-Galerie] that transcended its practical role.*"[9]

The contemporary Schloß is rebuilt to its predecessor's rectangular volume, at its original location in the city. Three of the Baroque façades are faithfully recreated, wrapped around a Modern structure. The former apothecary wing (which closed the space between it and the adjacent Dom) is omitted from the development, and the final aspect overlooking

7 Giudici, 'The Last Great Street of Europe: The Rise and Fall of Stalinallee', 2012, 125.
8 'Berlin Palace | Reconstruction of Berlin Palace'.
9 Chipperfield, 'Introduction', 10.

the river—the 'Spree balcony'—projects a Modern façade into the city's east. The Humboldtforum public programme is shrouded by the historical façades, and accessed via the central, reconstructed courtyard. This space displays mix of Modern and traditional elevations, arranged to suit panoramas out across central Berlin's selected historic backdrops beyond. The revived Schloß's primary strategy is therefore clearly to partake in and restore the former historic landscape around the Lustgarten.

On one front, the image of Chipperfield's new Galerie has been used to appease the same conservative lobby that pushed for the Schloß's reinstatement, as an architectural fragment that intensifies the area's 'Spreeathen' identity. It asserts its presence using plinths, porticos, colonnades, and staircases, which are all constructional elements recognisable to the estate. Chipperfield writes "*the temple form that we adopted clearly responds to this desire for architectural gesture, elevating the new building into an articulation that aspires to a more general idea of typology. It relies on basic architectural language, creating a building that is primarily defined by its constructive elements.*"[10] It is undoubtedly true that the James-Simon-Galerie's scenography is an important design consideration and capitalises on the symbolic power of the colonnade. The oblique view from the Schloßbrücke along the Kupfergraben canal of its colonnade has dominated the building's reception in the media, demonstrating command of a key urban scene, which beckons visitors onto the island. But this assessment alone fails to fully account for the building's tacit effect in orchestrating new patterns of movement and mobilisation, which break apart any emphasis on experiencing Museumsinsel from the 'other' bank.

The Galerie forms a new entrance and assembly building for the entire Museumsinsel cluster. It, and the associated Archaeological Promenade, consolidate the formerly disparate arrangement of singular solitaire museums into a single Primary Element by providing internalised access and homogenising its morphology and interstitial spaces into a coherent figure/ground texture. It allows the ensemble to process large group visits, delivers supporting facilities, such as cloakrooms, cafés and giftshops, and provides a new organisational routine. Externally, the building wraps itself and the Stüler colonnade into several unprogrammed, but eminently usable civic spaces, left open to unscripted city performances. Correspondingly, Chipperfield's design approach can be demonstrated to deploy type as a far more active agent in design than he himself has surmised.[11]

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10 Chipperfield, 11.

11 The reasons why he is coy to speak of type in this other way is unclear, considering the approach accounts for and marshals significantly divergent results to the Schloß (though it possibly distils to marketing considerations, given the discussion above that architecture is judged first by its representational figure, especially in the media).

The buildings duly fuel the debate which has accompanied Berlin's development—as it has all cities—that our urban environment is comprehended and critiqued first through its symbolic and representative capacity, before all other modes of consideration and analysis. Given the two buildings have been completed concurrently and markedly alter the Spreeinsel setting, these questions resonate as strongly now as they ever have done throughout Berlin's history.

1.2 What is at Stake?

This discussion must be framed by a recognition that architecture has indubitably always been understood as holding both a representational capacity, and a constructional-spatial capacity. The latter categorisation forms architecture's distinction from other arts, and the basis of its own constituted domain of knowledge and technique. This distils to two competing methods of how architecture's intrinsic and extrinsic material should be incorporated into design methods. The overarching question is what type should relate to in architecture, and how it should be deployed.

Far from constituting an agreed premise that is both enduring and fixed, there has never been resolute agreement over what taxonomies type architecture should index. Type's deployment has remained fluid and subject to speculation across numerous different registers: open to questions of form, programme, geometry, or otherwise. This ambiguity has occluded any one accepted approach emerging, despite many concerted efforts throughout history. Typology is a construct that has been endorsed, abandoned, tested, and recombined since the dawn of a rational basis of thought in the Enlightenment era,

Representation has, and must continue to play a central role in making the built environment intelligible to society. Alan Colquhoun understands that:

> *"the purpose of the aesthetic organisation of our environment is to capitalise on [a] subjective schematisation and make it socially available. The resulting organisation does not correspond in a one-to-one relationship with the objective facts but is an artificial construct which represents these facts in a socially coherent way."*[12]

12 Colquhoun, 'Typology and Design Method', 46.

The tendency therefore exists for society to 'fix' these dominant relationships which symbolise a social order, as a means to stabilise values that are important. Colquhoun fully accepts that this outlook revolves around an emotional and perceptible view of the world.

One can anticipate that innovation might occur through a revision of the artificial construct which represents facts, but then the facts would only ever stay the same (or at least not change because of any novelty that a new form of representation might deliver).

There is however another trajectory, where architecture is employed to bring about a transformation of the objective facts of the world, and exploit its ever-changing reality. The representational system could follow the lead of real, tangible innovation, or it could remain consistent to show the way the past differs to the new present.

These crystallise as two different design pathways for architecture to follow, in the domain they are most regularly deployed: the urban field.

1.2.1 Problems of a Representation-First Approach to Architecture

One approach, as has already been introduced, is the practice of 'placemaking' (also known as 'contextualism'), which is established by a project's ability to articulate its sociological and scenographic appreciation of identity. It prioritises the human and local dimensions of design and the ability for architecture to communicate its value to the public surface of the city. In this sense, 'value' is ascribed according to how an artefact symbolises specific notions of both its site and memories of events there. Architecture is understood as a perceptual art, which harnesses the semiotic potential of the artefact itself to announce its assimilation within a situation.

In cities across the world, as epitomised in Berlin, this has manifest itself as a trope where the formal and communicative experimentation of the architectural artefact has proliferated in order to connect with the public plane of the city. This has led to the prevalence of a single urban concept articulated in one of two ways, but nevertheless undeniably linked: either by accentuating the building through its isolation from the surroundings;[13] or by its seamless integration within the context that 'fixes' the character of the immediate place. Both variants depend on visual communication as architecture's first priority. They regard architecture as powerless in the face of the dominant force of

13 See Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015.

urbanism, which in turn is controlled by forces external to architecture, such as sociological, economic and political factors.

The symbolisation of history is seen as adequate explanation for contemporary and future phenomena. There is little consideration in design for how it structures its surrounding fabric. Such priorities are brittle, and incapable of considering processes of urban transformation over time. and the more strategic role in catalysing urban change.

The resultant concern is whether contemporary buildings are maximising their potential as urban catalysts to drive change and structure urban environment, or whether strategies prioritising architecture's representation normatively encourage an inertial, pathogenic, and ultimately stagnant resolution to the future urban condition.

This presents a substantial problem on two key fronts. Firstly, contextualism fails to account for the need for ongoing change in the city (architecturally, and in relation to other technical, social-economic, or political considerations). Though stability might appeal in the present, the systematisation relies on the enduring value society ascribes to artifacts perpetuating. The degree of change in Berlin's Hauptstadt over the past 200 years shows how fickle this can be. Accordingly, the Schloß now expresses the magnitude of the Spreeinsel's change between the period between when it was demolished and reconstructed. Its very existence is folly because architecture's attendant concerns have shifted their frames of reference against an altered spatial and temporal backdrop. How is its known image to change once its programmatic regime is considered defunct, or when the meaning (certain groups of) society attach to the building changes? The second issue regards contextualism's failure to adequately explain the structuring of the built environment, especially in the wider, less tangibly connected urban area. By seeking to stabilise the uniqueness of an immediate place, the immutability of architecture's in-situ appearance is considered more important than it supporting change and transformation. Underwriting these approaches is the weight of programme—an ostensive 'need'—that sustains their meaning to the populace. Pavlos Philippou has suggested in particular that cultural buildings, induced primarily to signify their internal programme, have become the cornerstone of Modern architectural experimentation, but at the expense of a typological normativism where urban strategy stagnates to protect the artifact's ability to connote.[14] In this sense, programmatic urbanism and the implied trust of investors can be seen to replicate the same inertial pattern, irreducible to type as it does not harness

14 Philippou, 1032.

architecture's spatial dimensions to affect change in anything other than the contiguous surfaces of urban space.

It should be stressed that the substantive issue at play is not that symbolism should be divested. To the contrary, its importance in Berlin's development has already been profiled. More, it is a question of dispelling a hierarchy of design concerns where representation presides over other interests, in order to account for the full array of urban dynamics and processes that orchestrates urban development and experience. Aldo Rossi's understanding of how individual architectural artifacts can structure their urban surroundings facilitates this, as will be explored in depth later.

1.2.2 Theory versus Practice: Stan Allen and Material Practice

Stan Allen's introduction to his book '*Practice: Architecture, technique + representation*' rejects architecture as "*built discourse*" in favour of architecture's affirmative instrumentalism. In response to the concerns that contextualism raises above, he offers a percipient viewpoint that architecture's own procedures, material, and capability to establish a robust intellectual field sustains its own material and technique of application, as a cultural offering in and of itself. Allen's position as a practitioner, routinely addressing such matters first-hand, allows him to determine the intrinsic value derived from within the field, relative to a representation of affairs outside it.

At each moment in Berlin's history, the compulsion is patent for architecture to embody and communicate an ideology, concept or language that belongs to a field outside of its own being. In Schinkel's time it was the democratisation of the museum; in East Berlin it concerned the manifestation of the GDR's political ideology in built form. In this sense, architecture is understood as a synthetic—as opposed to an analytical—pursuit. Architecture offers its own contextual critique through built form, entering a dialectic with other fields, but this does not come from within. The splintered perception of what was to follow upon reunification deepens the matter, underscoring that the collective memory of an event (the razing of the Schloß) doesn't automatically equate to its collective meaning, nor collective will. Allen understands meaning as "*not something added to architecture, it is a much larger, and a slipperier, momentary thing.*"[15]

This adds credence to Allen's assertion that architecture as a built discourse is a rather inert medium of criticism, without the transparency, nor speed to compete with other discursive practices such as writing, film, or graphic design. Built form, with a long delay

15 Allen, *Practice*, XIV.

between idea and completion, is unable to mediate effectively between multiple viewpoints like these other formats. He states "*visual culture and material practices have their own rules, and those rules are different from those that govern texts*." In support of Allen's observations, it is noticeable that architectural representation normatively reverts to representing timelessness, solemnity, and monumentality as depictions that span generations, rather than portraying fleeting messages. Yet, even as architects seek a platform of stability in the city this way, the physical appearance of the building has little (or even no) effect in determining if it persists. This is a factor determined independently of its form, rather by its patterns of use and flexibility to accommodate other programmes.

Having rebuffed the feasibility of it working as a discourse, Allen asserts architecture is in fact "*insistently affirmative and instrumental*." He argues this innate nature predisposes it not to comment *on* the world, but to operate *through* it as a source of operational power.

Allen's argument hinges on the understanding that architecture, when considered as having a direct impact in the physical world, *infers* a practical unity "*on the basis of its ensemble of procedures*", rather than *conferring* a theoretical, or metaphysical unity "*from without [i.e., outside of architecture] by ideology or discourse*." The Oxford English Dictionary states to infer is "*to derive by a process of reasoning […]; to accept from evidence or premisses*." It is therefore an action of rationality and logic, a linear operation derived from a single flow of actions—a distinct disciplinary source. Contrarily, to confer, in one sense is "*to include together, comprise, comprehend*," and in another is "*to bring into comparison, compare, collate*." It therefore is an act of synthesis between different fields.

The most significant of Allen's implications for this research is that he equates practice, technique, change in the perceptible world—everything that might be termed as the agency of discipline—with immanence from within architecture itself. Conversely, theory must be represented by the import and interpretation of other fields of knowledge. Thus, he is advocating for a typological methodology and, through reasoning that it actively governs change in the perceptible world, he argues that it pertains to material practice rather than theory. In this way, it is possible to consider knowledge a practice rather than an idea.

This is reflected in the difference between *critique* of external condition, and *criticality* (in the self-reflexive sense of Immanuel Kant's transcendental philosophy). In the former case, a critique engages looks to the attendant concerns as the basis of evaluation. Efforts are focused to the outside in an appraisal of context that architecture becomes compelled

to react to, and represent in an act of criticism. However, a process of criticality ensures the discipline's own integrity and unity of the is guaranteed. By asking a body of knowledge the nature and mode of its own existence, it can establish its own *a priori* definition and concern. It turns inward upon itself to interrogate its own worth, and defines its own constitution, aspirations, and techniques of deployment. The agency of discipline stems from the disciplinary construct being able to reason 'what is typical' of itself, and consequently also, 'what is new'. Architecture, concerned first with the organisation of constructed space, exploits this propensity to instigate new schematisations of spatial relations for catalytic purpose within the city.

1.3 A Counterproposal: Doctoral Premise, Aims and Method

This doctorate advocates a contribution of architecture to the city on this basis: one that relies less on its capacity to complete or dominate the context, but more to deploy an intrinsic strategic potential within the city. Instead, architecture can generate a higher contribution back to the city through the analysis of typology's agency, and specifically its catalysation of urban transformation.

Accordingly, the following research is premised on the understanding architecture is comprised by a collection of artefacts, principles, and conventions that establish a corpus of its own internal 'material', which are subject to transformation and adaptation relative to other transcendental fields. This can be termed a '*discipline*'. It acts upon and operates within a vast, but not infinite, dynamic field upon which different disciplines negotiate and shape what is known, said, thought, and done. Conversely, 'the urban' is understood to be a '*discourse*':[16] Its instability is inherent, suspended in the regularity of statements and only ever defined in relational terms. This lack of resolution—ultimately a perpetual state of speculation and conjecture—is a key characteristic for exploitation: fundamentally responsible for new disciplinary possibilities; new subjectivities and concepts in the urban to be conceived; and new innovations to be explored. Architecture would be totally static—a complete set of indubitable and accepted truths—if it were not for this conceptualisation of discourse. Thus, upon this unstable terrain, architecture exploits a critical rigour—a systematisation of the generality, possibility, and regularity of its deployment—which defines and delimits what can be actioned through reasoning

16 This logic is derived from Michel Foucault's writings. See in particular Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*. His influence is explored further subsequently. It should also be noted that there is no metaphysical restriction to architecture (or any other field) being considered a discourse. Architecture retains its own discourse (as Stan Allen has noted above). However, it must be understood through its intrinsic nature as inert and incapable of answering the topics of this research, which are related to catalysing architecture's primary arena of deployment.

with architecture's intrinsically held constitutive 'material'. The process of this deployment is regulated by typology, which operates irrespectively of dialectics beyond its disciplinary frontiers.[17] Therefore, the focus shifts from theory to practice: from what architecture ***means***, to what architecture ***does***; its consequences, effects, and an examination of its potential for transformation.

In opposition to placemaking, this doctorate counter-proposes that architecture holds a strong and intrinsic link to urbanism, that extends much deeper than suggesting 'the urban' is just the accretion of architecture on a wider scale, and particularly that the typological exploitation of persistence is inherently linked to structuring the urban condition. Architecture therefore is considered to have an effect across time, and regulates an area much wider than its immediate envelope. An architectural entity from one period therefore has effects on artefacts in another. A logic is developed based on the persistence of Primary Elements (or key urban artifacts),[18] which are capable of propagating change across a wider and variable urban catchment that are bound by patterns and dispersals of morphological coherence (Study Areas). A Primary Element's agency to catalyse transformations becomes the object of reason as type's effect becomes registered in the evolving Study Area.

Despite the title of the work, the intent of this thesis is not to abandon, nor efface representational methods in favour of a typological approach. Instead, it is to propose typological solutions that accommodate and reason the integration of the symbology within its methodology, accounting for the deep structure of the contemporary city through its expression in the urban domain.

1.3.1 Key Doctoral Influences

Aldo Rossi

Central to the ensuing critique is the work of Italian Neo-rationalist Aldo Rossi, from whom some of the key terminology of the research Is derived (Primary Element; Study Area; artefact/artifact/urban fact). The central importance and suitability of his theories is established fully later in relation to other works, but his significance can be précised as the figure at the spearhead of a movement pioneering to reignite typology as a valid

17 Equally, as typology is considered the reasoning of architecture's own material (it might be termed architectural experimentation), it might or might not be taken up by discourse.

18 The term 'key urban artifact' is used in this research when there is insufficient time to determine whether an artifact will survive to become a Primary Element. This is especially true of newly constructed buildings. Nonetheless, these structures demonstrate the characteristics of permanences.

design mode of reason in architectural design. Often overlooked, the fundamentality of this endeavour involved the synthesis of Antoine Quatremère de Quincy's formative definition of type with the rigorous systematisation of type's study, largely analogous with the process of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand. Despite their coexistence for a century-and-a-half, the two had never been integrated.[19] As will be reasoned later, this was critical to realising the agency of discipline and key to knowledge of the city. He was active at the collapse of the Modern movement—when design strategies can be understood to have splintered with consequences that are felt throughout today's built environment—publishing his seminal work '*The Architecture of the City*'. This book was amongst the first studies to articulate the links of consequence between architecture and its effect on the city, when other preferred taxonomies of architecture, such as functional and sociological, failed to explain the intricate dynamics of urban expansion. *The Architecture of the City* therefore provides an invaluable resource for linking architecture to urban discourse, through typology's instrumentation. It constitutes the city as a domain of knowledge in time and space.

Notwithstanding, it is important to eschew any concern that the following research is not predicated by a straight acceptance of Rossi's word, even though some of the key terminology is derived from his work (including these terms directly above). In any case, his theories are contentious and a source of continual conjecture. This is partially because his text is often semantically ambiguous, but moreover because his work is readily reinterpretable in different ways. As a case in point, Rossi's reasoning of temporality also embroils a discussion of memory. Some of his often-cited 'core' themes, such as Collective Memory (the structuralist reinterpretation of collective thoughts for all society), are found to obscure—or even contradict—the concepts that are central to this critique, as will be explored in the following literature review (chapter 2).

Michel Foucault

Presiding above, but regulating all propositions of this thesis, there is an indirect yet consequential influence from Michel Foucault's writings.[20] His work positions the conceptual undertaking of the thesis, refuting claims of a universal knowledge and 'total history' and instead delineating the possibilities and interactions of knowledge(s), to determine a terrain of action for the architectural *discipline*, amongst the other fields that

19 Note this is not to claim that Rossi was *the* very first practitioner to integrate Quatremère de Quincy and Durand. This is outside the scope of this thesis to determine. What remains significant is that Rossi was a member of the group who experimented with these concepts and was the dominant proponent that devised a reasoned synthesis between architecture and the city through type.

20 The titles *Discipline and Punish* and *Archaeology of Knowledge* have held particular resonance for this research.

interact with the *discourse* of urbanism. In architecture's process of transaction and negotiation with other fields that act upon the urban (say, economics, or political governance), it is fundamental to understand what agency architecture has, and from where it derives. This is the ultimate crux of the logic: understanding and reasoning when the regularities of concepts, objects, and conventions (collectively, that which comprises architecture's 'material') alter in a substantively different way changes to its pattern, dispersal, or order of what is knowable, thinkable, or doable in cities. Reasoning fundamental instances of urban alteration, those where typological innovation propels new alignments of knowledge in the city, exonerates this research from mere historiographical account—that is, an investigation of period or style, or expression of society's needs through time. Instead, it is an analysis that foregrounds typology as architecture's ultimate process of spatial reasoning and its under-explored role in the evolution of the city. This doctorate revisits the nature of what is *typical* and when that changes, on the level of the relationship between Primary Element and Study Area. Thus, the formations and hierarchies of city fabric as a broader ecology of patterns are interrogated, establishing the principles of architecture that precipitate change and transformation. The literature review substantiates why this relationship is pivotal to the agency of discipline.

1.3.2 A Comparison of Contemporary Methods

The present-day interaction between Museum Island and Schloß therefore demarcates the subject of investigation, defining the opposing limits to how architecture and the urban interface: at one pole, architecture is understood as Allen terms a built discourse: a representation of the factors, each external to architecture, in an ostensibly socially acceptable manner. On the other, architecture is understood as an instrumental process that can actively transform its surroundings. Respectively, they constitute weak and strong disciplinary formations.

Whereas the Schloß quite plainly summons the restoration of a holistic 'model'—or a historo-aesthetic '*archetype*'[21] as an icon preserved only by historical account that intimates it has transcended any imperative for change—the James-Simon-Galerie uses a rules-based generative process to derive new form, originating from a marriage between the general principles of precedent and their deployment to the rationalised, strategic

21 An archetype is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (def. 1) as "*[t]he original pattern or model from which copies are made; a prototype.*" Note that Sam Jacoby differentiates between 'archetype', 'prototype' and 'stereotype' thus: "*type as the general (classifying) term and its specific meanings as archetype, the original (ideational) pattern for subsequent copies, prototype, the first (material) representation of the archetype, and stereotype, the conventional and continued reproduction of a (proto)type when it becomes a norm, the average and typical model in use.*" In Jacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 8.

imperatives of the wider area. Whereas surrounding the Schloß the 'place' becomes an ossified scene in the city, unable to adapt for risk of deviation from its known image, urban spaces surrounding the gallery are seen to negotiate with the building's own form. Meanwhile, representation is harnessed in support of typological expression, and symbology is subordinated to a support of the building's spatial configuration.

This equates to an alternative strategy that impacts not just the appearance and construction of the physical environment in which everybody partakes, but also influences what might be termed its 'performance' in the urban environment: its propensity to induce transformation beyond the limits of its own physical curtilage. Whereas the restored Schloß—like its ancestor—makes no attempt to break the accepted urban orthodoxy, with a relatively 'opaque' external perimeter with its programme heavily shielded to the interior, the James-Simon-Galerie's embrace of type as an analytical moment in the design process allows it to orchestrate urban catalysation as a fixed point in both the space and time of Berlin. It stands testament to the potential for individual organs of the city to exert a force and presence on (a portion of) the surrounding urban fabric.

The difference between the strategies of Galerie and Schloß exemplify what is at stake for our cities, and frames the subject of this investigation: the challenge that currently the expression of unique places, and the moments it bears witness to in history, is deemed adequate for explaining not just the representational, but also the spatial complexity of a city and its change over time. A new definition of type is necessary to explain this knowledge of the city.

1.3.3 Focus on a Single Study Area

Though typology operates on a global basis, where precedent is linked across geographic and temporal boundaries by its typical commonalities, the doctoral focus on Berlin is a conscious decision to concentrate on the localised evolution of Primary Element / Study Area relations through time. The key purpose of this is to allow a detailed interrogation of the innovative component of type in propelling (or stultifying) new transformations, which are recorded in a limited but variable portion of the city (i.e., the Study Area). This allows the relative contributions at different periods of transformation to be gauged and reasoned. The conclusion of each chapter in part 'B' (the specific context) is employed to place the synchronic developments of each period into the wider diachronic context. Moreover, it provides the framework to test the operative typological principle that

permanence and temporality are responsible for structuring the city to make it a domain of knowledge.

Concomitantly, this approach's emphasis on a single context should not be considered as attempting to prioritise a historiographical development of Berlin's past. By critically arguing for moments when significant transformation has occurred, this thesis decouples itself from a teleological chain of cause and effect, building the case that innovations are not reducible to history, but instead regulate the complex processes of interactions of urban dynamics. Interrogating the precise subject of research favours the specific question 'how has Berlin's urban spatial condition become known?' above a pursuit of omniscient knowledge of Berlin's history. The point is that particularity of issues affords the possibility of a critical investigation, where architectural typology is understood as a material, affirmative spatialised practice deployed to interrogate and alter urban spatial patterns. The city has provided fertile ground for the architectural revision over and again of its central space according to different urban concepts, which give excellent conditions for an assessment of typology's role in orchestrating the local condition.

It must be stressed that this thesis does not seek to reason moments of transformation in urban discourse, for to do so would necessitate a broad discussion of the transactional and negotiative agency between different disciplines which operate upon urban discourse (i.e., a Foucauldian 'archaeology'). Rather, it's scope is to identify when urban morphological schematisations change according to typological transformations. It therefore makes a critical distinction between what is an innovation, materially altering the field (When Stan Allen's "*difference that makes a difference*" can be satisfied), vis à vis the less onerous variation, reasoned to be change within prescribed limits.

To support this aim, the structure of the work has been established to motivate discussion and reasoning of typological operations. There is a split between reasoning first in the general context to determine a redefinition of type, which is capable of marshalling transformations in the urban area, before then applying this construct to the specific context in three case study chapters delimited by time horizon, before returning to the global application of type in the conclusion. Literature sources are split into different components depending on topic. The literature review will focus on the theoretical argument, whereas contextual literature centred around Berlin's architectural development is reserved for the specific context, case study chapters. In the specific context, the format of the investigation crystallises into two mutually dependable modes of investigation: personal experience of Berlin, and secondary source research. This allows

for both a close reading of the city fabric and an in-depth analysis of source material. It is the synthesis of these two strands, against the friction of a critical interpretation of theoretical literature, that allows for a comprehensive picture to emerge. Naturally, there is a synergy between the general and specific domains as innovations are justified. These in turn develop specific outputs.

Whilst linking typological theories to an autonomy of the architectural discipline and the growth of the city are both fairly common, tethering type to a spatialised relationship between artifact and urban area has not been approached as a matter of course. This aspiration is backstopped by the production of each case study chapter's urban drawings,[22] which are both demonstrative and operative as a critical mode of typological reason.

1.3.4 Summary of Chapters

The key narrative of the doctorate is outlined below. This background condensates into layered contributions to knowledge in both the general and specific contexts as follows:

General Context: Literature Review

The literature review reasons that architecture's spatiality has its own reasoning propagated by typology, which impacts the persistence of artifacts. Based on Aldo Rossi's theories, typology's utilisation of persistence is fundamentally related to structuring the urban condition. Architecture therefore is considered to have an effect across time, and across an area wider than its immediate envelope. However, Rossi's recourse to expressing artifacts' specific coordinates in space and time relies on a design method that embeds factors in architecture's disciplinary exterior, such as personal or collective memory. The chapter counter-argues for a process that evaluates spatial and synergistic patterns across the Study Area, so that practical strategies to foster social enrichment and activation are conceived. Innovation in this schema enhances the interrelationship between the building in the wider urban system, allowing type to prosecute a strong agency and adapt to dialectics in wider urban discourse.

Specific Context: Berlin's Hauptstadt

To demonstrate the way that type strategically underwrites the evolution of cities, the literature review is brought to bear through an investigation of the Berlin Hauptstadt, its key stimuli, and the evolving relationship of its architecture with the wider city. Berlin's

22 Refer to the Appendix for larger copies of the city-scale drawings.

dynamic and evolving core provide an exemplar instance to foreground the impact and agency of the architectural discipline. The following three time periods entail the distinct strategic ambitions of their time, which each have elicited different morphological responses.

1800–1830

The first case-study chapter charts how Berlin was extensively transformed from an absolutist realm into a democratised landscape for all citizens by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. The research explores how his early career as a painter shaped his architectural sensibilities. His artworks are read as analogues for typological diagrams, prefiguring a translation of spatial and organisational concepts into built form extending across central Berlin. The culmination of his transformation was the Altes Museum. The building and the city are treated as indivisible entities; thus, its spatial organisation is cross-referenced against the urban setting. The corresponding analysis explains how Schinkel exploited type to fundamentally invert the privatised character of Berlin, enabling the Altes Museum to replace the royal Schloß as the primary regulator of the urban domain. This is a status the museum has held ever since its inauguration.

1945–1989

The second chapter investigates post-war East Berlin, where the historic city core was located, and the GDR administration's efforts to link it to the eastern population. These connections had been historically poor. Concurrently, State ideology implored personal conduct should be recast and subordinated to the will of the collective. This mandated the transformation of Schinkel's urban setting from possessing situated freedoms into an 'automated' autocratic landscape. Type's role in this transformation is examined by tracing a sequence of typological rules from governmental doctrines, through a selection of unbuilt proposals, to the final built form of the city. The city's strategic development objective to forge a central axis onto the Spreeinsel created a new city hierarchy that was flattened to just two Study Areas of the Hauptstadt and the hinterlands, corresponding accurately to a domain for 'public' life (concerning the will of the collective), and another for private 'life' (concerning the will of the individual). The morphological arrangement that cohered this systematisation together, and its legacy for contemporary Berlin are explained.

1990–Present

The final chapter investigates the most recent transformations that affect the Spreeinsel since German reunification in 1990. The aftermath, different approaches to embracing

the cultural consciousness of the nation became the architectural priority. A veritable approach to using type in design methods consequently split. Binary approaches manifested in the delivery of two major additions to the Spreeinsel. the James-Simon-Galerie and the reconstructed Schloß. The alternate design methods pitched attempts to encourage civic participation and tolerance in strategically located city positions against an approach that built an imagined, alternative history of Berlin, fixed prior to a time of conflict and division. The Museumsinsel estate sought to energise new purposefully 'purpose-less' spaces, providing a scaffold for the plurality of city life to play out through them. Meanwhile, the Schloß re-represented an revived 'model'[23] to stabilise a preferred visual context. However, the enabling act of demolishing the former GDR parliament induced anachronistic discontinuities, and raised dilemmas about the architectural performance and urban participation of such strategies.

Through the comparison of these contemporary projects, it becomes patent how opposing dynamics between key artifacts of the city and the Study Area impact on architecture's ability to retain a vital and active role in the city. Their performances are assessed independently first, but then also holistically as participants in the same urban ecology.

Conclusion

Finally, the conclusion returns to the assertion this doctorate makes of a general knowledge of type, by demonstrating how the performative characteristics that have impelled typological transformations in Berlin hold relevance for different contexts elsewhere in the world. Carefully reasoned translations are explained for each time period's configurations in turn.

Thus, this doctorate explores the agency of type to both provoke transformations across time periods, and in different geographical locations. The investigation reveals that architecture's relative disciplinary autonomy provides a specific agency to transform the urban morphological construct according to shifting urban imperatives in both these registers. The way architecture regulates the operation of the city forms the principal knowledge contribution of the doctorate.

[—*Chapter End*—]

23 Please refer to Quatremère de Quincy's definition of 'model' in section 2.2.1

Part A:
General Context

2 Literature Review: Typological and Urban Formations

2.1 What is Type?

"*What then is type?*" asks Rafael Moneo in the beginning paragraphs of his essay '*On Typology*' (1978)—a work which critiques the various conceptualisations of typological thought that have impacted the Built Environment across the past two centuries. "*It can most simply be defined as a concept which describes a group of objects characterized [sic] by the same formal structure […] It is fundamentally based on the possibility of grouping objects by certain inherent structural similarities. It might even be said that type means thinking in groups.*"[1]

In this introductory premise of type, it would be very easy to assume that it relates to a rather inert exercise in classification, indexing buildings characteristics together into serialised lists. Yet, there is inherent potential in typological theory, which pertains to how a prospective artefact relates to the characteristics of the lineage that has come before it. Micha Bandini states that "*The issue of types and typology becomes of fundamental importance in artistic production whenever the artist is confronted with, on the one hand, the weight of historical precedent and, on the other, artistic invention.*"[2]

If type is solely about the grouping of architectural works into useful lists, then the study of type can end here. It involves little more than some empirical research to unite buildings with similar features and assigning a label to them. However, if type is to be embraced as an active design tool that informs the resolution of future artefacts, there must be some form of rationalisation (or adherence to reason) which binds combinations of precedent together to form rules which govern the formal output of that architecture. The Spreeinsel projects have highlighted the difference between utilising precedent as a specific 'model' that is repeated, and therefore shows no modification against the background, and for establishing general 'rules' for prospective design to follow too. This can be shown to account for the difference between how architecture appears and the way its spatiality can contribute catalytically to the built environment.

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1 Moneo, 'On Typology', 23.
2 Bandini, 'Typological Theories in Architectural Design (1993)', 248.

Alan Colquhoun's article '*Rationalism: A Philosophical Concept in Architecture*' (1987), is a historical reflective recording the shifting philosophical imperatives that have structured architecture since the Enlightenment period. It expounds the relationship in the design process between reason (dependent on rationality), and experience (dependent on intuition). He attests that "*reason implies the intervention of rule or law between the direct experience of the world and any praxis or techné such as architecture*."[3] Accordingly, the assertion that rationalism and empiricism are antithetical (or at the very least impediments to each other's authority) precipitates into opposing formations of knowledge: the extent to which architecture's material is held *a priori* (rational), or *a posteriori* (empirical). The degree that a forthcoming artefact relates purely to the material held within the confines of architecture's own knowledge determines its 'autonomy': the measure of isolation from other disciplines. This gauge has implications for the agency of discipline and its ability to act dialectically beyond its frontiers. In other words, the capacity and spectrum for type to incorporate a solution that relates to, for example, socio-economic, technical, or political advances occurring outside of architecture's rationalised material.

2.1.1 Total- versus Non-Autonomy

If a discipline is to be deemed totally autonomous, it duly accretes the sum of all past definitions of the architectural project, its principles, and its process, which would then be reapplied to the next artefact. Architecture builds a body of knowledge on this basis. In a strictly autonomous arrangement, there is a completely 'opaque' complexion: no external influence can mediate against the infallibility of its own system. Total autonomy privileges its own intelligence at the expense of all that is unknown to it. Considerations of site and context would be redundant. Each new construction is determined by its faithful redeployment of a 'model' that has gone before it.

The opposing non-autonomous position supposes that architecture is a completely transparent structure. No governing constitution exists, each definition is the result of imported thought and process. God (or at least the omniscient genius of the architect) is ultimately superior to the rules that are held within any scholarly translatable doctrine. Each holistic occurrence exists entirely and only to satisfy its own proclivities, and all other concerns exceed triviality. Architecture becomes a porous formation that relates to

3 Colquhoun, 'Rationalism: A Philosophical Concept in Architecture', 163.

architecture's outside: A symbolic simulacrum of transcendental thoughts and ideas. Architecture collects no material itself—it is totally indebted to its 'outside'.

2.1.2 Relative Autonomy

These two binary positions represent theorised polar extremes of the way that domains of knowledge (that which might be called disciplines) operate. In reality, there is always a process of transaction and mediation that amounts to a practical obstruction to either total- or non- autonomy's operation. Consequently, in rational terms they both impede the formation of a discipline that holds any possibility to govern change and transformation. For as Tim Gough queries in his article '*Architecture as Strong Discipline*',[4] what would the use be of either a discipline wholly preordained and rigidly consigned (total autonomy), or of one having no priorly consolidated means to address issues that arise (non-autonomy)? How does either have a mandate to respond? He asserts that for architecture to hold agency—that is, not just an ability to invoke precedent, but also to address phenomena beyond its disciplinary frontiers—identifying the moments at which meaningful differences occur (rather than celebrating the stability of continuity or unity) is what affords continued strength, agility, and relevance intrinsically within the discipline through a process of relative autonomy measured against other fields of knowledge. A mediating approach where both *a priori* and *a posteriori* knowledge are combined is therefore proposed, where the discipline's immanent material meets an outwardly dynamic moment.

2.1.3 Determining a Threshold for Change: Innovation versus Variation.

It is thus important to ascertain when the threshold of a 'meaningful difference' has been met. How is it clear when such a horizon is passed? Stan Allen has spoken above of "*differences that make a difference*" as an occasion that surpasses theory's inertial tendency to hold practice (hence knowledge) in-check. It is therefore a moment when a discipline's 'shape' is restructured and the dispersal of its material is altered to bring about innovation to the *typicality* of discipline, rather than just the *individuality* of each definition that still pertains to the same typical stem.

Foucault's '*Archaeology of Knowledge*' (1972) seeks to determine the level at which analysis of different knowledges operates, and therefore the level at which they interact and can be synthesised. It is an account of the mechanics and interrelationship of discourses, describing the foundation of a neutral platform from which to stably assess and collate

4 See Gough, 'Architecture as a Strong Discipline'.

discursive elements into autonomous fields. Their innate agency can then be qualified and harnessed relative to arbitrary unities of knowledge—which only hold an artificial cohesion with little purpose other than the reconstitution of the totality of the past across all knowledges. Therefore, by targeting specific enquiries of history, it also establishes a threshold at which knowledge(s) reach(es) a point of fundamental, discernible change, according to the way that its constituent elements are dispersed and arranged.

Foucault perceives what could be termed 'conventional' or popularly-utilised unities of knowledge—such as tradition, zeitgeists, movements, oeuvres, books, amongst others—as problematic for being ill-considered and overly simplistic in establishing accord between different elements of discourse. He begins by purging them as. "*they avoid the specification of differences through facile synthesis.*"[5] For example, tradition's conditions of appearance and reappearance presuppose a unity by reference to specific means (according to artificial sociological systems such as kinship), whereas both books and oeuvres are manufactured constructions in discourse (attributed to the editor and author respectively). None of the unities above relate to categorical absolutes. As an overarching, contingent consideration, Foucault is led to indict the conventional description of history for its same arbitrary nature. He terms this "*total history*". Here, the imperative is to explain historical objects through their 'veritable' position on this vast, teleological background, where cause and effect (and more generally a quest for overarching omniscience) are rendered in absolute clarity. Total history assumes that every object is woven into every other in an all-embracing temporal and causal unity. Such a 'project' ignores all description and evidential qualification of an event, in favour of the fact it either 'happened', or corroborates an historical 'happening' (event). There is no measure of the reliability of an account, nor any commentary on the relative merits of conflicting records of events. These remain unvoiced in the task wholly consumed with the reconstitution of the past.

Foucault consequently devises and undertakes a method to avoid these implications, which he calls an investigation of 'general history'[6]. His process operates by looking to dislodge the subject, the origin, and its rationality, for as per above he understands them as uncritical transcendental concepts that are conventionally held within the history of

5 Cousins and Hussain, *Michel Foucault*, 79.

6 In linguistic terms, it stands to reason that what Foucault terms a 'general history' might in fact be more suitably termed a 'specific history', as it details the relationship of particular items of evidence with singular and directed questions that are posed of it. For clarity, however, Foucault's original terms will continue to be used henceforth.

thought and ideas.[7] It is now apparent that each so-called unity he contends relates directly to the trappings of forming 'total history' and their fated role in a universal causality. It should be noted however that these are suspensions, not rejections. They could amount to a verifiable unity, but the construction in discourse that holds them in place must be tested. He begins by transposing the subject and object of research, such that the element under scrutiny is no longer a fully-knowable past, but rather this becomes the element under transformation—such that instead the past is asked: '*what evidence there is for the particular problem under research?*' This interchange seeks specific questions of specific formations, for example, the relation between madness as an object of psychology. This allows Foucault to prioritise the "*how*" over the "*why,*" and explore qualitatively—something impossible in total history—the body of evidence that tips the balance to say things were arranged in a certain manner, or are thought about in a certain way. This is how he seeks to remove premature assertions of unity and ultimately discover the "*historical a priori*"—the underlying order and description of rules that governs a knowledge (a discipline).

> *"What in short, we wish to do is dispense with 'things'. To 'depresentify' them […] To substitute for the enigmatic treasure of 'things' anterior to discourse, the regular formation of objects that emerge only in discourse. To define those objects without reference to the ground, the foundation of things, but by relating them to the body of rules that enables them to form as objects of a discourse and thus constitute the conditions of their historical appearance. To write a history of discursive objects that does not plunge them into the common depth of primal soil, but deploys the nexus of regularities that govern their dispersion."* [8]

An exhaustive archaeology is an interrogation of the body of evidence of general history—the objective of which is to be satisfied that the mode or means of conceptualising knowledges has fundamentally changed. Commensurate with this burden that he sets, it is not practicable—even at doctoral level—to aim to undertake such an endeavour because of its scope. It is thus equally inappropriate to claim that one can identify 'discursive shifts', when the background evidence cannot all be presented. Instead, one can insinuate singular filaments which are the hallmark of a wider change

7 Cousins and Hussain explain that ideas are constructed through a proposition-subject-meaning trinity, whereas Foucault's analysis of what constitutes knowledges "*is not reducible to propositions which appear in meaningful sentences and which have been produced by subjects*." Cousins and Hussain, *Michel Foucault*, 79.

8 Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 52–53.

in patterns, to be reasoned against the prevailing discursive context. This should not be understood as an attempt to shirk the burden of rigour, or a half-paced interrogation of facts. It is merely an immovable constraint that every investigation purporting to a Foucauldian analysis faces.

When talking of 'type', conceivably the most significant product of the exercise is to realise when moments of transformation occur, so that the impact of transformation can be qualified and measured. What exceeds the threshold of '*innovation*'[9] is therefore pivotal to the investigation. There is a need for terminology to be strict: here, and throughout the proceeding research. Anything that surpasses this burden can be considered a '*transformation*'[10]; alterations that fall short can be termed a '*variation*'[11]. Foucault acknowledges "*These events which are by far the most rare, are, for archaeology, the most important: only archaeology, in any case, can reveal them.*"[12] He is at pains to stress that change is not a force driving succession, rather it is a consequence of transformation—one which can only be described by archaeology.

These definitions are offered early in the research to define the terms of reference for the investigation, but they have little significance until a specific definition of type is reasoned, and the specific context is demonstrated to have changed. Until such a point, it will have to suffice to speak in abstract terms of innovation relating to moments of transformation in the typicality of relations between artifacts and the urban realm they inhabit changes, as caused by the architectural discipline's agency to modify the pattern, dispersal, or systematisation of objects of discourse.

2.2 Typological and Urban Formations

This section is structured to foreground a mode of urban reasoning in architecture based on Aldo Rossi's writings,[13] which are crossed with other specific texts from across eras to generate a reasoned typological formation which hinges on key urban elements establishing (a performative) persistence.

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9 OED online, 'Innovation', def 2a. "*a change made in the nature or fashion of anything; something newly introduced; a novel practice, method, etc.*"

10 OED Online, 'Transform', def 1b. "*To change in character or condition; to alter in function or nature.*"

11 OED Online, 'Variation', def 11a. "*An instance of varying or changing; an alteration or change in something, esp. within certain limits.*" [emphasis mine]. Note that these 'limits' expressly relate to the burden of reasoning an innovation.

12 Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 189.

13 Initial justification for promoting Rossi's theories has already been offered in §1.3.1 above.

Following the demands that Foucault demanded in an investigation of general history, the purpose beneath is not to present an archaeology of how the urban domain has become known to us through architecture's transitioning role—it is far too brief and selective in premise to be able to do so. Instead, the focus is on framing the proliferation of methodologies and their agency at a disciplinary level, which occurred after the breakdown of faith in the Modern doctrine. These hold particular resonance for contemporary practice. Partly, this is because the texts still form the constitutive curricular blocks for discourse today, but it is also because the diametrical polarity of the attitudes that crystallised at this time are co-extensive with those this investigation is concerned with. That is to say, on one hand the availability of the architectural form as a communicative sign will be demonstrated to predicate a 'placemaking' proclivity, whereas an interest in rational design methods has rejuvenated a critical revisionism of architecture's disciplinary potential. In turn, this has led to the interest in explaining city's dynamics, to first understand, and second regulate urban growth. This latter point is taken as the object of investigation and all other relevant texts are parsed over it.

2.2.1 The Origins of Discipline: Quatremère de Quincy and Durand

Conceptualisations of a relatively autonomous praxis bear a significant debt to Quatremère de Quincy's formative definition of type, which has become a cornerstone of typological endeavour since its publication in the early eighteenth century. His '*Dictionnaire Historique d'Architecture*' (1832) states:

> "*the word 'type' represents not so much the image of the thing to be copied or perfectly imitated as the idea of an element that must itself serve as a rule for the model […] The model, understood in terms of the practical execution of art, is an object that must be repeated as it is; type, on the contrary, is an object according to which one can conceive works that do not resemble one another at all. Everything is precise and given in the model; everything is more or less vague in the type. Thus we see that the imitation of types involves nothing that feelings or spirit cannot recognise.*"[14]

Thus, the model is conceptualised as a resistive component—the literal, mimetic transposition of something as it is: model to model—a truly 'autonomous' component. Contrariwise, the type pertains to the ideal: the translation of generative rules into model.

14 Quatremère de Quincy, 'Type'.

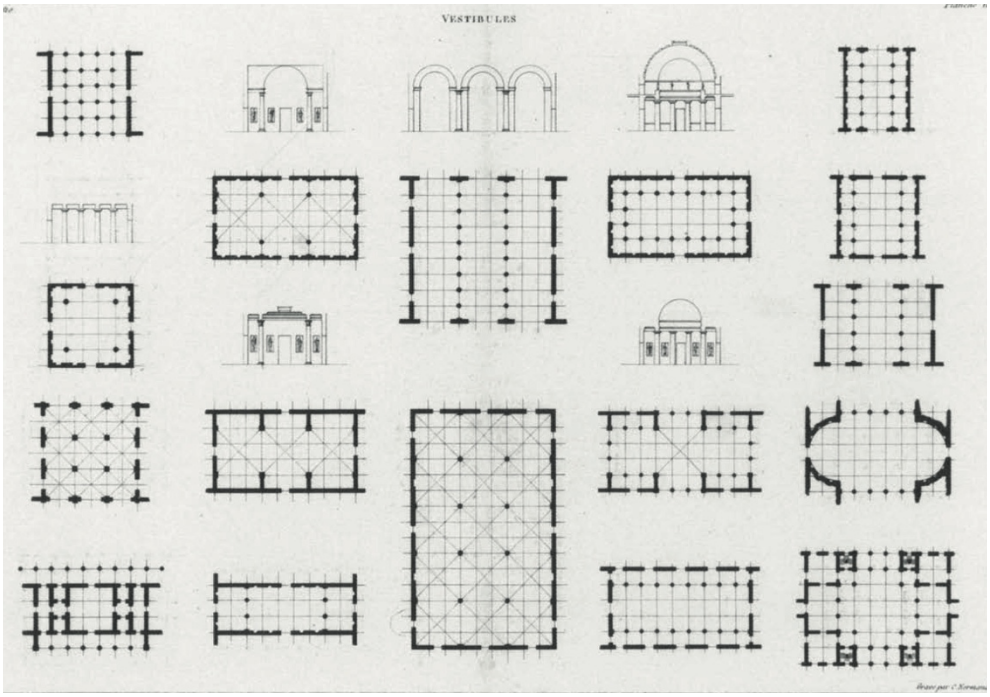

Figure 2.1: Plate 12, part 2, from Durand's 'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture'

Plate showing elements from which compositions would be compiled. The typical characteristics of Durand's type can be clearly seen as the square grid which regulates all components, and the symmetrical disposition, often with secondary (transverse) symmetry also.
Source: Précis of the Lectures of Architecture with Graphic Portion of the Lectures of Architecture.

Prima facie, his construct, although developed for his architectural dictionary, failed to stipulate the taxonomies that constituted architectural endeavour. Indeed, in his other writings, his own ideological belief lay in the ideal as given by the laws of nature (clearly external to architecture). Sam Jacoby writes "*through architecture's necessary proclivity to abstraction, nature's laws of solidity, equilibrium and balance are conventionalised as the 'laws of ratio, symmetry, proportions and number'*,"[15] and thereby also provides his definition of Quatremère's types and their associated translations into material form. It is not architectural form that becomes the basis for future works, rather the laws of nature—enduring and cosmologically fixed. As the very premise of the type lay outside of architecture each time the method was used, no formal tradition would emerge. Consequently, whilst Quatremère was responsible for originating a hugely relevant definition of type that would find particular currency in the future typological debates,

15 Jacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 116.

his work cannot be said to be responsible for a disciplinary definition of architecture, but only the definition of a praxis.[16]

It is only with the assistance of Jean-Nicolas-Loius Durand, that the basis of a disciplinary apparatus crystallised specific to architecture. Whereas Quatremère defined '*type*', Durand would define '*typology*'—the (rationalised) study of types. These existed as completely unrelated concepts until the collapse of the Modern movement in the late 60s, when they were synthesised by the Neo-rationalists, notably Rossi (see below).

In contradistinction to Quatremère de Quincy, Durand's interpretation of type relates to the attempt at a full codification of architectural knowledge. He is responsible for developing a process where the generalised and abstract principles of form could be deduced from prior architectural examples to inform new works. He used the systematised analysis of architectural form as the guiding principle of design. His didactic technique of formal abstraction collapsed historical precedent into a sequence of geometric principles and relationships. Durand thus initiated an autonomous discipline, where a progressive and linear genealogy of work was constantly reflected inwards to accrete a systematised field of knowledge. He thus constituted architecture as a 'discipline' for the first time.

Durand's efforts were ploughed into forming quick-reference archetypes, whose agency was realised by their efficient recombination into new dispositions with minimum process. This 'elementisation' presented a catalogue of "models" (they might be termed archetypes) of structural bays, staircases, colonnades, etc. This was achieved through an abstraction to linear axes, first along the structural grid of precedent, and second along the centralised spatial axis of the bay. Hyungmin Pai identifies the latter as a *"radical"* move (ostensibly for its explanation of space, rather than form), that would dismantle the closed order of the nineteenth century, allowing different modules (and importantly for the era, styles) to be disposed together.[17] Durand drafted tables in his *'Précis'* titled *'Ensembles d'Édifices'* showing agglomerations of axes into new compositions (see fig. 2.1), regulating the output of new architectural form wherever possible to a Cartesian grid and a bilateral symmetry, to satisfy the needs of economy. These geometric principles formed preconditions to his model catalogues—indeed, these precepts are his types. Potential for architectural innovation is in their combination. The capacity for a

16 It must be noted that the manifold taxonomies of types in architecture in the present-day flows from Quatremère's unwittingly or unwillingly imprecise definition of type's nature.

17 Pai, 'The Diagrammatic Construction of Type', 1089–92.

meaningful difference to emerge in any completed artefact was restricted, given such tight control over the typological process. Notwithstanding, this approach both satisfied the newly unfolding programmatic needs of the nineteenth-century society, as well as Durand's own drive for efficiency and constraint over the design process.

The culmination of Durand's tactic lies in a belief that a building—and without aspiration to anything more than a simple scalar relationship, the entire city—is no more significant than the sum of its parts. It is the logic that the city is formed of piece after piece, that architecture's agency disappears at its envelope. In this regard, Durand's work irrefutably becomes the precursor to the Modern city.

2.2.2 Contextualism versus the City as Resource: A Concise Historiography

In his article '*The Superblock*' (1978), the prolific architectural critic Alan Colquhoun charts the historical development of city fabric. He starts by making a key general observation about the historic city:

> *"The ancient structure of our cities is so strong that we are continually reminded of a distinction which has always been fundamental to the economy and mythology of the city, the distinction between the public and private realm. The public realm was representational: it not only housed activities of public and collective nature but it symbolised these activities. The aesthetic of public architecture consisted of a second-order language organised […] into syntagmata and constituting a complete text. The private realm […] though still comprised of aesthetic formulae common to the whole of society, was not representational in a public sense and was the property of individuals […]."*[18]

Colquhoun's observations indicate that there was an intertwining of the registers of semiotics and spatiality around each other, enough that they mutually support one-another in a clearly defined hierarchy. The public realm was the theatre for architecture to project meaning and identity, foregrounded against the background connective tissue of the city. When he speaks of an organisation of signs into a coherent language, the assertion—though clearly focused on semiotics—also implies that the structure of the

18 Colquhoun, 'The Superblock', 64–65.

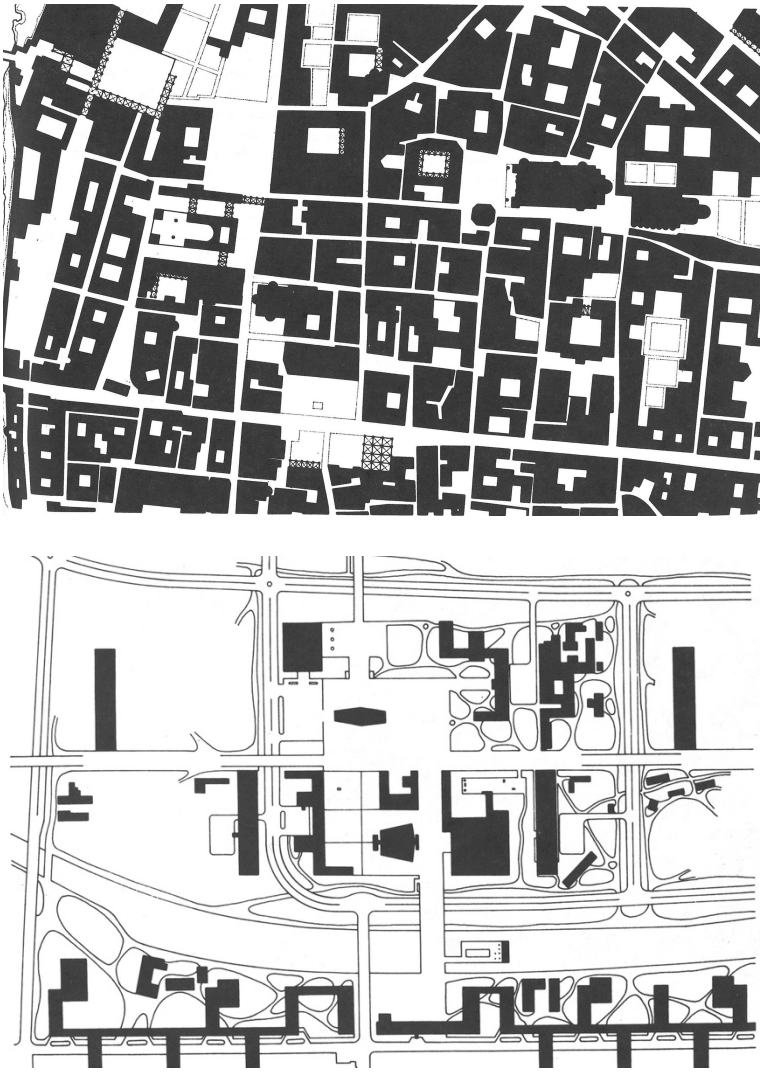

Figure 2.2: Comparison of 'concave' and 'convex' space

Originally paired by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in 'Collage City', Jacques Lucan re-published the diptych of Parma, Italy (top) with Le Corbusier's unrealised scheme St. Die, France (bottom), to demonstrate the separation of a spatial order where 'concave space is inward focused, and convex space is outwardly focused.
Source: Jacques Lucan, Composition, Non-composition, originally reprinted from Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, 'Collage City'.

city can only become *known* by an analysis of the ecology of the city—an evaluation of patterns and dispersals of the part relative to the whole.

In the Modern city, the prevailing Functionalist thinking[19] of a rupture with tradition, convention, and an abolition of all *a priori* values contributed to a disposition of differentiated parts that assembled the completed whole. Each building was aesthetically anonymised by the rationalised, identical 'cell' as the foundation of development.

19 Colquhoun refers to this by the term "*biotechnical determinism*." See 'Typology and Design Method'.

Architecture thus became the codification of "*an algebra of values*",[20] derived from programme or society, organised individualistically in a 'proto-typical'[21] resolution. Architecture and urbanism were connected in an undisputable, albeit simple unity, where urbanism was the accretion of many architectural projects, just like Durand had established previously. Knowledge was total, absolute, and transparent, through the teleological bind of cause to effect. In this configuration, architecture was the accreted spatial derivative of the sociological arrangement: it was sociology that was the field that negotiated with the urban.

The collapse of the Modern movement is often regarded as a watershed moment in architectural discourse. According to Kenneth Frampton, the Modern-Functionalist doctrine's commitment to its ineluctable technique of a genius empiricism was critiqued by a broad cross-section of the architectural community as much for its semiotic depletivism as its perceived inability to formulate coherent urban space.[22] This was presented two specific linked issues, separated by scale. Firstly, its piecemeal incorporation in traditional fabric (typically historic centres).[23] Secondly, the rationale for integrating radically different planning schemas of the outwardly-disposed (or '*convex*') Modern and inwardly-arranged (or '*concave*')[24] traditional approaches. Providing additional observation, Leandro Madrazo-Agudin attests in his dissertation that the moment coincided with the arrival of a new generation of architects in Italy "*at a time when the great masters were disappearing*", and that "*a feeling of boredom*" met the forms identified with Modernist production.[25] Circumstantially, this might have been true, but more significantly there also appeared disciplinary resistance to the material of the Modern project, which precipitated into changes in the way architecture was conceived through its design process.

Toward the point of the Modern movement's collapse, Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour's "*Learning From Las Vegas*" bemoaned architecture's impotence to tame the urban's sense of inevitability. Duly, they judged that architecture's schematisation should corelate with its reality, where the forces of laissez-faire

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20 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 46.

21 OED online, def 1.a. 'Prototype': "*The first or primary type of a person or thing; an original on which something is modelled or from which it is derived; an exemplar, an archetype.*"

22 Frampton, 'Introduction', 5. It should also be noted Henk Engel remarks that discussions were most active in the architectural press of England (AR) and Italy (Casabella Continuatà). See 'The Rationalist Perspective', 221.

23 Even when considering that the 'typical' European City—ravaged by two World Wars—presented architects with the starkest platform available to fashion their aspirations from, complete *tabula rasa* was very rarely the departure point for the Modern doctrine. Instead, their praxis was inevitably forced to associate with the difficult spatial and temporal continuity of the traditional city.

24 'Convex' and 'Concave' are terms derived from Jacques Lucan. They are statements of physical characteristic, rather than determining a specific architectural performance which is associated with each term. See *Composition, Non-Composition*.

25 Madrazo Agudin, 'The Concept of Type in Architecture', 324.

commercialisation were primarily manifested through their harness of the sign for semiotic communication, rather than embark on any apparently futile attempt to respond to issues that lay beyond its capacity. Modernism's key tectonic ploy, the separation of a building's façade and structural systems facilitated this end, and even allowed the external appearance of architecture to change at a quicker pace than the internal regime of the building. It is the reason that the authors voice their preference for the 'Decorated Shed' above the 'Duck'.[26] Venturi *et al* understood the potential of architecture as limited to an ability to connote place, as ultimately (yet fatalistically) this equalled the instrumentation that affected growth in the city. "*Learning From Las Vegas*" aimed at the sterilisation and stabilisation of place in the face of potent catalysts of change, which had transcended from the Modern way of thinking.

The authors' conceptualisation has nonetheless proved extremely pervasive since the abandonment of the Modern project,[27] particularly as it upheld the Modernist notion that architecture had no potential to interact transactionally with urban discourse, like sociology, political governance, and economics each could. This continuity demonstrates

26 Learning From Las Vegas's famous delineation between these *a posteriori* 'types' reads thus: "*1. Where the architectural systems of space, structure, and program [sic] are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form. This kind of building-becoming-sculpture we call the Duck in honour of the d-shaped drive-in, "the Long Island Duckling" […] 2. Where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of the program [sic], and ornament is applied independently to them. This we call the Decorated Shed. The Duck is the special building that is a symbol; the Decorated Shed is the conventional shelter that applies symbols.*" See *Learning from Las Vegas*, 87. The authors reason that (functionalist) Modernism was responsible for producing a series of 'Ducks' which they rally against. This does not preclude the fact that the free façade was a concept that was included within Le Corbusier's '*Five Points of Architecture*'.

27 This theme is engaged with in depth by Pavlos Pilippou. See 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015.

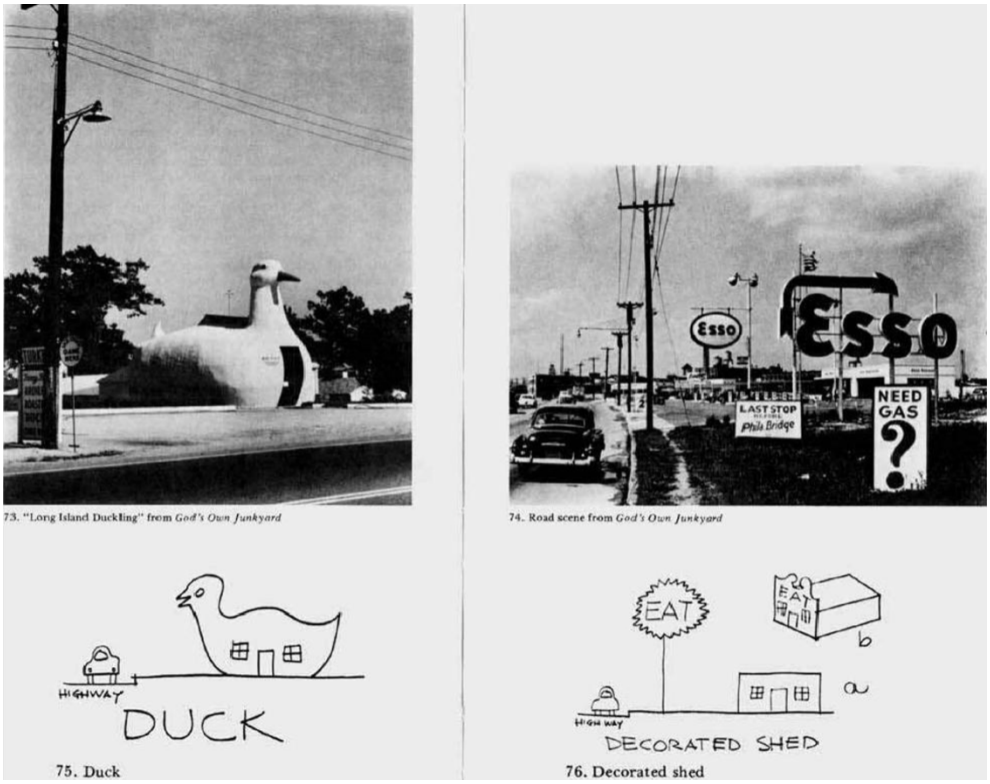

Figure 2.3: Comparison of a 'Duck' with a 'Decorated Shed'

A 'Duck' was reasoned to be a construction which embedded structure and ornamentation, whereas a 'Decorated Shed' provided a separation between the two.
Source: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, 'Learning from Las Vegas'

Modern thought has orchestrated architectural responses long after it was declared 'dead' by critics such as Charles Jencks.[28] Moreover, it ringfences the idea that the present-day city—most especially its centre as the focus of functional and sociological enterprise—still held the same representational logic as that which Colquhoun describes, remaining in continuity with the traditional city. Status and identity continue to be reflected by representational form. There has been no notable transformation or innovation to this conceptualisation.

In contradistinction, Neo-rationalism challenged this understanding by propounding architectural typology as a valid design mechanism, and grounding it as the basis of (relatively) 'autonomous' discipline.[29] This movement aligned with a re-engagement with Quatremère de Quincy's definition of type. The first studies (here understood to be by

28 Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture / Charles Jencks.*
29 The concept of disciplinary autonomy is discussed in depth in section 2.1 of the literature review.

the hand of figures including Giulio Argan[30] and Ernesto Rogers[31]) were tentative in exploring the relationship between architecture and the city, because they expressly focused on a formal taxonomy for re-articulation. Aldo Rossi's "*The Architecture of the City*" was one of the earliest critiques of Modernism that posited elemental questions of architecture's relationship with urbanism, challenging even Neo-rationalism's normative typological taxonomy, moving from aspects of 'base-form' to seek instead what accounted for the complexity and transitional nature of urban reality. His construct accounted for qualitative differences in the urban environment that needed to be determined and explained. The proposition is analysed in detail below.

2.2.3 Aldo Rossi: The Architecture of the City

Aldo Rossi's "*The Architecture of the City*"[32] (published first in 1966) was pioneering for articulating the how the spatial configuration of buildings could lead to their structural persistence and interact with the dynamic, naturalistic laws of urban transformation. Through a (relatively) autonomous reading of type, the urban condition's interplay between permanence and transience is choreographed by typology's strategy and action. The explanation that follows sets out how 'Primary Elements' (those artifacts that persist and interact with the city in a permanent way) hold agency over their contingent 'Study Areas' (variable urban catchments that are bound by patterns and dispersals of morphological coherence). The appraisal looks to push beyond just a clarification of Rossi's typological mechanics to critically explore the implications of his treatise.

The critique of Pavlos Philippou is influential for his assessment that actively discusses the potential of typological agency in Rossi's output. He reads type as a "*topologised schema irreducibly informed by multiple architectural concerns, which permits a series of formal actualisations*."[33] Despite the affinity between Philippou's analysis and this thesis' response, the ambition here is to articulate the typological mechanics as a frame of what can discursively constitute an innovation (and hence induce change). It is the exploration and validation of what surpasses Stan Allen's threshold of meaningful difference that is of primary interest. This is distinct from Philippou's objective, which is to frame a critical interpretation of multiple case studies to demonstrate how typological strategy can pluralise into an array of urban possibilities. The wider research here, focusing on one

30 Argan is credited with 'rediscovering' Quatremère's treatise on type, but placed iconographical classifications as its synthesis: i.e., the basic formal attributes that serialised different buildings.

31 Rogers was editor of the influential periodical 'Casabella Continuata' between 1953 and 1963, and co-founder of Milan office BPPR. Rogers' method began with the acceptance of a base-type that conditioned the ensuing design.

32 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982.

33 Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings and Urban Areas', 9.

case study allows the role of typological innovation to be foregrounded to elucidate upon the modality of that system.

In contrast, whilst many commentators pick up on Rossi's distortion of type from pre-existing 'models', few are tethered to either his theory of permanences or his rejection of type-as-product. For example, Rafael Moneo in '*On Typology*' writes his conception of type was "*based on the juxtaposition of memory and reason. Insofar as architecture retains the memory of those first moments in which man asserted and established his presence in the world through building activity, so type retains the reason of form itself.*" Moneo concludes stating "*the corridor, for example, is a primary type; it is indifferently available to the programme of an individual house and to a student house or a school.*"[34] Like Moneo, Hans Stimmann—Berlin's first post-reunification senior city planner—equates Rossi's work to reason and the memory of the city.[35] In his polemical determination to resurrect Berlin's dense pre-war city morphology, memory becomes hijacked, but process is left largely forgotten. Reinstating the 'physiognomy'[36] of the former city becomes the objective.[37] In any case, the loss then reinstatement of 'models' for Stimmann precludes any interrogation of persistence in the specific context, and a re-representation of the 'model' of the past is prioritised. Accordingly, though Moneo implies the corridor's persistence through a multiplicity of uses, and. Stimmann recollects the spatiality of the city, they both fail to recognise that type is expressly a process and not a product in Rossi's writing. A more precise critique is provided by Micha Bandini, who states concisely that for Rossi "*building typologies provide a networking tissue and monuments the exceptions.*"[38] However, this reading still places emphasis on the type as a physical product manifested in the city at an artifact level (similar to Moneo), though her understanding of monuments as differentiated from the background fabric of the area they command is a characteristic explored beneath. Whereas Bandini stresses the typicality of being, the following appraisal propounds the typicality of disciplinary agency: change. This can but only confine type to a discussion of process.

Type and Persistence

As aforementioned, Rossi's proposition is interpreted here as a synthesis of Quatremère de Quincy's definition of 'type' (and his associated declarations of 'model' and

34 Moneo, 'On Typology', 36–37.
35 Stimmann, 'The physiognomy of a major city', 17–21.
36 OED Online, 'Physiognomy', def. 4a. "*The general appearance or external features of a material object.* […]"
37 The physiognomy of the city became a core tenet of Critical Reconstruction in post-reunification Berlin. Refer to Chapter XX for further investigation into this practice.
38 Bandini, 'Typological Theories in Architectural Design (1993)', 251.

understanding of 'rule'), synthesised with Durand's construct of typology. Their combination—until the 1960s unvoiced in discourse—generates powerful disciplinary instrumentation, sharpened by his astute comprehension of which urban factors are responsible for governing change. Pivotal amongst these was Rossi's objective (if not controversial) reading of factors including the temporal and spatial continuities of the city, and also the 'Locus' (the physical description of the ground occupied by a piece of architecture).[39] The stability of these factors allows Rossi to focus and qualify the mechanisms and nature of urban transformation.

For Rossi, type is a generative concept both "*permanent and complex,* […] *that is prior to form and that constitutes it.*"[40] Type acts upon "*artifacts*",[41] which are the basic atom of architectural development for Rossi. Artifacts include buildings, but are in fact any identifiable urban component, from streetplan, to urban void, to Study Area. The fact these disparate elements with no formal consistency can be treated consistently (some are physical (buildings), and others conceptual (voids)) shows clearly that type is understood as formless, and is strictly a set of typical *a priori* precepts (referencing Quatremère de Quincy). These principles are derived from the analysis and synthesis of past forms assessing the possibility of their persistence (referencing Durand).

This relates directly to permanence and complexity. As Philippou notes, Rossi understands 'permanence' not as a representation of pan-cultural character, but rather the enduring occupation of physical ground; and 'complex' as a multi-dimensional appreciation of an object where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Philippou therefore deduces that artifacts are not reducible to a single idea. This allows him to state that neither meaning nor function (nor by extension communication nor symbology) are consolidated in type. Instead, it is typical for artifacts to have an intrinsic flexibility in use, which affords the possibility of its ongoing presence beyond its original programmatic purpose. Artifacts sustaining occupancy of both space and time in this way become permanences.[42]

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39 Describing the Locus as objective might sound perverse given Rossi is more often associated with subjective concepts such as Genius Loci and Collective Memory.

40 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 40.

41 This is the first of several 'quirks' in the somewhat clunky translation between his native Italian and the English copy of his text. Notwithstanding, it should also be noted that Rossi's native writing style is vague. This is understood partly as a ploy to buy some latitude in his writing for concepts to operate within. The key consideration here is that an artifact ungainly spans the definition of an "artefact" (OED Online, def 1a., "*an object made or modified by human workmanship, as opposed to one formed by natural processes.*") and an "urban fact" Defined by the author as "*a physical entity built in the space of the city*". For the sake of this investigation, they will be referred to as "artifacts".

42 Rossi writes "*At first sight it might seem that permanences absorb all of the continuity of urban artifacts, but in reality this is not so, because not all things in the city survive, or if they do, their modalities are so diverse as often to resist comparison.*" See *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 59.

Study Areas and Primary Elements

Two formations, understood in tandem, explain Rossi's connection between the architectural discipline and urban discourse: the Primary Element and the Study Area. These are very clearly separate (usually spatial) entities, but their behaviour is both mutually dependable and relativistic. Below, they are introduced and spoken about together. Consequently, there are no precepts (typological principles) that can be applied to one or other of them that will guarantee their designation without consideration of their counterpart. This is as simple as saying that one can never undertake to design a Primary Element, but only an artifact.[43] It is also to say that a Primary Element cannot be (hypothetically) transposed to another Study Area and its effects be duplicated. It is only at the point of the specific definition of a project that a careful, analytical appraisal of the Study Area that a Primary Element can crystalise from an understanding of the principles that attract growth around it. Though this process is driven by specifics of condition, this does not in any way deny the importance of type to the design method, and this research commensurately upholds that there are general principles which facilitate a persistence of artifacts: a 'typical' schema that strengthens the *possibility of* persistence and the catalysation of the city. The relativistic relationship between architecture governs this. Equally, some spatial formations are found to stultify effects in the urban domain and are classified as pathogenic to development. Both propulsive and pathogenic categories are outlined in more depth below.

For Rossi, type's agency is defined by three statements he makes regarding the nature of a city's structure. Firstly, he says that the city has a temporal continuity, such that the ancient city and the Modern city can be assessed in continuum. Secondly, that the city is also bound by a spatial unity. He concedes this is a "*controversial*" assumption, as it binds apparently qualitatively incongruous artefacts together. However, the city's fragmented reality *is* this such unity: its typicality. Acknowledging this point also recognises the notion of the city of parts, where a single point of authorship over the city and the reduction of the urban to a single concept is fundamentally denied. Thirdly, he places emphasis on Primary Elements, which "*have the power to retard or accelerate the urban process*."[44] The three edicts hence account for firstly temporality; second spatiality; and thirdly the agent of change. Together, they are bound up in the conception and operation of "*Study Areas*". Rossi substantiates that these areas are each subject to their own patterns

43 This point also relates back to the analysis of Stan Allen's writing and the associated discussion of monumentality. It is the value to the city that determines whether a building persists, not the building's representation of timeless qualities. See §1.2.2.

44 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 63.

of formation and differentiation. He dispels any notion that a city can be reduced to a single idea:

> "*The a priori importance that I attach to the Study Area implies my conviction of the following:*
>
> *1. With respect to urban intervention today one should operate on a limited part of the city. […] Such a self-imposed limitation is a more realistic approach from the standpoint of both knowledge and programme.*
>
> *2. The city is not by nature a creation that can be reduced to a single basic idea. This is true for the Modern metropolis and for the concept of the city as the sum of many parts, quarters and districts that are highly diverse and differentiated in their sociological and formal characteristics. In fact, this differentiation constitutes one of the typical characteristics of the city."*[45]

He defines them as "*a portion of the urban area defined or described by comparison to other larger elements of the overall urban area*". The vagueness of this definition (at what scale does Rossi consider measuring differences at? What is considered a distinctive characteristic?) means that Study Areas are not necessarily easily identifiable, but are open to conjecture as reasoned entities. How their boundaries are considered, what dispersal or pattern is considered characteristic develops a logic for architectural intervention that directly challenges these notions.

Rossi recognises that an analysis of plans, nor the collective effects of Study Areas alone, satisfactorily account for urban dynamics. Primary Elements are defined by Rossi as

> "*specific urban elements that have functioned as nuclei of aggregation […] which are dominant in nature. […] They participate in the evolution of the city over time in a permanent way."*[46]

This statement shows that Primary Elements are *atypical* in the city (note the analysis of Bandini's comments above), and their "*dominant*" nature means they remained substantively constant despite the impact and uncertainty of time. This will be discussed in more depth below. Clearly, not all artifacts persist to become Primary Elements and,

45 Rossi, 64.
46 Rossi, 86.

because not all permanences constitute points of aggregation, permanences and Primary Elements are different entities. Those that do can be classified into two groups dependent on their capacity to *"show what a city once was by indicating the way [that their] past differs from [their] present."*[47] Their continued persistence and use across time makes it an artifact *"around which buildings aggregate,"*[48] structuring the urban area over time.

The first of Rossi's categorisations is the 'propulsive' element, whereby an artifact catalyses the area which surrounds it. They retain a "*vitality*" as a "*physical form of the past [that] has assumed different functions and continues to constitute an important urban focus, conditioning the urban area in which it stands.*"[49] Rossi attests to their strength of form, such that even if their original purpose becomes obsolete, their morphology can accommodate different use(s). '*The Architecture of the City*' is sewn with paradigmatic examples, from Diocletian's Palace in Split (transformation from single walled house to complete walled city), to the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua (holding political, judicial and marketplace functions across its lifespan. See fig 2.4). Even though their function changes, their urban effect does not: these examples are unified by having witnessed alterations which retain the link to the building's past, yet the building is still tied to the city's daily life today. It simultaneously provided a critique of the Modern town planning doctrine, where function was the sole and irrevocable determinant of city form.

Conversely, 'pathological' elements fail to engage in the city's natural dynamic process and stultify urban development. They "*link only tenuously to an urban system […which is] isolated and aberrant.*"[50] Here, Rossi cites the *Alhambra* in Grenada. In comparison to Padua, he notes that the building cannot be modified or added to because to do so would change the building's purpose so much as to remove the link that connects it with its past.

The Typical Qualities of Primary Elements

To control the process of accretion, Rossi identifies three operative qualities of Primary Elements. The first criterion, as already identified, is their strategic placement in the city. Once more, the transactional relationship between Study Area and Primary Element is foregrounded as the key determinant of its potential: a precursor to transformation. The analysis can transcend scales to focus not just on the placement in the city, but also assess

47 Rossi, 59.
48 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 100.
49 Rossi, 59.
50 Rossi, 59–60.

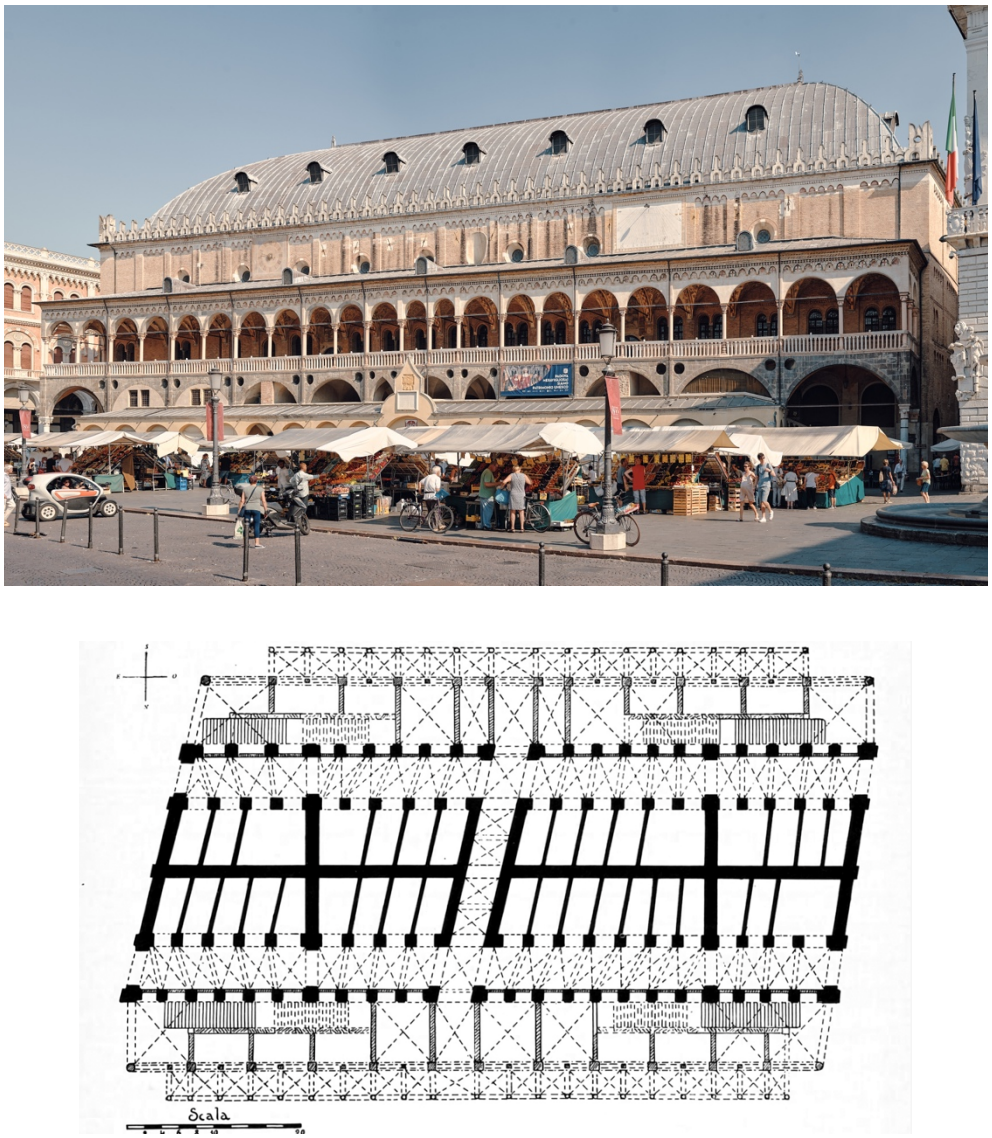

Figure 2.4: External view and plan of the Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, Italy

Aldo Rossi referenced the building as a 'propulsive Primary Element', having been adapted programmes to operate as a pollical chamber, judicial courtroom, and marketplace through its existence. It also serves as a convert venue and exhibition hall today.
Source: Photograph of the author. Plan source: www.labics.it

the spatial configuration of the Primary Element relative to its immediate exterior or the evaluation of a colonnade that demarcates separate perceptible spaces, and so on. This way, an exhaustive assessment of spatial performance can be unearthed that interrogates the typological value of precedent and its strategic disposition in new space. Second, as objects that "*possess a value* '*in themselves*'",[51] Rossi marries their urban situation to their ability to discharge their original functions. He explains that while at first the presence

51 Rossi, 87.

of a Primary Element is associated with an intended use, over time their significance grows as their form takes on new purpose. This induces a final quality—the Primary Element's individuality as it acquires its own qualities through the ability to be transformed. Notionally, this is predicated by acknowledging some form of modification is necessary to accommodate a different destiny.

However, though Rossi's assertion in the second criteria of holding an inherent value implies ambiguity over the degree of change a Primary Element is reasonably expected to demonstrate. Philippou acknowledges "*their notable singularity and rather unchanging form.*"[52] Yet, it also stands to reason that the magnitude and nature of transformational work, *in relation to* the character and organisation of the existing configuration, is the conditioning factor that categorises it as either propulsive or pathogenic as suggested above. Rossi cites Pièrre Lavedan's research into the streetplan, who wrote that "*whether it is a matter of a spontaneous city or a planned city, the trace of its plan, the design of its streets, is not due to chance. There is an obedience to rules […]. There always exists the generating element of the plan.*"[53] The equivalent process is understood by Rossi to occur amongst all artifacts. The augmentation of form is governed according to an immanent spatial logic which does not adversely alter the character of the Primary Element, irrespective of the degree of modification. Hence, this process is an interplay between persistence and change, to retain a liaison with the past in the continuously advancing time of the present.

It opens the nature of Primary Elements up to questions of architectural character, because—as Philippou explains—the emphasis Rossi imparts on Primary Elements' individuality promotes an iconic legibility. Philippou identifies this from a second viewpoint in relation to cultural buildings (that they are "*expected*" to signify their individuality as they are "*inescapably positioned to take on a role of [urban] protagonist[s]*"[54]), but it is true for all Primary Elements through the typological mechanics of persistence and specificity. Owing to their nature as permeances, they are associated with the endurance of certain sociological ideals (i.e., "*the way [that their] past differs from [their] present […]*").

The Locus

So far, Rossi's work can be interpreted as an analytical tool, which is inert in praxis but grants knowledge of the city in both space and time. However, to harness the construct

52 Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings and Urban Areas', 11.
53 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 100.
54 Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings and Urban Areas', 1.

for the purposes of architectural design, it must be turned into a synthetic operation. The pivot between these activities is the 'Locus' for Rossi. However, it is also the moment when Rossi undermines his own practice's claim to the autonomy of architecture.

As introduced above, the Locus is specified as a point of singularity by Rossi. This is determined by three components. Its precise and particular coordinates are duly comprised in space, time, but then hence too its 'event': the moment of definition. The implication here is that in the relentless continuity of time, an anchor is dropped to mark the constitution of a building from that moment. This naturally invokes the memory of that time, and thus too of the analogue.

Rossi's inherent contradiction arises from the introduction of sociological theories from figures like Maurice Halbwachs (Collective Memory) and Henri Focillon (Pathological Place).

Sam Jacoby writes that according to Halbwachs, "*with collective memories resulting from communications in the present, a relevance of the past is only recognised when persisting in contemporary collective memory, otherwise it is preserved as history*."[55] Collective Memory is in no way historical, but results from the interchange of individually held memories which are homogenised in dialogue with the wider social group and surroundings. Memory is a 'active' condition, whereas history has lost its link to the present. As Rossi ascribes propulsive permanences as "*a form of the past that we are still experiencing*",[56] Jacoby also suggests that "*only in this sense does history become reducible to collective memory*".[57] Another way of interpreting this is that Collective Memory can only ever operate whilst the artifact forms a tangible link between its physical presence and the group interacting with it. Conversely, once the artifact has been removed, or its form has been altered in a fashion that eradicates the link to how it was remembered, or it has no spatial means to continue relating to its urban reality, it becomes an historical account. Pathogenic permanences are therefore "*isolated and aberrant*",[58] a link to an *historical* past that plays no role in the present.

While Halbwachs attempts to provide a reasoned disciplinary link between the collective psyche and physical facts of the city, these formations cannot be considered categorical absolutes necessary to respect the autonomy of discipline. Firstly, there is the overriding

55 Jacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 231.
56 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 60.
57 Jacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 231.
58 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 60.

proviso that Collective Memory as a generalised concern is a non-autonomous pursuit: rather than relating to physical space, it unavoidably reflects sociological perception, and a pathway to providing a critique place rooted in a collective or individual interpretation of the past. Secondly, despite the mechanism Jacoby explains, there is no credible way that the individual can represent the collective will. As much as memories coalesce to inform the popular will, the effect is transactional and there is the inverse risk of individual indoctrinating the collective. Memory can only practicably pertain to representation, and never to presentation. It is never an assessment of objective fact. Endeavours to encapsulate the wishes of others is pejorative, tyrannical, and ultimately open to projecting either a wilful or unwitting misrepresentation of symbols by which the world is comprehended.

Focillon's construct of Pathological Place interprets the Locus as a singular semiotic referent positioned in history and space as an 'event'. Development of the Locus becomes an event in itself, but necessarily requires the original event to be represented. This leads Jacoby to conclude "*while architecture's principal formation can be said to be autonomous, its subsequent development is orientated to and modified by the social.*"[59]

Though there is clear incorporation of diachronic time (i.e., concerned with a comparison across time) in Rossi's theories, Jacoby's conclusion is derived from the perspective that architecture should absorb and represent synchronic time (i.e., individual moments in time isolated from history). This mandates a reading of history, alongside its inertial tendencies as the only available recourse to sociological being, and accounts for his reluctant belief that autonomy can be a departure point, but never its conclusion.

A representational moment inevitably arises within the until-now idealised, dispassionate and autonomous machinery of Rossi's typological construct. Whereas, until this impasse, an internalised logic[60] accounted for decisions the architect would need to make, the procedure imports into the disciplinary technique a personalised, ideological, and most significantly, an extrinsic moment which disrupts and distorts the field upon which type is operating.

Hence, when the personal purports to represent the populace, type (which is the apparatus that permits knowledge of the city) is re-cast as conferring knowledge of the assumed collective cultural will. The concept of the Locus converts Rossi's

59 Jacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 245.
60 it is important to note this is not teleological, but a justifiable design judgement.

conceptualisation of urban dynamics a study of society rather than a study of urban discourse, and acknowledges a pathway for permanence to be counterfeited through representation of identity (the ossification of the site and event). Rossi's moment of synthesis in the design process permits the infiltration of a non-autonomous process that impugns and compromises the agency of architecture, systemically undermining its potential. Innovation, agility, and general history are eclipsed by tradition, inertia, and zeitgeist.

It must be stressed firmly that is not that the authors referenced above who promote this perspective of Rossi's concepts are in any way wrong—plainly they are interpreting Rossi's procedure faithfully. It is Rossi who subverts his own logic, and gives significant ammunition to those who wish to challenge the merit of autonomous discipline to discount its strength or potency, and the propensity for transformation it can affect.

However, if facts were established in the continuous present straightforwardly and as they are, with no recourse to history, then one needn't be faced with the burden.[61] Henceforth, the relatively autonomous discipline described above must once again divest of the Locus in favour of an analytical evaluation of the Study Area. Rossi's attempts to reconcile history within the design method must be discounted for its contingent effect. This is channelled through the singularity of place, but it is not core to the operation of a relatively autonomous practice whose definitive aim is to capitalise on the characteristic instability of the urban condition for transformational gain. The multi-dimensionality of place—*the site*—is usurped in favour of *the active situation*.[62]

2.2.4 The works of Colin Rowe et al.

Collage City

Several years after the publication of *The Architecture of the City*, Colin Rowe, together with Fred Koetter deepened the field of urban typological reasoning with their co-written book '*Collage City*' (1978) which, similarly to *The Architecture of the City* considered the city as constituted from multiple relativistic parts.

To enunciate the relevance of *Collage City*, it is perhaps easiest to begin at the end. The crux of the book is delivered in its very last words:

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61 This must not be confused with abandoning memory; it is about considering their extant condition. History though, must be eschewed from the design process as irretrievable after loss for the protection of relatively autonomous praxis.

62 Use of the words 'site' and 'situation' will henceforth be strict to uphold the difference described here.

> "*because collage is a method deriving its virtue from irony, because it seems to be a technique for using things and simultaneously disbelieving in them, it is also a strategy which can allow Utopia to be dealt with as image, to be dealt with in fragments without having to accept it in toto, which is further to suggest that collage could even be a strategy which, by supporting the Utopian illusion of changelessness and finality, might even fuel a reality of change, action and history.*"[63]

In its promotion of bricolage as its central technique, Rowe and Koetter provide a tidy continuation leading on from the rejection of singularity and embrace of area. The practice, say Rowe and Koetter, involves the grafting of antagonistically opposing physical conditions into direct tension with one-another.

Throughout their book, mutually exclusive diptychs are provided to the reader: The authors compare the figure/ground plan of Parma, Italy: as a traditional city example; against that of St. Die, France: a Modernist equivalent devised by Le Corbusier. The closed order concavity of Parma is figuratively shown to be in opposition to the open order convexity of St. Die (see fig 2.2). You can have either the Unité d'Habitation or the Uffizzi Gallery: You can strive for a preservation of tradition, or a ceaseless drive for Utopia. Each of these binary positions is a juxtaposition of terrains of dispute, formal disjuncture and intransigence. But, this strategy only heightens the terrain within which a spatialised understanding of architecture has scope to operate. Rowe and Koetter admit "*we have identified two models: we have suggested that it would be less than sane to abandon wither; and we are, consequently, concerned with their reconciliation.*"[64]

The theoretical position Rowe and Koetter defend derives from another polarity, defined by Karl Popper's understanding of new discovery occurring by an incremental, fragmentary and contingent nature, applied to Lionel Trilling's perspective of humanist society, caught betwixt and between faultless social justice and the value of social continuity. Thus, applied architecturally they were interested in perfect ("*Utopian*") types acting upon imperfect contexts ("*tradition*"). William Ellis explains in his Oppositions article that Rowe "*wanted the discourse between type and context, enlivened by this spatial idea [of contrast between Modern and traditional cities] to act as a counter-model to Le Corbusier's urbanism, without losing the grandeur of the latter's image.*"[65] The mechanism for

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63 Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 149.
64 Rowe and Koetter, 72.
65 Ellis, 'Type and Context in Urbanism', 228.

this was the collage of the 'Set Piece' onto the figure/ground plan. Though Rowe and Koetter never expressly define the Set Piece, Ellis states:

> "*it is usually a complex building or a coherent grouping that can be imposed upon a context, undergo a mutual deformation with that context, and become something new. It sustains a general typological identity, usually through geometrical regularity at its core, and promotes a local particularity of composition, usually through irregularity at its edges.*"[66]

Rowe and Koetter's Set Pieces are clearly archetypal: utopian in premise, 'perfect' in form so that their agency becomes as charged as possible to act upon the surrounding context. Throughout *Collage City*, it is striking that the range of examples is, in reality, relatively narrow: Chester Terrace, London exhibits similar characteristics to Algiers Waterfront, exhibits similar characteristics to Venice's Procuratie Vecchie; Vienna's Hapsburg Palace identifies with Munich's Residenz and Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. They are nearly all large, conglomerate structures, tending to an area in and of themselves. But they are also modular structures and break down to a smaller grain. They have a repetitive and generic nature, perhaps one that Rowe and Koetter believe operates in catalytic dialectic with the context in which it is placed.

The superimposition of the Set Piece duly destabilises the figure/ground through the Set Piece's own homogeneity and pattern of form. The figure/ground plan—descriptor of the city's morphology—is therefore the scaffold for the process of collage. Significantly, perhaps due to the scale being worked at (that of the area—or, more likely, space between areas), the instrumentation decentralises any concern for 'place-ness' that was understood through Rossi's reference to the singularity of the Locus. Moreover, as *Collage City* is less of a text about analysis of established urban condition and more concerned with providing a means for active synthesis, (the Set Piece is not the object of research like the Primary Element—it is just the organ of catalysation) the notion of collage, object and collision can be adjusted such that whole districts are transplanted (as per the book's reference of the Plan Voisin, or its front cover image of Wiesbaden in c. 1900). The point being made at whatever scale is that instead of the nodal centricity demanded by Rossi, Instead, the *threshold between* areas becomes the operative concern. Necessarily, the

66 Ellis, 231.

greater the contrast between poles, the greater the possibility of effects, vitality, and 'tension' of the threshold.[67]

Figure 2.5: Figure/ground plan of Wiesbaden, c.1900
The image on the from cover of Rowe and Koetter's 'Collage City' shows a clear regional separation of morphologies.

Reasoning further, this intrinsic nature of the boundary suggests that the divide between adjacent areas operates in a similar fashion to the imposition of the Set Piece amongst its context. Set Pieces placed at the edge of contiguous contexts (or artifacts at the edge between Study Areas for that matter) can be seen to mediate and orchestrate between those areas. Architecture conjectured to be situated in threshold conditions therefore assumes a particular propensity to affect change—either by mediating between areas or

67 Coincidentally, this friction between conditions is also picked up by Rossi, who states ""the more strongly the polarisation is exerted and the closer the interchange between the 'public' and the 'private' spheres, the more 'urban' the life of an urban aggregate is." See *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 86.

through an accentuation of their contrast. These configurations depend on the architectural articulation.

Transparency

At this point, the article '*Transparency*' by Rowe, this time written with Robert Slutzky, becomes operative. Building upon Rowe's affinity to Modernist painting, its corelation to the figure/ground plan,[68] and the analysis of the flat plane. The authors accordingly pursue a strategy versed in Cubist painting technique of typological and contextual interplay. Working between painting and architecture, they state that whereas painting can only simulate the third dimension, architecture cannot deny it's existence. They reason the distinction between two types of spatial system: 'literal' and 'phenomenal' transparency. In architecture, Literal transparency is readily achievable, and is the possibility of being able to see through (a medium). Phenomenal transparency however is harder to grasp. Rowe and Slutzky turn to Gyorgy Kepes' definition thus:

> *"If one sees two or more figures overlapping one another, and each of them claims for itself the common overlapped part, then one is confronted with a contradiction of spatial dimensions. To resolve the contradiction one must assume the presence of a new optical quality. The figures are endowed with transparency: that is, they are able to interpenetrate without an optical destruction of each other. Transparency however implies more than an optical characteristic, it implies a broader spatial order. Transparency means a simultaneous perception of different spatial locations. Space not only recedes but fluctuates in a continuous activity. The position of the transparent figures has equivocal meaning as one sees each figure now as the closer, now as the further one."*[69]

The resultant simultaneous ambiguity yet interpenetration of position is responsible for implying spatial connections across intangible spatial divides. Rowe and Slutzky demonstrate this with different examples in their article, but perhaps most poetically through their analysis of Le Corbusier's Maison Steyn at Garches. They detail how the partial confinement (in certain planes only) of the covered veranda provides enough definition to be able to volumetrically define its space, but then its relationships with the

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68 Ellis writes that "*Although figure-ground is a pictorial device involved with Gestalt assumptions and procedures, it is not picturesque in the scenographic sense. It suggests the abstract painter rather than the painter of scenes, relationships rather than objects, pattern rather than picture. It betrays Rowe's inclination toward the totally activated field of much Modernist painting.*" See Ellis, 'Type and Context in Urbanism', 231.

69 Rowe and Slutzky, *Transparency*, 22–23.

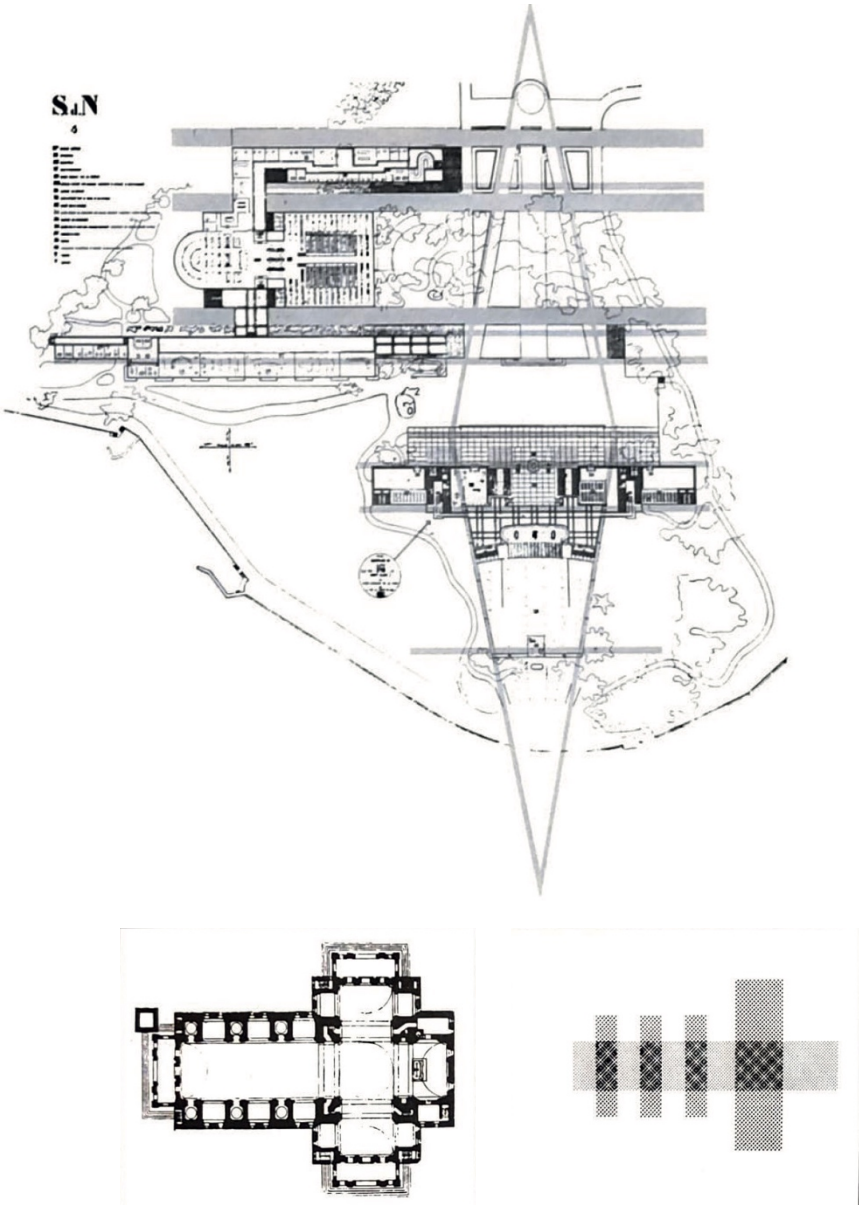

Figure 2.6: The concept of phenomenal transparency

Rowe and Slutzky's concept of phenomenal space was introduced through examples of Le Corbusier's and Pierre Jeanneret's work. Here, the Palace of. The League of Nations is superimposed with the spatial zones that are implied by the structure of their architecture and its situation in the landscape. Beneath, a simplified example is taken from the commentary section of their book, written by Swiss critic Berndt Hœsli, of Leon Alberti's Sant'Andrea in Mantua. Italv.

internal space (through literally transparent fenestration) establish an entirely new series of spatial relations. The authors talk about how a space can have 'direction' through the axiality of these relations, which can interact and juxtapose concretised form. The authors surmise "*thus throughout this house there is that contradiction of spatial dimensions which*

Kepes recognizes as a characteristic of transparency. There is a continuous dialectic between fact and implication."[70]

This reading of the incorporeal gives space an intentionality, and invests it with an ability to discharge relations between apparently unconnected entities. It supposes ways to modify synergistic patterns, where architecture provides opportunity for the densification of relations between urban actors and mutual trust and cooperation is enriched. By implication, it also suggests that unions between completely separated spaces held in the suspension of the surrounding urban fabric can become known to each other. This makes it an invaluable tool to reason qualitative and value-based determinations of linkage, and delimits a mode of affirmative exploit. The point here is less to advocate for the instrumentality of diagramming (though not to diminish its role in any way either),[71] but to recognise a particular facet of it: that *Transparency* illuminates the connection across and between ostensibly unconnected spatial constructs at the level of area (or volume) and threshold.[72] In defining the relation, and not the object, it is attuned to deployment within Rossi's relational system of Primary Element-Study Area analysis as much as it is between Set Piece and context. It is also pan-scalar, such that building components can be understood as relativistic concepts as much as the tension between different buildings or even Study Areas. This is to say that it has the potential to hold within its schema the trace of configurations which afford architecture to structurally persist, through its qualitative deconstruction of the threshold.

2.2.5 Representation and Type

It is important to acknowledge that what has been presented in this chapter thus far is not the rejection of any value-based decision making, nor the denial of expression in the design process. It would be a fanciful and immature grasp of the value architecture brings to the city to suggest so—especially in the diverse, fragmentary, and ultimately rich built environment introduced above. The issue at hand is how and where in the process such decisions are made. At this point, what must be recognised is the residual, limitless scope for value judgements to be made from within the typological system through an evaluation of architecture's own material without recourse to its exterior.

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70 Rowe and Slutzky, 41.

71 Transparency is a tool of reasoning—through the deployment of the diagram—that delimits a terrain of possibility for (re-)structuring a dispersal of concepts in discourse. For excellent accounts of the agency of the diagram, please refer to Barth, 'Diagram. Dispersal. Region.' And Pai, 'The Diagrammatic Construction of Type'.

72 By inference, it also suggests that new interconnections can be propagated through an assimilation of patterns, dispersed in wider space.

As has been made clear above, Robert Venturi and his co-writers have been influential in propagating the belief that architecture should be a built discourse, interested in the critique of existing context and zeroing into the particularity of place as a signal of identity and relevance amongst urban changes that happen around architecture's fringes. There is a clear affinity between this approach and the Rossian concept of the Locus, though Rossi's construct demands an understanding of the specific context of the site rather than the quotation of preferred models through some form of opaque selection process. Nevertheless, It stands to reason that placemaking's collective effect is prolific because it offers the possibility of instantaneous critique by looking at the building, rather than needing to engage directly with it first.[73] Furthermore, there is an argument that Venturi's method streamlines more easily as a procedurally and financially efficient praxis, on the basis it would involve less time and less research not having to probe the reservoirs of architecture's own material to establish where and how to transform the field.[74]

Revisiting Stan Allen's Material Practice

At this point it is worthwhile returning to Stan Allen's text *Practice: architecture, technique + representation*, who provides a basis for how architecture can be equipped to be both interpretative and transformational through his reading of theory and practice.

Allen notices that discursive (theoretical) practices look to the past and are inertial, while material (typological) practices assess the present and propose transformations of the future, and so are productive. To overcome this disjuncture, he calls for theory and practice—rather than operating as differentiated, opposing concepts—to integrate as competing codes, diffused such that there are some interpretative and discursive, and others concerned with substance and material transformation. He writes:

> "*Instead of opposing theory and practice, imagine competing categories of practice: one primarily textual, bound up with representation and interpretation: a hermeneutic, or discursive practice; and the other concerned with matter, forces, and material change: a material practice. The consequence of this would be to say that there is no fixed category called "practice," no fixed category called "theory." There are only practices: practices of writing, which are primarily critical, discursive, or interpretive, and material practices: activities that*

73 This trend has accelerated further and further in the years since Venturi's writings, owing to communication advancements and a general quickening of mediums of discourse, first by analogue means (such as television), and later digital (the internet and social media).

74 This is contestable however when techniques such as transparency and collage have been reasoned to predict transformative effects above.

> *transform reality by producing new objects or new organizations of matter.*"

What Allen is proposing is less a mediation between a built discourse and a practical discipline (there is no such medium that exists in metaphysics, and this makes Allen's use of the word discursive above misplaced), but rather a promotion of theory's role from one of critique (in the sense that Kant defined it as an instrument of discourse) to one of self-reflexive criticality, so that theory and practice can operate as mutual co-dependencies within discipline.

Though Allen's motivation here lies in his understanding that the diagram and the notational dimensions of discipline have are an instrumentation of agency that delimits the capability of the field, this research identifies that his words nonetheless open the field of *built* architectural representation up to the possibility of a co-dependency with urban form. Thus, building on Allen's suggestions, type should also be supported by representation: representation should in fact articulate the type.

This approach demands that architectural representation must express its own spatial response to the complexion of Study Areas, through a consolidation of the spatial and organisational principles of the type and through acting in support of the threshold designs (across scales). Equally, the building's expression logically encapsulates the performative and innovative moments of the typological concept.

This does not pertain to a reinterpretation of Allen's 'theory' becoming a projection of meaning or identity within the built environment. To do so would subvert the premise of this discussion. Instead, it details a subordination of the architecture's representational capacity to a support of the type rather than the representation the context as a means of vocalising type's agency and allowing architecture to remain versatile, dynamic, and critical.

2.3 Conclusion: Redefining Type

The literature review builds upon the understanding that architecture has two key capacities, depending on whether it is conceived of as a 'built discourse' or a discipline. The appraisal challenges the former notion—architecture providing a critique on existing contexts through its representational proclivity—as a reactionary and inert practice,

equipped only ever to commentate, but never affect nor transform the domain which it occupies: the city.

In response, this research reconceptualises architecture as a relatively autonomous material discipline, as a formation able to account for the structure of—and orchestrate change within—the urban realm. Following Aldo Rossi's explanation of urban dynamics in *The Architecture of the City*, type propagates a spatial reasoning that determines the persistence of artifacts. However, Rossi's own mechanism of the Locus is found to subvert the very autonomy he advocated for through its invocation of the specifics of place and precise moment in time. The 'event' pertains to memory and invokes the self (under the auspices of representing the collective) to provide a sociological, rather than urban knowledge of the city.

Though Rossi here attempts to tether the particular to the formal specificity of Primary Elements ("*they are dominant in nature*"), this endeavour needn't conflate extrinsic and intrinsic aspects of discipline. Through an interpretation of the praxis of Colin Rowe, concern lies less in defining a characteristic specificity of the object, which any emphasis on the singularity does, and more in a consideration of the nature of interfaces that govern its relations with other entities. The nature of this interactivity corelates with Rossi's key disciplinary mechanism, which is not the characteristics of the Primary Element nor the Study Area, but the interactions between them. This relativistic definition thus becomes the arbiter of relations and governs the agency of discipline. Accordingly, the artifact's connection with structural patterns apparent within the Study Area becomes a key determinant of the 'availability' of the artifact, pertaining directly to its activation, usefulness, dominance, and thus ultimate value: it becomes the tool that fulfils questions of both permanence and performance.

In other words, an artifacts' persistence is related directly to how adeptly they can configure, orchestrate, and articulate Study Areas around them to their advantage. Type relates directly to an artifact's usual relations with its contingent Study Area(s), whereas typological innovation occurs through the transformation in the systematisation of spatial and synergistic relations in the city. Patterns and dispersals across the relevant portion of the urban realm are thus appraised and strategically transformed to foster new encounters, engender new relationships, and enhance the interconnected nature of the building in the wider urban system. Architecture can also contribute to a wider discursive field, by virtue of continuously activating the terrain of knowledge through its transactional negotiative process with other disciplines acting upon the urban. In this way, architecture becomes implicated in defining the population's subjectivities, how our

cities are governed, and the catalytic effect of urban renewal and regeneration.[75] For the avoidance of doubt, it lies outside the scope of this thesis to reason how architecture shapes urban discourse, only to identifying how architecture relates to patterns of urban morphology.

Each of these factors becomes implicated in the analysis of Berlin's specific context, which follows. Firstly, Karl Friedrich Schinkel's transformation of central Berlin, culminating in the opening of the Altes Museum, facilitated the definition of a new liberal citizen through his intervention to concatenate disparate Study Areas together across the inner city and make the central island of the city a democratised arena, when formerly it was the preserve of monarchy. Secondly, in the post-war period, the German Democratic Republic's overhaul of Berlin's city structure into a city comprised of just two Study Areas—Hauptstadt and the residual city—led to a new set of relations to quell the city hierarchy. The impact was intended as a regimented flow of power that eroded the private realm and placed the individual under the direct gaze of the state. Finally, today in a reunified city, the thesis returns to the two new artifacts that have drastically changed the configuration of Berlin's central island. and necessarily draw comparison for the techniques they respectively deploy to compete to orchestrate development on and around the cultural landscape of the Spreeinsel. Between them, they delineate the relative potentials of discourse and discipline.

[—*Chapter End*—]

75 For an account of this, see Rabinow, *French Modern*.

Part B:
Specific Context

3 1800-1830: Prussian Liberation

3.1 Introduction

Without detracting from the Altes Museum as the pinnacle of Schinkel's achievement in Berlin, it was just one of several projects he undertook to reconfigure its central urban landscape in the early nineteenth century. This is a pivotally important acknowledgement that is often overlooked in contemporary literature. However, this observation is patent to author Hermann Pundt, who approached Schinkel's work from a distinctly urbanist perspective and articulated Schinkel's work as holding a collective effect across the city centre. He attributes Schinkel as the first architect to integrate the island, alongside the river, the street, and the building as the city's four major planning components of Berlin's city fabric,[1] and notes the Altes Museum as the museological paradigm that instigated a process of democratisation of the arts, by inviting the public into a space that was formerly the prerogative of royalty. Notwithstanding, Pundt ultimately concludes that in the present-day, "*the museum has irrevocably lost its communication with the spatial and physical context which originally formed a comprehensive, organised, urban environment.*"[2] Conversely, this chapter reasons that Schinkel's reconfiguration of the city's four planning components was more substantive than Pundt gives him credit for, and formed spatial schema of the capital that to a large degree still regulates the operation of Berlin's Hauptstadt today.

From this early stage, it is important to stress that this investigation is not structured around Schinkel's œuvre of work, and equally that the chapter does not invest in him as the typological subject. Correspondingly, written sources (particularly from Pundt and the exhaustive archival dossiers compiled by Paul Ortwin Rave[3]) show that he occupied an extremely fortunate position as *the* court architect, who had the ear of the king and therefore held a position where the agency of his decisions outweighed the subjective union of his projects. That is to say, as the king's preferred disciple in an absolutist

1 Pundt's use of the word 'building' is somewhat ambiguous. It is a key argument of proponents for the Humboldtforum that the Schloss creates a visual terminus for the Unter den Linden axis, though the author's inference in 'uniting' each of the planning components suggests that he considered Schinkel's Altes Museum capable of assuming the role. Upon its opening, the passive gaze could now be deflected towards the Altes Museum, which could be actively visited and used for self-improvement. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 153.

2 Pundt, 192.

3 The archival work to catalogue Schinkel's 'lebenswerk' (life's work) were begun by Rave and continued by other prominent scholars. Publisher Deutscher Kunstverlag has now published 22 volumes of material. Direct references have been included where appropriate below, but the material has been consulted as an ongoing secondary source throughout this research. A separate series, compiling Schinkel's unpublished 'Architektonische Lehrbuch' (Architectural Textbook) is attributable to Goerd Peschken.

governmental system, his work mattered, and gave him the platform to undertake significant and meaningful transformations to Berlin's inner city alone, without almost any competition.[4] His work embodied and defined the complexities of the era, because he was—to a significant degree—*the* architectural output in Berlin of that era. It validates an inquiry into not just his architecture, but also the formation of his ideas: their provenance, heredity, and refinement.

Schinkel's opportunity to transform Berlin was both interrupted and catalysed by Napoleon's occupation of Prussia. This chapter therefore approaches the preliminaries to the built transformation of Berlin from two different perspectives: Firstly, it charts the broader contextual background and the changes that happened in the broader field; and secondly it focuses on the development of Schinkel's own ideas, mainly recorded through his painting exploits when architectural work was fallow under occupation.

Prussia, like all continental European nations, was caught in the turmoil of Napoleon's wake, which led to significant state-wide reforms which demanded a commensurate urban response. Firstly, the absolutist monarchical system was identified as conflicting with the values emanating from France, which risked further upheaval if not addressed with the end of serfdom and release of new civil liberties. Secondly, as art was frequently confiscated illegally or as an armistice condition, it developed a new autonomy during the occupation. Its value became detached from religion, which it had formerly been tethered to, to hold its own autonomy and commodity value. Thirdly, impressed by the workings of the French state, Prussia comprehended the need centralise its affairs. This involved the emergence of several new institutions aimed at self-edification and education. Alongside the Berlin Academy and Humboldt University emerged the concept of a public Arts collection.

In the analysis of Schinkel's painting career, this investigation has been carefully positioned to centre the critique on Schinkel's inherent and critical exploration of spatiality through his painting collection. This is a relatively underexplored area of research, where the representational value of his artwork is demoted in favour of conceiving of them as a series of preparatory and exploratory typological diagrams, in lieu of the commencement of his architectural career. Seen in this light, some of his most famous handcrafted works hold a direct corelation with his built output: '*Blick in*

4 Schinkel only became the Geheimer Oberbaudirektor (the position in charge of Prussia's Oberbaudeputation) in December 1830, after the royal opening of his museum. His predecessor, Johann Albert Eytelwein, was a civil engineer—also preeminent in his field for work on pulleys and hydrostatics—but not with the expertise to enact an urban transformation of Berlin. Eytelwein was heavily instrumental in founding the Berlin Bauakademie institution.

Griechenlands Blüte' as a corelate for the Altes Museum loggia;, his panorama productions, such as his depiction of the Palermo roofscape, move from their machinic medium into a spatialised schema in the Museum. Other paintings, such as '*Dom Über Einer Stadt*', which are later referenced by David Chipperfield's preparation of the Museumsinsel Masterplan,[5] can be seen to reflect key spatial explorations of Schinkel in the urban realm of Berlin.

These strands coalesce in an exploration of Schinkel's realised transformation of Central Berlin. Several different sources provide significant contributions. Firstly, the aforementioned Hermann Pundt provides a vital source, but one that focuses first on Schinkel as an "*environmental planner*", which prejudices his critique around a primarily visually orientated constellation of parts in Berlin's centre, Conversely, Kurt Forster is more willing to engage in the instrumentalisation of Schinkel's apparatus. Though he does not expressly concern himself with developing a typological critique in his writing, he construes the characteristics of Schinkel's work which connect him with the early Moderns, through the dynamic performance he unfurls across Berlin. He, and to a degree also Pundt, offer a friction against the contextual and experiential focus that figures including Steven Moyano and James Sheehan provide.

Against this background, this chapter documents the extensive transformations that occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its relevance to the wider narrative of the doctorate is not only as the first wide-scale suite of alterations across the inner-city, but their nature as the registering of a transition from absolutist model, constituted of privatised space into a democratised landscape that was intimated following Napoleon's defeat. This entailed the emergence of a new morphological figure in Berlin, where an open-order composition was for the first time juxtaposed against its traditionally closed-order streetscape. This transformation animated the static conception of the city's form into a productive landscape for personal edification and emancipation. The ensuing research centres the role of typology in provoking spatial transformations, which reconfigured eighteenth-century Berlin into a democratic and participatory domain.

5 Chipperfield, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin: Abschlussdokumentation Dezember 1999.*

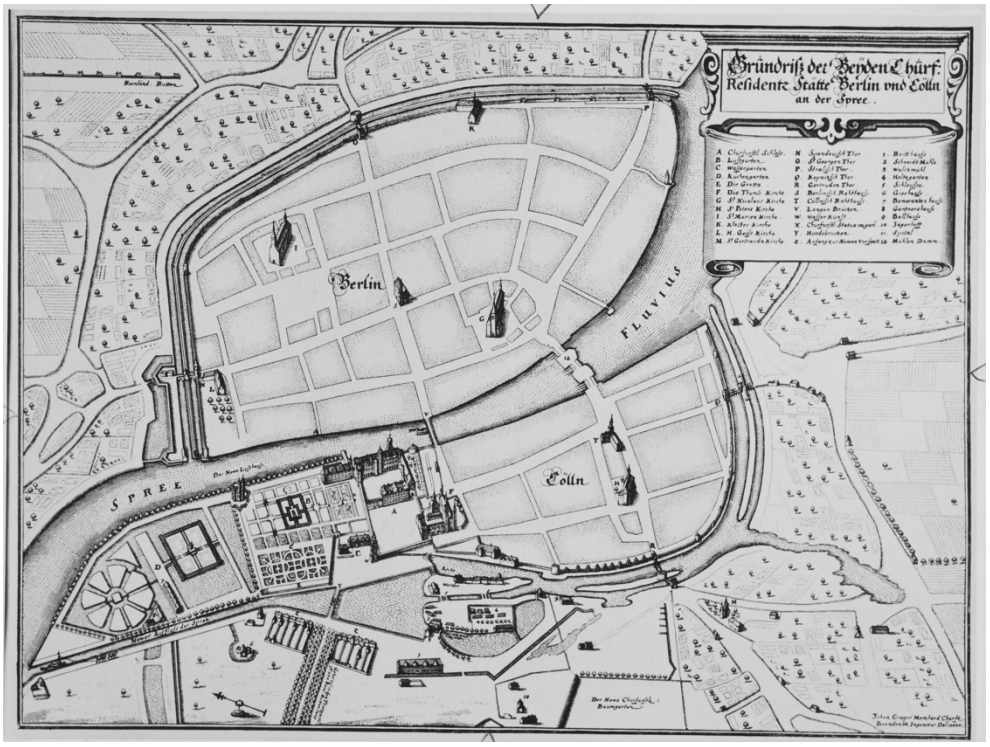

Figure 3.1: The earliest recorded map of Berlin and Cölln, Johann Memhardt

The plate shows the emerging four principal planning elements of Berlin, as established by Hermann Pundt, of 'the river' (Spree); 'the Island' (the Spreeinsel); 'the street' (Unter den Linden, bottom of frame); and 'the building' (the Schloß and its private gardens).

3.2 Contextual Background

Without doubt, the early period of the nineteenth century constituted a remarkable quickening of transformations in Berlin's evolution. Though Berlin, the settlement (technically the twin settlement of Berlin on the eastern bank, and Cölln on the island of the Spree) was first recorded in 1237, Harald Bodenschatz is compelled to acknowledge "*Berlin is a nineteenth- and twentieth-century city. Previous eras played far less of a role in its formation.*"[6] The early nineteenth century bore witness to significant reforms, which precipitated an upshift in the strategic importance and reconfiguration of the city. This section of the chapter investigates these events, prior to attempts by Schinkel to reform the city core.

6 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 14.

3.2.1 The Urban Condition of Berlin before 1800

The earliest known map of Berlin was drawn by Johann Memhardt in 1650, just after the cessation of the Thirty Year's War, which ravaged central Europe. It shows a modest twin settlement. Drawn in a typically medieval hand, key civic organs stand out off the page. Both Cölln and Berlin have their own churches and marketplaces. They are poorly connected by only two bridges, but encircled by what can be construed as defensive moats and ramparts. These were considered crucial, yet were soon essentially futile, following the end of hostilities. Following the exponential technological curve of the day, these structures would soon become obsolete, a point that will be revisited below. Nonetheless, according to Hermann Pundt, up until the reign of Friedrich II of Prussia (1740-1786), Berlin's "*principal importance was the fact that it housed the monarchy's largest garrison within a ring of customs walls and gates*."[7] At this time, Bodenschatz refers to Prussia as a "medium-sized European power."[8] The state controlled loosely-bound, geographically dispersed holdings across northern present-day Germany, but insignificant in comparison to Prussia at its height.

A River, an Island, a Building, and a Street

Herman Pundt uses Memhardt's map to make an observation that he keeps on referring back to throughout his key title, '*Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*', that "*in examining the composition of Berlin's urban topography, four basic components are readily apparent: a river, an island, a building and a street*."[9] Clearly, this is a mixture of natural and artificial (man-made) features. Certainly, the natural components need no further explanation, perhaps other than to say that the 'island' refers to the Spreeinsel, but its autonomy had rather been challenged by the digging of peripheral moats and watercourses that defined the edge of the city. It is the centripetal location of '*the*' island which is of consequence to Pundt. The human constructions though, do merit further interrogation of their significance.

'The Building'

In the wider context of wherever Pundt refers to this quote, it is ambiguous to which structure he is referring to. In the early formation of the city, however, it is clear that he is referring to the 'Schloß', which dominates the upper quadrant of 'the island', above Cölln settlement. On Memhardt's map, this is called the "Churfürstliche Schloß". The earliest reference to a princely residence in Berlin is made between 1443 and 1450.

7 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 4.
8 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 14.
9 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 4–5.

Relatively soon afterward, this was replaced with a "Renaissance Château", between 1538-1540. Following the Thirty Years' War, the first king in Prussia, Friedrich I (Elector Friedrich III) commissioned plans to transform Berlin into a royal city, which enjoyed neither the grandeur or stature of other European capitals like Vienna, Paris or London. Ostensibly, his principal objective was to overhaul the residence, to make it in his perception worthy as a regal seat. In 1688, a sequence of alterations was undertaken to reconfigure the building into the inward-facing disposition with courtyards understood today.[10] In the intermediary, Bodenschatz records that there were plans developed for a residence that faced east toward the centre of Berlin (as opposed to Cölln). Has these proposals been enacted, he recognises that the east would have gained in significance,. Instead, owing to the poor connections between the twin settlements, the disparity between them grew. Cölln and later western developments were favoured through their proximity to the royal court.

'The Street'

Discreetly, to the bottom-left corner of Memhardt's map, a formation of trees can be seen abutting the moated ring of Berlin. This avenue of linden trees is '*the*' street Pundt refers to, today understood as Berlin's primary boulevard, Unter den Linden.[11]

Pundt makes it clear that for him, the significance of Unter den Linden extends far beyond its role as Prussia's "*via triumphalis*", as he terms it. Moreover, he regonises that it served "*as the baseline for every major planning expansion program*" of Berlin's fledgling state, and also formed a marked juxtaposition against the other three planning elements. Rather than serving an urban role, cohering the other parts of the city together as an arterial armature, Pundt suggests that the primary purpose of the road had in fact been to connect the palace with the stately hunting grounds of the Tiergarten (literally: 'animal garden') to the west.[12]

The Combination

The conjunction of these planning components then gives significant insight into the early configuration of Berlin-Cölln, as a settlement orientated almost in its totality around royal control and popular subjugation. Far from being incongruous entities, these

10 It was only in 1845, after the death of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, that the structure received its iconic dome over the western entrance. Schinkel produced a design for this dome, but it was constructed to the design of his disciple, Friedrich August Stüler. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the contemporary resurrection of the Schloß has been tethered to a particular incarnation of an evolving structure over many hundreds of years. For details about the rebuilt Schloß, refer to chapter 5.

11 There is no clear indication of when the street became known as Unter den Linden, but it was called this from the 1800s onwards. Before this time, it is referred to as the linden boulevard or avenue.

12 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 7–8.

Figure 3.2: Aerial perspective of Berlin, Johann Schultz (1688), with detail.

Aerial representation of Berlin, with detail excerpt showing the termination of the linden avenue and its connection to the island, note that the Schloß's grounds appear gated off, and the convoluted path to meet the street that connects across the main waterway of the River Spree in the top left
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

four components are leant significant credence to their isolation by him, as the pioneering elements that controlled growth in the early city. The elements betray the Spreeinsel's strategic value of this thesis' investigation into the Spreeinsel (and the emerging Hauptstadt), because at a strategic level they control the relationship of the city's heart with the rest of the surrounding city. They can be read as its four initial Primary Elements on the city. This claim is substantiated by the growth of the city beyond the medieval ramparts, as each component can be seen to exert either a catalytic or stultifying force

over the balance of urban growth. Other artifacts, notably the Marien- and Nikolaikirche in Berlin for permanent anchors in the city, but do not control growth like these aforementioned elements do.

After 1660, the settlement of Friedrich-Werder was inaugurated between the Spree and the rampart-moat on the western side of Cölln. A recording by Johann Schultz in 1688 shows that the city (Schloß excepted) had broadly run out of space. Its figure dominated ground, with no residual spaces apparent from the survey. The painting also prominently shows a new, semi-autonomous area between the Spree, ramparts and Unter den Linden. Dorotheenstadt (labelled "*Die Neue Auslage*" ('the new layout') on the survey) was laid out in a grid to the axis of the boulevard to the preference of surveyors and speculators alike, and can be seen protected by its own fortifications as far as the Tiergarten edge. At this point the linden boulevard gained new purpose as the main armature of the expanding city, as further expansion was laid out southward in Friedrichstadt, primarily between 1721 and 1736. The secondary axis of the city becomes defined by the north-south axis of Friedrichstadt, which formed another connection across the river to the growing district of Spandauer Vorstadt on the (north-) eastern Bank. It did not improve connection to the central area, however. Engineers, once responsible for the ramparts, then the gridded regularity of area, failed to develop a meaningful connection through the defences they had raised, realising connections only in limited number. Some streets of the grid terminated abruptly against the city walls. The linden avenue retained its prominence as the only *arterial* route to align through the barricades, though its course was severed by bridges, dykes, and walls, which drew its terminus back from the island and made is connectivity questionable. It is an interesting note of Pundt's that today, the axis of Unter den Linden continues for 12km west as far as the Havel River between Potsdam and Spandau, showing both its persistence and generative propensity.[13] It constitutes a propulsive Primary Element.

Meanwhile, in the centre the role of the Schloß contrasts strongly to the generative character of the street. Though the form of the building object changes, its relations with the city fabric do not. The Schneider Plan of 1802—over 150 years after the Thirty Years' War—shows a general stultification of central region. The figure of Memhardt's illustration is unrepentantly visible as a sequestered portion of the city, the preserve of royalty and court guests alone. The private enclave in the centre of the city had to be navigated around, rather than included in, any urban planning. It has made it impossible

13 see Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, p.238 n. 12.

Figure 3.3: Map of Berlin, J. Selter (1804).

Just prior to Napoleonic occupation, Unter den Linden can be seen obstructed in the centre of t frame by the former moats to Berlin's fortifications. The Lustgarten at this point is unadorned and primarily used as a Parade ground in direct site of the Schloß. The orange tip of the island suggests its exclusive, private use. Most shipping traffic was routed laterally along the Pomeranzengraben canal, where the Altes Museum footprint sits today. Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

to forge a meaningful route right across the city from furthest west to furthest east. Goerd Peschken has made the case that architect Andreas Schlüter attempted to match his developing Schloß's entranceway to the axis of the boulevard by overlaying sightlines through the residence's redevelopment,. However, as Pundt points out (and substantiated by Johann Schultz's drawing), the termination of the linden avenue was so tenuously connected to the central island at this time, that the design was instead arranged to the more southerly axis that pointed eastward. The western boulevard and this easterly artery would never meet, and from an early point in Berlin's development, as early as the royal residence, routes east and west never joined centrally. Several critics, including Adolf Behne in the 1930s,[14] and Bernhard Schneider in the 1990s,[15] have pointed to the intrinsic weakness this has bequeathed the city, and that the city seems incapable of solving. The muteness of the artifact, its unwillingness to engage in the everyday activity

14 Behne, 'Berliner Probleme: Hundert Meter Von Der Ziele ...'. See also §4.3

15 Schneider, 'Berlin's Centre'. See also §5.3.2

Figure 3.4: Vue de la Place d'Armes, Jean Rosenberg (1777)
A view of the north of the Lustgarten and the Schloß.
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

of the city, determined its longstanding impedance for Berlin, affecting centre and periphery alike. It forms a pathogenic Primary Element.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the palace had been reconfigured by Schlüter into the figure that many Berliners identify with as 'the' Schloß: the homogenous Baroque building with internalised courts.[16] This appears to have led to a significant reorganisation of city space, as the Schloß no longer had a definite 'front', facing the eastern axis on its southern aspect and 'back' facing the Lustgarten to its north. Instead, the Schloß had an interior and an exterior. Broadly concurrently, Schlüter's work coincided with the accession of king Friedrich Wilhelm I to the Prussian throne, commonly termed 'the Soldier King'. The former pleasure gardens were replaced with a drill ground for the military. The architect was also involved in the design of the Zeughaus (the arsenal) on the opposite bank to the parade ground, though he neither started nor finished the structure. Though the area was technically public, it was not active. The linden boulevard was still broken in several places by obstructions and narrow wooden bridges, only a

16 Schneider points out that the courtyards of the Schloß were open to the public, but regardless this did not aid in any way the building's interaction with the wider public realm. See Schneider.

narrow passage to the side of the new Schloß made the through connection to the Schloßplatz.

A census of the city was carried out in 1784 by Friedrich Nicolai, which recorded that the city had 145,000 residents, 33,400 of which formed the military garrison.[17] However, Pundt raises the associated problem that such a substantial population lacked commensurate cultural and social facilities.[18] Despite Friedrich II's ('Friedrich the Great') investment in cultural institutions, including the Opernhaus (modern-day Staatoper, 1741-1743), and the Staatsbibliothek (1775-1785) which line the linden avenue and Babelplatz, he also moved much of the royal administration to the more indulgent setting of Potsdam, where he built the Sanssouci Palace (1745-1747) as his preferred residence and court. Meanwhile, the large institutions he commissioned were left empty through his reign.

By 1800, the city plan still upholds Pundt's understanding of a city organised according to his four planning elements, although now, as opposed to the benchmark condition from around 1650, these components can be seen to have become rather isolated from one-another (see fig 3.3). Berlin as it expanded became more, not less, separated by the river. Footbridges, unsuitable for carriages, were the principal connection across water. The Island had become more isolated by the busy waterways which awkwardly snaked around the top edge of the Lustgarten, particularly via a new channel dug in the interim, which dislocated the tip of the island. The star-fort moats denoted the city centre from its various expansions, with few connections across this continual threshold. Patterns of social exchange were also supressed, and so there was a clear morphological distinction in all directions between broader perimeter blocks and the knotted, dense centre. Even the civic institutions commissioned under Friedrich II only had space to be built outside of this ring. Likewise, 'the street', from the early 1800s onward known as Unter den Linden, had become dislocated from the island. It had long since served its original purpose as the connection between the Schloß and the Tiergarten. This left 'the building' in the centre: re-formed, but not re-purposed. It remained as much of a blockade to growth as the obsolete city walls did. Overcrowding, and a lack of catalyst had ossified the central portion of Berlin in place, and so in-line with the linden axis, several morphologically distinct Study Areas were apparent. The net result was that relations were regulated orbitally. Institutions could not institute across to the other side of the

17 Nicolai, 'Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam, aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten, und der umliegenden Gegend', 232–33.

18 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 25.

city easily as their catchments were curtailed. When the plan of 1804 is analysed, it is clear agency is limited to their contingent locality. The most prominent thoroughfares of the city become Friedrichstraße and the origins of modern-day Torstraße, along the north and east customs wall. The intrinsic, structural discrepancies of the Berlin plan are inscribed in place from this period in history.

3.2.2 Prussian Occupation, the Reform Movement, and the Significance of the Arts

Pundt writes that:

> "*Not until after the death of Prussia's best-known king in 1786 did the image of Berlin gradually change from that of a relatively isolated provincial city to that of a capital of progressive cultural standards. And not until after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815 were the spirited and talented men who served Friedrich Wilhelm III able to realise the full potential of Berlin as a nucleus of humanism, scholarship, and art.*"[19]

The period described above encompasses drastic changes to the composition of the state, its relationship with its people. It dovetailed with a period of radical overhaul that swept across Europe following revolution in France (beginning 1789), which precipitated the irruption of liberal democracy across the continent in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. For Prussia, collapse at the battle of Jena-Auerstädt (1806) left the kingdom subjugated as a French proxy. Between 1813 and 1815, Prussia fought in the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon, culminating in the Battle of Waterloo. Prussia was freed of Napoleonic occupation in 1814.

This section captures the scope and impact of the following reform programme, and particularly the factors which led to an ascendency of the arts to form a key tool of the state, to examine the question 'how did Napoleonic occupation have a bearing on the reconceptualisation of the urban structure of Berlin's spaces relative to before?' It is worthwhile to consider alongside this question the almost complete lack of architectural production in the city during the period of occupation.[20]

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19 Pundt, 25.

20 Equally, it is noteworthy to contrast this intermission with the vast architectural output in Paris at the time. Key civic projects completed or inaugurated during this period include the Rue du Rivoli (1802-1848); Arc du Triomphe (1806-1811); the front portico of the Palais Bourbon (1806); the Bourse (1808, 1813-1826); the dome of the Bourse du Commerce (1811), and so on.

Prior to Capture

Prussia had entered into a peace treaty with France in 1795, wary of its Republican objectives. This allowed Prussia to remain at the periphery of France's continental ambitions.

In 1797, Alois Hirt, an archaeologist affiliated to the Berlin Academy, proposed a public art collection to its patron, the king Friedrich II. However, his imminent death precluded Hirt's wish, and the new monarch, Friedrich Wilhelm III, rejected the motion on financial grounds. Steven Moyano writes that Hirt had presented his case on the basis that the "*research and teaching resource for the Academy*" would "*improve the quality of Prussian manufactured goods, and that it would contribute to the State's revenues by increasing exports*."[21] Though Moyano does record that Hirt did list "*developing the aesthetic discrimination of the public*", it is still reasoned through the lens of "*reducing imports*". It is interesting therefore to note the arguments made by Hirt for the most part have little to do with artistic sensitivity. In the following 20 years, this reasoning would be completely inverted, following the radical period of instability and overhaul of the state.

Napoleonic Occupation

Prussia's peace with France was shattered in 1806 at Jena-Auerstädt, and, according to James Sheehan, a decade of intense cultural production ceased upon defeat.[22] Following military capitulation, Prussia ceded significant territory to Napoleon, and was forced to pay onerous indemnities to the French state.[23] There was a partial occupation of territory, and Berlin was occupied with French military garrisons until 1813. It saw the administrative capital of Prussia move temporarily to the small town of Memel in Prussia's east, away from the gaze of its occupiers.[24]

Walter Simon writes that "*precisely because [Prussia] had made the army the foundation and focal point of the state, [the battle of] Jena and Auerstädt meant the collapse not only of the army itself, but of the whole superstructure of society. Equally, it was not merely the army but the entire nation that had to be rebuilt.*"[25] He adds that Prussia's agrarian structure was a key impediment to the "*participation of all strata of society in the life of the state*".[26] Prior to occupation, serfs were bound to the land and thus too its owner. Peasants were subjects

21 Moyano, 'Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy', 586.
22 Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*, 52.
23 These contributions amounted to more than the annual income of the reduced Prussian state. Conditions of non-payment was re-occupation by Napoleonic forces. See Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807-1819*, 14.
24 Simon, 13.
25 Simon, 6.
26 Simon, 7.

of nobility, rather than the king. Few could bequeath their possessions, and only then to approved relatives by their lord. Economically, few held their own freehold, and these were normally bound by tithes and obligations to their lord's estate. Whilst socially, Prussia was structured according to feudal rule, politically it was structured to authoritarian rule. Prussia's territories were very fragmented, spanning holdings in the west along the Rhine and a more contiguous territory further east. The feudal state was a loose administration offering little cohesion across its disparate groupings, barring the clergy and nobility. The complexity of total territorial oversight meant that responsibility was divided geographically rather than into departments of state, and accordingly no one minister had an omniscient understanding of Prussia's finances. There was no centralised legislation, and as Simon puts it, "*no machinery for ascertaining the desires and opinions of the people*."[27] This was a period (at least in Prussia) prior to statistics ('tools of the state'), which others recognise as generating a fundamental shift in the subjectivity of the populace, from the overriding principal of sovereignty to a new formation of political economy and social welfare, which accompanied the Napoleonic campaign across Europe.[28]

This picture changed drastically with reforms first drafted by Baron Stein, and later (to a debatable degree) enacted by his successor Chancellor Hardenburg.[29] Prussia's feudal structure was superseded by military, bureaucratic and economic reforms, which accompanied communal and administrative overhauls. According to Steven Moyano, between these figures, they proposed a stronger central bureaucracy based on the French model. He also notes how queen Louise (to king Friedrich Wilhelm III) "*hoped that Prussia could compensate for the loss of military power by cultivating moral strength*."[30] Administrative reforms sought to increase economic productivity, civic participation, and loyalty to the Prussian crown.[31] The civil service was altered from a hereditary system to a meritocracy.

Simon adds that one of the aims of the movement was to "*break down the barriers within society*."[32] The primary societal effect of these changes was to empower a bourgeoning Bourgeoise class. From a very limited stature found isolated in cities priorly, the reformist

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27 Simon, 9.

28 For more details about general changes to urban governmental formations that occurred in the nineteenth century, see Foucault, 'Governmentality'.

29 Though Stein readied an entire programme of reforms, he was not in post long enough to see them enacted. His successor, Chancellor Hardenburg, took on the reformist agenda. His, and his peers' success and shortcomings are discussed at length by Simon. See Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807-1819*.

30 Moyano, 'Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy', 604.

31 Moyano, 585. See also Note 3.

32 Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954, 317.

agenda facilitated their expansion, much to the ire of the established aristocracy who saw their influence wane commensurately.[33] The government looked to pursue liberal policies commensurate with this new enfranchisement, and both instil and broadcast a sense of nationalism for binding all its territories together. The cultural significance was to therefore to integrate reforms around the engendering and production of artistic work as the "*ultimate object of [Stein's] programme*".[34]

A key measure, which had been initiated prior to Prussia's Napoleonic subjugation, but later proved significantly valuable as the populace matured, was driven by Neo-humanist reforms to Prussia's education system. Since the mid–eighteenth century and Friedrich the Great, Prussia had enshrined in statute education for all its citizens. The basic education model of an eight-year Volksschule programme was extended to a tripartite system, with Gymnasiums (secondary schools) and university added. The resultant pluralism of the Prussian model encouraged upward mobility within Prussian society. Reform was structured such that it was only the citizens who continued past the Volksschule level who actively engaged in the arts and sciences. Lower classes, constrained by small and low-valued land reparations assigned at the end of serfdom, were keen for their children to work the land as soon as they became physically able to. This restructuring abetted the flourishing Bourgeoise class through access to the humanities. James Sheehan notes that the civil servants administering Prussian lands would have likely "*read the romantic's aesthetic manifestos and shared their conviction that art could be used as an instrument of cultural renewal.*"[35] During the period of occupation, Berlin's first university (academy) was founded in the city by reformist Wilhelm von Humboldt—an ardent follower of both liberalism and nationalism—in 1810. His institution was situated in a conspicuous location along Unter den Linden, where it remains today.

Significance of the Arts

During occupation, anti-Napoleonic rhetoric deepened. According to Sheehan, this led to two significant effects. Firstly, new ideas concerning art's cohesive social role crystallised. Then secondly, the French's influence profoundly restructured the institutional order of state governance and municipal organisation.[36]

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33 As Simon elucidates in detail, this was far from being a straightforward correlation between a waning influence in aristocratic power that relocated to a waxing Bourgeoise. See Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954.

34 Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954, 305.

35 Sheehan, 'Aesthetic Theory and Architectural Practice: Schinkel's Museum in Berlin', 15.

36 Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*, 43.

Social Cohesion through the 'Volksgeist'

As a particularly fragmented geographical and governmental confederation, Prussia's circumstances in rallying around a centralised nationalistic construct presented issues, particularly rallying behind the bond of numerous independent sovereignties joint by culture, tradition, language, even geography.[37] Walter Simon asserts "*[…] in Germany therefore, there could be no nationalism, only nationalisms.*"[38] Art had a vital role to play in corralling disparate factions and state land holdings around a national "*volksgeist*" ('national spirit'), which formed a cultural friction against French occupation. Sheehan details how this made art an indispensable tool of the state. He writes "*Precisely because art is free, independent, and complete in itself, it can play an essential intermediary role between freedom and restraint, reason and emotion, individual and group. By combining all of these conflicting elements without being limited to any one of them, the experience of beauty can bring [society] the harmony they otherwise lack.*"[39]

The momentum and accumulation of the Romantics created its own autonomous cultural movement. That is, it offered more than just a commentary on the era prior to Gallic subjugation, and instead the cultural output is recognisable as its own œuvre: one which could freely explore the idealistic complexion of a future Germany. More pertinently under occupation, the movement sought to foment aspirations of liberation and instil in minds a common cause around unified culture.[40]

Rise of the Institution

As the French pushed across the continent, Prussia had many of its ecclesiastical goods secularised. Art and religion were considered as inseparable entities prior to the revolution and subsequent Enlightenment. Artists, who depended on religious clienteles, found their workstreams disappear. This propagated a gradual realignment of attitude from political or religious authority to becoming its own autonomous domain across post-Enlightenment Europe. Meanwhile, finances were diverted into repelling the French, leaving little spare for artistic commissions. This upheaval was responsible for

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37 It must be noted the difference between Prussian reform and Germanic nationalism. Important to note for the purposes of this chapter is that nationalism corralled a sense of cultural unity across Prussia's splintered provinces, as much as it aroused any Germanic nationalistic yearning. Nationalistic tendencies took serval forms, and the link between liberalism (most associated with flourishing middle classes) and nationalism, versus tendencies toward conservatism (most associated with the aristocracy) was not clear cut. See Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', and Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807-1819*, chap. 2. 'Germany' presented a particular set of problems in that it had no state. In no small part this was due to the confederation of the Holy Roman Empire only loosely binding a set of small states together that were "*artificial and sometimes quite recently constituted agglomerations of land which could claim no traditional allegiance; especially after the consolidations carried out by Napoleon.*" Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954, 307. Prussia and Bavaria, were the major proto-states of a Germanic cultural bond. There was no unified German state until 1871.

38 Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954, 307.

39 Sheehan, 'Aesthetic Theory and Architectural Practice: Schinkel's Museum in Berlin', 13.

40 Baron Stein had identified both the physical and spiritual mobilisation as an instrument of the state against the occupying forces. See Simon, 'Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia', 1954, 305.

creating a new buyer's market for art, and increased the public's awareness of art's fragility in the wake of mass repatriation, destruction, and trading. The French occupants saw art as another commodity which was theirs for exploitation. Paris became awash with looted treasures from Napoleon's various escapades as a token of his supremacy. Because of art's artefact-value—an embodiment of craft, tradition and sentience—and its risk of either flight or damage, it became exalted and an item to be protected. Sheehan remarks that "*the revolutionary period sharpened German's sense of art's significance, not only as a spoil of war, but also as a valuable public resource*."[41]

This was magnified by art's subsequent displacement from religion as an autonomous pursuit, which built toward the institutionalisation of its output. Successive figures, including Friedrich Schiller, August Schlegel and Wilhelm Wackenroder sought to build on Immanuel Kant's '*Critique of Judgement*' to find rational connections between the artistic domain and a socio-political cause. According to Schiller, art retains Kant's position as autonomous, but holds an emotional character that forges a certain cultural agency. With religious overtones running through the work, the document (of uncertain provenance) named '*Das Älteste Systemsprogramm des Deutschen Idealismus*'[42] asserts a similar faith in art being forged from the amalgam of virtue and beauty, imploring "*a new religion*" that integrates art and reason. Schlegel comprehended that that as much as art and religion were considered interoperable, art also needed space for contemplation, and should be enjoyed in congregation and mutual interaction.[43] Meanwhile, Wackenroder understood that the two practices of art and religion were linked. He believed that viewing art was analogous to pausing in prayer, as both required the proper preparedness of mind to undertake. Neither was achievable in the turbulence of everyday life. Following visits to fledgling art galleries in Dresden and Dusseldorf, Wackenroder advocated that art should be displayed in dedicated temples to it.

Although many of the proposed reforms to state organisation were rowed back upon after liberation by king Friedrich Wilhelm III, Moyano attests that a liberalised administration pursuing an artistic agenda had nonetheless pervaded to the Prussian population.[44] Goods expropriated from Prussian palaces during occupation were returned and exhibited in Berlin in 1816, which Moyano states "*probably*" precipitated the sovereign's decision to commission a public art collection as Hirt had requested almost

41 Sheehan, 'Aesthetic Theory and Architectural Practice: Schinkel's Museum in Berlin', 15.

42 The work is written in Hegel's hand, but others have suggested that it may have been compiled by Friedrich Schelling and/or Friedrich Hölderin. It is believed to have been written in either 1796 or 1797.

43 Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*, 48.

44 This and below quotes from Moyano, 'Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy', 586.

20 years prior. Five years later, reformists and court officials—including Hardenburg and Schinkel, convinced the king to establish a royal commission to develop a museum, and secured greater funding for its plight. The author attributes this decision as breaking the "*cycle of indecision and half-measures that began in 1797.*"

Schinkel, in his first intervention in the museum commission, devised a counterproposal to Alois Hirt's earlier proposition at the tip of the Lustgarten, facing the Königliches Schloß. At the first counsel meeting, "*Schinkel's thoughts were generally applauded except by Hirt, who explained his reservations in his own report*".[45] Sheehan describes how Hirt had advocated for an art gallery, but in his citation of precedental references, including Munich, Dresden, Mannheim, Düsseldorf, Vienna, Hirt only invoked what models could be "*visited, copied and discussed.*" He attests "*by age and intellectual disposition, […] Hirt belonged to the pre-Romantic generation; he was interested in practical instruction, political prestige, and popular taste, not In the reconstruction of society through art.*"[46] The episode that led to the formation of an entirely new proposition and concept for Prussia's first house of the arts, amounted as much to the culmination of a Romanticist ideal as it simultaneously closed the curtain on a pragmatic—even perfunctory—cognisance of public space.

The move to separate the arts collection from the academy shows a state endorsement of a programmatical centricity, providing a 'house for culture'. It became important, following the arguments presented above of the close semblance and common kinship of art and religion, to promote the 'art temple'. The spatial and metaphysical separation from the 'ordinary world', and the means that the building interiorises its treasures, became an important function.

Figures including Moyano, Sheehan and Thomas Gaehtgens have each contributed to the understanding of the centralised institutional within a state sponsored patronage of the fine arts. Moyano understands the museum as the creation of a self-sustaining artistic environment, where "*the repeated assertion that the museum would refine or cultivate society committed the museum's supporters to the position that art had a purpose.*"[47] He notes that state "*consolidation and centralisation were pursued throughout the nineteenth century to create the Museumsinse*l."[48] Thus, he places a substantive degree of agency with state actors interfacing with the public through programmatic institutions, ultimately endorsing the

45 Rave, *Berlin. 1, Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege*, 32.
46 Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*, 54.
47 Moyano, 'Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy', 603.
48 Moyano, 605.

stance that "*the museum became part of the attempt to overcome determinist notions of art or history.*"[49] This required a strict control of the programme and of personal will within the museum, something which he locates in its spatial disposition to separate the domains of art and life from one another. Meanwhile, Sheehan, also arguing from the perspective that an aesthetic sensibility dictated architectural form, attests that "*the museum was both a shrine to art's autonomy and an expression of art's claim to social and even political significance*." Gaehtgens is broadly sympathetic to this opinion as well, writing that "*during this process of reform [of the state, following triumph over Napoleon], the promotion and study of art became part of the definition of the rights and duties of citizens in a Modern state*."

Uniting all these critics' perspectives is a belief that fine art was autonomous from the quotidian, and therefore too was associated with a higher state of consciousness—a different plane of stimulation and personal experience. This conviction was dependant as much on the separation between the physical and metaphysical domains as it was on the physical separation of the programme-house from the city, as will now be explored further.

3.3 Preliminary Steps

Prussia's revolutionary period was responsible for a transformation in the way that the arts were considered in the state, into a means to corral unity and common purpose in defeat of the French threat.

As has been argued in the doctorate introduction, art and architecture are intrinsically separated by architecture's nature as a material discipline dealing with artificially constructed space. Art meanwhile, in line with Stan Allen's earlier critique, is much better positioned to offer a commentary on the world. Therefore, art and architecture's comparison, at least for typological purposes, appears mute. However, there is the formation of an attitude which is worth focusing on, where the autonomy of the discipline of art—even though its own material is developed toward a mode of judgement—also permeates other pursuits, architecture included. Architecture could therefore also be the seat of critical reason, a pursuit of transformation and innovation,

49 Moyano, 604.

and offer the possibility to develop a spatial response in addition to its symbolic propensity.

The ascending career of Karl Friedrich Schinkel intersects with the investigation here. It is well-known that Schinkel primarily worked as a painter during the lean architectural period of Napoleonic occupation. Though there is abundant detail, beginning (but by no means ending) with Geord Peschken's fastidious compilation of Schinkel's own notes toward his lifelong and unfulfilled '*Architektonisches Lehrbuch*' (architectural textbook),[50] which provides clear first-hand evidence and analysis of Schinkel's connection to the overall pan-disciplinary artistic production of the era. There is an associated temptation to think only representationally, and in terms of contribution to an artistic culture which furnished Schinkel during this period. The following section challenges this orthodoxy.

The significance of the drawing-as-artifact is lessened here: What instead is built upon is the extent to which this material (albeit in a representational form in lieu of architectural commissions) details Schinkel's maturing spatial criticality. This investigation presents his painterly career as operating in step with an architectural intentionality (indeed, Schinkel did not stop painting the instant he picked up architectural commissions after Prussian liberation, but worked on both in tandem). His output can therefore be interpreted as a series of typological diagrams, where the instrumentality of discipline is tested, and the regulation of a particular conduct becomes apparent through this work.

The following section links together these different filaments, which crystalise as the preliminaries toward the reorganisation of Berlin's city centre. This begins with the unbuilt proposals of Schinkel's early mentor and contemporaries, the Gilly's.

3.3.1 David and Friedrich Gilly

Hermann Pundt says that "*it is quite likely that the young Schinkel benefitted from the lessons of David Gilly more that even the best of his biographers has implied.*"[51] He goes on to highlight that David Gilly had "*a keen awareness of history and a fondness for innovation*",[52] both of which became central tenets of Schinkel's architectural approach. The younger Friedrich Gilly died tragically young at 28 in 1800, and therefore had no opportunity to realise any of his major schemes. Despite Gilly's premature death, Julius Poesner

50 Peschken, *Das architektonische Lehrbuch*.

51 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 37–38. In his associated footnote, Pundt explains that Waagen suggested that little more than Schinkel's ability to draw was bequeathed from Gilly, and that subsequently this assumption has not been challenged.

52 Pundt, 38.

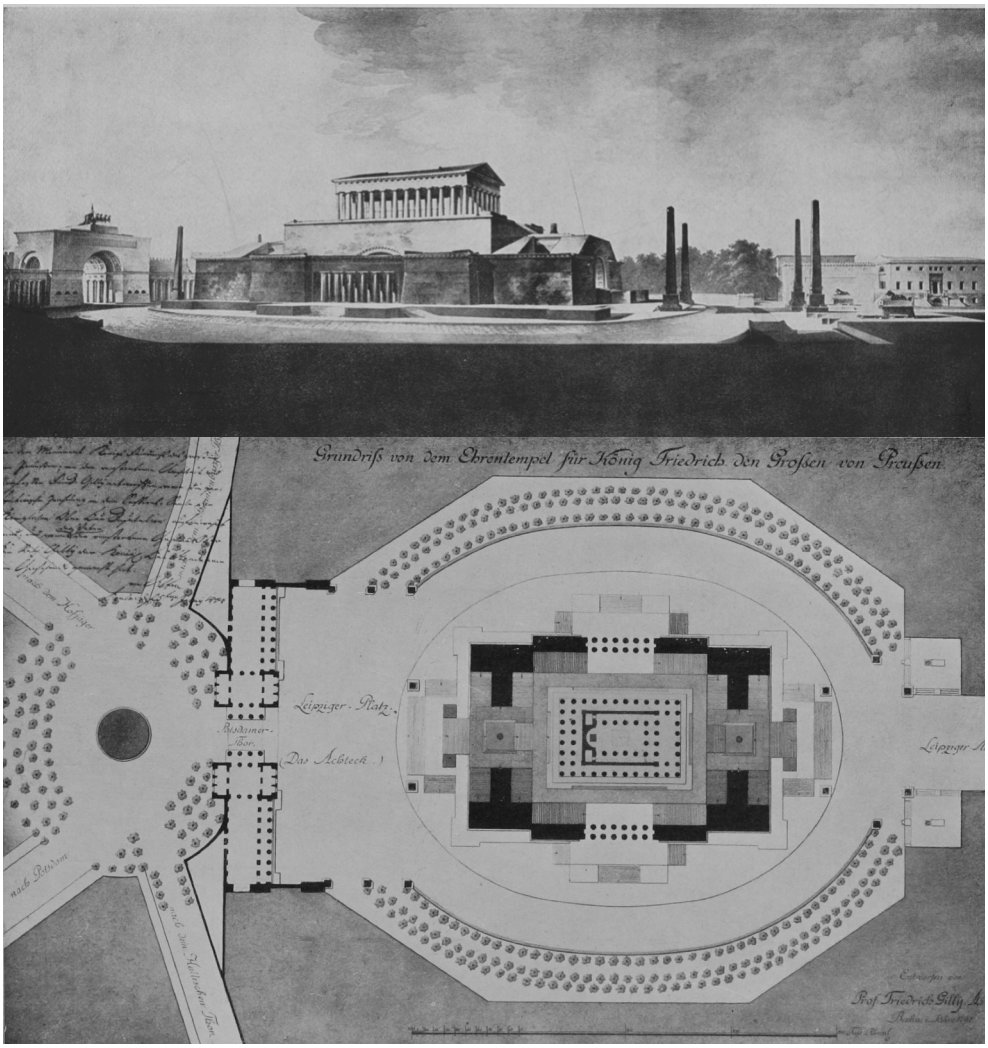

Figure 3.5: Memorial to Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm II at Liepzigerplatz, Friedrich Gilly (1797).
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

identifies that "*Schinkel's early work owes so much to [Friedrich] Gilly*", explaining that he was "*probably, the last of the revolutionary architects. The last follower of Boulée.*"[53] Pundt offers a concise introduction to the man: "*[Friedrich] Gilly idealised his world, abstracting it into striking visual composition of architectonic forms and airless spaces.*"[54] Often, these such analyses operate on the basis of how the form serves to communicate a timelessness, through its reduction to elemental forms that are socially understood as relating to the great civilizations of the world. This doctorate will explore a much less travelled path, showing how Friedrich Gilly was able to pertain to a true monumentality—as opposed

53 Posener, *From Schinkel to the Bauhaus*, 12.
54 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 46.

to an artificial or aspirational simulation—through his designs' typologically performative dimensions.

Friedrich Gilly's most renowned, yet unbuilt design was for a mausoleum to king Friedrich II at Leipziger Platz (1797) (See fig 3.5). At first glance, the manifold flanks of colonnades and robust, monumental character of the design portrayed through harsh and bold shadows left little doubt to the influence of Boullée. However, Gilly's memorial also demonstrated a radical new approach to architecture for the period where artefacts was understood in relation to its total context, and thus the complete freestanding building at the focal point of a concave space became the epitome of this ideal. Gilly reinforced the Modern importance of movement around the centre, especially given the memorial's strong axial symmetry that would otherwise relinquish such explorations. Gilly's method of filling the Achteck of Leipziger Platz involved forming a circumferential enfilade of planted trees. These curvilinear elements concurrently focused attention centrally, and generated a cadence propelling motion through the space. The typical way of experiencing an urban square is inverted, replacing the active edge at the perimeter with centripetal intensity, deeper than a mere statue or monument that might adorn a Parisian place, say. The isolation of the mausoleum by its plinth was articulated with a rationality which belies significant complexity: first, the strategic positioning in the city, at the threshold between inside and out at the city's customs wall made the mausoleum unavoidable. Access to the plinth could be direct but this appears to be reserved as an escalier royal, a privileged route of entry for a those in command of authority like the main western door of a cathedral, but ingress to the mausoleum is a quarter-turn around the square on the north-south axis, whereas the entrances to Leipzigerplatz are only to the east and west, instigating a peripheral movement around the structure. This was partitioned from the square by a double-colonnaded entrance, creating a threshold that separated the tomb from the Achteck and further access to the plinth. An entire lineage of Modern and cultural architecture was imagined, where physical isolation, liberated perimeter and convex form all become agents of urban ecology and hierarchy. Beyond this, the complexity and modulation of the thresholds between the city and the interior of the monument was subtle, but significant. Phenomenal zones of transparent space are established between the flanks of obelisks, which generate an ambiguity between the axial formality of Gilly's work and its asymmetric performance which demands movement away from this main axis. Collectively, the proposal marshalled the use of space around it, whilst simultaneously changing the Leipzigerstraße axis it was aligned to. Without it being possible to state with certainty, there are clear hallmarks that Gilly's design would have charged this southern axis and the Spittalmarkt at its terminus, possibly to rival

Unter den Linden for prominence, and maybe even to redistribute some of the significance away from its four cardinal planning elements as established by Pundt.[55]

3.3.2 Schinkel's Painting Career

Several of these preliminary themes were explored through Schinkel's painterly works. Considerations of convexity, order and control, symmetry and asymmetry, and a desire to push innovation in the field formed fertile concepts that reoccurred in his paintings. Examinations of his work shows the interoperability of these ideas, and how they coalesce to define a particular typological object. Selected examples have been isolated to demonstrate the development of these notions.

Capriccios

During his long study visit to Italy,[56] Schinkel capitalised on his artistic convictions that art—and indeed history—needed to yield a progressive, innovative purpose. There, he devised imaginary capriccios of Gothic structures in idealised locations to emphasise their characteristic form. In his paintings, the form, appearance, and location of the structures is mutually emphasised and contorted to approach what can be described as striving for the ideal relationship between building and site. Amongst this series was a relocation of a church similar to the Milan Duomo atop a staircase reminiscent of Capitoline hill in Rome. In these drawings, public space once more dominates, even becoming the subject of the sketches in some instances. Kurt Forster writes that:

> *"the idea of 'finding the right spot' for significant structures was not prompted by a vague expectation of discovering their Genius Loci, but by an acute sense, native to Schinkel, of the theatrical effect and social impact major buildings could achieve, if they are more appropriately sited."*[57]

Whilst to a degree Forster's comments are no doubt true, there seems evidence in the paintings that Schinkel's endeavour goes beyond a mere exploration of the perfected setting for his imagined buildings. Indeed, it is not a substantial leap to see how Schinkel's ideas matured around the ecological and hierarchical composition of urban space. Schinkel was conceiving urban space in a manner that innately questioned the role

55 Harald Bodenschatz would later identify the contemporary Leipzigerstraße axis as intrinsically poorer than the Unter den Linden counterpart further north. He had hoped the post-reunification 1993-94 Spreeinsel competition would include in its brief scope to rectify this inherent weakness of the Berlin plan, which Gilly's mausoleum project might have held the agency to transform. SeeBodenschatz, 'Wettbewerbsgebeit "Spreeinsel"'.

56 Schinkel spent nearly two years on a study trip to Italy and Sicily between 1803-05.

57 Forster, *Schinkel*, 2018, 165.

Figure 3.6: Dom Über Einer Stadt, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1813, lost).
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

of the subject–building in the city. There was a clear attempt to maximise the specific contribution individual architectural artifacts could bestow to their urban realities.

In comparison to Gilly, where there was a very clear centripetal focus, Pundt highlights Schinkel pursued architecture as part of an organic system that should be understood from the complete experience of its physical surroundings.[58] Schinkel explored his comprehension of an ecological urbanism, where individual components were bound by their relations to others.

These studies became references for some of Schinkel's best-known paintings, particularly of Gothic cathedrals. '*Dom Über Einer Stadt*' (1813) exemplified his investigations and documented his growing cognisance of the city's natural law. The painting featured a large, Gothic cathedral perched atop a swanneck meander in a river. The topography and the verticality of the Gothic tectonic mutually emphasise each other's characters, but also allow the relations between town and artifact to be depicted. A bridge in the bottom right quadrant of the canvas is a vehicle for this. Little belvederes interrupt its length, suggesting punctuations to the exposure of the open threshold, as If

58 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 48.

to slow the journey across down, and force an appreciation of the cathedral at each of the spatial layers it creates. To the bottom left, indications of a working city are displayed through jetties and watermills. There is detail in the gables of every building, but they are represented with the same uniformity as the background city fabric. Further back, towers of civic buildings penetrate the town's roofline, but in no way do they compete with the majesty of the cathedral.

Overall, the painting represents an evolution from Gilly through its broader study of urban life. David Chipperfield acknowledges the painting in the masterplanning documentation for Museumsinsel, saying "*This basic atmospheric constellation is also taken up in the concept of Museum Island.*"[59]

Panoramas

In Schinkel's time in Sicily, he painted the panoramic image of Palermo (1808). The work is now lost, but it was displayed inside Berlin's Royal Palace whilst the king was in exile in Menem, to the raptures of the assembled crowd.[60] Surviving is a small roundel of the same scene, as the only example of his work in the genre. However, rather than forming an absolute convex machine—such that Jeremy Bentham's panopticon did, with its nodal concentration of anonymous power—Stan Allen offers a more nuanced understanding of the panorama. In contrast to the panopticon, Allen suggests that the viewing platform "*mobilised both the spectator and the act of viewing.*"[61] He calls the panorama a "*manifestation of [a] "second nature"*",[62] where representation was a new simulation of both natural and historical status. The projection of a displaced horizon from a higher plane allowed viewers to appreciate the city from a new perspective across the roofscape of the city. In comparison to the panopticon, the panorama was not an instrumentation of abstract power, but an agency of the solitaire body that allowed urban conditions to be reconveyed internally of its envelope. Allen writes "*the panorama implies a form of vision that unfolds with the movement of the spectator, and in which order is not imposed from the outside but is continuously reformed from within.*"[63] These ideas would discover their first and primary nature in Schinkel's designs for central Berlin, where representation was replaced by a replication of relational conditions in the city. Nowhere was this refined to

59 Chipperfield, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin: Abschlussdokumentation Dezember 1999*, 27.

60 Queen Louise, who took an interest in Schinkel's panoramic exhibitions, was purportedly impressed enough by Schinkel's comprehension of public environments that it contributed to his appointment as a court architect in 1810. See Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 103.

61 Allen, 'Mies' Theatre of Effects', 102. Note 'second nature' is Forster's term.

62 Allen, 102.

63 Allen, 103.

Figure 3.7: Etching of 'Panorama von Palermo', Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1808); Section of the Panorama on the Champs Elysée

Schinkel's etching is the only surviving remnant of his panoramic paintings. It is intended to be viewed in a cylindrical mirror positioned d in the centre of the ring.
Source: Kurt Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin'.

a higher degree than on the Altes Museum vestibule landing, where the enclosure and layering of space reciprocated a layering of spaces in the urban realm traversed before it.

Blick in Griechenlands Blüte

The consolidation of these notions materialises most comprehensively in Schinkel's painting '*Blick in Griechenlands Blüte*' (1825) (fig 3.8). The painting offers the most comprehensive synthesis of typological ideas as one holistic proposition. The work is rich in allegory, depicting the Hellenic civic ideal, but it is also integrated with an urban proposal. Forster notes that "*just when [Schinkel] was preparing the final plan for the [Altes}*

Figure 3.9: Blick in Griechenlands Blüte (1825, lost). Original by Karl Friedrich Schinkel.
Surviving copy by August Wilhelm Julius Ahlborn
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

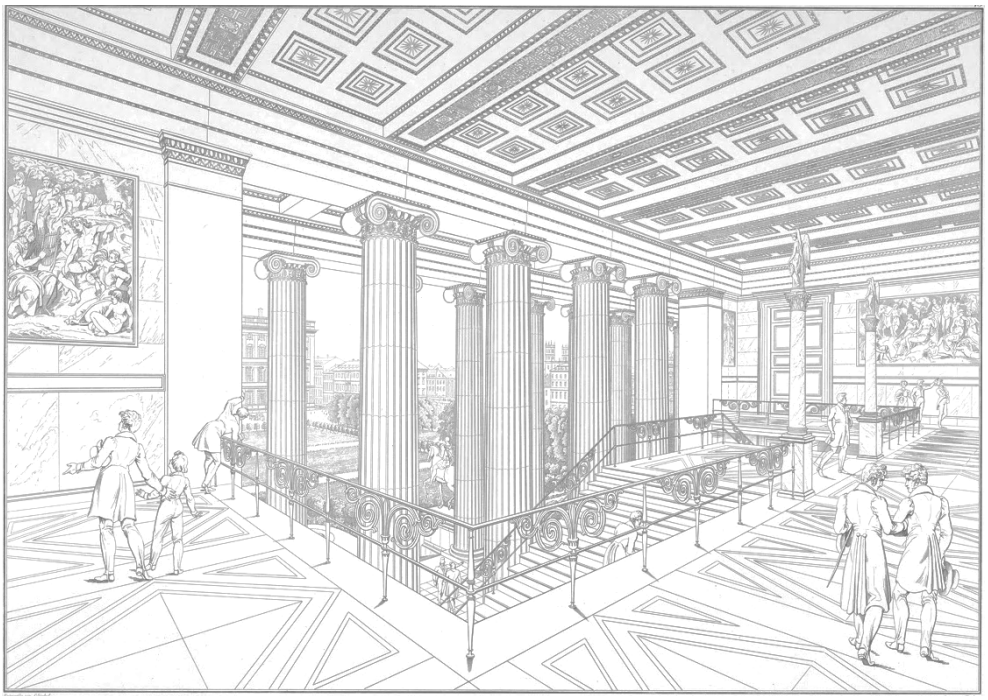

Figure 3.9: Panorama from the Altes Museum landing. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1829)
Source: Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe 1840-45, Plate 43.

Museum, he also started work on [the] painting […] which betrays a deep conceptual affinity with the museum vestibule."[64]

Schinkel interrogates the entirety of urban fabric and structure, but whereas in his work following Gilly there was a perceptible freedom from all material constraint, in this

64 Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 65.

painting Schinkel has refined his understanding of the city significantly, as he represents the strength of civic institutions as corelate with the freedom of the populace. Thus, the way that the two interact is significant. The metropolis seems irreducible to a singularity, and this sense of fragmentation is mirrored by the panoramic aspect of the painting frame, requiring the viewer to cognitively scan the canvas to read it.[65] Almost exclusively, the cityscape details buildings that appear as civic institutions, dominating the centre–portion of the painting frame. Forster reminds readers that the view is raised, like the displaced horizon of a panorama—or the museum landing—and the painting shows the same double-row of ionic columns as those that govern the views of from the vestibule.[66] The structure of the city is readable as a unified whole from the panoramic vantage point of the painting. The asymmetry of the city propels a rhythm through its fabric, one which induces movement through it, enabling one to appraise its 'tableaux.' Forster notes here that for Schinkel, "*symmetry tends to break up into a set of counterbalanced parts whose correspondences prevent them from collapsing into an array of disjointed pieces*."[67] This effect is duplicated aesthetically through the composition of foregrounded architectural artifacts forming a cadence which moves the eye across the canvas. Nearly a century after the painting was completed, Le Corbusier would remark of Athens' acropolis: "*The slightly canted angles produced rich, eventful views; the asymmetric massing of the buildings creates an intense rhythm.*"[68] Schinkel's native awareness of the importance of the city tableaux, and its relationship to civic agency, democratic participation in a city and the induction of movement through it, relates directly to his own urbanistic and performative concerns.

Through each of the examples detailed in this section, culture has been intimated as the product of the public's engagement with the physical spaces and buildings of the city, which is driven by initiatives that propel movement across the city's public surface. In Gilly's mausoleum, the tomb was placed at the city's edge, so those who engage in the city also engage with its architecture. Schinkel's early explorations on assignment in Italy show how societal impact was intensified by accentuating buildings' performative capacity. His panorama asserted the agency of the solitaire. Finally, these ideas combined in his representation of the Altes Museum vestibule.

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65 von Buttlar, 'Freiheit im Werden: Schinkels Blick in Griechenlands Blüte als Allegorie der Kultur', 117–18.
66 Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 65.
67 Forster, *Schinkel*, 2018, 231.
68 Le Corbusier, 'Trois Rapells à MM. Les Architectes', 462.

Perspective view from Museum Vestibule Landing

As a foil to his exploration through Grecian allegory, Schinkel's depiction of the anticipated view from his museum vestibule landing[69] (fig 3.9) shows the holistic performative propensity of his museum. This crystallises the connection between his representational and the real, anticipating the multiple effects of the museum through architectural performance to engender movement and collaboration in urban stakeholders. It is not the complete sum of all the museum's effects, just an introduction to the techniques which multiply in the Altes Museum's physical manifestation, but with conviction and precision the drawing codifies the typological investigations of his early career.

As the centrepiece of Schinkel's transformations of the city, evaluation of the museum will be considered later. Here, the objective is to show the translation of the typological concepts into a spatialised apparatus for his most significant commission, and therefore advance that architecture has assumed the role of cultural artefact rather than programmatic house in post-liberated Prussia.

The first characteristic to notice is the widened aspect (not dissimilar from *Blick in Griechenlands Blüte*) of the plate. In the gaze of the frame, the volume of the vestibule is most apparent, placing the city fragments visible through the columns in dialogue with the inner surfaces of the landing. The walls are lined with murals.[70] Importance lies in their simultaneous purpose to further the personal enrichment of all museum visitors, and reciprocally to project art into the public domain. Forster writes "*Schinkel thought art a civilising force, necessarily anchored in social life and projected, hence, into the urban setting.*"[71] This is a key factor in the secularisation of art from religion, and the democratisation of the arts from private collections. On both counts, the interoperability and exchange between the landing and the open public realm is as vital, through its sustained activation. The city's spatial depth penetrates the enclosure of the museum, and floods the corresponding depth of the vestibule. From the image, it is not possible to determine where the physical (the 'literal') envelope of the museum lies, though phenomenally it is progressively enclosed by the lines of columns.

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69 The full title of this plate is "*Perspektivische Ansicht von den Galerie der Haupt-Treppe des Museums durch den Portikus auf den Lustgarten und seine Umgebungen*". See Schinkel, *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, fig. 43.

70 For the purposes of this thesis, their depictions are not so relevant, but Peter Klaus Schuster gives a detailed account of the symbolic meaning of these murals. See Schuster, 'Reinventing Civil Society', 2019, 91–97.

71 Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 72.

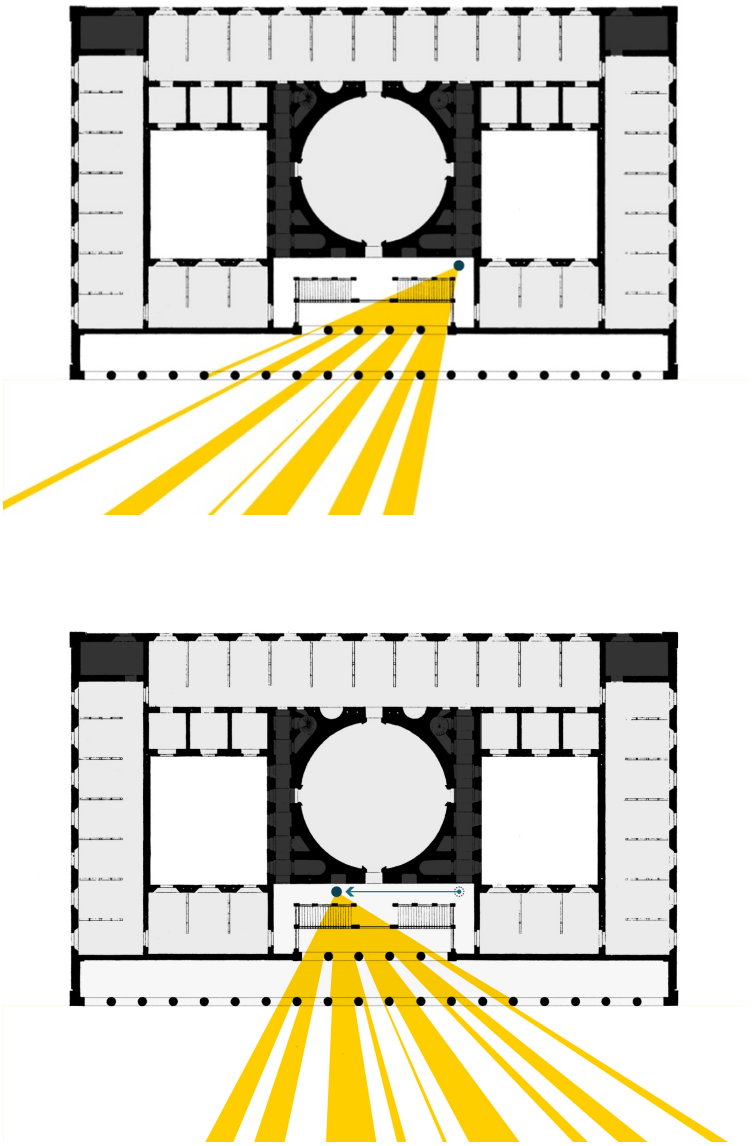

Figure 3.10: Participant's movement induced by Panorama of the Altes Museum landing.
Source: Drawn by the author

Forster notes that the figures that populate the view "*always do more than merely enliven the representation […]; invariably they demonstrate that architecture itself is the subject of their attention*."[72] He is correct to highlight the role of the protagonists. These figures are the instrumentation of the typological diagram underpinning the view. Their behaviour explains the way that the building, principally through its columnar disposition governs relations between interior and exterior, and thus to regulate the function of the landing

72 Forster, 63.

as a panoramic device. The image shows different groupings. First, there is the string of visitors ascending to the landing, seen at the columnar base and on the stairs through the balustrading. The latter of these figures looks as though he is doubled over by the effort to reach the summit. They reinforce the privileged view that the landing provides over the city. The heightened plane, instead of being provided by the periscopic effect of the panorama scaffold, is provided by the scaffold of the architecture itself. The woman peering out over the balustrade to strain a view of the Schloß echoes the classical tectonic of the building, especially the trabeation, which is arranged by classical orthogonality and symmetry. Yet the effort she has to go to affirms that the museum's effect is incessantly diagonal. Alexander Schwarz notes "*although the main façades of the museums are all structured symmetrically, their classicism does not look to claim a central perspective*."[73] The oblique focus reflects the panoramic function of the vestibule: a chamber that relies on removing the literal barrier of the building perimeter and the induction of internal motion to survey the scene (See fig 3.10). Though the view fixes the gaze at an instant, this piece is intended as the *representation* of first-person experience. The viewer's stare is carefully selected to decentralise the static locus of the museum in place and survey the wider constellation of urban components (which, untrivially, Schinkel has designed himself). The fixed frame of view focuses on acknowledging visual relationships between key artifacts, but the two figures bottom right animate the panoramic ritual. As their position changes, the effect of movement and parallax is suggested against the reframing of the city background. The final character groupings (extreme right and left) survey the art adorning the walls. It is as though they are seeing the world through the artwork—or, the artwork is transparent to the physical world beyond. Schinkel contextualises the role of the institution in the wider role of the city.

Together, the figures reveal one final characteristic, that the hall is somewhere for people to converse, meet, socialise, and discuss. It is a space where different urban actors collide, as shown by the relative diversity (at least for the early nineteenth century) of demographic, including men women and children. Peter Klaus Schuster supposes "*they are contemplators, most of whom interact communicatively with one another; a mixed society of people engaged in amicable relationships with different motivations and interests, eager to learn more*."[74] He notes, as does Forster[75] that the Schloß is almost entirely deleted from the scene. In essence, Schinkel's view speaks of everything that the Schloß for centuries

73 Schwarz, 'In Search of a Different Modernity: Designing on Museum Island', 14.Though schwarz is ostensibly referring to all Museumsinsel structures, the context of his article is focused on Schinkel's Altes Museum.

74 Schuster, 'Reinventing Civil Society', 2019, 99–100.

75 Forster, *Schinkel*, 2018, 157–58.

could not: of a liberalisation of the arts, to cleave open the centre of Berlin for all to participate in.

By providing a physical link with actual depth in the city, affected by the motion of viewers and the ever-evolving parallax, splicing and re-splicing of the scene by the forest of columns, Schinkel could *subvert* the representational effect of the (true) panoramic machine. Therefore, he was interested in a presentation of the real, rather than a representation of the simulatory. Forster writes Schinkel's illustration "*[invests in] the physical presence of buildings with the power of topoi*."[76] The panoramic machine that Schinkel deploys allows the cityscape to be learned, to register it as a cultural artifact.

3.4 Schinkel's Transformation of Central Berlin

This chapter has documented two main principles that affected the resolution of the Altes Museum. Firstly, Schinkel had successfully lobbied for Prussia's first public art collection (viewed as an indispensable tool of the state) in its own dedicated building. Fine art has been demonstrated to be a highly valuable commodity that demanded veneration and sanctuary, more so considering the pillaging of works under Napoleonic occupation. Yet secondly, Schinkel's own architectural attitude, which emerged principally through his painting career, promoted the idea that the city's form underwrote the cultural definition of its citizenry. Rather than cultural ideals being symbolised through canvas or marble, the city form offered a physical platform from which newly situated liberties could be explored first-hand by the populace.

Thus, intentions to frame the 'city-as-cultural-artifact' seem beholden an inherent contradiction with the 'culture-house': how could the notion of an institution intended to protect the representational from reality dovetail with attempts to build a panoramic machine: one where reciprocally art was only promulgated back into the public domain from inside-to-out, and correspondingly the scenery of citizenship was showcased from the outside-to-in?

Schinkel's ability to ally these considerations lay in a relativistic design approach that would define his entire approach to city-wide transformation. The design of thresholds connecting spaces together, and their position and arrangement in comparison to each

76 Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 65. "*Topoi*" is the plural of "*topos*", pertaining to topology. OED definition 3.d. "*The way in which constituent parts are interrelated or arranged.*"

other, was capable of embedding dualisms in the same organisational schematic. These would coalesce to define the form of the museum: a series of complex boundaries defining how space interrelates to its adjacencies. The same interstitial structure was deployed across the city, making the museum a natural and continuous extension of the urban topography. Therefore, as Schinkel's key building is indivisible from its surroundings, it must be assessed in-amongst the tapestry of his other urban commissions.

In summary, the principal question the final section of the chapter appraises is to what extent should the Altes Museum be viewed as a Primary Element capable structuring the urban condition, and what is the instrumentation it deploys in this execution? Its construction is compared against the prevailing urban depositionary tactics of the time, including Durand's contemporaneous typological techniques, and Beaux-Arts school combinatory methods, which often led to, by comparison, large and mute urbanistic statements.

3.4.1 Transformations across Wider Berlin

Schinkel understood that a liberal, progressive nation was at odds with a city that had supressed public interaction with the high facilities of state. In a sequence of individual commissions after the Wars of Liberation, he was granted means to practice the typological ideals he had begun examining on paper. Instead of considering each as detached, or restricted by a finite scope, Schinkel produced a consolidated, relativistic vision aimed at the transformation of what Forster calls "a *neglected area […] the precinct of the royal palace*"[77] of Berlin.

In reality though, Schinkel's interventions were not confined to a single area, but were measures to cohere successive Study Areas of Berlin's obstructed urban landscape together. Each successive assignment invested in a strategy to democratise the Spree Island by eliciting connection and movement of the populace towards it, propelled by the centrepiece of the entire 'project', the Altes Museum. These interventions were not only contextual linkages or picturesque ruses, but instrumental urban fragments that contributed to the overall enfranchisement of the city centre.

Prior to embarking on the museum, Schinkel received no less than five separate commissions,[78] which each contributed to the reconfiguration of the urban complexion

77 Forster, *Schinkel*, 2018, 69.

78 The totalising effect of these interventions makes the number contestable, but also somewhat insignificant. Identified here are works to the Neue Wache (1816-1818); the Schauspielhaus on Gendarmnmarkt (1818-1821); the Schloßbrücke (1819-1823); the portico of the Dom (1819-1822); and the reconfiguration of the Lustgarten (two designs, 1828-1830).

Figure 3.11:Masterplan for central Berlin. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1817)
Source: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

of Berlin. Following the Museum's completion, he continued this transformation with further works, most notably (for its urban effect) the Packhof warehouses (1829-1832), but also through the construction of the Bauakademie (1832-1836).

'Masterplan' of 1817

Overlooked in literature on Schinkel is the fact that many of his urban ideas had been rendered in an unsolicited disclosure to the king in 1817 (fig 3.11). Notably, this predated proposals for a separate museum in the Lustgarten. Alois Hirt's earlier proposals were pending to house the public art collection in a wing of the Academy.

This urban proposal discloses important transformations that he would develop through later commissioned project work, even if through different forms. Attempts to unify outlying hinterlands of the city are patent. Redundant moats and ramparts of Berlin would be removed, and access directly to the centre of the Island simplified. A new bridge, the Schloßbrücke, would unite Unter den Linden with the Schloß façade. In lieu of the Altes Museum, views north would connect to new development in Montbijou park, on the fringes of Spandauer Vorstadt. A new avenue would penetrate this area (to a point abutting Auguststraße) where a new public square was proposed. Watercourses around the island were rationalised. The transverse Pomeranzengraben canal (running across the footprint now occupied by the Altes Museum) would be filled in, and docks, customs and excise sited opposite the Schloß in Friedrichswerder are re-sited towards the island's tip. This would later be realised with the Packhof warehouses commission.

However, the key constituent part that the masterplan does not satisfy is the successful democratisation of the Spree Island. There is minimal intervention here, and with no focus to the northern reach of this space, the corralled unity between planning elements has little purpose and diffuses. It highlights a significant ambiguity of Pundt's 'four elements' description of Berlin. Originally, his 'building'—with warrant—related squarely to the Schloß because the functioning of the city revolved around the prerogative of royalty. After liberation, and with the prospect of sweeping social reforms, this was no longer tenable. Schinkel's urban proposals do not invalidate the significance of a fourth planning component, but they do show it must be transplanted from the Schloß to a new structure. From this point forward, the task was to prepare for and later deliver the museum as the lynchpin of the urban strategy.

Figure 3.12: Parade Berlin, Franz Kruger (1829)
Depicting the Neue Wache as the scene of Prussian military drills, attracting viewing crowds.
Source: Public domain (wikicommons)

Concatenation of Study Areas

Neue Wache

Schinkel's very first commission after Napoleon's defeat was a new guardhouse. The Neue Wache (1816-18)[79] sits on the intersection of the former city walls and Unter den Linden. It culverted the watercourse, and removed a narrow, wooden bridge to conjugate the areas between the Zeughaus armoury, university, and opera house was replaced by an open square. This normalised the conditions between distinct Study Areas, strengthening a civic presence in the city. Institutions that lined Berlin's primary boulevard on opposite sides of the moat were now assimilated. The Neue Wache's purpose was more than pictorial, however. Pundt, citing Franz Krüger's 1837 painting '*Parade Berlin*' (fig 3.12) recognises it as "*an operative part of a living city*"[80] (albeit as an absolutist display of power), drawing crowds together to witness military parades and the changing of the guard. The pomp was validation that the conjunction of Unter den Linden had conjoined

79 The Neue Wache has subsequently been repurposed to become a memorial for several other subjects. Heinrich Tessenow reconfigured the building for the fallen of the great war in 1931. Thereafter, it was rebuilt following WWII war damage by the GDR as a memorial the victims of fascism. In 1969 it was designated as the tomb of the unknown soldier and Nazi concentration camps. After re-unification in 1993 it was redesignated as its current dedication to the Victims of 'war and tyranny'. The point is that its architecture has proved (largely) continuous, despite housing a shrine to numerous parties.

80 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 121.

together Dorotheenstadt with Friedrichswerder, and so a journey from the city's edge to the within a stones' throw of the Spreeinsel.

Schauspielhaus am Gendarmenmarkt

Shortly after at the Gendarmenmarkt, Schinkel was tasked with replacing Carl Langhams' rather diminutive theatre, which had been destroyed in a fire. The Schauspielhaus. (1818-1821), flanked by two earlier church domes, provided new emphasis, replacing predecessor. He established a greater hierarchy, emphasising further the interruption to the rigid grid of Dorotheenstadt. Schinkel's theatre was positioned upon a plinth higher than the two adjacent churches. The deployment of a portico echoed its neighbours', and invested in the central public space of the square. The holistic effect of the arrangement was the prescription of a new cultural order in a predominantly residential area of the city. These interventions operated through a different spatial format and at a different tempo than the Neue Wache's effect on Unter den Linden. The pattern of repeating open spaces, contrasting with the relentless grid of Friedrichstadt, unfolded the suburbs towards the Spreeinsel. Gendarmenmarkt's figure was repeated first in Babelplatz, then the space outside Schinkel's Guardhouse and the Opernhaus to establish a new spatial and programmatic cadence through the city which terminated on Unter den Linden outside the Zeughaus. Friedrichstadt joined Dorotheenstadt in demanding access to the Island. The dilation of space in the squares, followed by constriction of journey in the streets, inaugurated spatial frames, defined by the ambiguity between the phenomenal openness of the Plätze, and the literal views extending through the streets. Upon the Schloßbrücke, these patterns would open completely, as the (relatively) closed order of the hinterlands, which were gradually amplifying, definitively progressed into an inverse, open urban landscape.

Schloßbrücke

The Schloßbrücke (1819-1823) belatedly extended Unter den Linden across the Kupfergraben onto the island, replacing a small wooden predecessor to vastly improve primary access, and provide continuity between Berlin's main western axis and the Schloß's northern elevation. Therefore, it was the vital component that opened the Lustgarten up to public use and combined the space in strategic unity with the other urban areas. The key characteristic of the bridge was that it sustained the width of Unter den Linden, dissipating any sense of division between the city and the island. Duly, the terminus of the Berlin's western axis and the Schloß's northern elevation were united. Forster acknowledges uniting the historically distinct areas of island and city was a

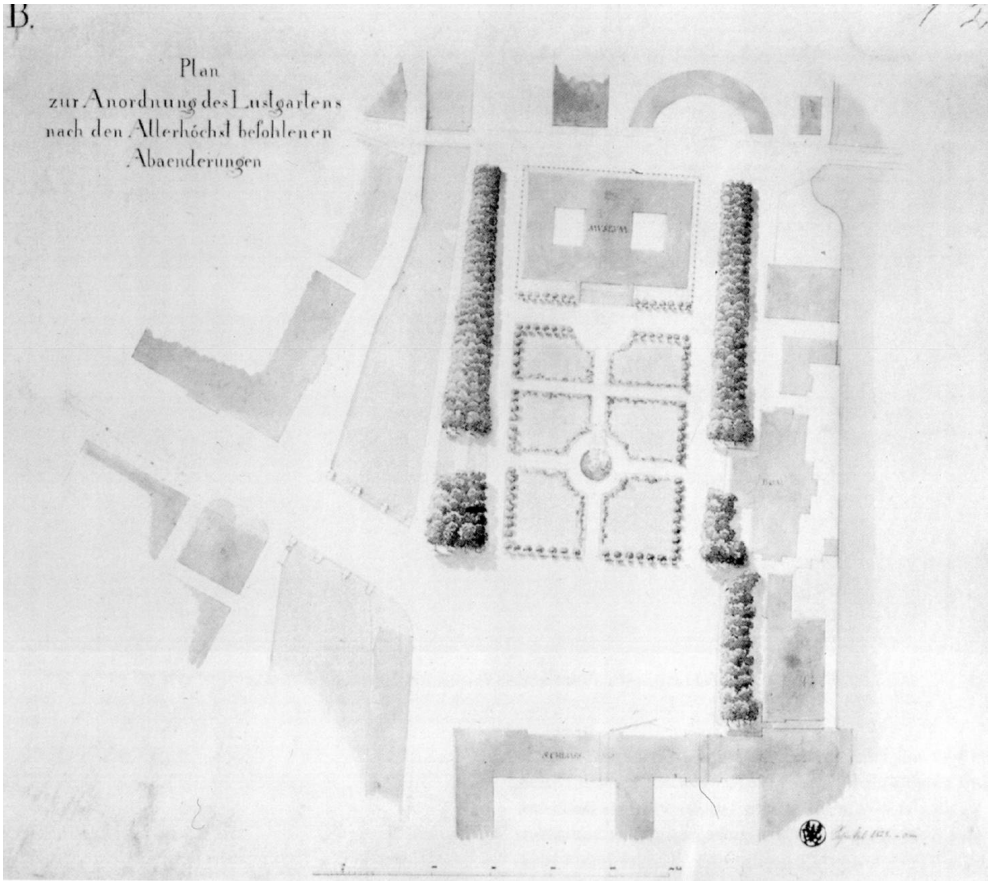

Figure 3.13: Second landscaping plan for the Lustgarten. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1828)
Source: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

priority for Schinkel,[81] as for centuries prior it had marked the extent of the 'public' city, and the private space belonging to the crown on the island beyond. Admission to the island democratised a segment of the city that had been reserved either in exclusivity to the crown, or designated for functions of state concern (notably the use of the Lustgarten as a parade ground) The Schloßbrücke reformed that. The new access onto the island articulated the threshold in a single moment of spatial compression and public unity, before the space expanded again on the newly secularised Island. Spatial layering at this point of the journey to the city core are therefore particularly intense: the axiality of Unter den Linden is perpendicularly interrupted by views along the waterway, in between the eight sculpture plinths of the bridge. These seem to hold a semblance with the painted scene of '*Dom Über Einer Stadt*' analysed earlier (see section 3.3.2 / Fig 3.6). They reveal the 'thickness' of the junction between Study Areas. The flank of trees along the water's

81 Forster, 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 72–74.

edge further emphasise this divide. Schinkel makes it clear that the island is a different territory to the city, but concurrently improves the boundary condition.

The Lustgarten

The Lustgarten (1822-1830)[82] became clearly expressed as the terminus of a journey from the city midst to its centre. Its proportions were defined by the museum's placement, as the best location from which Schinkel could describe the newly democratised city realm. The dimensions were open enough to harmonise precisely between architecture and void, yet sufficiently intense to capitalise on Unter den Linden's oblique approach to the island.[83] The inclined angle between boulevard and Schloß created an asymmetric parti to the square. Standing outside the Zeughaus across the Kupfergraben (fig 3.14), the public's gaze was propelled around its elevations. In order, a visitor would have seen the façade of the Schloß, then Schinkel's revised Ionic portico to the Domkirche (1819-1822), before freezing on the Altes Museum's giant-order peristyle.

As Sheehan attests, each of the surrounding grand buildings: the centres of the state's predominant political; religious; defence; economic; and now cultural programmes, were simultaneously counterpoised and interwoven by a mutual stake in the central area.[84] The Lustgarten's landscaping proposal accentuated relationships between each of the institutions. A break in the trees along the canal's edge allowed a direct sightline of the Dom from the Zeughaus steps.[85] The Lustgarten's effect regulating between the buildings was powerful enough that commentator Fritz Stahl noted that "*The outstanding achievement of the architect, of which the museum is only a part, even if the most important part, is the Lustgarten. How many realise this plaza as it is, or, rather as it was before the new Domkirche was built, the pride of the city, […] is really the personal creation of Schinkel*?!"[86] Whether for everyday routine, or for admiring art, each citizen became implicated in

82 Technically, Schinkel only submitted landscaping proposals for the Lustgarten in 1828 (see note below). However, the outline scheme for the space was clarified at a much earlier date with the submission of plans for the museum to the king in January 1823.

83 Schinkel produced two landscaping schemes for the Lustgarten in 1828. The major difference was the first (rejected) scheme had a fountain at the coincidence of centrelines between Unter den Linden and Museum. Pundt acknowledges that the design would have formed a denser collection of cross axes and promenades in the space, and particularly laments the loss of the fountain at its southern reach in the second iteration. See Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 152. However, the proposal, which draws attention to the centreline of the Lustgarten's constituent components through the alignment of two other secondary fountains, only seeks to emphasise the Museum's symmetric disposition. Though the second proposal is also balanced in this way, it has only one element on the central axis and balances with the other building edifices of the square much more convincingly.

84 Sheehan, 'Aesthetic Theory and Architectural Practice: Schinkel's Museum in Berlin', 18.

85 An original scheme from the square had indicated an additional fountain at the intersection of centrelines along Unter den Linden and perpendicular from the Schloß's norther edifice, but the king had demanded an open square in its place, lessening the unity that Schinkel had wanted to instil. See Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 153.

86 Stahl, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel*, 45.

framing the museum as a radical agent of a liberal Prussia. As Peter Klaus Schuster upholds, "*Schinkel shows that the museum creates a civil society,* ***and*** *its state.*"[87]

Figure 3.14: Perspective view of the Lustgarten. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1823)
Position taken from the Zeughaus steps.
Source: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Modifications to the Waterways

Peter Klaus Schuster refers to Schinkel's entire museum project as a "*museum with docks*".[88] Following the Altes Museum's consecration in 1830, Schinkel's design for the Neue Packhof customs warehouses (1829-1832, dem. 1938) embedded the museum further into the quotidian cycle of Berlin. These were located on the opposite side of the island to the city Bourse, which collected the city's taxes and excise. The warehouses firstly removed unsightly and congested shipping traffic from immediately outside the Schloß (much to the favour of the king, and which is held as a primary reason for its endorsement). In turn, the Lustgarten approach was kept clear. Secondly, activation of the perimeter of the Altes Museum was intensified as merchants passed between the institutions in opposite corners of the building footprint. Cross-programming helped normalise the museum to the public and expose it to the everyday pulse of the city, creating new synergies on the island, and also providing another layering to the space in front of the museum steps.[89]

87 Schuster, 'Reinventing Civil Society', 2019, 102.

88 Schuster, 83.

89 Forster makes comparisons to the Venetian Molo (as painted by Canaletto in 1735). See 'Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin', 74; Forster, *Schinkel*, 2018, 170–71.

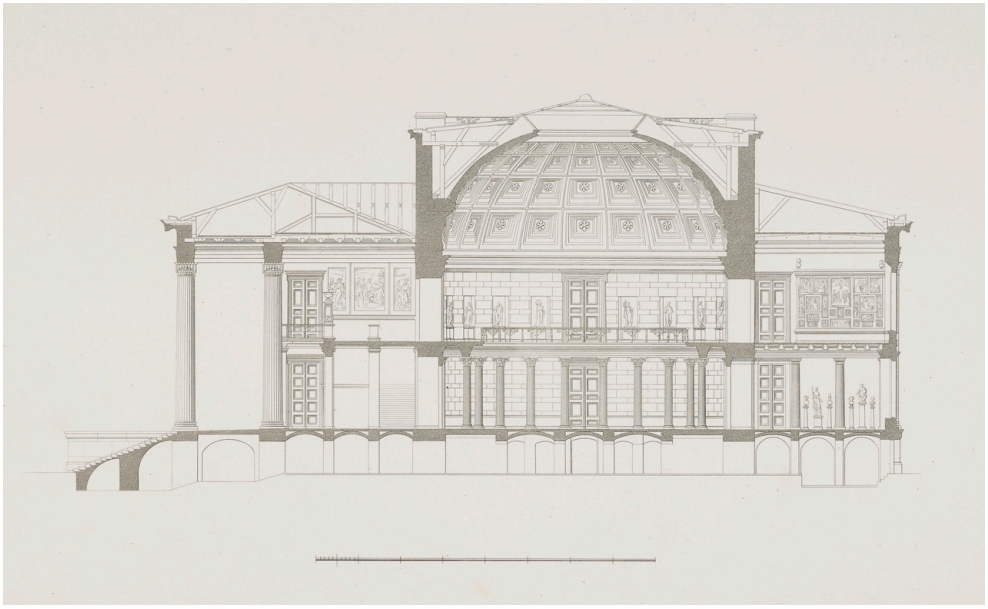

Figure 3.14: Altes Museum cross-section
Source: Sammlung Architektonischer Entwurfe 1840-45, Plate 40.

3.4.2 The Altes Museum

Typical Section

Throughout Schinkel's revisions in the urban realm, his transpositions that liberated buildings from a closed to an open order disposition formed an important innovation. This is on account of two factors. Firstly, it allowed him to situate his built interventions as solitaires in the urban landscape. Secondly, it bestowed him the freedom to frame thresholds between spaces as he pleased. These two points in fact coincide. Rather than considering his built work as a defined object that was placed into its context, the building is instead defined by the coincidental accretion of threshold conditions extending from the urban into the density of a building. This is illustrated through his sectional articulation of the museum, which shows the blending of external to internal space. Pavlos Philippou correspondingly highlighted the sectional arrangement of the museum, which has become entrenched as a typical arrangement for "*most*" cultural buildings. The sequences follows the disposition of "*road, pavement, open space, podium socle […], formal entrance and imposing foyer-atrium […]*".[90] While he doesn't directly claim that the Altes Museum forms the genesis of this sequence, it is the earliest of several examples across

90 Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015, 1044.

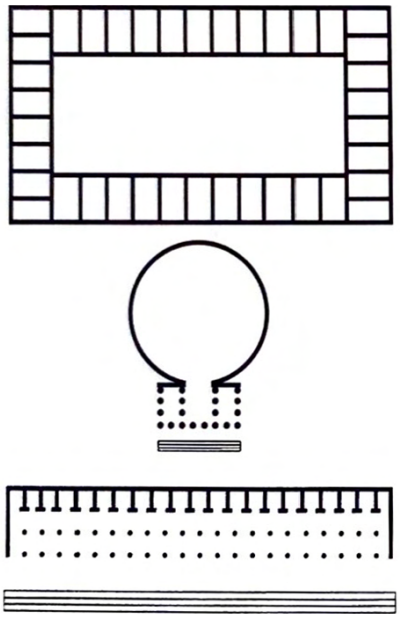

Figure 3.15: Diagram of the archetypal disposition of the Altes Museum
Source: Jörg Gleiter / TU Berlin

different eras that he gives in his commentary. Though the motivations underpinning this organisation have changed over time, its ordering has endured.[91]

Schinkel's strategy energised the public realm thus: the urban scale changes and greater accessibility of the Lustgarten from one principal access point, the normalisation of the museum to the quotidian city routine through the interspersal of the docks and Bourse, and the shared role of Berlins newly inaugurated civic space as the reception space between multiple high offices of state significantly charged its ground to form intrinsic and dependable relationships between the museum's interior and the public surface of the city.

Typological Aggregation

To describe the internal organisation of the Altes Museum, it is useful to consider Jörg Gleiter's suggestion that Schinkel agglomerated recognisable and established archetypal morphologies together (fig 3.16). This interpretation is important to evaluate, not as the embodiment of specific, pre-ordained archetypes within the design but to consider modifications at the thresholds between components, that has allowed different performative and relational effects to be harmonised and housed within the museum's

91 Specific examples of how this sequence has been adapted and used as a basis for typological innovation are given in the thesis conclusion. See §6.2.

composition. As has been established, the museum holds two very particular actions: as a sanctuary of art, and as a panoramic device.

Gleiter identifies of the stoa, the pantheon, and the palazzo as combinatory models. these are mapped to the peristyle, the rotunda, and the galleries respectively. [92]. Gleiter states "*in the Altes Museum, metamorphosis is shown as a process of transformation of the classicist models. […] Schinkel superimposes the three types in such a way that they interpenetrate each other, yet their characteristic features and formal autonomy remain recognisable.*"[93] It is apparent that this conceptualisation seeks to preserve the morphological attributes of each component archetype, but that 'subordinate' spaces are augmentable—or even expendable—in the process of aggregation. Their interfaces and thresholds accommodate any transformation. The presupposition is that the typological performance of the 'models' is irrefutable and cannot change. But actually, when the types are combined, their intrinsic typological performances *do* change in each instance. For example, the peristyle, synonymous with the stoa, is understood as a single-sided structure which is typically regulated by a simple public-private gradient, incurs fundamental performative change once its rear wall is opened and the space becomes traversable.

It should be noted that in this process, there is the risk that validation of particular 'models' becomes distracting. For example, it is contested whether the Pantheon rotunda, or the Museo Pio Clementino's rotunda in Rome forms the veritable basis of the rotunda in the Altes Museum. The Pantheon only has one entrance but possesses a pronaos (atrium, or antechamber), whereas the Museo Pio Clementino has two connections in and out, but they are connected by corridors. They result in different effects: the Parthenon is more peripheral, whereas the Museo Pio Clementino engages more with the centre of the space. Their spatial configuration is substantively similar, though Gaehtgens notes their proportionalities differ.[94]

it is therefore telling that in the process of archetypal combination, Gleiter identifies the role of the Pronaos, as the key component that yields to afford the combination of morphologies. "*The loggia emerges as the resultant of the three figures palazzo, pantheon and stoa. The pronaos plays the decisive role here. While the rotunda of the pantheon forms the centre*

92 This notion is seconded by Hans Witschurke, who similarly identifies the Pantheon and Stoa as 'models' for Schinkel. See Witschurke, *Museum der Museen*, chap. 2.

93 Gleiter, 'Reflexion und Gefühl'.

94 Gaehtgens, 'Building Prussia's First Modern Museum', 292.

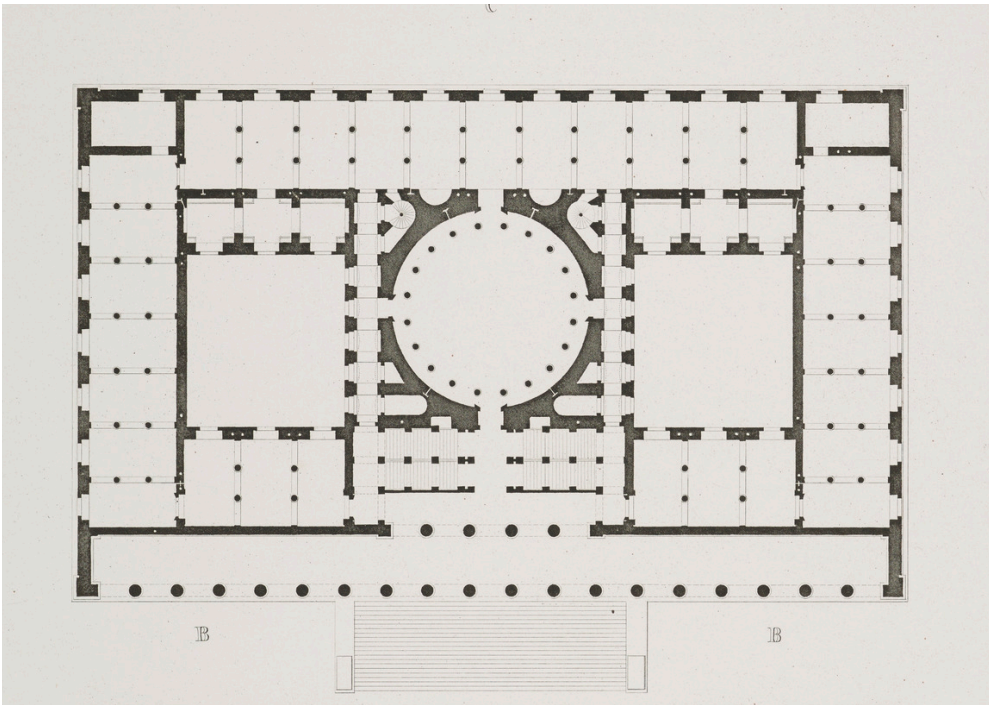

Figure 3.17: Altes Museum ground floor plan
Source: Sammlung Architektonischer Entwurfe 1840-45. Plate 38 (detail of).

of the museum almost autonomously, the pronaos overlaps with the other figures, cutting into the figure of the palazzo and creating the spatial depth for the loggia."[95]

Nonetheless, Gleiter's observation is important, as it shows that modification of the interfaces bestows performative agency rather than the selection of the archetypes themselves. The fact that the two rotundas in Rome have different performances corroborates this. The inherent performance of elements is secondary to the way that they are combined. This in turn suggests that completed whole, its composition and its hierarchy is more important to its performance than the sum of its parts. It also accounts for the 'tautness' of Schinkel's dispositions across his urban built work, where there is a very clear tension between the perimeter at the housed programme.[96]

Choice in the Altes Museum's Circulation Concept

In this spirit, it is clear to see that the loggia (or precisely its combined effects with the aid of peristyle and plinth) and the rotunda stand proud for inverse reasons. Whereas all

95 Gleiter, 'Reflexion und Gefühl'.

96 Equally, it is interesting to compare with his work in natural settings, such as Charlottenhof, which appears to offer the inverse disposition. For commentary on this subject, refer to Neumeyer, 'Space for Reflection'.

Figure 3.16: Photograph of Altes Museum peristyle and loggia
Source: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Münich / Google Arts & Culture

relations with the museum's exterior are regulated by the plinth-peristyle-loggia apparatus, all activity to the museum's interior is focused through traversing the rotunda.

In the loggia, the discrepancy between literal and phenomenal envelope makes it difficult to be confident visitors have clearly 'entered' the museum's interior, rendering the building envelope relative and coincidental.[97] The appearance of the city is flattened and projected

97 This effect has sadly been diminished in more recent times with the installation of a glass curtain between the inner columns of the Vestibule. Alexander Schwarz writes "*Admittedly, its openness to the outdoors, by no means trivial, is not practical (and indeed has been 'improved by a glass wall that is as trivial as it is practical), but that does not make the museum any less ideal.*" Schwarz, 'In Search of a Different Modernity: Designing on Museum Island', 13.

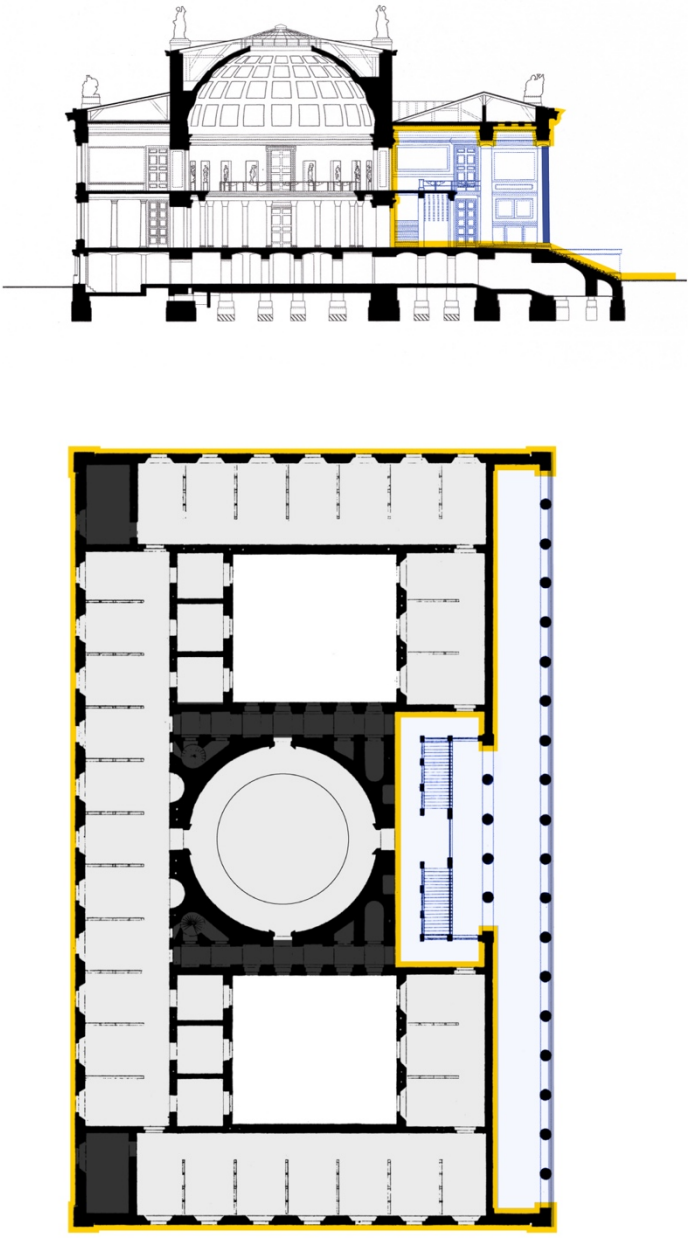

Figure 3.19: Comparison of Literal and Phenomenal enclosures of the Altes Museum
The loggia can be seen in the interstitial spaces between the two boundaries.
Source: Drawn by the author

onto the phenomenal threshold of the building at the outer columnar line, and re-presented inwards. The depth of the city is thus reflected in the depth of the loggia. It becomes complexified by the splicing and re-splicing of the view. This has already been highlighted in relation to Schinkel's view from the space, detailed above (see section 3.3.2).

Conversely, the rotunda is the first space that one can confidently call internal. Literal and phenomenal boundaries coalesce, but in a dramatic reversal of the loggia's pattern of gradual enclosure, the compressed, relatively dark passageway yields to the domed space and its volume erupts to evoke a sense of awe. The singularity of the room—a solitary, vertical axis, equal about every other dimension—assembles the diagonality of the public's journeys outside, and unites them with a collective linearity.[98] Any visitor's compulsion is to submit to the verticality of the space, and look upward to the oculus—a window onto the world, yet with no connection to the city—and embrace entering a new domain. It separates reality from a higher state of consciousness of the artistic domain through its central, conditioning role: a singular point of extreme difference with the spaces of the city.

Experiencing the rotunda is thus a solitary pursuit, under the aperture of the oculus. The character of the thresholds also reflects the experiential nature of the journey, where the compression of spaces on the way into the centre echo the spatial frames that Schinkel established in the city. The openness of the Gendarmenmarkt, through Babelplatz and past the Neue Wache become flattened on the Schloßbrücke as the defined route onto the island. The same pattern is mirrored by the rotunda in the museum's interior.

Meanwhile, the loggia reciprocates the motions that are provoked by Schinkel in the inner city, but in reverse, as the city image is reflected by the outer colonnade. The visitor's climb higher than the plane of the city is an inherently social action, and commensurately, the performance of the panorama required twelve figures of Schinkel's drawing to describe it. Though it is conspicuous to others viewing on, it is ultimately a journey of personal enlightenment. Neumeyer described the "*the podium lifts the viewer above the level of "nature," emphasising the autonomy of each and their interaction*."[99]

Yet, despite the contrast between the two spaces, their back-to-back positions in the Altes Museum's composition, and their vastly antagonistic perspectives, there is the languishing realisation that they are in fact complete antithetical ideas (or perhaps, facsimiles) of each other. Ostensibly, both are intended to achieve the same aim: a separation from nature, and to assert each space's individuality from the other. The loggia implores guests to rise above the city and observe the conduct of man, and nature, and man's nature, through

98 Though the same effect could be levelled at the masterplan's strategy considering the linearity of procession along Unter den Linden into the Lustgarten, the articulation of the rotunda is particularly intense given the containment of space.

99 Neumeyer, 'Space for Reflection', 163.

the urban lens. Conversely, visitors succumb to the rotunda separating themselves from the domain of reality, emerging afterward to resume life having been enlightened.

The museum's circulation design reflects the contrasting nature of the spaces: should a journey onto the plinth continue by ascending the stairs? Or should the Rotunda be experienced first? Forster writes that "*The prospect of the city, however, captivates anyone habituated to panoramic views, as Schinkel's contemporaries were.*" Or should the suggestion of the gently enclosing thresholds be followed that compel them to enter the rotunda? The lack of inkling of the Museum's content, "*encircled by a continuous horizon that links past and time future in a singular moment.*" Ultimately, he deduces that "*this pattern is one of bifurcation and reversal that spends its energy in the visitor's passage rather than directing it to an ulterior purpose.*" The museum's ambiguity matches its typological articulation in the urban realm. The presentation of choice becomes a moral decision. It is an exploration of human plurality, behaviour and participation: ultimately hallmarks of freedom and edification.

Durand versus Schinkel

The combinatory typological process outlined by Gleiter above leads to comparisons with Durand and the design approach of the Beaux-Arts school ensemble.

Martin Goalen has written an article on the similarities between the Frenchman and Schinkel, using the Altes Museum as a vehicle for the commentary.[100] He precedes the comparison by recognising the attention it has historically received, dating back to 1922 when Giedion introduced the notion, and was followed by the connection being affirmed by figures including Henry-Russel Hitchcock and Niklaus Pevsner, who stated "*the design [of the Altes Museum] is clearly inspired by Durand*".[101]

In his comparison between the two figures, Goalen re-draws an Altes Museum plan to Durand's principles, as set out in his *Précis*.[102] Clearly, both Durand and Schinkel pursued freestanding solitaires in the city. Their comparison can also be approached with the loose understanding that both have embarked on a form of aggregational process, where different building elements are evident in their respective compositions. In the Durand simulation, one notices immediately how Schinkel's tensioned thresholds between building elements are lost. Rather than the rotunda orchestrating the entire building's performance, internal agency is bequeathed to the courtyards, which become active

[100] Goalen, 'Schinkel and Durand'.
[101] Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, 127.
[102] Durand, *Précis of the Lectures on Architecture*.

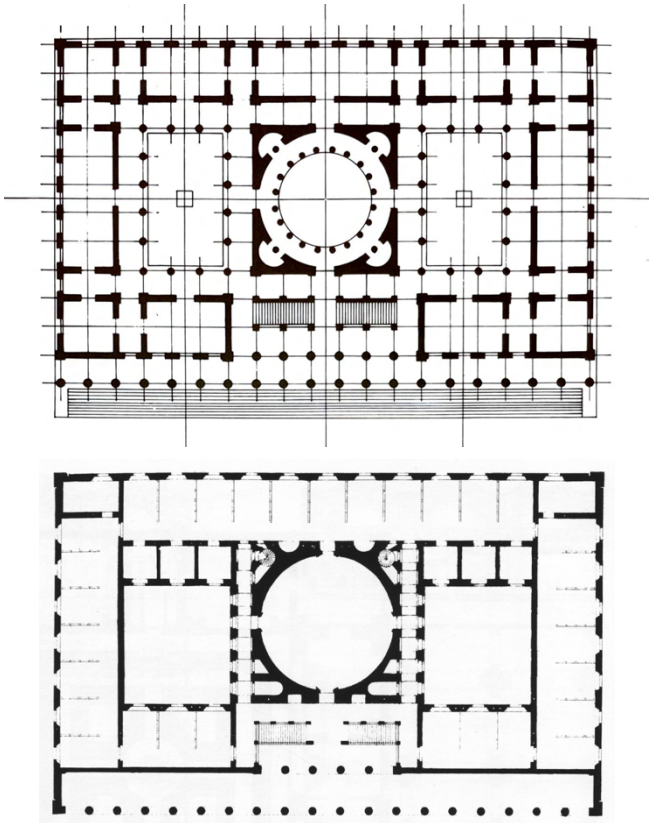

Figure 3.20: Plan of the Altes Museum composed to Durand's typological principles
Compared with Schinkel's as built Altes Museum plan.
Source: Martin Goalen 'Schinkel and Durand: the case of the Altes Museum' in 'Schinkel, a Universal Man'.
Drawn by Martin Goalen ,

components. Whereas a hierarchy drives the plan's organisation for Schinkel, it is flattened by Durand. Jacques Lucan writes that this is typical of the Beaux-Arts tradition that he established. "*The fact that no specific part excessively dominated a composition causing the others to "pyramid" towards it accentuated the density and compactness of the ensemble and brought to mind the compositions of the great public programs [sic] by the second volume of Durand's Précis…*"[103] In the evolving Beaux-Arts tradition at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the lack of tautness between elements appears to find its substitute in the sprawling ensembles that features in the 1820s Grands Prix de Rome competitions held annually by the school, and subsequently borne out by the built work of its greatest disciples in Paris—Louis Duc (Palais de Justice); Leon Vaudoyer (Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers); and Henri Labrouste (Bibliothèque Nationale). Lucan states "*Durand acquainted us with the problematics of elements and their combinations—problematics that the*

103 Lucan, *Composition, Non-Composition*, 68.

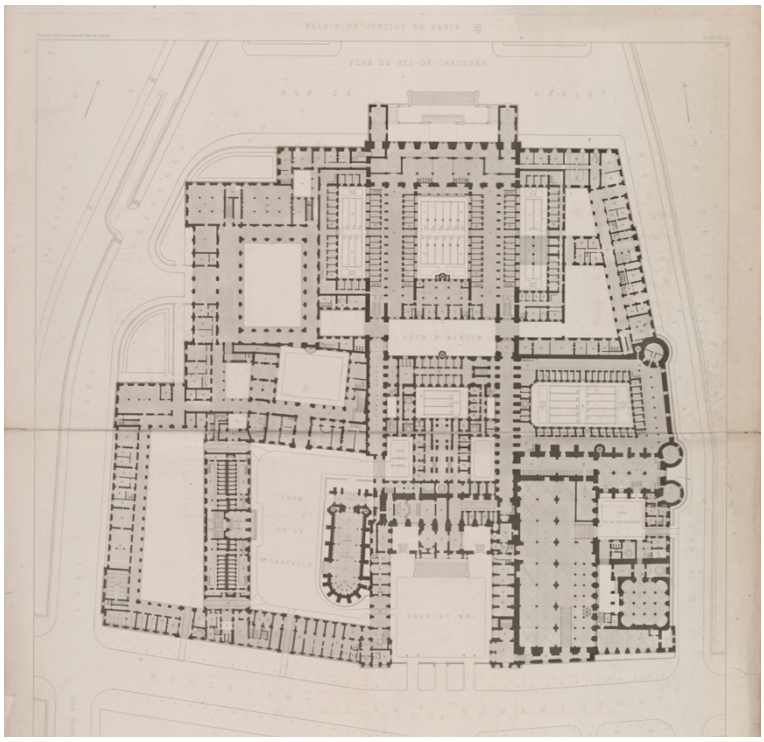

Figure 3.21: Ground floor plan of the Palais de Justice, Paris. Louis Duc
Source: Paris Musées.

nineteenth century would continue to develop and whose end result was what we might call the elementarisation of composition."[104]

Durand's typological agency was attributable to the endless permutations, despite prescribed modules, which tessellated with one-another in predicable ways, and without recourse to 'novel' design work. There was no need to consider the exterior, as the ensemble created would stand as a solitaire, alone in the city. Its housed programme, which could be novel, contributed to the mass and demand in the city regardless. It is clear then that in this system, relations between the individual components of the design and to the perimeter were constant. The system re-provided the same systematisation each time in unforeseen ways, and therefore delivered variants of the same schematisation. This system, contemporaneous with Berlin's transformation, was fundamentally the inverse of Schinkel.[105] Expansive dispositions derived from the inside-out are contained within a rationalised envelope by him, so that an antagonism between form and perimeter becomes evident.

104 Lucan, 63.

105 Schinkel would have been aware of Durand and the Beaux-Arts School output having travelled to Paris twice in his career, in 1804 and 1826. The above text is not intended to suggest any direct link of influence or reaction against what he saw in France. For an account of his visits, see Blankenstein, 'Das Rendezvous Frankreichs mit Schinkel'.

Agency of the Freestanding Solitaire

In comparison to the sprawling Beaux-Arts dispositions, Fritz Neumeyer understood the pavilion represented a new form of agency in the city, which the Altes Museum was able to exploit:

> "*Since the Enlightenment, the pavilion as a building type has been the crucible of new concepts and spatial ideas. […] Emil Kaufmann saw the breaking open of Baroque containment in the pavilion system as the decisive development in the architecture of the French Revolution. Comparably important in the rise of Modernism, and traceable again to innovations in pavilion design, were the attraction to archetypes, the urge to pierce the [urban perimeter] block, and thee attempt to bring the building into emotional harmony with the landscape.*"[106]

Meanwhile, Pier Vittorio Aureli embellishes:

> "*If 16th-century Rome and 17th-century Paris [or, significantly, 18th-century Berlin for that matter] were developed through the opening of regular spaces within the medieval fabric of the city, Schinkel returns to the archetype of the isolated building block as the primary element of the city.*" [107]

The consequence of transforming the perimeter block was for the public domain to inherit and democratise internalised spaces of the courtyard. This allows for the loosening of public-to-private; served-to-serviced; seen-to-unseen hierarchies from being restricted to internal settings, and instead becomes promoted from behind the (private dwelling's) façade through the democratisation of city space.

The Beaux-Arts school, operating until well after the completion of the Altes Museum in the 1830s,[108] perpetuated spawling, interiorised landscapes, with the trappings of internal, private courtyards for which the building form unambiguously claimed to further its housed institutional conduct. These French examples defined courtyards

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106 Neumeyer, 'Space for Reflection', 165. The focus on the development of the Berlin area renders assessment of the pavilion's typological lineage out of scope though, according to Anthony Vidler, Kaufmann was direct in his criticism of historians who looked only to Schinkel and German Neoclassicism for the novelty of the concept, stating "*The 'Prussian Style' is no more than the German imitation of French Revolutionary architecture.*" See Vidler, 'The Ledoux Effect', n. 33.

107 Aureli, 'City as Political Form: Four Archetypes of Urban Transformation', 35. Note the term 'primary element' in Aurelli's quotation is not meant as an emulation of Rossi's term, rather it infers a key artefact of the city.

108 As a built example, Louis Duc's Palais de Justice was only begun In 1840, and construction lasted for decades.

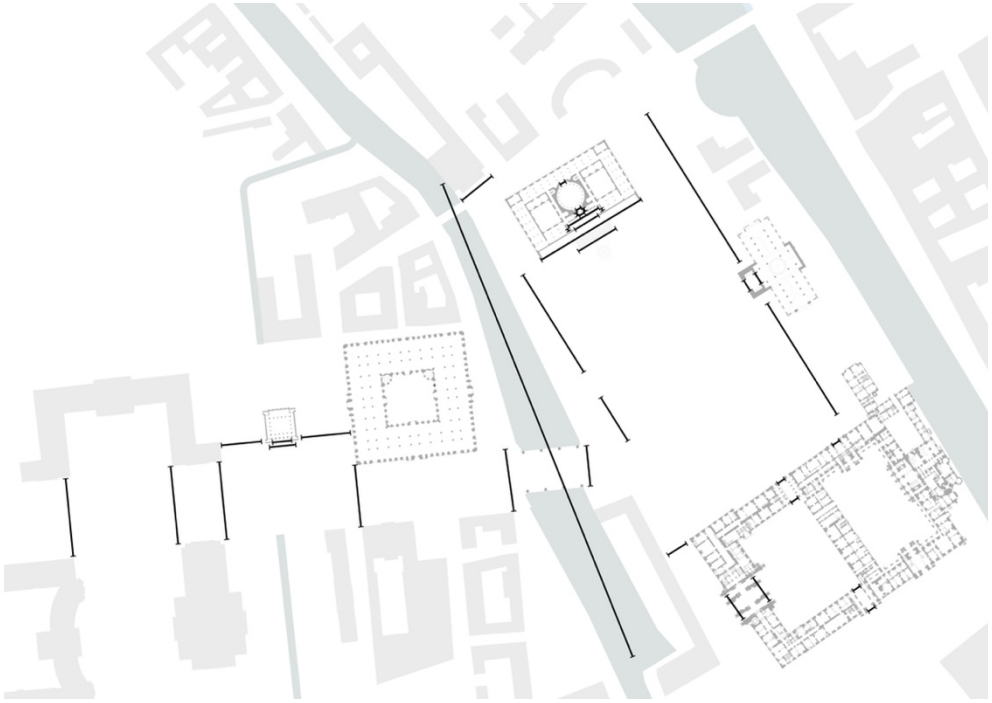

Figure 3.22: Schinkel's Typological Frames

The various junctions between phenomenal zones of space that Schinkel constructed across the centre of Berlin. His museum can be seen to emerge from at the densest intensity of these thresholds.
Source: Drawn by the author

within either a literal, or a phenomenally contained perimeter (or sometimes both). Schinkel liberated these such spaces and devolved them fully to the public arena.[109] The taut, rationalised cubature of Schinkel's buildings thrust these into the public domain. Aureli therefore claims Schinkel's city structure was "*where control is exercised by the production of situated freedoms rather than by imposition of a strict social order*."[110]

Rather than this agency emanating from the manifestation of the pavilion form, there appears to be more nuance to the way that Schinkel's performance unfolds. To claim as Aureli does that agency derives from the "*free and unpredictable association of the buildings themselves*" and the "*archetype of the isolated block*",[111] is to advance that effects are felt uniformly across an undifferentiated terrain, which is acted upon by an evenly calibrated instrument.

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109 Here, a distinction is made between the activated courtyard and the courtyard with no access, as per the Altes Museum.

110 Aureli, 'City as Political Form: Four Archetypes of Urban Transformation', 35.

111 Aureli, 35. It should be noted that in terming the "isolated building block" as an archetype, if Sam Jacoby's aforementioned definitions are deployed, then Aureli refers to "*the original (ideational) pattern for subsequent copies*." SeeJacoby, 'Type and the Problem of Historicity', 8. This is to say that the Altes Museum is frequently referenced as, for example, the creation of "*an entirely new architectural form for this type of institution*." Gaehtgens, 'Building Prussia's First Modern Museum', 290. However, the analysis above has built the case that Schinkel's conception of type is not held with the figure of the building, but in the relativistic interplay between different conditions irrespective of their position in space.

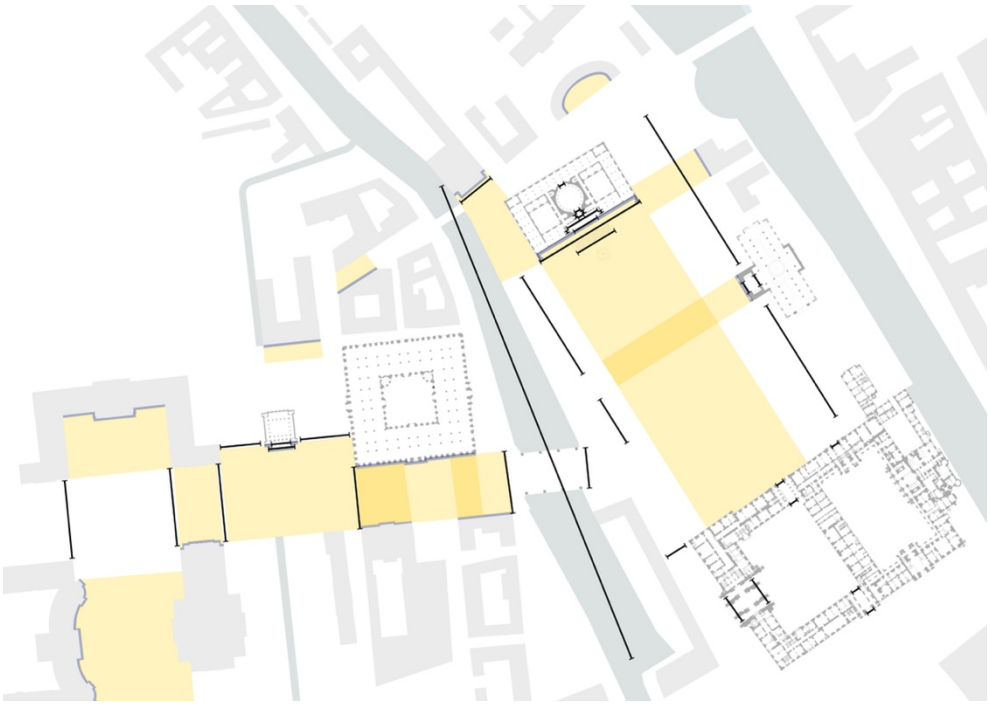

Figure 3.17: Active Frontages of the 1830 Berlin Hauptstadt

The primary frontages to solitaire and key buildings of the Hauptstadt, showing their role in activating the city's central urban landscape. When corelated against the map of typological thresholds, the cadence of movements toward the Schloßbrücke become clear.
Source: Drawn by the author.

However, what has already been documented thoroughly is that Schinkel's typological apparatus depended on the fluidity of the urban arena, which was activated by certain frontages, but released on others. This provided a relatively liberated terrain within which the public could roam and express their own individuality, without the building affecting their routine or purpose unnecessarily. The built environment was fabricated at each turn to elicit a response from the public to deepen their experience of the city: passively guiding their passage towards the centre, gently fostering possibility of chance encounters with other people from other walks of life (such as through the mixing of economic activity of dock workers with cultural visitors around the museum's perimeter, or by channelling the public together on the one principal route onto the island via the Schloßbrücke).

Speaking expressly about the Altes Museum (whilst quoting Mies van der Rohe), Neuemeyer wrote:

> *"Schinkel meant it as a framework for "life," thus by Mies' standards it stood for a "genuine order," an order, that is, "which gives life the free space in which to unfold.""*[112]

Neumeyer understood that the separation between the building's loggia and its connection to the surroundings was vital to for the building's patrons to survey their newly bequeathed freedoms. Importantly, this was afforded by the dextrous manipulation of thresholds. Neumeyer's quote here though could be reinterpreted and applied universally across Schinkel's Berlin intervention, The threshold is continually deployed as a device for narrating the dissimilitude between one condition and another is used throughout Berlin's newly unfolded urban realm (see figs 3.22 and 3.23). It is exploited to yield either a sense of critical outlook (comparing situations before to after crossing a threshold), or to elicit particular conducts or choices (for example, a stark dichotomy exists moving across the Schloßbrücke onto the island, but a neutral decision is presented between loggia or rotunda). In each case, the severity of a threshold edge is commensurate to the experience being articulated. At the most juxtaposed points, the museum circulation is brought into friction with junctures encountered much earlier. Overseeing the city from the loggia engineers a loop folded back on itself. Each situation attests that the Altes Museum's performance isn't derived from its unambiguous figure, but rather its figure is emerges from a wider aggregation of framed moments throughout Berlin's urban topography. That is to say, the building is constructed coincidentally from a density of thresholds at a strategic locations in the city, which describe the unfolding civic setting. The fact that the Altes Museum provides the staging for all the events to be rendered with clarity makes it the prominent structure in Schinkel's urban transformation, and thus the Primary Element which catalyses and sustains civil society. Alexander Schwarz notes that "*Museum Island begins with Karl Friedrich Schinkel's promise of accessibility*."[113] In Berlin's nineteenth century context, it superseded the obstructive Schloß at the heart of the city to propel change.

3.5 Conclusion

Berlin, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, was a city that had been configured according to the wont of royalty. The four planning components of the city that Hermann Pundt identified were assimilated for the king's prerogative: 'the building' (i.e., the

112 Neumeyer, 'Space for Reflection', 163 See also note 30.
113 Schwarz, 'In Search of a Different Modernity: Designing on Museum Island', 13.

Schloß) was connected historically to the hunting grounds of the Tiergarten by 'the street' (i.e., Unter den Linden). The island and the river formed obstructions, which left the centre ossified and impervious to development, remaining as the private domain of the ruling Hohenzollerns.[114] These planning components, although perhaps reading as a contrivance, have ben reasoned to be the urban elements which regulate the city's operation at a strategic level, because they control the relationship of the city's heart with its wider fabric. Efforts to modify them did lead to wider urban transformation.

The preceding chapter has revealed, the scope and nature of the city's transformation following Prussia's liberation from Napoleon. Schinkel comprehended that the corresponding urban task was greater than the sum of several individual commissions that their perfunctory scopes could yield, and pursued a broader vision to democratise Berlin's inner city. It is worth reiterating briefly that Schinkel held a highly privileged civil servant role, where he was responsible for public architectural commissions across Berlin, which he executed by his own hand—It is not the case that agency resides in him as the typological subject. The state's ambition to establish a public arts policy and, of course, its first public art collection, also motivated Schinkel's attempts to empower the individual in the city. Berlin's Hauptstadt—the very idea of a civic urban landscape—stems from these transformations.

Typological Transformations

The outline of Schinkel's transformation began with his awareness that accessibility was the correlate of movement and activation. All his other ambitions relied on this fundamental strategy. The first initiatives saw the concatenation of adjacent Study Areas within the city together. This took the form of two separate tactics: firstly, by recognising a route of repeating voids in the cityscape (between Gendarmenmarkt, Babelplatz and outside the Neue Wache); and secondly through the removal of impediments to lengthen key axes, (at the Neue Wache, removing the former city moats). These actions instigated different journeys from the city periphery to its core, moving through carefully constituted spatial frames, which converged in front of the Schloßbrücke. In turn, the bridge united the movement of these different vectors, as they moved across the water via the principal entrance to the island.

Schinkel's interventions initiated a new, opened morphology in central Berlin, one that can be called an 'urban landscape', which stands in contrast to the former closed order of

114 As this chapter has identified, there were some civic activities that played out on the island, but they were ostensibly under the auspices of the king. See section 3.2.1

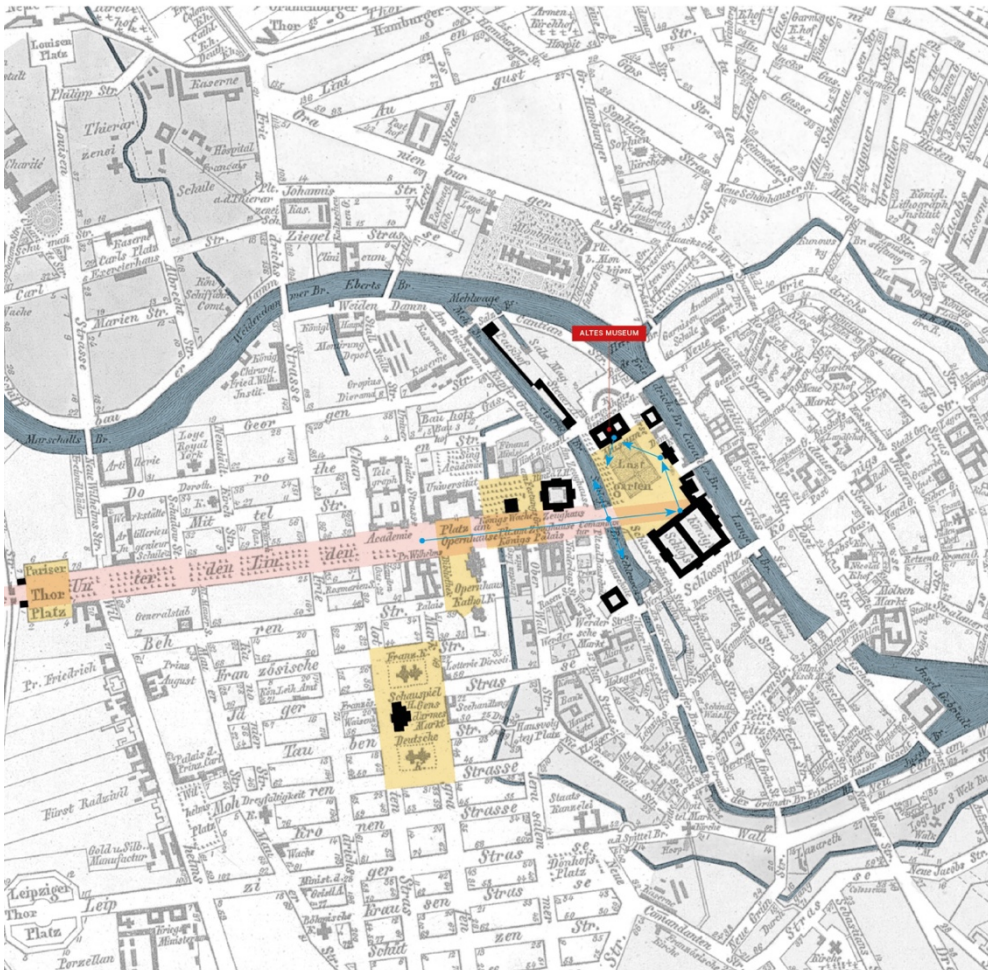

Figure 3.18: Typological transformation 1800-1830
Unter den Linden becomes the first corridor to activate the Spreeinsel
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: public domain

narrow streets. Within this new schema, Schinkel devolved new 'situated freedoms' which were relocated from within the depth of city blocks out into the liberalised public domain. The chapter has shown how the behaviours and rituals associated with establishments became a matter of public conduct, as the taut, cubic perimeters of new urban figures intentionally left no space for these activities internally.

However, rather than this manifesting as an undifferentiated civic surface, as critics like Pier Vittorio Aureli suggest, specific activated building frontages lend public space a flow and dynamism. The public domain Schinkel fashioned is interjected with moments of constriction and control, such as crossing the bridge onto the island. Typological frames are deployed to express wherever space had been transformed, democratised, or liberated. Each frame strategically broadened the civic experience, whilst enabling stronger urban accessibility and participation. The thresholds intensified at the northern edge of the

Lustgarten, where the Altes Museum formed the culmination of the urban journey. The museum can be comprehended as an accreted mass of spatial frames—like those dispersed across the urban realm—which are positioned thoughtfully at important moments to describe the liberated opportunities of the revised Hauptstadt to the populace. These also formed a gradated, protective envelope to the Prussian state's arts agenda, which concomitantly became a central aspect of civic life.

The continual expression of changing conditions was thus a key trope of Schinkel's. It linked his broadest urban gestures with the separation of internal space. The threshold was accordingly rigorously controlled. At the Schloßbrücke, the phenomenal cubature was very regulated, determined by the axiality of the Unter den Linden boulevard, yet this accentuated the eruption of views perpendicular to the plane of movement, and highlighted the conjunction between Study Areas. The most complex spatial relationships were found on the Altes Museum loggia, in the area between phenomenal and literal envelopes of the building. This was the natural culmination of the journey to the centre of Schinkel's Berlin, and offered a view surveying the journey a visitor would have just made. The way the space performed exploits the ambiguity of this location, provoking the visitor's movement and describing the panorama to them. Their compulsion to move along the landing, otherwise obscured by the columns of the museum peristyle, completed their comprehension of the liberalised city, which has been overhauled to exist in support of its citizens' edification and enlightenment.

Throughout this tour of Schinkel's urban landscape, a corresponding set of new spatial relations between the Primary Element and the Study Area can be seen to have emerged. The innovations and variations of this period are outlined below.

The first clear observation to make is that there were few variations relative to the previous spatial regime, as its overhaul is so comprehensive. Schinkel's transformation, despite being actioned one commission at a time, ultimately became a total transformation of the city centre.[115]

Conversely, Innovations drive Schinkel's transformation of Berlin's city landscape. Spatially, this distils to two principal measures which animated the movement and accessibility through space. The first was the control and interplay of phenomenal and literal volumes. Understanding that these domains are not coextensive allowed Schinkel

115 A worthwhile sidenote is to record a comparison with Durand's technique: Durand's method employed the same, known pattern between each component in his composition. Novelty for the Frenchman came from the form of the disposed whole as a totalised mechanisation, not from how it was designed to induct motion or activation, like Schinkel did.

to manipulate individual thresholds at will, to variously describe particular conditions or to induce a certain conduct in people's behaviours, such as coaxing movement. The second was his revision of the typical urban block form and delegation of activities to the public sphere. The Lustgarten thus became a receiving space for each building that shared an aspect onto the square. This meant that public actors were cajoled into using its surface for different purposes, now in shared democratic ritual.

Impacts

By way of concluding statement, it is pertinent to look forward past the time of Schinkel's interventions, and the planning components identified by Pundt. The chapter has demonstrated that Schinkel usurped the Schloß as the city's principal building, counteracting its pathogenesis with a new, propulsive Primary Element. In parallel, his extension of Unter den Linden, and removal of obstructive river courses, gave new agency to the island as a liberated landscape. The four components were re-ascribed and given catalytic purpose.

Nonetheless, Pundt's concluding claim to his book was that "*the [Altes] Museum has irrevocably lost its communication with the spatial and physical context which originally formed a comprehensive, organised, urban environment.*"[116] Writing in the mid 1970s, The Altes Museum had initiated the Museum Island, and its further four separate solitaire structures, all built behind the Altes Museum's frontage. Schinckel's museum has persisted whilst other components of his Hauptstadt have been lost, including (in forward chronological order), the Dom portico (replaced in 1905 by Julius Rachdsdorf's present-day Neo-baroque Dom), the Packhof warehouses (demolished in 1938), and the Bauakademie (damaged during World War II, ruins demolished in 1961 for the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs[117]). Perhaps the most significant demolition though was not a building of Schinkel's, but the demolition of the Schloß ruins in 1950 by the fledgeling GDR.[118]

Pundt's view is predicated on a belief that historic Berlin was vulnerable to extrinsic urban forces from outside of architecture itself: economic; social, ideological or through destruction. His viewpoint prioritises the aesthetics of architecture above the discipline's catalytic propensity (and so his opinion is widely broadcast by advocates of the Schloß's reconstruction[119]). Whilst it cannot be refuted that the configuration of Schinkel's centre

116 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 192.
117 See section 4.4.2
118 See section 4.3.2
119 This is covered in detail throughout chapter 5.

has fundamentally changed in contemporary Berlin, it is vital to acknowledge that his contribution has substantively governed, and continues to govern today, the formulation Berlin's urban space. It underpins the conclusion that Schinkel's work was more structural than it was aesthetic, as Schinkel's work regulated the depths of the city and made them directly available to the Spreeinsel. The catalytic propensity of his transformation continues to endure.

[—*Chapter End*—]

4 1945-1989: Post-War East Berlin

4.1 Introduction

In 1950, soon after the founding of the German Democratic Republic (GDR; "East Germany")—and its *de facto* inheritance of Berlin's historic city core—General Secretary of the ruling SED[1] political party, Walter Ulbricht declared "*The centre of the city is given its characteristic image by monumental buildings and an architectural composition that does justice to the significance of the capital of Germany.*"[2] The will for widespread change was bound to the representation of its 'Social-Realist' ideology, and surpassed usual considerations of economic frugality, aesthetic sensibility, and political calculation. Ulbricht here divulged the characteristics he demanded should mark the Hauptstadt, worthy of a future united German capital that he believed the East would claim for itself. Such grandiose and complete a vision, that was intended to be implemented unabridged, would in fact take more than half of the entire existence of the GDR state to realise as plans were only implemented in a piecemeal fashion.

At the time of his dictate, Ulbricht considered the Königliches Schloß—bombed during the war, but by no means damaged beyond restoration—the single largest significant obstacle to his vision for the overhaul of Berlin's centre. Although Ulbricht's words were underwritten by what the Schloß symbolised in a Socialist republic, it had also formed a major, pathogenic obstruction to connecting with the east of Berlin for centuries. It was deemed to occupy the ground that would unlock a new city centre layout: one that superseded the hierarchy of the former; one that would open Berlin's central topography to an ideal space for thousands of participants to demonstrate their political allegiance to the regime. Laden with the imagery, rhetoric and memory of the former imperialist regime, led by the party leader's "*deep seated anti-Hohenzollern aversion*",[3] its remains were ruthlessly razed to the ground, in what Peter Müller labelled a "fatal" planning decision, which "*determined the history of East Berlin's centre planning for four decades.*"[4] In late 1950, the Hauptstadt's persistent state of *tabula rasa* has motivated the principal question of this chapter: to conclude whether the GDR's reconfiguration of Berlin's centre amounted

1 Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party)
2 'Die Großbauten Im Fünfjahrplan.', 23 July 1950.
3 von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau : Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten*, 57.
4 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 35.

to a typologically innovative approach; or did the formation remain consistent with tradition, despite the magnitude of change that undeniably occurred during this period?

To unpick this question, the following (general) observations should be made about the nature of the subject at hand:

The first is introduced by Bruno Flierl, who described the Hauptstadt as "*the hub of social life and architectural highlight of the city [… whose] objectives made it necessary to eliminate social and spatial disproportions between the places of working, living, culture and recreation*."[5] This is indicative of intent that aims to unite stakeholders of the city, in a fashion that promotes interaction and cooperation of urban actors at key locations. Yet, at the crux of this dispute lies the fundamental reality in the GDR that instead of masterplanning being used to bring stakeholders in the city together—as it had so effectively been in Schinkel's era— instead its agency was deployed as an expression of a singular point of control over the city fabric.

Second is to remember that type is an objective measure of the architectural discipline that has no subjectivity, and thus the centre of Berlin transcends its 'ownership' by group or factions, despite their role in any transformation. In much the same way that Schinkel was not the genius custodian of type in the previous chapter, it is an important recognition that the core of the city—already established through its typological patterns that were inscribed in its morphology—had fallen to the East according to political divisions of the city. Accordingly, the subsequent chapter is not interested in a comparison between eastern and western architectural manifestations: of their competing ideologies or search to embed the national traditions or the distortions induced by the rhetoric of its leaders. Rather, the focus steadily remains a comparison across time to determine any transformations and their effects.

Thirdly, as has been reasoned by this doctorate thus far, the relationship between the Primary Element and its Study Area is significant to determining a new systematisation of relations between objects.[6] In this sense, the internal configuration of the Primary Element is inextricably linked to delivering urban patterns of aggregation, synergy, or dispersal across the Study Area.

5 Flierl, 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic', 93.

6 Pavlos Philippou also states that "*both primary elements and urban areas cannot be identified self-referentially as discursive objects (although they usually take the guise of spatial constructs), but only relationally through the investigation of their performance within a given urban situation*." see Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings and Urban Areas', 9–10.

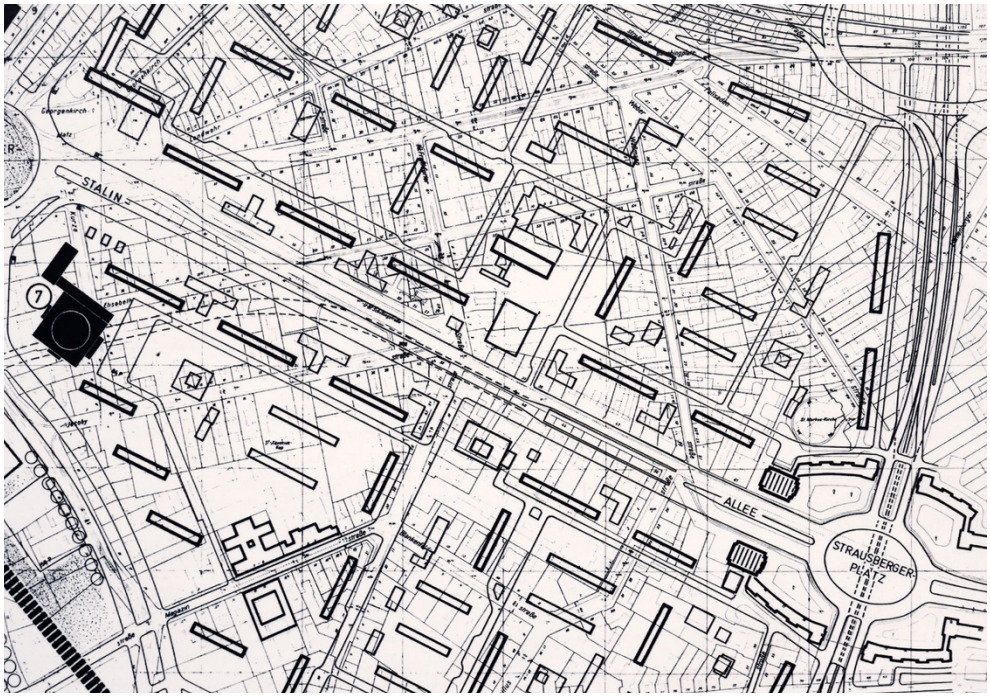

Figure 4.1: Morphological comparison between pre-war and post-war East Berlin.
Karl-Marx-Allee (second phase, 1959-1960) overlaid on pre-war map of East Berlin.
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Sammlung Jörn Düwel

Thirdly, despite the quantity of proposals developed under GDR rule (which seems to be in proportion with the perceived opportunity presented by the emptiness of the GDR Hauptstadt centre), most of the schemes that were drafted only ever displayed an urban intent, and plans for the interiors of key buildings weren't developed or don't survive. Therefore, the link between the spatial configuration of a 'Primary Element' (whose existence has to be inferred because it was never constructed, nor persisted) and the Study Area is a question of logical deduction rather than analysis of documented facts. Moreover, there was no single traceable pathway for urban development through the GDR era.[7] This should not be viewed however as precluding analysis. Instead, the chapter is built upon fragments of ideas that re-combine and sustain through time, rather than any one moment or masterplan. Indeed, the initial draft proposals often demonstrated typological principles that regulated the subsequent built artefacts, and therefore they constitute quasi–typological events.[8]

7 It is worth noting that by the point that its major urban components were instantiated, the GDR was in fact closer to its collapse that it was its inception. The Palast der Republik, the East Berlin centrepiece, was therefore only functional for 14 years

8 Some of these notions, such as Richard Paulick's 'Forum der Demokratie' constituted key moments of debate which, without directly affecting the urban resolution, did indirectly inform Hermann Henselmann's later proposals for a 'Forum der Nation'. In turn, this scheme firmly proposed the separation of functions in a central building that formed the basis of the built GDR city centre. Henselmann's 'Tower of Signals' emerged as the precursor to today's 'Fernsehturm'.

In consideration of each of these points above, the chapter argues that the East Berlin Hauptstadt did amount to a new relationship with the wider urban realm. Before, Schinkel's incessantly interrelational design praxis, driven by intricate consideration of the interface between parts across all scales, led to a spatial framing between urban areas and building components alike. As will be detailed below, this construct was broadly overhauled through the establishment of the GDR's "*Sixteen Principles for Urban Development*" in 1950, which advocated a compact, functional city based upon only two Study Areas: the Hauptstadt and the residual city hinterlands. Even after the Sixteen Principles were judged by many to have lost their importance,[9] it is reasoned that they bestowed a typological legacy, to inform the resolution of the GDR Hauptstadt form to when the Palast der Republik was completed, some 25 years after their publication. Whereas in Prussian times the intention was to articulate the structural separation between many different Study Areas, in the post-war East the mission was to congeal them in pursuit of a binary Study Area configuration. Manifold urban thresholds in the closed-order ('concave') city fabric were replaced by a constellation of sightlines holding structures in open ('convex') space. The central axis emerged as the articulation of this precept. Such a simplified urban configuration had only three Primary Elements regulating its performance: The first, Stalinallee, was built as a pilot during the showcase National Aufbauprogram (NAP), and thus consolidated the city's operation in-miniature. The second, the Fernsehturm, united the Hauptstadt and central axis together as one Study Area. The third, the Berlin Wall—which is easy to omit given its peripheral presence—maintained a functioning GDR state, at the expense of urban vitality.[10]

This chapter's reading of the East Berlin cityscape accompanies a reinterpretation of prevailing representational, ideological, and Marxist perspectives in existing literature. Together, they enunciate the typological contribution of its architecture to urban transformation. There are some particularly important sources to introduce. The encyclopaedic '*Berlin and Seine Bauten*'[11] is a straightforward resource that embellishes many factual details that are not expressly available in English literature, whilst resisting any temptation to embellish its account with personal opinion or judgement. Expressly interested in the ideological and representational constructs of the GDR-era, both Emily Pugh's book '*Architecture, Politics & Identity in Divided Berlin*'[12] and the work of Peter

9 Much of the commentary around the Sixteen Principles is concerned with their symbolic intent rather than spatial resolution.

10 Although not the focus of this chapter, it too would have significant consequences for the West of the city. Some of the urban consequences of this are dealt with in Hertweck and Marot, *The City in the City*.

11 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren'.

12 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*.

Müller[13] have been instrumental to interpret a typological perspective. Finally, the accounts of practicing GDR architect Dorothea Tscheschner[14] and the extensive writings of Bruno Flierl[15] have given first-hand accounts from practicing individuals located in the East, who's perspective acts both as a record of GDR intentions, and too as a barometer to address western unconscious bias in literature. Thus, despite distortion from the extreme political environment the divided city of Berlin, there is an opening for more research established in type's role in catalysing Berlin's urban environment, especially as the city today is so intrinsically connected to the condition left behind by the collapse of the GDR in 1989.

4.2 Contextual Background and Pre-Requisites to the East Berlin Cityscape

4.2.1 1840—1920

This chapter begins with acknowledgement of the significant timespan between the proceeding chapter and this new study period. This gap is not intended to suggest that Berlin's development had been static for over a century during the intermission. Indeed, during this period, Berlin witnessed significant change, much is accountable to James Hobrecht, and his plan for development published in 1862, after which Berlin witnessed substantial urbanisation, leading to the development of Berlin's own typo-morphology, the Berlin tenement (or 'Berlin block'). In 1920, following the fall of the imperial rule and abolition of the Kaiser, Berlin's 'urban' population almost tripled with the establishment of the 'Großberlin' municipal area. However, these moments broadly relate to Berlin's wider-city development, and not the Hauptstadt focus of this thesis.

In central Berlin, Museum Island had developed significantly. Following Kaiser Wilhelm IV's 1841 declaration of the area north of the Lustgarten as "a dedicated sanctuary of the arts and sciences." Schinkel's solitaire museum catalysed an accretion of individual solitaires to form Berlin's own cultural landscape that is recognised in the Museumsinsel estate today. Whilst the Spreeinsel was a city of black objects on a white background, the city depths were isolated moments of white carved from black space. Throughout this accreted density, the city had multiple Study Areas. In the early nineteenth century, Schinkel had successfully conjoined several of these in the city's inner west, including the

13 See Müller, *Symbolsuche*., and Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz'.

14 Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin'.

15 See particularly Flierl, 'Zwischen DDR Moderne Und Planwerk Inszenierungen in Berlin-Mitte'; Flierl, 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic'; Flierl, 'Berlin — Zentrum Stadtmitte'.

Spreeinsel, Friedrichstadt and Dorotheenstadt. However, during this period, in no small part to the disposition and muted performance of the Schloß, east of the river the Berlin Altstadt had remained largely disconnected. Repeated demands for a suitable connection date back to August Orth in 1871.[16] Only in 1884 did the first continuous street of Kaiser-Wilhelm Straße stretching eastward connect with the Lustgarten,[17] but this failed to connect with the key areas of the Altstadt streetplan, none less than Alexanderplatz, a bustling commercial square in the centre of the city's east. Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße, as it was christened, was also relatively narrow in comparison with Unter den Linden, and therefore did not resolve the relative complexity of accessing the Spreeinsel from the east.

4.2.2 Weimar Berlin

Weimar-era Berlin can be considered as the final moment that Berlin's development could be considered linear, unified and concordial. It was the culmination for the city that had enjoyed continual growth since James Hobrecht's principles were laid down, to arrive at a point where the figure/ground map of the city had reached its zenith of maximum density: peak 'blackness' and 'concavity' on a white field. The homogenised mass of the Berlin tenement type could be seen extending in every direction.

Berlin's expansion in the second half of the nineteenth-century took place in a ring outside the existing city, called the "Wilhelmine Ring. It was built almost entirely by private prospectors on individual 'Parzelle' (land plots). Development was laissez-faire, occurring over time. Looking to capitalise on their land, development unfolded from the edge into the depths of the block, and was governed only by a regulation of the building height (22m), and the size of internal courtyards, which were governed by the use of fire hoses (5.3m x 5.3m).[18] The morphology that resulted was a sequence of dense, interlocked courtyards, largely private in character to the middle, but regulated by the perimeter and street edge. There was programmatic variation, including industry in the depths of blocks, and commerce and cafés on the ground floor.

Aerial photographs from the Weimar period show the compactness of the city. Beyond the Spreeinsel looking east, every perimeter block was thoroughly infilled. There was minimal public realm—in the Altstadt only the slight thickening of the street outside

16 Orth's most notable contribution to the Berlin city plan was the alignment of the Stadtbahn viaduct through the centre of Museum Island, between the Bode and Pergamon Museums. This was chosen for favourable ground conditions for the viaduct piers. His work on this project made him aware of the lack of east-west routes across the city. His proposal for a direct link between Prenzlauerbergallee and Unter den Linden was proposed exactly 1oo years before its like-for-like implementation. See Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 133.

17 For a detailed historiographical account of Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße and Kaiser-Wilhelm-Brücke, see Goebel, 128–47.

18 See Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 29–41.Over time, the dimensions of the courtyards were enlarged over concerns for urban hygiene, but the morphological pattern remained.

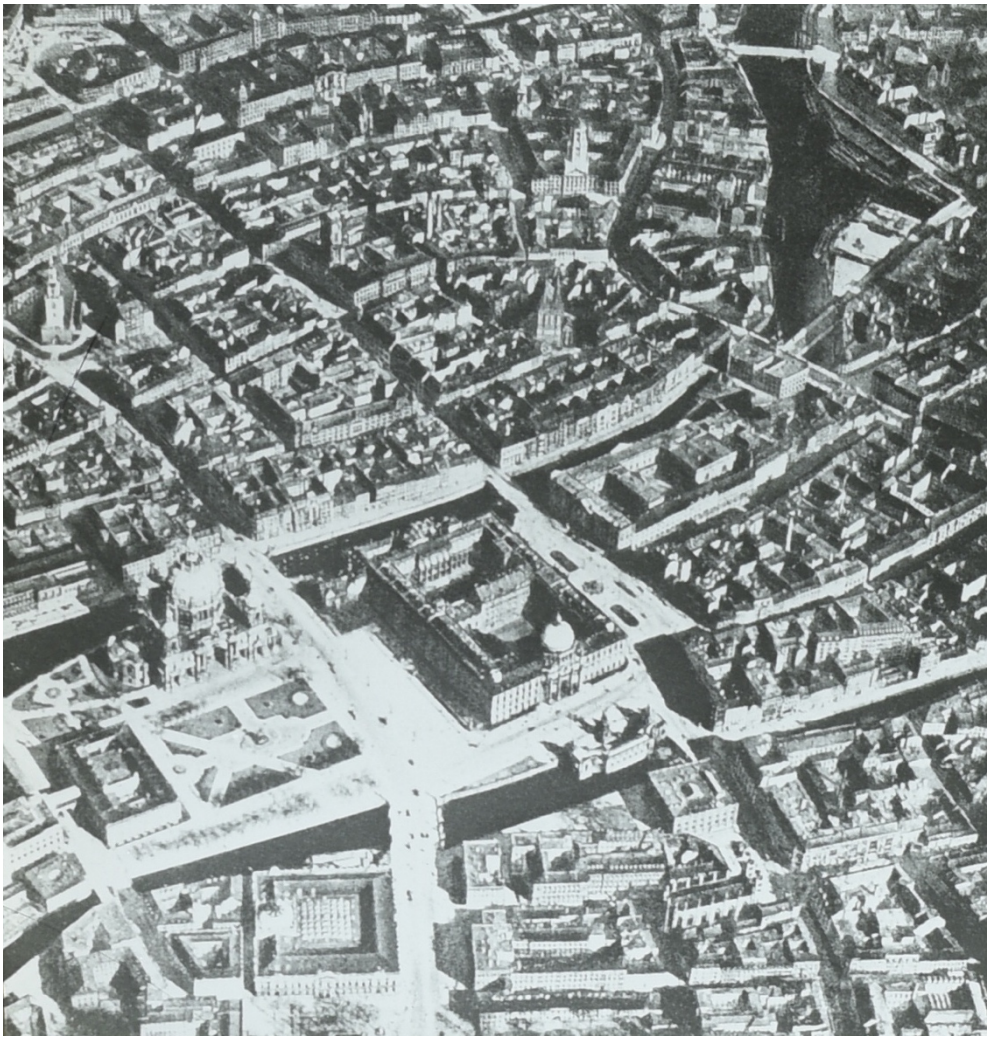

Figure 4.2: Aerial photograph of Berlin (1920)
Source: Humboldt Universität zu Berlin / Georg Schilfert

the Rathaus and the residual spaces around the diagonally-positioned Marienkirche were visible. The old city cohered as just a single Study Area, between the Stadtbahn viaduct and the River Spree.

But, in the bottom portion of the image on the Spreeinsel, the inverse formation is true: The freestanding solitaires of the Königliches Schloß, Dom, and Altes Museum were each separated by free space on all sides; meanwhile the city topography (the River Spree) defined the edge to the centre core and the threshold to a contiguous Study Area within. The Spreeinsel was its own urban artefact—one that was characterised by its own principles and building types, that which was so heavily indebted to the work of Schinkel in forming the Hauptstadt.

Emily Pugh writes that during the inter-war period, Berlin became "*a major site of innovative cultural production, and this period remains amongst the city's most famous epochs*."[19] Walter Curt Behrendt, a civil servant responsible for overseeing public building projects in Berlin at the time, stated that "*Foreigners who come from Paris or London assure us that Berlin is currently the liveliest city in Europe*".[20] This should come as no surprise when decoding the aerial images and figure/ground maps of the period. These are not just a representation of dense form, but illustrate a density of relations in the city too. Vibrancy and compactness appeared as mutual by-products.

Yet, the Weimar period is also associated heavily with the creation of the Großberlin administrative region, that greatly increased Berlin's governmental reach across a wider and more peripheral area to the city centre. Several significant outlying housing developments ("Siedlungen") were commissioned. Bruno Taut's aspirations for the urban and rural conditions to blur together echoed the ensuing Garden City movement occurring in the UK and US at the same period.

These are perhaps surprising moves given the intensity of the city that its compactness provided and the colour that it brought. Their significance is that the original Berlin 'project' was perceived as an "*old*" vision. Architectural discussions in the old town re-focussed on sanitation and hygiene as the Siedlung offered improved conditions. Inner city projects and competitions sought to remove as much old city fabric as permissible and replace its footprint with modern buildings. It was a watershed moment for the city—its last moment where the old city model was capable of withstanding either desired or unwanted change. Adding his voice to the disquiet with the state of affairs, in 1929, Martin Wagner, best associated with the contemporaneous redevelopment of Alexanderplatz, blasted the Weimar governmental structures that restricted his power to implement plans he had devised for the city. He exhorted, "*Today, the cosmopolitan city of Berlin is governed not by a democracy, but by a whole system of democracies that lacks a powerful and unified leadership.*"[21] Given the despotic horrors of the Third Reich, married with the pain of the Second World War's Siege of Berlin, Wagner can be seen with the cruellest of retrospection to have been shown his wish's consequences.

19 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 22.

20 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 161.

21 Gutschow and Düwel, 177.

Figure 4.3: Figure/ground plans of Berlin, pre- and post-war (c.1940 & 1953)

The density associated with the pre-war city is seen to be reduced to a unform texture following war damage. The bottom map does not fully account for further demolition work that was undertaken at a later date, for example in the Altstadt area of the city. To the very east of the image the trace of the Strausburger Platz and Stalinallee can be

4.2.3 Post-war Berlin 1945-49.

Berlin was badly affected by the ravages of war, especially by the final months after the Red Army's advance on the German capital. Fighting went from street to street, door to door, leaving up to three-quarters of all buildings damaged, and in some districts up to half the population homeless at the cessation of fighting.[22] Significantly, as figure 4.3 shows, the typical pre-war hierarchies in the urban grain—where Primary Elements were centred within recognisable Study Areas, and a balance between Berlin tenements and

[22] Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 28.

city voids was legible—was smashed, leaving a uniform background texture across the devasted city. The city's former characterisation as glimpses of white in a sea of blackness was inverted, to leave isolated black fragments lost in an apparently endless white field. The structure of the city, usually detectable by the city's streetplan, was so badly impacted in some areas, that to speak of Berlin's state as 'urban' was misleading. Hans Scharoun described the condition euphemistically as "*mechanically loosened*".[23] In response, the shattered state of the city encouraged experimentation. Not since the time of Schinkel had central Berlin witnessed change as radical and rapid as was now required in the years and decades succeeding 1945.

On The Spreeinsel itself, buildings received varying amounts of damage—it would take until 1961 to restore and re-open the Altes Museum, but its damage was cosmetic in comparison to the Neues Museum, which bore the brunt of Museumsinsel's damage. Here, the north-western wing and the south-eastern corner were destroyed, its grand central stairwell savaged. Schinkel's Bauakademie was damaged too, but its figure remained coherent and intact. The Königliches Schloß was bombed, but remained able to house city bureaucrats. An exhibition of Scharoun's Kollectivplan launched in its White Hall in 1948.[24] In the Altstadt across the river, Benedikt Goebel writes of an "*empty centre*", where "*a few old buildings remained standing on the lawns of the former Altstadt*".[25] The Altstadt had been largely eradicated from Berlin's surface, and hardly any building was retrievable after the fighting.

Initial Post-war Reconstruction Plans: Hans Scharoun and the Kollectivplan

In the numerous plans that were drafted by architects after the armistice, all of them aimed for a new urbanism, resisting temptations to merely rebuild the pre-war city, "*All grappled with what this simultaneously "new" and "historic" city might look like.*"[26] Following his appointment as City Building Councillor after the war, Hans Scharoun firmly rejected the pre-war "*Stony Berlin*", in favour of a programmatically driven "Stadtlandschaft" (*city landscape*) proposal: the Kollectivplan of 1945-46 (fig 4.4). Scharoun assumed a completely destroyed city, and set an even price per square meter for all land throughout the Berlin area, consequently re-drafting the land-ownership model of the capital drastically. Only Unter den Linden, Museum Island and Friedrichstadt remained, sitting isolated amongst a completely new order like museum pieces. The

23 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 194.
24 Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 277.
25 Goebel, *Mitte! Modernisierung und Zerstörung des Berliner Stadtkerns von 1850 bis zur Gegenwart*, 82.
26 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 31.

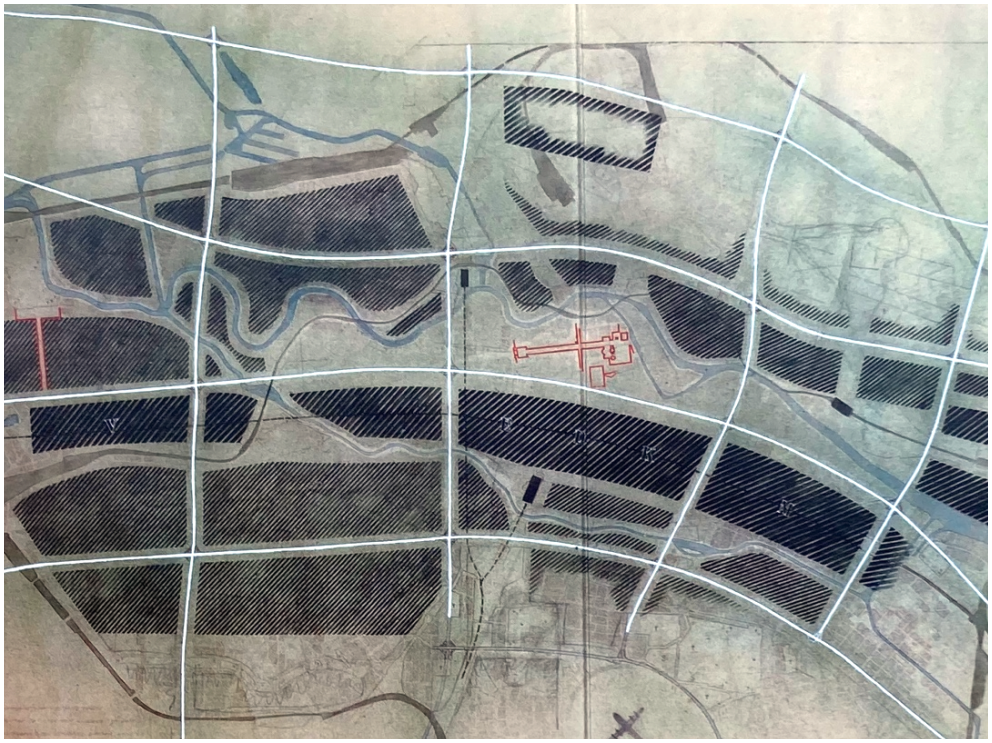

Figure 4.4: Kollektivplan, Hans Scharoun (1945-1946)
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Akademie der Kunste, Berlin, Baukunstarchiv

Altstadt east of the Spree was eradicated. The interstitial background fabric of the city was removed as the residual traditional city was dissolved and replaced by rows of zoned activities. The fabric holding the city together was no longer streets with defined edges, but expressways connected through large traffic intersections. Scharoun's intent was underwritten by efforts to cede all claims to power in a direct renouncement of Speer and Hitler's tyrannical visions.[27] Brain Ladd confirms the plan "*was intended to be democratic rather than hierarchical and thus to break with the German past in politics as well as planning*."[28] Scharoun's plans demonstrated a shift in typological unit from that of the perimeter block to the 'activity area'. The interconnectivity between city, block, building and room that governed the pre-war urban framework was eschewed in his concept. A density of connections between individuals was replaced by a dispersal of areas. The vision was anchored by faith that personalised transport could replace the need for the city and retain a balanced level of productivity and social relations, without vesting control or power in one particular area, person or group.

27 Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz', 268.
28 Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, 177.

However, for as much as Berlin had suffered above ground, the city's underground transport and service infrastructure had remained surprisingly intact. Ladd remarks "*These sinews of the Modern city […] would have required rebuilding […] at enormous cost. Quickly, then, Berlin after "zero hour" had to acknowledge its physical heritage*",[29] and Berlin re-grew to the patterns of the former city structure.

Yet the constraint infrastructure presented was both superseded and challenged by the political development of the city. After the Berlin blockade and airlift, municipal cooperation ceased, and the city's joint planning commission split.[30] In newly partitioned East Berlin, the ruling SED rejected Scharoun's proposals. The decentralised model that his proposal entailed was judged to be a derivative of the Anglo-American suburban model; an example of "*American cultural imperialism*".[31] Kurt Liebknecht, head of the "*Institute for Urban Building and Construction*" within the Ministry of Reconstruction, decried the "*kind of planning, in which a suburban idyll is brought into the inner city, [as] flawed.*"[32] This undoubtedly stood as an unwarranted politicisation of Scharoun's scheme that was not intending to import an American way of life, but squarely aimed for the decentralisation of individual formations of power that could be channelled by any latent urban agency.

The Division of Germany and Berlin

The task of rebuilding fell to Germany's occupying 'powers', as had been agreed by Stalin, Truman and Churchill at the Yalta Conference of February 1945. They agreed that upon Nazi surrender, Germany would be partitioned between the Soviet Union (USSR), US, UK, and France too as a fourth power.[33] Berlin, given its highly strategic importance, would mirror the separation of the country, despite its eastern location placing it fully in the Soviet sector of Germany. It was intended to be administered separately from any particular state. The conference agreed the 4-'D' approach: denazification; demilitarisation; decartelisation; and democratisation. There was a patent desire to distance development from National Socialism, but with no agreement on the specifics of how, nor a template for how the occupying powers should work together.

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29 Ladd, 178. It should be noted Gutschow and Düwel note similarly. See Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 251.

30 Brian Ladd notes that "*Planners maintained direct contact until 1956 and thereafter upheld a certain unspoken cooperation, trying to avoid projects that would negate their counterparts' work, should the Wall disappear. In other words, both sides continued to some extent to plan as if Berlin were a single city--but as if that city were theirs.*" See *The Ghosts of Berlin*, 180. See also See Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 280, note 1.

31 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 196.

32 Liebknecht, 'Exposé zur Stadtplanung Berlin'.

33 This compartmentalisation had echoes of the partitioning of France at the Treaty of Paris (1815) following the second abdication of Napoleon following the Battle of Waterloo.

Despite attempts at a shared administration immediately after the war, it was rapidly clear that fundamental differences at an ideological level stifled cooperation. After the end of the Soviet blockade on Allied sectors in May 1949 through the Berlin Airlift, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG; "West Germany") was declared a mere 11 days later. The establishment of the German Democratic Republic followed in October of 1949. East Berlin was declared its capital, against the protocols aimed at safeguarding Berlin's non-state status.

4.2.4 GDR Policy and Background

Domestically, the GDR is seen by Mary Fulbrook as an "*artificial*" state. She means by this that its origins come from outside of both the geographic boundaries and indigenous societal culture of East Germans.[34] Following the four-power agreement that governed post-war Germany, the ideology was imported from the Soviet Union, and therefore, the GDR state existed for as long as Moscow was willing to support its satellite. Fulbrook writes "*predicated on military division, the German Democratic Republic collapsed when the preconditions of division, the Wall, was breached.*"[35] However, this briefest of overviews perhaps requires a little embellishment. Pugh recognises that the relations between East Germany and the Soviet Union were more complex and strained. In the aftermath of the war, Stalin placed substantial reparations on the GDR for its role in the Second World War. He also dismantled and repatriated significant industries in the Soviet administrative zone of the country. She notes how at the end of 1946, over 1,000 factories had been "dismantled," and productivity dropped 35% to 80%.[36] These factors put the GDR at a significant economic disadvantage relative to the neighbouring FRG even before the partition of the city in 1948.

Ideological supremacy

Building on Müller's earlier recognition of the representational power the GDR sought to deploy, Pugh emphasises that architecture and urbanism formed particularly effective weaponry to showcase alterity. This was manifested in two particular ways: the urgency of the post-war housing crisis; and because building renewal was understood by both sides as a sort of symbolic catharsis, through the renewal of the German psyche left damaged by Nazi occupation and conflict. She writes that the ""*working through*" *of the past—known in German as Vergangenheitsbewältigung—was essential for the establishment*

34 Fulbrook does clarify later that 'nationl' legitimacy is a problem for all states. See *Anatomy of a Dictatorship*, 279.

35 Fulbrook, 4.

36 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 36.

Figure 4.5: Demonstration parade held on Stalinallee
Source: Public domain (Bundesarchiv)

of political legitimacy in East- and West Germany."[37] The developing Cold War "*encouraged a narrative […] based on choice: one or the other, [but never] both.*"[38] Berlin became the arena for heightened competing identities, The East and the West amounted to antithetical analogues of one-another—"*two alternate visions of a single city*". In future, there was to be not just reconstruction, but competing *reconstructions*.

What is less clear in literature is how type was harnessed to elicit urban performances to match this antagonism. The intervisitation of the East Berlin Hauptstadt shows the lengths that the East took to engrain ritual in their urban configuration.

The GDR Construction Industry

In the GDR's infancy, Stephanie Herold details how the architectural industry was nationalised, and private practice was abolished.[39] Kurt Liebknecht placed a central role in reorganising private offices into collectives, which operated to centralise design practices under the jurisdiction of the newly founded Institut für Bauwesen (Institute for

37 Pugh, 31.
38 Pugh, 5.
39 Herold, 'Architecture and the Collective'.

Construction).[40] Pugh notes that "*Whereas previously such officials had been subordinate to architects, responsible for executing their designs, now it was the architects who were charged with realising the construction industry's plans*."[41]

Simultaneously, private property rights were restricted. With both the means and the medium to dictate construction, Pugh notes that "*city planning was generally holistic, conceived on a large scale, and with a top-down approach rather than composed of individual projects*." The totalising nature and streamlined control over urban planning matters meant that a completely new agenda could be pursued, one which variously held a serve impact, or a severe neglect for the existing urban fabric. Large areas damaged by war were left to ruin and received no attention, also owing to a lack of funds to reconstruct. Despite pleas from leading figures including Bruno Flierl and Hermann Henselmann, calls to integrate new and old were ignored by the SED.[42] This is significant, as regard for how the new city intersected with the existing text of the city was secondary to the effect of the overall project. For this reason (besides Berlin's crippling war damage), comparatively few existing city elements had a bearing on the GDR city's operation, (the Schloß and Bauakademie were both demolished for GDR central institutions; the Museumsinsel was only slowly repaired), and to a large and generalising extent, it was only after reunification in 1990 that relations between the GDR and existing city fabrics were considered.

Though the system provided abundant governmental agency to prosecute wholesale change. However, the GDR economic outlook throughout its existence could not match the reach its system promised. In the first five-year plan of the SED, Walter Ulbricht called for a "*fundamental standardisation of types [to] allow for the industrial production of structures and building elements [through] factory based, serial production*".[43] It was hoped that rationalisation would maximise the efficiency of materials and labour, both scant resources in the early GDR years. Later, following Stalin's death, his successor Nikita Khrushchev gave a speech in December 1954 which demanded "*building better, faster and cheaper*,"[44] led to, according to Emily Pugh, a sustained exploration of prefabricated building techniques and also the marginalisation of the architect's role, positioned under construction industry officials. However, East Berlin was the paradigm that other East

40 Harold highlights that working in collectives was not a new phenomenon in Weimar-era Germany, but nonetheless allowed a structure that allowed state led efficiency to be delivered. See Herold.

41 Pugh, 'From "National Style" to "Rationalized Construction"', 94.

42 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 189.

43 'Der Fünfjahrplan Des Friedlichen Aufbaus.', 4.

44 Pugh, 'From "National Style" to "Rationalized Construction"', 92.

German centres were based upon and so received substantially more attention, especially its Hauptstadt, where efforts were focused.

'Stalinisation', Privacy and Control in East Berlin

Peter Müller writes that urban planning in the GDR was dictated by the doctrines propagated by the USSR under Stalin. These were founded on three pillars.[45] First, the socialisation of the land, where private land was re-nationalised by the state. Secondly, the centralisation of planning activities, whereby the state became an active agent in the city layout. Finally, through the politicisation of the urban structure and building style. James Scott outlines a similar structure to a totalitarian regime's playbook, noting that the public realm, the private sector and private institutions are all constraints to the exertion of control.[46]

In the specific context of the GDR, according to Pugh, "*The relationship between the private and public spheres in the GDR had always been fraught*."[47] She cites two primary reasons for this. First, that the economic conditions of the country in its first few years were likely to foment civic unrest (ultimately leading to the popular uprising of 1953, and sustained emigration to the FRG throughout the 1950s). Second, ideologically, Socialism (compounded thereafter by the GDR's particularly severe interpretation of it), sponsored the abolition of private land ownership, and therefore too led to a "*general denigration of the private sphere in favour of lives lived in, and in service of, the larger community.*"[48] Pugh notes that "*the government created an elaborate system of public institutions through which it could dominate and indoctrinate East German society.*"[49] State structures like the Ministry for State Security (Ministerium für Staatsicherheit; commonly known as the 'Stasi') have gained notoriety for their infiltration of the private domain and private institutional structures.[50] In the GDR, James Scott emphasises the private domain as "*by far the most important barrier*" to authoritarianism.[51]

Fulbrook writes that "*the structures of domination, government, coercion and control were to extend […] into all areas of life which, under a less invasive, more pluralistic form of state might be deemed to belong to the public sphere*." She summarises that "*all areas of life were*

45 Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz', 267.
46 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 101–2.
47 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 186.
48 Pugh, 186.
49 Pugh, 186.
50 The East German authorities were very suspicious of anyone spending too much time at home, as they were of private institutions, most infamously the church. Betts talks of the "*secret society*" of the Stasi, pitted against the "*secret society*" of the church. See Betts, *Within Walls*, chap. 2. He also notes the estimated prevalence of the Stasi network, stating that as many as one-in-thirty of the GDR population (800,000) may have been a Stasi informant during the 40 years of the GDRs existence. See Betts, 24–25.
51 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 102.

observed, manipulated, controlled in the interests of the alleged greater good of the whole. The end justified the means; individual rights were subordinated to those of 'society', as conceived and defined by the leading force, the SED."[52] In an operative way, this provides a redefinition to 'public' and 'private' space in the GDR.

This offered a very different terrain to the background underpinning Schinkel's transformation of Berlin. The reasons for this lie well beyond the scope of this doctorate, but nonetheless the situated freedoms which the liberated Prussian society ranged through the centre of Berlin were replaced by an authoritarian landscape, whose ultimate goal was "*the quite absurd and in principle unrealisable […] total ideological subordination of [its] population*."[53]

Through the heavy incursion that regulated and restricted the private domain, the motivation was for the populace to spend their time in the open public. There was a comparative wealth of facilities in East Berlin along key magistral streets such as Stalinallee than there were in more residential areas, which were criticised for offering little to the population outside of their work lives.

4.2.5 The Sixteen Principles of Urban Planning

In 1950, the fledgling GDR organised for a delegation to visit Moscow to review the principles of Soviet architecture and city planning, led by reconstruction minister Lothar Bolz. The delegation returned proclaiming the "*Sixteen Principles of Urban Planning*".[54]

The Sixteen Principles themselves were compiled in a vague and often obtuse manner, where each rule was a series of statements that was sufficiently inexplicit that meaning had to be established by reading between points and reassimilating their content. It meant that the lines between instruction and aspiration, representation and instrumentation were obscure. For this reason, to demonstrate the influence of the document these principles have been recompiled at a sub-statement level around the spatial ideal they implore. This begins with the Hauptstadt, which was firmly defined in the doctrine.

Rule number six of the document read:

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52 Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship*, 19.

53 Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship*.

54 'BPB'. The Principles were in turn incorporated into the "Law on the Construction of Cities in the GDR and the Capital of Germany, Berlin" on 6 September 1950. The principles were the operative planning component that sculpted policy beyond the construction law and are therefore evaluated here.

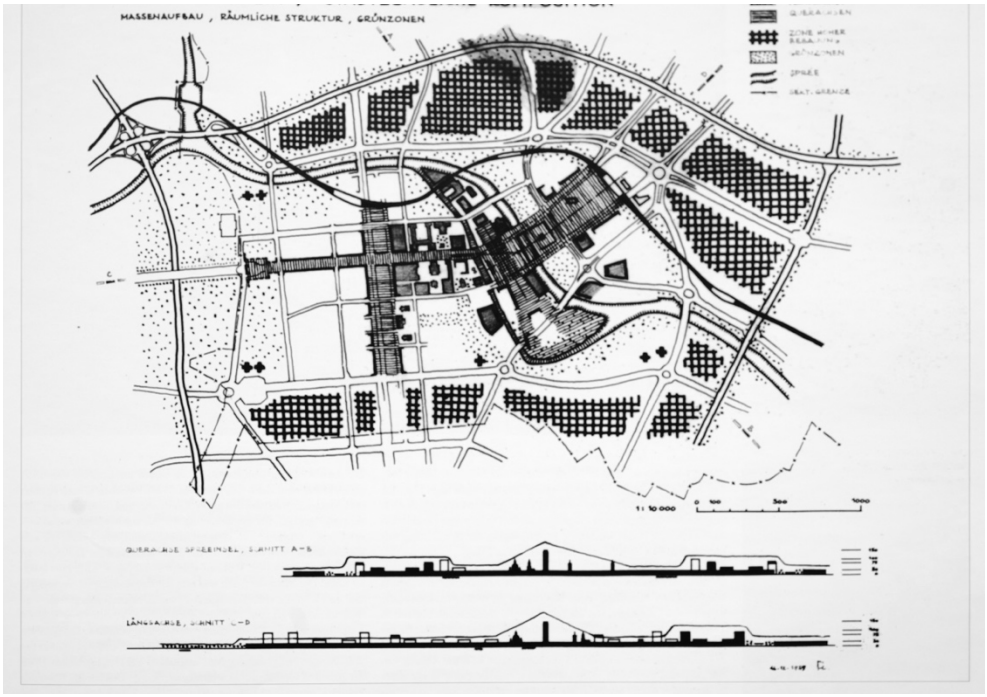

Figure 4.6: Urban composition study, Kurt Leucht (1959)
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Sammlung Jörn Düwel

> *"The centre is the defining core of the city.*
> *"The centre of the city is the political centre for the life of its people.*
> *"The most important political, administrative, and cultural sites are located in the centre of the city. The squares in the city centre are where the political demonstrations, the marches and the popular celebrations on festival days take place.*
> *"The centre of the city is built with the most important and monumental buildings, dominates the architectural composition of the city plan and determines the architectural silhouette of the city."*

Additionally, rule one declared "*The city is an expression of the political life and national consciousness of the people in terms of structure and architectural design*". Rule nine dictated "*The face of the city, its individual artistic form, is determined by squares, main roads and the dominant buildings in the centre of the city (in the largest of cities high rise buildings). The squares are the structural basis of the planning of the city and its overall architectural composition*."

Meanwhile, the set of principles regulating the city's periphery were more nebulous than for the centre. Rule four attested that "*the growth of the city must be subordinated to the principle of expediency and must be kept within certain limits*." Similarly motivated, rule

thirteen instructed "*multi-story construction is more economical than one- or two-storey construction. It also corresponds to the character of the big city*." Rule ten required "*neither the residential complexes, nor the residential districts must be self-contained isolated structures. In their structure and planning, they depend on the structure and demands of the city as a whole*."

Critique of the Sixteen Principles

According to Müller, the principles were "*a series of general twentieth-century urban planning statements […] fixed with an anti-western impetus […] enriched with ideological guiding values*".[55] But rather than being overtly progressive by invoking new forms and separating functions as advocated by the CIAM 1933 Athens Charter,[56] the Soviet doctrine conversely "*did not want to erase the historically developed city for the liberation of its inhabitants*", but rather "*called for a completely new city that was a monument of political self-assertion, which […] served to equalise, motivate and satisfy the (working) masses*."[57] This would appear to conflict with the GDR's intended interface of the new and the old city, but Goebel clarifies "*the future urban design had to be based on the "historically developed structure of the city with the elimination of its deficiencies" [Goebel's emphasis replicated] to be taken as a basis. This opened the door to a far-reaching change in the structure of the city*".[58] Goebel contests that "*the historical street and square structure was hardly taken into account in the planning*",[59] but as this chapter will explore later, the composition of Stalinallee, flowing into Alexanderplatz, then into the Altstadt, consolidated the Hauptstadt, albeit 25 years after the Principles' publication.

In almost diametrical contrast to Scharoun's Kollectivplan vision, the Social-Realist city invested power in concentrated locations, where the state retained apparently limitless reach into the domain of the deep city. Bruno Flierl recognises that "*the city was conceived as a hierarchically structured socio-spatial system that was to be functionally and creatively planned and controlled*".[60] The effect was that the city's representational appearance was strongly hierarchical, yet inversely its spatial arrangement was flattened.

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55 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 20.

56 Emily pugh records the dilemma of qhat role the German "Neues Bauen" and "Bauhaus" movements should hold within the Sixteen Principles after their endorsement by 'the West' through CIAM. See Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 31–34.

57 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 21.

58 Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 279.

59 Goebel, 279.

60 Flierl, 'Der Zentrale Ort in Berlin', 91.

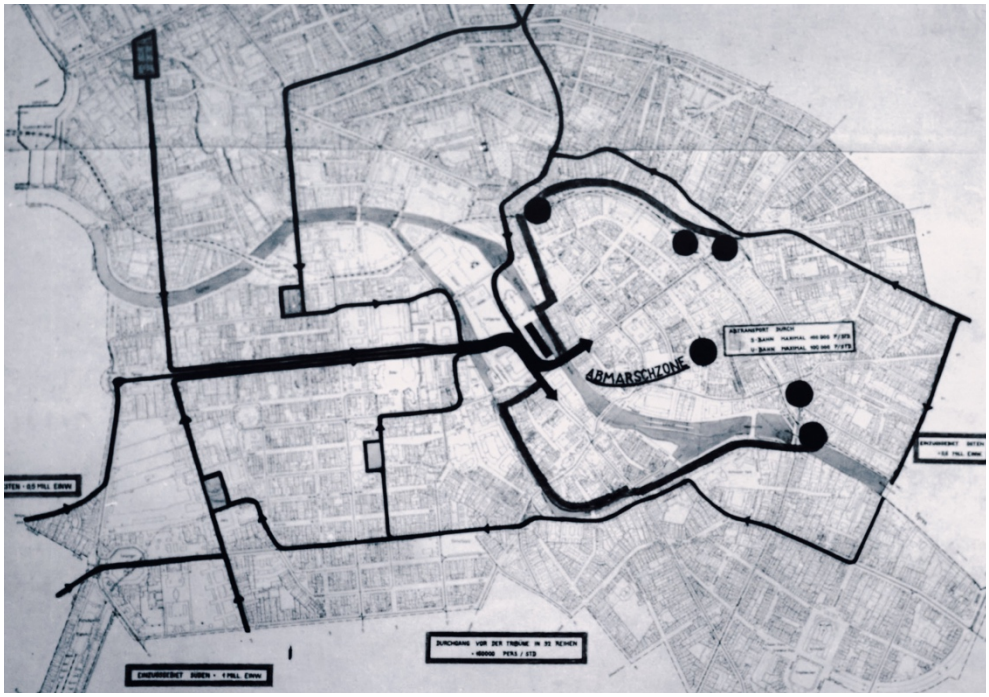

Figure 4.7: Demonstration marches map, Kurt Junghans (1950)
Illustrating the centralised planning of marches in solidarity with the SED from city periphery to core. This particular arrangement pre-dates all development of the East Berlin central axis or Stalinallee, which would form a major conduit for marching columns toward the centre of the city.
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Sammlung Jörn Düwel

Two Study Areas

As a conceptual ideal, it is striking how clear-cut the designation between the Hauptstadt and the background city 'hinterland' stands (see fig 4.6).[61] The proposal (unrealised), by Kurt Leucht in late 1959—some years after the supposed wane of the Sixteen Principles—shows an undifferentiated belt of "high buildings", arranged as 'cells'. The Hauptstadt area has a series of "cross-axes" of one another, which converge on the parade square on the Spreeinsel. The key buildings are highlighted in black, forming a density in the centre. The diagram shows that although the principles of CIAM's Athens Charter were antagonistically dismissed (and with it the express zoning of different areas of the city), there was in fact a clear attempt at a political separation of functions in the GDR. At the bottom of the image, cross sections show how the city skyline peaks at its centre, in line with the sixth rule quoted above.

61 This must be contrasted against the way the principles translated into East Berlin's reality. Flierl details the social zoning patterns in his article 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic', 96–100. The area plan details five distinct hierarchically arranged belts around the Hauptstadt out to a radius of 100km. He adds "*Cities were considered to be relatively stable units, limited in size and constituting a whole that could be shaped with artistic means and that could have a clearly marked social and architectural focus.*" Earlier in the article he wrote it was "*necessary to eliminate social and spatial disproportions between the places of working, living, culture and recreation.*"

This, and many other proposals from the period, show the city fabric was 'flattened' and Study Areas were engineered out of the city by concentrating '*key urban artefacts*'[62] in the Hauptstadt. Most cultural, civic, and representational activities were discharged centrally. Rather than residential areas congealing around a nodal points, they were constructed as independent cells in an undifferentiated mass. Transport networks on their perimeter upheld a harmony between the city's productivity and distributive functions. As Roland Strobel notes of the Weberwiese development (1951-1952), found half-way along the Stalinallee, it "*retained only scant ties to the mixed residential, commercial and industrial uses typical of the Mietkasernen. Industrial uses were completely eliminated from the site, and only two small commercial tenants reside in the ground floor.*"[63] These uses were delegated to the Stalinallee, as wider-scale planning took precedence over localised considerations.

Transportation

Circulation at the city scale held a threefold purpose. Firstly, as has been stated, it was to normalise the relations between neighbourhoods, by regularising the imperfections between districts. An even dispersal of relations in the city was paramount to production. Aesthetic coherence and conformity became articulations of this consistency. Second, arterial transportation routes doubled as scenes for political demonstration (see fig 4.7). Parade Streets ("Magistrals") became the ceremonial backdrop to 'festivities'. Thirdly, these armatures were a surveillance apparatus of the state. The outwardly disposed Social-Realist arena of the GDR allowed a displacement of built traditions to fuse with enhanced potential for the state to exercise control over its subjects. The street plan and public domain thus held agency in the ideal city, especially in relation to the traditional 'concave' city pattern.

Legacy and Impact of the Sixteen Principles

The above critique has interpreted the Sixteen Principles as a holistic doctrine, which encoded a sequence of orchestrating, spatial codes and therefore stood as a quasi-typological construct.[64] The purpose of the analysis above has been to re-map, foreground and explain their instructive nature, and rebut that they principally aimed at providing a representational manifesto.

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62 '*key urban artefacts*' cannot (yet) be determined as 'Primary Elements', because they are yet to "*participate in the evolution of the city in a permanent way*." See Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 86.

63 Strobel, 'Before the Wall Came Tumbling Down', 27.

64 The prefix 'quasi' is important here, for as Stan Allen affirms, the ascription of a "*persistent template of beliefs*". Allen, *Practice*, XX.

Much of the Sixteen Principles' effect was resolutely symbolic and attenuated soon after Stalin's death. Khrushchev spearheaded calls to "*de-Stalinise*" the Soviet bloc. Following his speech of 1954 demanding to build "*better, faster and cheaper*," much of the more expressive "*pomp*" of the former Soviet Premier was eschewed: the Stalinallee's overtly Neo-classical appearance, often referred to as a 'Zuckerbäcker' (sweetshop confectioner's) style provided the model development for the GDR, but it also involved complex constructional methods which were not sustainable nor scalable for a state with limited resources.[65] Müller claims "*with the gradual de-Stalinisation of eastern Europe, the importance of mass cult took a back seat to the solution of traffic and structural problems*".[66] Most construction "*on the axes and squares followed the path of a 'fashionable modernity' paved at the end of the 1950s*".[67] Niels Gutschow and Jorn Düwel note "*the GDR concentrated on a representative reconstruction of the city centre*."[68] Goebel too believes that the principles were only "*the dominant guiding principle of the years 1950 to 1955*".[69] Yet opposingly, Bruno Flierl avows that "*This centralist concept, in which traditional urban patterns of hierarchically structured social orders of earlier times lived on*".[70] Following the first '*All-Unions Urban Planning Conference*' of the Soviet Union in 1960, its chairman, Vladimir Kucherenko wrote "*the artistic expressiveness of the cityscape is enhanced by the erection of freestanding large social buildings, and by the contrast between those buildings and the residential development*",[71] which sounded like little new direction beyond what the Sixteen Principles had called for a decade earlier.

As is reasoned further below, on a typological level there is evidence that city planning in the GDR developed in accordance with the spatial logic of the Sixteen Principles up until the completion of its main urban components. Particularly, at a structural level, dictates maintaining the principal divide between the city core and the city periphery endured. This can be comprehended as a fundamental manifestation of control that underpinned the Social-Realist city function. In this way, the document was not ideological, but the precept to ideology.

The GDR Hauptstadt construction plan culminated with the Palast der Republik in 1976. Müller wrote that "*East Berlin's reconstruction plans lived from the unique history of its*

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65 Giudici, 'The Last Great Street of Europe: The Rise and Fall of Stalinallee', 2012, 126. Giudici also offers a good description of the Stalinallee constructional complexity in this passage.

66 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 23.

67 Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz', 269.

68 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 252.

69 Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 279.

70 Flierl, 'Der Zentrale Ort in Berlin', 92.

71 Kucherenko, 'Bericht Der Delegation Zur Allunions-Städtebaukonferenz'.

Figure 4.8: Aerial survey of East Berlin around Stalinallee (1953)

The photograph reveals the severe degree of devastation and clearance that was necessary in the post-war years. This allowed Stalinallee and its hinterlands to be superimposed over the structure of the former city. The outline of Stalinallee's elongated blocks can be seen through the centre of the image.
Source: Geoportal Berlin

central building", which outlived all of the other concepts.[72] As the next section will highlight, rather than the central building leading the city's hierarchy in a neatened pyramidal structure, the consolidation of inner city East Berlin's binary condition was aided by efforts to create the central axis before the Hauptstadt. This would determine the city's main organising and functional principal. This usurped creating a geographically nucleated town centre with a much more elongated structure.

4.3 Initial Steps and First GDR Proposals

Bruno Flierl claimed that between the period of 1950 and 1961, the city's efforts were concentrated on preparing "*an urban development outline.*"[73] As the state had centralised control and streamlined all planning activities, this would naturally be expected to constitute a logical and linear process. Yet, the period provided a litany of proposals, most of which were never constructed, and whose (often admirable and copious) typological

72 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 22.
73 Flierl, 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic', 113.

ingenuity was stifled by a layering of conflicting counterproposals. Particularly, the interface between central axis and central area dominated this time. This section of the chapter assesses its fractured development into a coherent proposal that established the East Berlin Hauptstadt.

The East Berlin Hauptstadt duly materialised in two separated strands. There is maybe a temptation to believe that GDR's proposals began with the razing of the Schloß's ruins in 1950, given it was the first 'consequential' act of the young GDR. Regardless of the rhetoric and symbolism attached with the move, it dictated much of East Berlin's planning policy for the duration of the GDR's existence. The subsequent ramifications have remained anchored in the space up until the present-day. However, the first substantive realised construction was the 'pilot centre' of Stalinallee (1952-1953). Constructed further east than the Spreeinsel, and thus more centrally to East Berlin city's mass, it was accompanied by new residential areas that filled out the war-torn area behind.

In the East, propositions were still developed in hope that the city would be reunited at pace (and to their ideological precepts). Correspondingly, Hauptstadt plans were developed around the logical geographic heart of the combined urban area, concentrated on the Spreeinsel and the heavily bombed Altstadt area. SED General Secretary, Walter Ulbricht declared at the SED III. Party Congress in 1950 that "*the centre of the city is the Lustgarten and the area of the present Schloß ruins*".[74] The area also had the symbolic benefit that the area was tied symbolically to the founding location of Berlin's original settlement. Though Gutschow and Düwel note the SED pressed for a "*rapid implementation*" of the centre, early schemes drawn up immediately after Ulbricht's dictate were mothballed, and only a single stone grandstand was erected upon its footprint until the 1970s.[75] The central area was subject to a much lengthier development process.

Meanwhile, the central axis was not a new aspiration dreamt by the GDR. Historically, the city favoured access from the west along Unter den Linden. Even during the inter-war period, the city plan was still heavily weighted towards the west (as had been the case since prior the time of Schinkel), and routes around the Schloß on the Spreeinsel were confused and laboured. At the time, Adolf Behne wrote:

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74 'Die Großbauten Im Fünfjahrplan.', 23 July 1950.

75 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 193.

> *"We have the following situation: a brilliantly constructed path breaks off shortly before the end [in front of the Schloß]. From the opposite side, an equally promising large path, clearly directed towards the first route, breaks off in the same way. With difficulty, and only by taking detours, twists and turns, what necessarily belongs together comes together – and without that barrier it would flow effortlessly from one into the other."* [76]

The bombing of Berlin, and the first proposals to found the centre of East Berlin in the Altstadt, rather than on the Lustgarten, provided unrivalled opportunity to allay this historic deficiency.

The claim that the central axis was the natural focus of East Berlin's development plans dovetails with a different priority to the Hauptstadt, that on a practical level, rather than a symbolic one, that the pre-war Hauptstadt was located eccentrically to the surrounding city,[77] and "*the existence of West Berlin made it very difficult to achieve [a redistribution of "social and spatial disproportions" across East Berlin] from a territorial [point of view].*"[78] Its resolution held clear strategic currency, particularly as a synergistic link. Flierl states the axis was of "*overriding importance as a social and spital link*".[79] This is corroborated by Dorothea Tscheschner, who writes that the concept aimed to provide "*a better structural connection of the large working-class residential districts in the east*".[80] There was therefore greater emphasis on the it than the formation of the central area. Suggestions were that to resolve the former would logically establish the latter.

The GDR became the first administration to link Unter den Linden to Alexanderplatz and beyond. In a political regime orientated eastward, and without cooperation moving westward, there were clear advantages to developing the central axis from a concept to fulfilment. This delimited a spine of development that determined not just the primary traffic routing of the city (for parades and for general circulation), but also the location of the city's most representationally rich architecture.[81]

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76 Behne, 'Berliner Probleme: Hundert Meter Von Der Ziele ...'

77 Flierl, 'Der Zentrale Ort in Berlin — Zur räumlichen Inszenierung sozialistischer Zentralität', 90.

78 Flierl, 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic', 94.

79 Flierl, 109.

80 Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin', 221.

81 Walter Ulbricht demanded at the 3rd Party Congress of the SED that Alexanderplatz would become the "*square of department stores*", roads through the Altstadt area were to be widened, and Unter den Linden would house embassies. See 'Die Großbauten Im Fünfjahrplan.', 23 July 1950.

Figure 4.9: Photographs of key characteristics of Stalinallee

The symmetrical disposition of the Torplatz of Strausburger Platz.(top left beckoned entrance onto the magistral, and compared to the few lateral connections to the residential 'cells' of the hinterland behind (bottom left). These thresholds were diminutive and abrupt by comparison. The stepping building line, projecting porches and balconies added some phenomenal depth to the Allee's façades (right), but it was not used to articulate connection to the hinterlands.
Source: Photographs by the author.

4.3.1 Stalinallee / Karl-Marx-Allee

Stalinallee's (re-named Karl-Marx-Allee in 1961) inception is owed to the GDR seeking a "*test object*" for its prospective city centre, knowing that in future it would become a component of the central axis to the eastern fringes of the city.[82] Between 1952 and 1953, the first phase was built without any linkage to the Spreeinsel. A second phase of the street was built in 1959-1960 to link Strausburger Platz with Alexanderplatz, and the emerging central axis through East Berlin.

The first phase of the street was carried out under the auspices of the National Aufbauprogram (NAP), which was announced by Ulbricht at the SED III. Party Congress. The project aspired to provide desperately required housing across the East German state, but also plentiful amenities, including sports halls, leisure facilities, and shops. Stalinallee was the poster child of this programme, promoted as "*Germany's first Socialist street*."[83] Substantial resources were therefore assigned to its completion, and it

82 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 202.
83 Palutzki, *Architektur in der DDR*, 85.

Figure 4.10: Proposal for Stalinallee design competition, Egon Hartmann (1951)
Note the articulation of the threshold between Allee and hinterland, and the definition in the sketch of the perimeter around each individual 'cell'.
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Sammlung Jörn Düwel

should be considered as a project of national significance, strategically and symbolically for the GDR nation.

Typological Description

Stalinallee was so fundamentally corelate to the 'fixed activities' of ritualistic existence in the (early) GDR that its street blocks had to contain the activity of the front, and marshal its effects. Their form, whilst accommodating a variety of programmes in-between events, was fundamentally shaped by the requirements of events, most notably demonstrative parades. The GDR sought for its populace to spend as much time in the public sphere as possible, and therefore it was a deliberate calculation to concentrate amenities along Stalinallee and create a binary disparity between hinterland and Hauptstadt.

The Allee does not dovetail with typically comprehended typo-morphological classifications. On one hand, it was envisioned as a critique of the Berlin tenement typology. In opposition to their density, concavity, and submission to the street pattern, the Allee innovated against this figure, breaking open its interiorised diagram to form freestanding blocks. Maria Shéhérazade-Giudici establishes that the Allee's form sat between being fully private or public, in an urban composition neither of city blocks nor

isolated figures.[84] Figure and void were given equal agency. On the another, Stalinallee had an important role to discharge its 'core' function as a Magistral. The building fronts were richly clad in porcelain tiles and replete with balconies, providing a suitable backdrop for hosting the public functions of the Hauptstadt contrasting with the backs, which were flat, unadorned, and sleepy. The Plattenbau hinterlands were poor cousins of the blocks that line the street.

The Frankfurter and Strausburger Tors formed "Torplätze" ('gate-squares'), framing entrances at either end of the Magistral (fig 4.9). Their indeterminate height of its eaves line at seven to nine storeys channelled activity along its length, reinforcing its public nature. In plan, the alternating form sat indistinctly between street and square. Constrictions afforded a more outward disposition to the blocks, whilst thickenings in the public realm added centripetal surveillance over their forecourts and entrances. The buildings' stepping fronts, projecting balconies and terraces produced complex spatial layerings, but they were all linear in the plane of the street, and therefore accentuated procession. From above, top-ranking GDR officials, who the apartments were reserved for, could marvel at the demonstration of solidarity with the regime. Protestors were left with no space where they could comprehend the mass of the crowd, they were just one member subsumed to the collective.

The protracted length of the buildings emphasised the street edge but impeded meaningful connection to the hinterlands. Connections between front and back were few, forming a strict control of movement. Where passageways did punctuate, the thresholds are noticeably abrupt, yet ornate and grandiose (see fig 4.9). Crossing the threshold was analogous to Schinkel's 'public man' discovering civil society from the Altes Museum's loggia. For the East Berlin citizen, it was a view across the city's most 'democratic' arena, where city life was at its most highly charged. It is noticeable that in the '*Architecture of the City*', Aldo Rossi asserts that "*the more strongly the polarisation is exerted and the closer the interchange between the 'public' and the 'private' spheres, the more 'urban' the life of an urban aggregate is*",[85]

These attributes distinguished the Stalinallee from other magistral streets, and ultimately these typological characteristics restricting movement would define the character of the

84 Giudici, 'The Last Great Street of Europe: The Rise and Fall of Stalinallee', 2012, 125–26.
85 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 86.

East Berlin portion of the central axis. Later, these attributes were reflected in the Altstadt Forum (see section 4.4.2).

Hermetic Ecological System

One of the more remarkable aspects of Stalinallee is its integration of entire urban districts and Study Areas in one operation. Rossi was to pick up on this aspect in a dedicated '*Casabella*' article on Berlin he wrote after a study trip in 1964. Within, he wrote:

> "*The Stalinallee represents […] a part of the city [that] has been built in its entirety, the more traditional concept of zoning has been denied […]. The mixing of functions throughout the territory is affirmed by the establishment of a single structure that does not recognise the validity of the formation of districts with preeminent specialisation.*
>
> "*The Stalinallee […] was therefore a remarkable experiment. In it, a new dimension is concretely experienced and also a real proposal of a different life in the city,*"[86]

Rossi suggests strongly that the configuration of Stalinallee is such that it constitutes a propelling Primary Element and holds an intrinsic flexibility for new use. Perceived as a singular artifact, it constitutes its own urban ecology, which is self-sustaining.

Notwithstanding, this thesis advocates a different typological interpretation than Rossi does. Its construction, so indelibly associated with the determination of an entire city ecology relied very little on the ruins of the former city it was built over, disrupting the naturalistic law of conventional city development. Constituting a singular totalised system, it encapsulated life in East Berlin. It needed to confer little, even *no* agency, because there was neither need, nor conceivability, of transformation (in a centrally planned system) beyond its curtilage. This closed organisational system leads to a noticeable hardening of the city form: Commensurate with Rossi's definition of a pathogenic permanence, it would not be possible to amend the street without detracting from or inhibiting the discharge of its activities.

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86 Rossi, 'Aspetti della Tipologia Residenziale a Berlino', 17. Please note: In Rossi's statement the word 'territory' is somewhat ambiguous. Translation has been made by the author. A native Italian Speaker is likely to have a better understanding of linguistic intent. It has been interpreted as meaning *throughout the buildings of Stalinallee*, rather than *Stalinallee and its territorial hinterlands*, but this does form quite a significant caveat. Notwithstanding, this interpretation safeguards that Rossi does not conflate or confuse analyses of Primary Elements and Study Areas. Here, he relates to the Study Area.

Figure 4.11: Aerial view of Karl-Marx-Allee and its hinterland 'cells' (2012)
The uniformity of the hinterland cells is shown clearly. The perimeter of these areas appears to regulate the interiors. The morphological pattern is similar to the Berlin tenement structure, where the open space inside the cells is analogous to the tenement courtyards, the exploded corners akin to the passageways into the block. Note how each cell aligns with one block of the original Stalinallee on the right of the image.
Source: Geoportal Berlin

This is corroborated by two points. The first, written with the benefit of 70 years' hindsight, (and after the collapse of the GDR regime), is that in the present day, Karl-Marx-Allee has experienced significant decline. The second point relates to the inflexibility of its form to make meaningful connections with its surroundings, which sustain it as a true forum for exchange and personal enrichment, like any street is intended to. What follows now is a description of the artifact's specificity to discharging these roles.

The Residential 'Cell'

The barriers created by the extruded length of Stalinallee's blocks governed the nature of relations between it and the city hinterlands, which were heavily polarised domains. At the Torplätze, and at intersections to Stalinallee, these hinterlands were divided into sub-regions. The 'cells' have an overall holistic character, but morphologically and performatively they are similar enough to one-another to be incomparable. In this way, they form a complication to Rossi's understanding of the Study Area. Rossi states that areas are defined by comparison to other elements of the wider urban whole.[87] Instead, the cell is placed in hierarchy with the Study Area as its subset.

87 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 63.

In effect, despite the GDR attempting to radically re-engineer the perimeter block, these can be understood as constituting a widened perimeter block in the urban landscape: there is a more public edge, and the interior has a more private nature. However, though there is scope for other programmes to be mixed with the residential component, often there is none forthcoming. Because of the typological similarity to the Berlin block morphology, characteristically private to the centre (one of the very select spaces in the GDR where they typical subordination of the individual to the whole did not apply) and regulated by its perimeter, to integrate each cell as an analogue of the 'tenement block'. The exploded corners are comparable to the passageways of the tenement. It is therefore reasoned here to be a direct variation—as opposed to an innovation—of it. The primary translation is scalar, rather than performative.

4.3.2 The Development of the Central Area

In 1950, the first ideas for the design of the central building in East Berlin's centre therefore concerned the Lustgarten.[88] During the Weimar, Nazi-era and in the early GDR years, the Lustgarten had been used for parades and demonstrations. However, for the scale of political demonstrations the Social-Realist state mandated, it was apparent that was not large enough for vast rallies. The GDR were looking to establish a space "*at least 120 metres wide*", between 48,000 and 100,000 m^2 in area.[89] Initial investigations looked to demolish the Dom, but were discounted for yielding 'only' 44,000 m^2. Next, explorations to culvert the Spree were rejected based on technical feasibility. Plans to demolish the remains of the Schloß were explored from early in the process, but there was a tacit understanding that historical significance of the building outweighed any benefit in its demolition.[90] The GDR's own Ministry of Reconstruction had the prescience to warn:

> *"If the palace and cathedral are demolished, the square will lack an architectural framework on all sides. With the financial means currently at our disposal, it cannot be designed in the next 10 years in such a way that it makes an impact on the demonstrators."* [91]

Nonetheless, even at a preliminary stage, it was clear that the space's exceptional usage for events would be the main programmatic determinant on the square's size. During hiatuses, the space would embrace its own vacuous proportions, and express a new urban

88 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 24.
89 This would accommodate a marching file of 60 people, or 400,000 static participants. See Müller, 24–25.
90 Müller, 25–27.
91 GDR Ministry for Reconstruction, 'Das Zentrum Berlins', 21 June 1950.

hierarchy which superseded that of the former city. Thus, the Lustgarten—the Berlin's main square of imperial times—was consigned during the GDR-era to a secondary position.

Plans were initially drafted to use the area on the eastern bank of the Spree in the Altstadt as the parade ground. The location was approved by the central planning committee in July of 1950.[92] Planning minutes from the time show agreement of its onward benefits.[93] Beyond the obvious importance that this move satisfied the Sixteen Principles "*in every way*", the notes highlight the spatial significance relocating the centre could achieve. Two of their points stand out. Firstly, the location of the square in the Altstadt would demonstrate the new urban order the SED was intent on forming in East Berlin. Their memorandum read the "*special effect due to the unusual size of the square in Berlin makes it stand out from all the existing squares and makes it in every way the urbanistic highlight of Berlin*." Secondly, the open space would "*[link] Stalinallee and Alexanderplatz via the new Forum to Lustgarten and Unter den Linden*" much less problematically, establishing the central axis across the city. It managed this whilst "*preserv[ing] of the old form of the Lustgarten in its beauty, designed above all by Schinkel, especially valuable in a city that is poor in beautiful and memorable squares*."

Immediately following the committee session, East German architects began work on articulating the agreed planning direction. These schemes played a significant role in the future planning direction of the city, despite not being built. These initial proposals instead established the morphological constraints that the prospective masterplans would have to work within. Much of the detail of this research of this is attributable to Peter Müller, who has catalogued much of the history of the schemes and planning memorandums that are archived to provide an analysis of the representational aspects of the projects.[94] Simone Hain has also provided an important insight into Richard Paulick's scheme researched below.[95] This section references their academic's contributions to build a new analysis that voices the role of type.[96]

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92 This was agreed once on 26th July 1950 and re-affirmed three days later. See Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 28.

93 GDR Ministry for Reconstruction, 'Proposals for the construction of a square for central rallies in Berlin, Draft.', July 1950. For a quotation of the relevant minutes, see Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 28.

94 Refer to Müller, *Symbolsuche*; and Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz'.

95 Hain, 'Städtebau Mit Partitur'.

96 While these proposals are sometimes cited, the account is often a historiographical description of events in the lead-up to the Schloß's destruction, rather than attempts to offer urban analysis or criticism of the schemes.

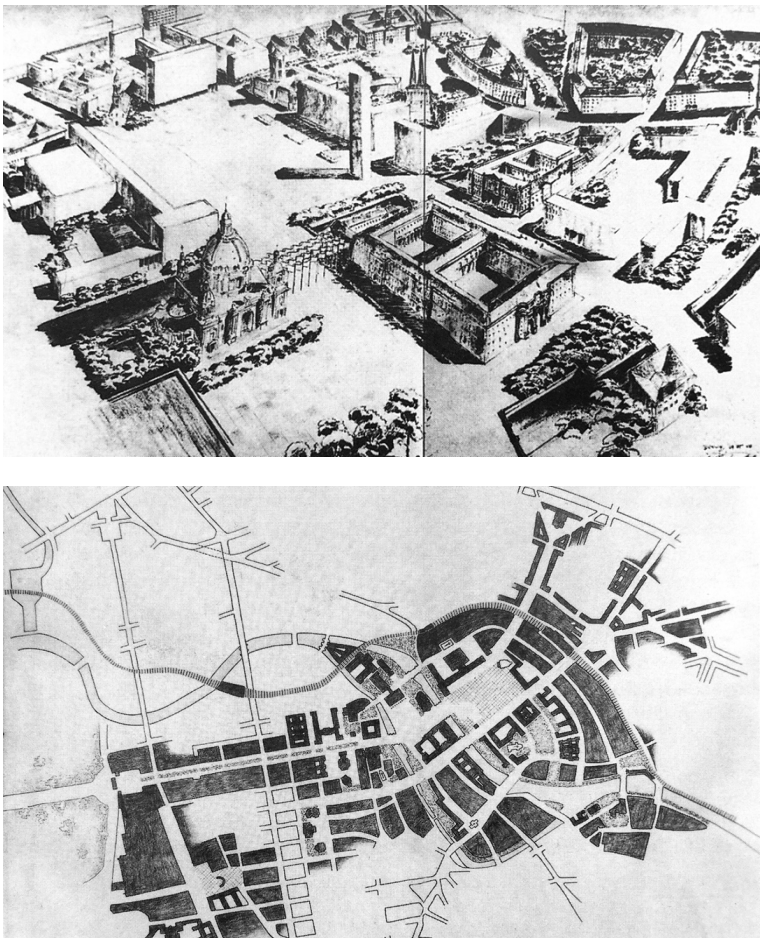

Figure 4.12: 'Forum der Demokratie', Richard Paulick (1950)
Source: Peter Müller, 'Symbolsuche' / Landesarchiv

Richard Paulick: Das Forum der Demokratie

Richard Paulick's sketch scheme '*Das Forum Der Demokratie*' (1950, fig 4.12) covered the entire Hauptstadt area. He proposed a vast new central 'forum', whose surface was only interrupted for a slender monument to the victims of fascism (the 'FIAPP'). A Congress Hall on the square's northern aspect sat amongst retained pre-war institutions, including the Rotes Rathaus, the Marienkirche, and highly significantly, the Königliches Schloß on the Spreeinsel. Müller asserts that this made his proposal "*stand out in a unique way from all subsequent plans for the centre of East Berlin*."[97] It is noticeable that despite central dictates of the *Sixteen Principles*, Paulick's proposal did not follow them religiously. Instead, the resultant scheme reads as a balance between 'national traditions' and this accepted planning policy. Though Gutschow and Düwel implicitly criticise Paulick

97 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 29–31.

alongside other founding planning schemes for designing a new centre that "*at most retained individually culturally and historically significant buildings as museum landmarks*",[98] his proposal in fact exhibited a more moderate attitude than many other later schemes, based on a typological reinterpretation of Schinkel's adjacent Lustgarten as a key governing principle of the design, translating its design to the eastern bank of the Spree.

Clearly, Paulick's figure would have superseded the Spreeinsel as the newly constituted centre of East Berlin. The hierarchisation of the core was legible, with the footprint of the forum three- or fourfold larger than the adjacent Lustgarten, However, this scale allowed Paulick's scheme to be the first of the GDR era to coherently articulate the central axis, from Brandenburg Gate as far as Alexanderplatz, as an "*entire sequence of spaces arranged as a grand narrative*", which, according to Hain, "*shaped the city as a whole according to a binding musical score.*"[99] Indeed, Schinkel's interplay of voids within the density of the city unfolds across the entire city structure, not only in the west, and thus appears as an equitable and balanced plan. Cadence and rhythm articulate new urban thresholds across central Berlin. Unfortunately, as no internal configuration was developed by Paulick, it is not possible to assess whether these frames found a second moment within his central building interior.

Paulick's scheme, like Schinkel, used public space to mediate between significant institutions, rather than a heightened singular institution marshalling all public space that surrounded it. Hierarchy is thus only subtly articulated, and the central building appears in dialogue with institutions the SED looked to subordinate to itself, like the Rotes Rathaus (the seat of municipal power); the Marienkirche (Berlin's second-oldest standing building); and last, but most controversially, the (retained) Schloß.

Paulick's proposal also retains much of the pre-war urban fabric. Interestingly, the proposal makes significant attempts to frame and confine the public space, in an almost Baroque city planning fashion. It therefore stands in contrast with the assumed state of *tabula rasa* of Hans Scharoun's Kollectivplan. Though the major institutions are drawn as solitaires, they have each been restricted to having a single frontage onto the forum. This is especially significant for the central building, as in most other proposals of the period, it is drawn as fully open on all four sides, and with a much higher massing so it dominates the architectural hierarchy. Rather than centralising the activities in the central building, Paulick's appear somewhat exploded. The central Building is secondary to the square, but

98 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 201.

99 Hain suggests that the axis continued as far as the district of Marzahn, 12km east of the Spreeinsel. This was certainly facilitated by the later construction of Stalinallee. See Hain, 'Städtebau Mit Partitur'.

moreover its symbolic function is superseded by the FIAPP anti-fascist monument, which is the only structure to penetrate the roofline of the surrounding area, to rise like a campanile. The enclosure of the space as a 'forum' is significant as a prefiguration of much later manifestations of the Hauptstadt, including the later-realised Marx-Engels Forum. She suggests that "*Berlin finally arrived at one of the great planning figures of the 20th century in its reconstruction*".[100]

Overall, Paulick's scheme appears as a genuine attempt to encourage civic participation, rather than a subordination of the populace. It is interesting therefore that specific characteristics do recur in future schemes, including a largely-voided Altstadt area, the separation of key institutions into their discrete functions, though the dominance of new institutions over existing ones.

Helmut Hennig: Counterproposal Sketch

Paulick's plan was unanimously approved by the planning committee the same day as its submission, prior to authorisation from Walter Ulbricht.[101] For reasons unknown, the following day Helmut Hennig—then head of the Magistrate's Department for Public Buildings, and involved in Paulick's scheme approval—produced a counterproposal.[102] Müller writes Hennig's scheme—again consisting of only two drawings (fig 4.14)—is significant for "*the basic concept […] gained through the demolition of the palace.*"[103] Hennig deployed the "*captivating suggestive power*" of marching columns inundating the Lustgarten and the cleared Schloßplatz area, appearing from all sides to parade from north-south past a new central building placed on the eastern bank of the Spree, toward a (new) "State Opera", in dialogue with the Altes Museum on the southern edge of the square. Hennig's plan showed some stark differences to Paulick's scheme. Beyond the obvious relocation of the parade ground to the site of the removed Schloß. It suggested a clearer and more convincing connection between a central building and parade square, as had been demanded by Ulbricht in the SED III. Party Congress. In comparison to Paulick's building, Hennig's had unconstrained elevations on all four aspects, though the connection to the parade ground is distant, and requires a grandstand on the opposite bank of the Spree to interact with the marching column. Hennig placed much more

100 Hain, 'Städtebau Mit Partitur'.

101 Meeting minutes from the planning session by Kurt Junghanns references that "*multiple*" plans were approved. Paulick's is assumed to be the only one to survive. See Müller, *Symbolsuche*, n. 48.

102 Bruno Flierl attributes this scheme to Kurt Liebknecht. Other scholars, including Niels Gutschow and Jorn Düwel corroborate Müller's account and attribute the scheme to Hennig.

103 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 32.

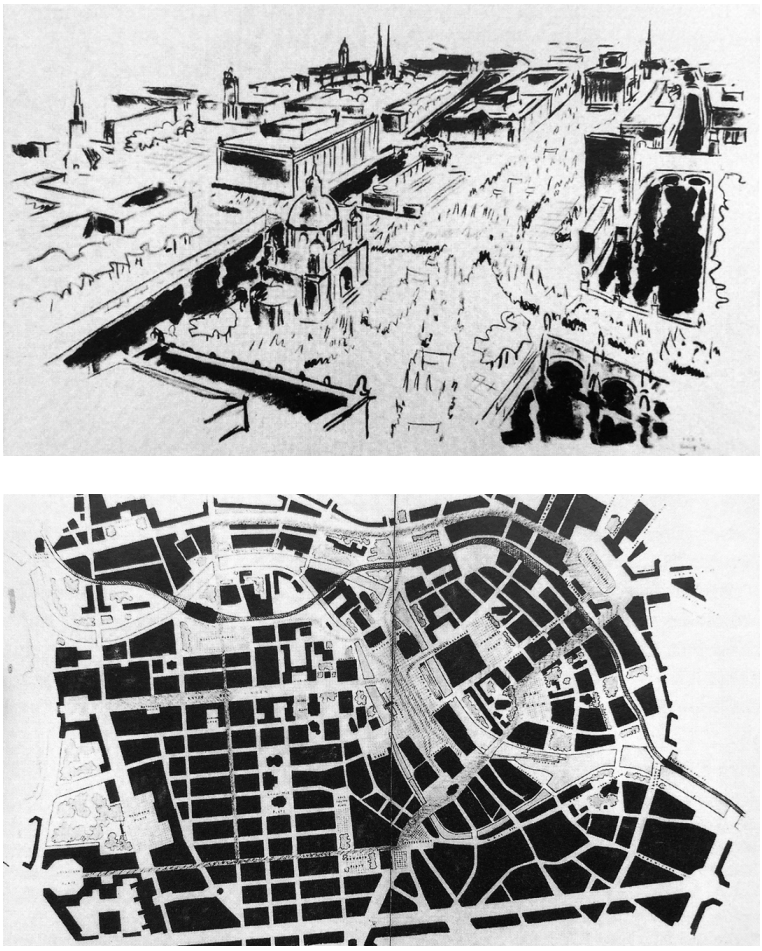

Figure 4.13: Counterproposal to Richard Paulick's 'Forum der Demokratie', Hulmut Hennig (1950)
Source: Peter Müller, 'Symbolsuche' / Landesarchiv

emphasis than his counterpart on radial routes that 'box' in the city core. There was a much-enlarged Alexanderplatz too, but the arterial routes—none less than the central axis (which was very apparent by Paulick's hand)—were lost in Hennig's proposal. Müller writes "*the strong north-south extension of the area, for example, […] counteracted the course of the main street between Stalinallee and Brandenburg Gate*".[104] However, the plan was reliant on the existing street network. It therefore relied on Unter den Linden's wide access route onto the Spreeinsel and favoured the west of Hauptstadt, not the east. The additional squares that are carved from the city are also only incoherently joined together. The magistrals and the demonstration spaces seem not to meet. In similar criticism of incoherence, the plan also betrayed how there is little formal definition to the central parade square. Significantly, this was attributable to the eroded eaves line to façades on

104 Müller, 32.

the east and west aspects of the square, which were distanced by major watercourses. Key buildings could therefore only hold a distant visual connection with the square's surface (including the proposed central building), and institutions to the north and south were removed from the square's edges by intermediate open space. Overall, there was less density apparent than in Paulick's scheme around the Spreeinsel and Altstadt areas. Hennig accordingly placed much more stress on a new institutional hierarchy—though not tall, the central building was intended as a solitaire figure. Isolated in space from all other buildings, it would have been able to interact in every direction.

Demolition of the Königliches Schloß

Prior to the meeting with Ulbricht, councillors, spearheaded by Kurt Liebknecht,[105] tried to reconcile Paulick's and Hennig's ideas together, but according to Müller, the process was mishandled, leading to an inferior scheme presented to Ulbricht. In efforts to appease the leader's well-documented "*deep seated anti-Hohenzollern aversion*",[106] and incorporate expert urban planning opinion, Müller concludes that

> *"what the document proclaimed wholeheartedly (removal of the palace, creation of a parade ground on the Spree Island), it refuted argumentatively (architectural uncontrollability of the square). What it subliminally preferred (a demonstration square in front of the town hall, the construction of a government building only in the distant future) was at the same time prevented by its day-to-day political pragmatism (the rapid demolition of the undesirable square, the implementation of the 'Sixteen Principles') […] he could easily ignore the counter-arguments that were only half-heartedly put forward.".*[107]

Ulbricht had unilaterally declared the "*the centre of the city is the Lustgarten and the area of the present castle ruins*" at the III. SED party Congress.[108] Tscheschner, affirms the decision to remove the Schloß was "*politically motivated*" by "*[a stubborn insistence] on the removal of "symbols of reactionary Prussianism"*" adding the building "*was an obstacle to the*

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105 It should be noted that Bruno Flierl gives almost complete credit to Liebknecht for steering Hennig's proposal through the planning system. He details how Liebknecht made it his aspiration "*to make the square on the Spree Island into the central square and to prove that it was the most favourable for demonstrations*", citing that after a Politbüro meeting on 15 August 1950, "*there was no more talk of "das Forum Der Demokratie"*". See Flierl, 'Der Zentrale Ort in Berlin', 93.

106 von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau : Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten*, 57.

107 Müller, *Symbolsuche*, 35.

108 'Die Großbauten Im Fünfjahrplan.', 23 July 1950.

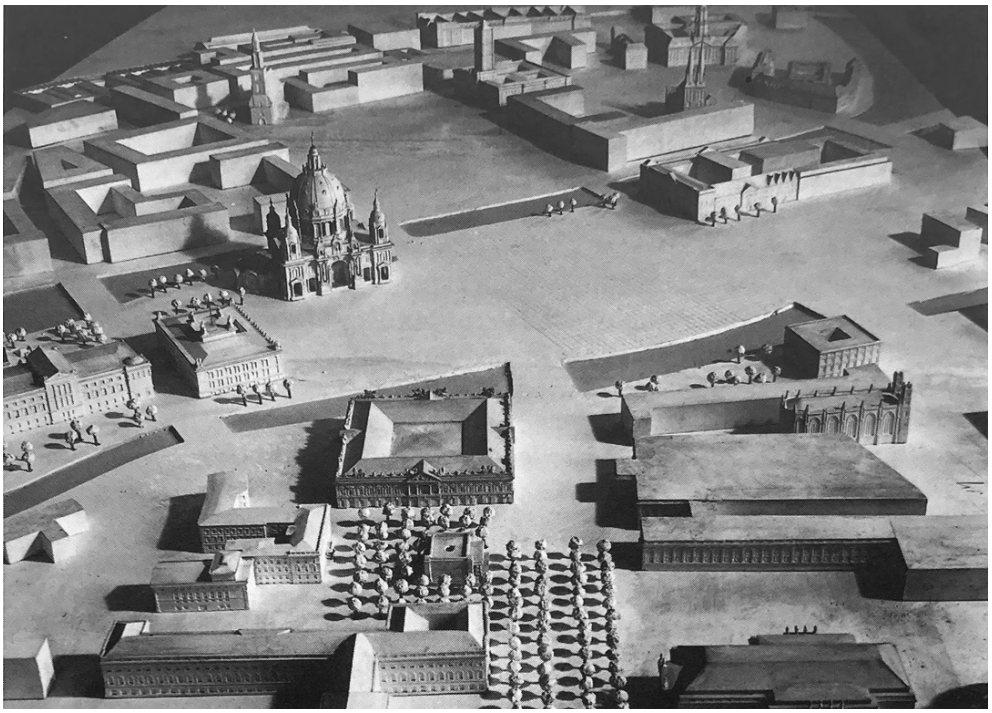

Figure 4.14: Model of the emptied Spreeinsel (1950)
Source: Peter Müller, 'Symbolsuche' / Landesarchiv

reorganisation of the east–west axis."[109] Through the act of demolishing the Schloß ruins, Ulbricht showed himself to be a figure who placed importance on the symbolic gestures of his actions before considering their full urban effects. While he might have contested that he removed the constraints from the central space of the city and the state to be, the *Forum der Demokratie* exposed that it was not the strategic impediment he considered it to be. This is a core legacy of the Paulick scheme. It confirms the accusation that the Schloß's symbolic potency was more threatening than its location in the city plan. Ulbricht was aware that he was able to wield unilateral power over an icon that signified most to a unified Germany, and thus the statement that its demolition would convey would matter most across the city in the West where they had no control on proceedings. Though the central axis emerged more clearly on a figure/ground map, in reality it registered as a vague concept because it lacked activation along its middle lengths. Demolition left behind a featureless landscape so vast, that because of the lack of constraint no real strategy could be actioned on the site (fig 4.14). Ulbricht no doubt was aware too that SED policy was to place a new parliament building in abeyance until reunification was achieved on the GDR's terms, following Khruschev's ascent to power

109 This, as has been reasoned, was not necessarily true as seen in Paulick's scheme. Quote from Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin', 218.

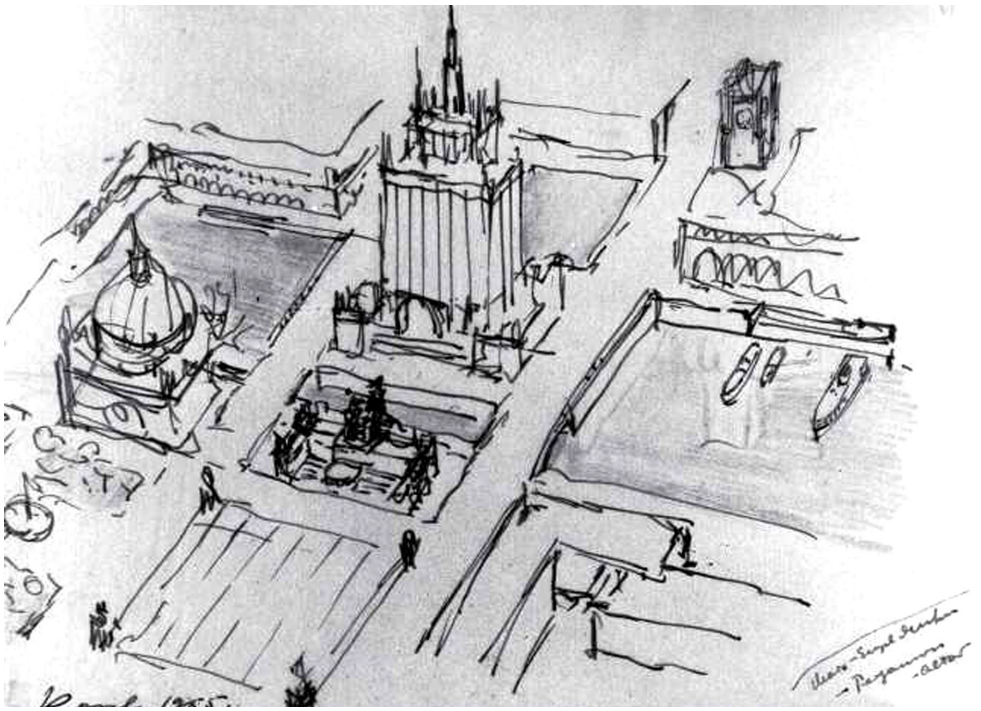

Figure 4.15: Proposal for the central building, Gerhard Kösel (1955)

Note the distant relationship between the parade square and the central building in this scheme. In between, there is a smaller structure, perhaps a grandstand, occupying an urban block as deep as the adjacent Dom, then beyond lies the main channel of the River Spree. Two large basins either side separate the building from the rest of the urban context, and the building's hight and representational cornice are emphasised. Its urbanistic performance

in Moscow. Müller calls the decision making "*fatal*" for the city, and "*overlaid by tactical short-term programmes and a pronounced cost-benefit thinking*". The episode prejudiced all of Berlin's proceeding city centre planning, up to an including the present day.

4.3.3 Hauptstadt Developments during the 1950s

During most of the 1950s, there was little development of note in the formation of the Hauptstadt. Following the Schloß's destruction, a temporary grandstand was erected in the newly created 'Marx-Engels-Platz',[110] which was to be the central, demonstrative square in anticipation of a central building occupying the eastern bank of the Spree (where, confusingly, the present-day Marx-Engels-Forum' can be found). The two components were to hold a close and binding relationship with one another. Gerhard Kosel's 1955 scheme epitomised this vision, with his building's appearance clearly indebted to Moscow and Warsaw's legacy, which through its scale dominated the centre of the city (figure 4.15). It is notable that by this point, the central building appears to have integrated its ability to connote within its functions. The building is routinely, open

110 Renamed after the removal of the Schloß from 'Schloßplatz'

to all four sides above the roof plane of the city, and thus is freed to symbolise itself across the city. Meanwhile, it remains very distant to the parade square.

The Urban Planning Ideas Competition 1958/59

Building upon Kosel's concept, the 1958/59 '*Urban Planning Ideas Competition for the City Centre of the Capital of the GDR, Berlin*' showcased numerous, fairly repetitive variations upon his clear theme. The event helped to confirm the basic urban design concept for East- Berlin. According to Goebel, this was "*the birth of the Modern city centre*".[111] However, conspicuous for its renouncement of a dominant central building, and its stark, functionalist proposition, it was the "*Forum der Nation*" proposal of Hermann Henselmann (see fig 4.16) that Pugh remarks ultimately "*most accurately prefigure the form the development in this area would take*".[112] Gutschow and Düwel suggest he propagated a new relationship between architectural object and its surrounding space through a "*composition of pervasive open spaces that would have completely changed the former old Berlin*"[113] Pugh recognises Henselmann, like Paulick before him, pivoted away from the accepted centralised building concept of the early 1950s toward a "*social centrality*", wherein the blankness of the central square—previously intended as the pinnacle of the city (and the state)—was conceptually dissolved into the loosely-fitting convexity of an entire "central district". The functions intended of the central building were accordingly dispersed amongst various structures throughout the Hauptstadt. It appears that the tautness of Schinkel's archetypal cubic envelope has been abandoned in favour of an open disposition of the parts, especially those parts which hold significant or extraordinary function.[114] It would have been impossible to dispose the function of the television tower within a cubic envelope, but nonetheless there looks to be a *promenade architecturale* from the pavilion on the Spree Island, into the base of the tower, and then across the river. This would suggest that the individual, internal components of the building have been extrapolated for display to the perimeter. In this sense, Henselmann's scheme owes a debt to the Beaux-Arts assemblages that were composed from the interior-out, and made little attempt to engage in dialogue with the urban beyond their perimeter threshold.

Owing to Henselmann's deviation away from accepted policy, notably the fragmentation of the central building, the SED immediately rejected his proposal, though it clearly

111 Goebel, *Der Umbau Alt-Berlins zum modernen Stadtzentrum*, 289.

112 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 165.

113 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 210.

114 There appears more rationality to some of the 'background' buildings positioned beyond the Marienkirche than the split functions of the central building.

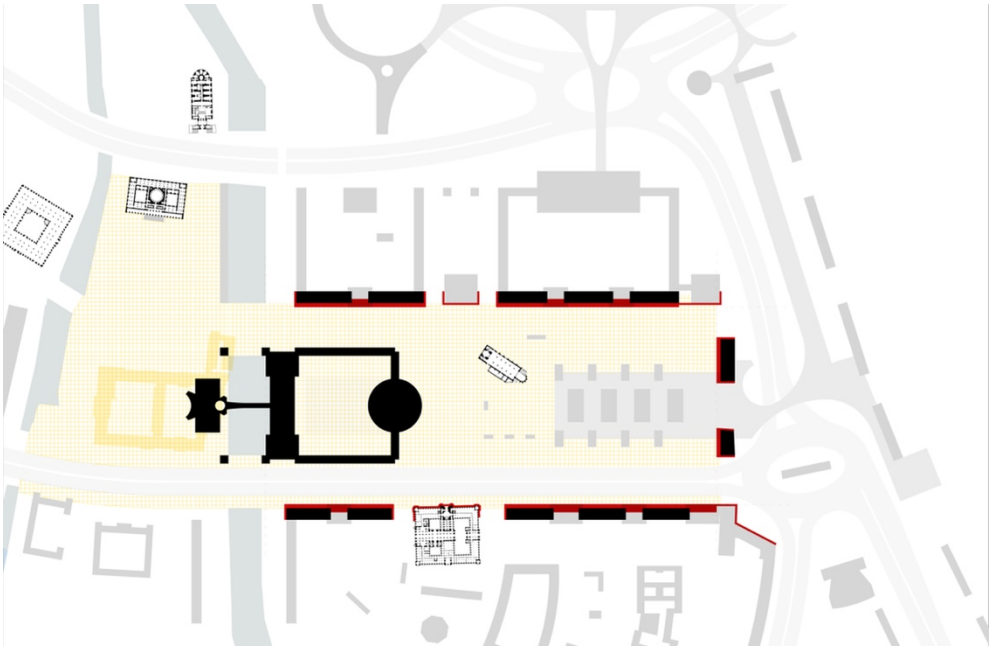

Figure 4.16: 'Forum der Nation' proposal, Herman Henselmann (1958-1959)
Source: Drawn by the author

became the bedrock of East Berlin's planning policy from the early 1960s onward, most evidently with the construction of the Fernsehturm.[115]

Whilst the central building had been an essential component of the *Sixteen Principles*, it is important to recognise that it was not the central tenet that governed the city's arrangement, despite wishes to centralise control and power: the separation of city core from its periphery was. In an important way, Henselmann's proposals (later validated once he was back in the fold of the SED) allowed the Hauptstadt to exploit transparent and 'convex' space. This amounted to a typological innovation, where centrality was devolved in favour of an omnipresence of decluttered sightlines, which could and overtly cohere areas together. The disposition of the Hauptstadt became about providing a sense of containment to these sightlines, which in turn develop the separation between

115 Initially, the "Tower of Signals" proposed by Henselmann, upstaging the central building "*shocked*" the SED leadership. The authors note the irony that it was only a matter of years before Henselmann's concept matured into the construction of the Fernsehturm. The authorities' eventual acceptance of Henselmann's approach is largely explained by their prior refusal during the 1950s to build any central building, until reunification had been achieved on the GDR's terms. See Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 210–12.

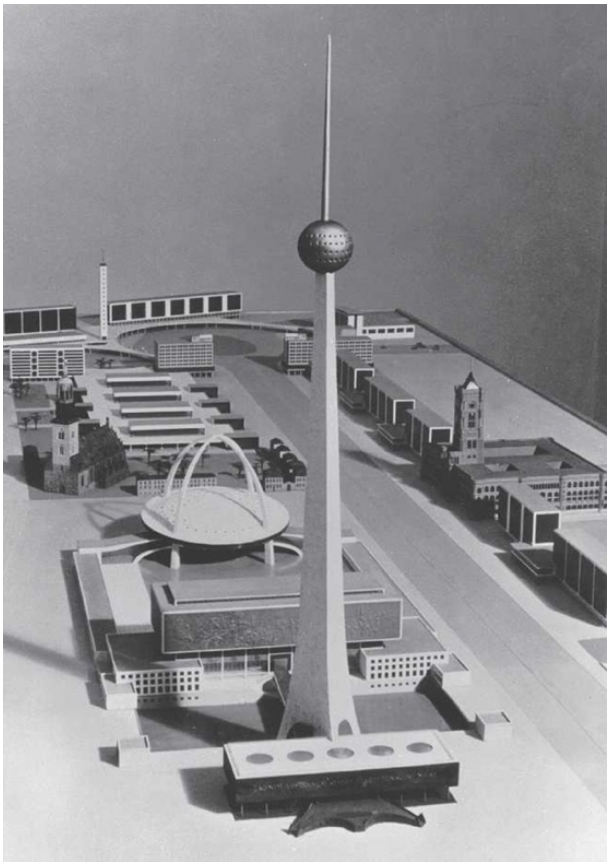

Figure 4.17: 'Forum der Nation' proposal, Herman Henselmann (1958-1959)
Physical model looking eastward.
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Sammlung Jörn Düwel

Hauptstadt and hinterland. Henselmann offered a solution on two fronts. Firstly, he reinterpreted Paulick's former '*Forum der Demokratie*' scheme, providing a new solution that cleared the Altstadt region. Secondly, he bound the Hauptstadt components together through understanding urbanistically—rather than just politically—of what the central building's purpose was. However much he appeared to the SED to have been working in contravention of the *Sixteen Principles*, in a practical sense Henselmann in fact consolidated their typological effects across the wider city.

4.4 The GDR's Realised Hauptstadt

Bruno Flierl labels 1961 as "*the second stage*" of rebuilding Berlin as a Socialist centre: "*the stage of execution*". He notes that in 1961 "*a considerable section of the central axis had become a reality*" as envisaged, but the central area between Marx-Engels-Platz and

Alexanderplatz "*did not follow the decision in every detail.*"[116] Ideas and paper projects had flown around the planning committees of East Berlin for the past decade, without any gaining sufficient traction to be considered buildable. This is not to say that they did not have an influence on the future destiny of the Hauptstadt. Clearly, echoes of Paulick's "*Forum der Demokratie*" and Henselmann's "*Forum der Nation*" held an agency beyond their moment.

The lack of stimulus was partly due to indecision, but an additional factor was the prevailing political undercurrents of the time. Throughout the 1950s, the 'Berlin Question' had remained unanswered. In the East, the partition of the city was assumed to be an aberration and could not be stably maintained.[117] Hope Harrison notes though that after the GDR uprising of 1953, the FRG's accession to NATO,[118] and the subsequent Hallstein Doctrine,[119] Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev "*focused his attention more realistically on the existence of two German states not likely to reunite anytime soon*".[120] Although the position of the two sides stabilised on the surface, in the circles of government, the position was viewed as insecure and unstable.

Whilst the 'Berlin Question' remained open, the SED had resisted implementing any design proposals of the Hauptstadt in anticipation of reunification of the East and the West to the SED's demands. Ulbricht had refused to negotiate with the FRG and Allied powers until East Germany was recognised on the world stage. 1961 materialised as the year where all hope of reunification being 'just over the horizon' rescinded, and instead definitive positions were established around a permanently divided Berlin. Pugh recognises that this ushered in a period of ideological entrenchment,[121] but it also gave the SED settled conditions in which to develop the Hauptstadt.

Much of the detail of the implementation comes from

In Dorothea Tscheschner's account of East Berlin's city redevelopment , it is interesting that she does not mention the Wall once. It is as though it is a taken-as-read, even trivial organ of the city. It was clearly anything but. Other commentators from outside the

116 Flierl, 'Urban Design in Berlin, GDR: A Study of the Capital of the German Democratic Republic', 119. I

117 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 64.

118 The "*North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*"

119 The Hallstein Doctrine stipulated that the FRG would cut diplomatic ties with any state that recognised the GDR. Owing to the economic prowess of the FRG, Pugh notes that most non-NATO states were forced to recognise the West. In any case, the inference was that there was a binary choice and only one Germany. See Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 66.

120 Harrison, *Driving the Soviets up the Wall [Electronic Resource] : Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961 / Hope M. Harrison.*, 196.

121 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 68.

GDR clearly attribute the Wall with altering the city dynamic substantially, and it consequentially causing effects that the city centre had to counteract.

4.4.1 The Effect of the Wall's Construction

East Berlin had suffered sustained emigration (especially amongst its young and capable) to the western side of the city since its inauguration. Across the GDR, 3.5 million people, or 20% of the total East German population, are estimated to have left the country before 1961.[122] A 1957 passport scheme of the GDR prohibiting transfer was designed to stem the flow of "*fickle*" defectors into West Berlin, it was easily bypassed, for example by using the still undivided city U-Bahn.[123] Overnight, on 12th August 1961, having cut the city's electricity supply, the GDR unilaterally erected the Berlin Wall. Though at first, this was little more than a palisade fence covered in barbed wire, it was refined and redesigned over time to become ever more impregnable. As Mary Fulbrook attests, "*without it, the GDR was simply not a viable independent state*."[124] Although Primary Elements are identified with elements that interact with the city's development in a permanent way, the long since demolished Wall can be reasoned as a Primary Element because it persisted as long as the East German state did, and was intrinsically bound to its operation. When the Wall fell, so did the state, alongside its modes of being.

The real effect of the Wall was not an "*anti-imperialist protective wall*",[125] as promoted by the GDR, but a complete encircling of West Berlin. As Müller explains, "*the Wall […] did not enclose what was to be protected, but rather tried to contain and repel what was threatening*."[126] Intended to keep the East German population static, it severed the urban vitality to what was beyond.

As abruptly as the Wall was erected, the streets, buildings and connective tissue that bound the east and west of the city together were torn down. Entire city blocks in places were removed and replaced with a continuous void, watchtowers, trip wires, tank traps and military defences in the central "*deathstrip*". The urbanistic consequences the Wall induced of course penetrated much further than just a local neighbourhood level, however. By cutting off the western areas of the city, Bruno Flierl observes that it confirmed the centre area of Mitte was in an extremely peripheral location to the rest of East Berlin.[127] Clearly, in conjunction with Berlin's geography, the Wall separated

122 Dowty, *Closed Borders The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement*, 122.
123 Dowty, 122.
124 Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship*, 127.
125 This slogan appeared several times throughout GDR media, including in the national newspaper, '*Neues Deutschland*'.
126 Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz', 280.
127 Flierl, 'Der Zentrale Ort in Berlin — Zur räumlichen Inszenierung sozialistischer Zentralität', 90.

Friedrichstadt and all areas west of the Spreeinsel from the rest of East Berlin's territory. Two river courses, a destructed centre, and the Wall surrounding Mitte on the west, north and south stultified the area. Immediately, diplomatic projects that had been planned for the western end of Unter den Linden had to be abandoned, including 'gatehouses' that were to be built around the destructed Pariser Platz, at the western terminus of the central axis.[128] Karl-Marx-Allee (as it had just been renamed) became the favoured space for parades, because with Marx-Engels-Platz closer to the border, it introduced a series of new security concerns, through any potential miscalculation of tanks and military vehicles moving westward.[129] The Wall became East Berlin's second, highly pathogenical, Primary Element, "*as something isolated from the urban structure […] as something which stands outside of technological and social evolution. [… whose] preservation is counter to the real dynamic of the city*".[130]

4.4.2 The Resolved Centre

This in turn meant that a revised role for the Hauptstadt area. Resolving the core components of the Socialist centre was the priority for this restart. Additional demands emanated from central Soviet policy. Gutschow and Düwel note that Khrushchev's insistence for the modernisation (or economisation) of the construction industry in 1954 also demanded the modernisation of society as a whole. By the early 1960s, citizens spoke of the "*new Socialist man*" who lived in a "*new Socialist way*" on "*the new stage*".[131] The abandonment of "*the beautiful German city*" was matched with the endorsement of a 'new' way of building. Edmund Collein, deputy of the East German Bauakademie, called for "*generosity and spaciousness [of space in the city]*"[132] as the response to the edict handed down from Moscow.

Although Collein's declaration was made on ideological grounds to consciously distance the "*Socialist*", "*open*" space from the "*tightness*" of the "*Capitalist*" city, The spatial idea marked an express endorsement of Henselmann's open landscape approach from central government. Alongside the construction of the Wall and its resultant (albeit rather unsatisfactory) settlement of the 'Berlin Question', firmer foundations were provided

128 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 212.
129 Müller, 'Marx-Engels-Schloß-Platz', 280–81.
130 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 60. All these aspects quoted are true of the Wall, but it should be noted that in the calculation of the GDR regime, its primary purpose was to act as a border whose purpose was to contain, rather than exchange.
131 Gutschow and Düwel, 'Stadtebau vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zu den "Grenzen des Wachstums" in den frühen siebziger Jahren', 212–14.
132 Collein, 'Probleme des Städtebaus und der Architektur im Siebenjahrplan: erste theoretische Konferenz'.

than the previous decade had allowed, and construction of the Hauptstadt as it is recognised today could commence.

General Arrangement

Resolving the innermost area of the central axis, which perversely had not yet been completed, was the highest priority. The following critique describes its built configuration.

Much of the setting out for the centre was determined by the precise location of the Fernsehturm, which changed from Henselmann's 1959 proposal. After a typically convoluted GDR planning exercise, testing locations and prevaricating over ideological implications, the tower was relocated to between the Spree and Alexanderplatz. An accompanying SED Politburo resolution of 1964 declared that the central building need not be a high-rise, since the proposed Fernsehturm provided fitting "*urban dominance*".[133] It also complimented worries amongst the SED that a high-rise structure was at risk of being usurped by the ubiquitous rise of skyscrapers internationally (including in West Berlin, who had just completed of the Europa Centre on Breitscheidplatz). The risk was that as the yardstick of the avant-garde marched relentlessly forward, it would pin any construction in East Berlin to a particular moment in time. Consequently, the central building (now adjusted as a low-rise structure) was relocated on the western bank of the Spree. Significantly, this location partially overlapped the footprint of the former Königliches Schloß. The Dom—conspicuous for its omission in the 1959 scheme, was reprieved demolition.

In this position, the Fernsehturm tower was sited at the axial convergence of many of Berlin's most important radial streets[134] (fig 4.18)—but perhaps most significantly, the key magistral Karl-Marx-Allee, where the spire pierced the sky neatly between the two framing towers of Strausburger Tor, and then again at the mouth of Alexanderplatz, which was dominated by the tower's presence nestled between the gap in masses of Peter Behrens' Berolinahaus. Rather than forming the gatehouse to the city from the east, as it would have done under Richard Paulick's scheme, the buildings provided a neatened framing and visual structure to East Berlin's most significant square instead. Locally, the tower formed a linear relationship with Alexanderplatz and new developments on Marx-

133 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 165.
134 Hartung, 'Vom Zentrum der Hauptstadt zur Bürgerstadt?', 12–13.

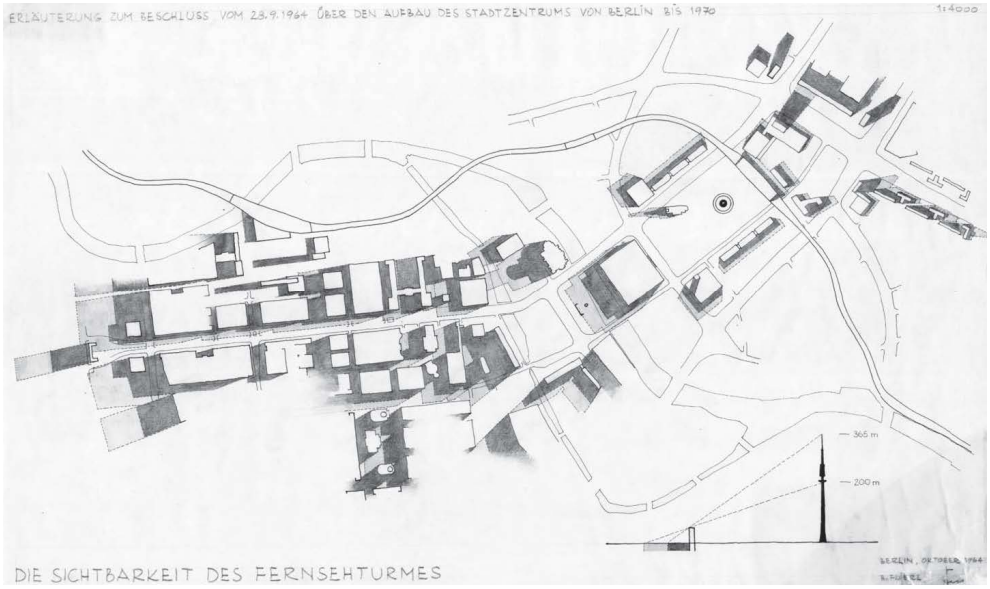

Figure 4.17: "Visibility of the television tower" sketch (1964)

The shadow of the buildings shows how the central axis is cohered by being aligned on Karl-Marx-Allee as through the Altstadt area and Unter den Linden. The omnipresence of the Fernsehturm was used as a ploy to congeal the central axis together and unite it as the Hauptstadt.

Engels-Platz, including Foreign Affairs Ministry building, and eventually the Palast der Republik. Their respective sectional massing was determined by sightline angles to the tower (see fig 4.18). The West Berlin skyline too was overseen by its figure.[135] From the Straße des 17 Juni (on axis with Unter den Linden), the successive skyline figures could be pieced together, from Brandenburg Gate to the Rotes Rathaus, then the tower. The tower thus held a much more developed orientational function than in Henselmann's earlier Forum der Nation proposal, where it was considered as a figurative gesture alone.

Fernsehturm

The Fernsehturm is an unusual artifact in the way that it holds little programme (besides broadcasting radio signals and as a tourist destination[136]), and none that is intrinsic to the performance of the Hauptstadt. Instead, the visual relationships it promulgated across the cityscape locate and marshal relations between central axis and Hauptstadt components, interconnecting them into a purposeful ensemble. The tower's alignment to key streets—particularly Karl-Marx-Allee, but also across the Altstadt 'forum (see below)—meant that on a journey along the boulevard it was ever-present in the skyline.

135 Anecdotally, this did not stop the western side of the city joking at their eastern counterpart's expense. Whenever the pyramidally-textured cladding to the sphere of the tower catches the sunlight, the glare created is always reflected in the shape of a crucifix. Given the GDR's suspicions of the church as an institution, the Fernsehturm was nicknamed the "Pope's revenge" in response.

136 This was the case even in GDR times, to garner a rare view of West-BerlinWest Berlin.

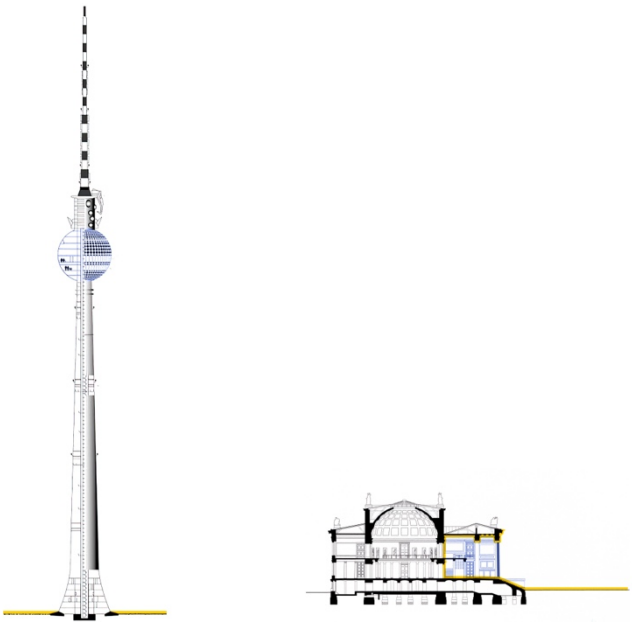

Figure 4.19: Comparison of the Fernsehturm's and Altes Museum's sectional arrangement.
The separation of the viewing apparatus (blue) from the city's active ground (yellow) can be appreciated. Drawing not to scale.
Source: Drawn by the author

The axiality the Fernsehturm gave to open space therefore held a controlling purpose and choreographed the urban performance of the Hauptstadt. In this fashion, the Fernsehturm was indispensable to the discharge of the Hauptstadt's 'fixed activities, which revolved around political demonstration. The Fernsehturm accordingly corresponds to the city's third Primary Element. As it is key to the discharge of the city's life, it should be deemed as propulsive in nature.

Like the Altes Museum, the tower provides a panoramic view, in obvious ways superior to the Altes museum because of its characteristic height, but it presents a vastly different conception of city centre relationships than those by the hand of Schinkel in the previous chapter. Whereas Schinkel relied on the difference *between* Study Areas to be made apparent through the Primary Element, the Fernsehturm coheres the *single* Study Area. The purpose here is not to suggest any intent in a typological lineage between the two artifacts, but merely to demonstrate through an evaluation of Primary Element-to-Study Area relations the difference in the two Hauptstadt configurations operate.

As the previous chapter clarified, Schinkel's Museum was dependent on the interplay between literal and phenomenal depth to drive the typological machinery of the loggia panorama. However, the Fernsehturm has no phenomenal relationship to the city, and

Figure 4.20: View of the reconstructed Alexanderplatz from the western terminus of Karl-Marx-Allee
Source: Bundesarchiv

holds a purely visual effect (see fig 4.19). Like Stalinallee (and unlike the Altes Museum), the tower offers no intrinsic platform to build the sequence of public spaces constituting the Hauptstadt from and be connected to its civic plane. Though, the public could pay to ascend the tower, the act of feeling democratically part of the city is removed as the viewer is detached. The Altes Museum provided the Prussian citizen with perhaps their most democratic moment upon the loggia. In the Fernsehturm, perversely the act of viewing the city invalidates theirs, as being disconnected from the whole invalidates the ideology of being subjugated to the collective for the greater good.

Alexanderplatz

Alexanderplatz has always been a gathering space on the fringes of the city centre since its inception just outside the eastern city gates and former walls. The historic street pattern still reflects its provenance as the convergence of concentric and radial routes. Accordingly, it has always in come capacity had to deal with merging traffic flows and the logistics of distributing populations around the city. The square was redeveloped between 1967 and 1971, following a design competition held in 1964,

Under the GDR's Modernist city planning principles, the growing automotive traffic dictated the spatial arrangement of the square. A vast, at-grade multi-lane junction separated the square from the continuation of the central axis along Karl-Marx-Allee (fig 4.20). This ordinarily would create a seemingly impenetrable threshold, but the openness of the surrounding building massing on the three defined corners (between the Haus des Lehrers, Haus der Statistik, and Haus der Reisens) formed visual relationships with the square, dispelling any notion of impassable boundary and instead signposting demonstrative hoards to its centre. Here, beckoned by the looming tower and pivoting around the central fountain which united the change in axes, crowds would reassemble for their onward procession towards Marx-Engels-Platz. The arrangement was expressed as an open 'hinge' in the urban plan, successfully connecting the outer reaches of the central axis to its middle stretch. Importantly, Alexanderplatz, in its revised role in the split city, was no longer the peripheral second cousin to the geographic centre. Although its place in the East Berlin hierarchy was lesser than Marx-Engels-Platz, it became the social heart whilst its counterpart became the political head.[137]

Altstadt Forum

Between Alexanderplatz and the Spree, the idea of the forum was resurrected (though, in one guise or another it had never been far from mind since Paulick's early proposal). The expanse was linear, as determined by the axial relationships established by the tower; and lifeless, with only the tower, its touristic base, and the Marienkirche interrupting the windswept void. Lengthy slab buildings separated the forum from the wider city on both its flanks. The effect of these structures was to contain the central axis, and in doing so reinforced the notion—first seen on Stalinallee—that the space was both processional, and that it demarcated the Hauptstadt-hinterland border. Tscheschner observes how the buildings "*had to develop a "face" towards both spaces*".[138] The backs, irrespective of their geographical proximity to the Spreeinsel and their location over Berlin's traditional Altstadt, were out of view and were consequently unimportant relative to the fronts, despite being in view of large-scale institutional buildings, including the Stadthaus.

The area's typological performance therefore duplicated the Stalinallee's tensioned threshold from private hinterland to public arena. But whereas the Allee could only vaguely be determined as a street, the Altstadt Forum can categorically be dismissed as

137 It must be acknowledged that the Palast der Republik, once finished in 1976, was th most vistied building in East Germany and held significant social programmes, as described beneath. This, however, did little to activate the adjacent Marx-Engels-Platz. Between the two squares, Alexanderplatz remained the more active of the two.

138 Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin', 242.

Figure 4.21: Aerial Photograph of Berlin Hauptstadt (1973)
The first long-form blocks to the side of the Altstadt Forum can be seen complete. These are typologically similar to the blocks lining the Stalinallee.
Source: 'Berlin und Seine Bauten' / Landesarchiv

eing so. Whilst the intensity of the Stalinallee was amplified by the cavernous, intimidating walls, energised with stepping balconies and terraces, the flatter façades of the Altstadt lost all animation in their quiet anonymity, and the little vitality generated by their height dissipated through the central void. It is a clear example of the deployment of a typological model transposed without adjustment to its new context. Consequently, the area constituted an uneventful density gap that was best traversed quickly before arriving onto the Spreeinsel.

Marx-Engels-Platz

Standing vacant since the demolition of the Schloß, the square was reinvigorated with the impetus to build the Hauptstadt. Marx-Engels-Platz (see fig 4.22) exhibits characteristic typological similarity to its immediate antecedent, the Lustgarten. The intention was to replicate the unifying capability, but surpass its volumetric scale to show a hierarchical dominance. Like the Lustgarten, Marx-Engels-Platz was lined with the most important organs of state, including the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Office of the GDR State Council, and the Palast der Republik. Abundant space was given to each of the main edifices, such that although they each contributed to a vague sense of enclosure

Figure 4.22: Map of the Marx-Engels-Platz area at the time of the GDR's collapse
Source: Histomap Berlin, Landesarchiv Berlin

to the Platz, their individual grandeur and autonomy could also be comprehended. The corners of the square were exploded, and the return façades of each building were also left visible. Only the trace of *implied* space within the vastness of the square itself—the phenomenal sense of enclosure—gave any indication of the Platz as an urban Set Piece, such was its vacuity. The most identifiable transformation resultant from the Lustgarten was thus in scale, and so the principal square in the GDR can be seen as a variation of it on the basis that the transformation did not make any modification of the interrelationship of parts.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

To provide sufficient space for each frontage onto Marx-Engels-Platz, its first constructed building had to be positioned on the opposite back of the Kupfergraben, mirroring the Zeughaus' relationship with the Lustgarten (see fig 4.22). However, this

space was occupied by Schinkel's Bauakademie building, left badly damaged in the war. Originally, plans had been devised to relocate Schinkel's building to the southern edge of the island, near the Märkisches Museum, however, these were eventually rejected in favour of its outright demolition.[139] Like the Schloß, another artifact of the Prussian city had been lost not to war damage, but post-war destruction.

In its place, the ministry was a vast building, that for technical reasons had to be raised on a podium above the floodplain of the river, and the edifice rose ten additional metres in the air.[140] Its façade treatment rose with it, so that the ministry's appearance was not only convex to the sides, but now its mass seemingly hovered above the ground, out of scale with the surrounding context—even with the adjacent Council of State Affairs building which enclosed Marx-Engels-Platz to the south.

Palast der Republik

The GDR's most expensive ever building,[141] the Palast der Republik (1973-1976, see figs 4.23 and 4.24), formed the enclosure to the eastern aspect of Marx-Engels-Platz, some 26 years after the demolition of the Königliches Schloß, whose location it took on the Spreeinsel. According to the Palast's dedicated planning division of the GDR Bauakademie, the structure was to be "*a House of the People, […] a building at the heart of social life that—commensurate with its socio-spatial position in the centre of the city —will be at the high point of social life in the Socialist capital of the GDR.*"[142] The building was modelled as an elaborate Kulturhaus—a building programme that had proliferated widely under the GDR as local institutions providing leisure and entertainment to communities.[143] Inside the Palast, the Volkskammer (GDR Parliament) was combined with eateries, a congress hall (which played host to ballet or athletic exhibitions), and even a bowling alley. Pugh remarks that a visit was "*one of the key experiences of life in the GDR*",[144] and the Palast was "*the rare place where the various aspects of life in the GDR could coexist. […] indeed the SED very consciously made the Palace into what East Germany was supposed to have represented* [emphasis Pugh's]."[145]

The ambivalence that Pugh signals here is substantively explained by the inherent contradictions the Palast presented between its inside and the reality of everyday life

139 Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin', 236.
140 Tscheschner, 236.
141 Wolle, *The Ideal World of Dictatorship: Daily Life and Party Rule in the GDR, 1971-89*, 57.
142 'Thesen zur Aufgabenstellung des MZG am Marx-Engels-Platz'.
143 For a detailed description of Kulturhäuser, sometimes also called Volkhäuser, see Hain, Stroux, and Schroedter, *Die Salons Der Sozialisten*.
144 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 196.
145 Pugh, 197.

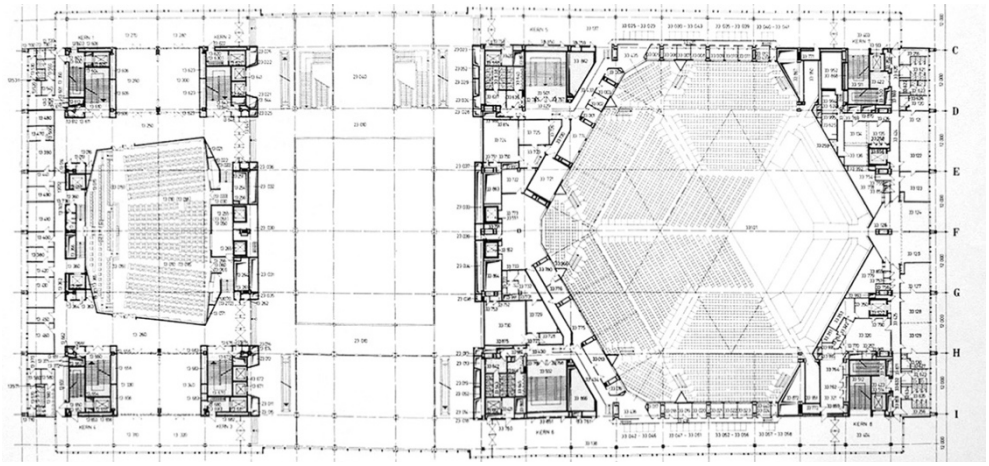

Figure 4.18: Floorplan of the Palast der Republik (3rd floor)
Source: www.thesocialistcity.wordpress.com

beyond its walls. Eric Honecker, who succeeded Walter Ulbricht as General Secretary to the SED in 1971,[146] enacted as series of social reforms through his early tenure around the notion of Heimat ("home"). Pugh describes his governance as "*relaxed*" but also "*calculated*".[147] Under his policies, the population's private life was seemingly enhanced, with directives like a shorter working week, raised salaries, and better holiday entitlement. However, whilst the messages emanating from government contradicted years of demands to live life in public, it often made the populace more suspicious the motivations were clandestine. Betts records concurrently how the Stasi's informant network grew to its most bloated.[148]

In a similarly perverse fashion, Stefan Wolle's book '*The Ideal World of Dictatorship*' describes the Palast der Republik as "*an island of bliss*" at first, "*where the laws of a Socialist economy of scarcity did not apply.*"[149] Yet, the allure was a veiled honeytrap, where "*security personnel [could] see into every corner with their surveillance cameras.*"[150] Pugh calls the building "*an illusion*".[151] Like Honecker's policies, as in the home, The Palast was a thinly disguised attempt to monitor as many individuals as possible without inhibitions or guard to assess conformance. It was perhaps intended as the greatest panoptical institution of

146 Ulbricht became increasingly politically isolated throughout the 1960s and was ejected from office from within. For additional detail, see Harrison, *Driving the Soviets up the Wall [Electronic Resource] : Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961 / Hope M. Harrison.*
147 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 166.
148 Betts, *Within Walls*, 42–50.
149 Wolle, *The Ideal World of Dictatorship: Daily Life and Party Rule in the GDR, 1971-89*, 57.
150 Wolle, 58.
151 Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, & Identity in Divided Berlin*, 197.

Figure 4.19: View of Marx-Engels-Platz with the Palast der Republik and Fernsehturm on-axis
Rather than having become an activate public space, Marx-Engels-Platz was ordinarily used as a carpark for visits to the Palast der Republik, which attracted citizens from all over the GDR.
Source: Bundesarchiv

all, where figures, backlit against the vast light fixtures of its foyers, were under omniscient gaze of a hidden viewer.

Interaction between interior and exterior was not possible. The dark bronzed glazing made any kind of interaction across the building envelope an unbalanced exercise, as people could not see in, but only out. Thus, in this regard it became the antithesis of the Altes Museum. Whereas Schinkel's building was inextricably linked to the urban realm that it rose from, the Palast had to rely on its sheer weight of programme alone to coax visitors and workers to it, and it made little attempt to energise the urban surroundings in the manifold ways of its antecedent. It meant that Marx-Engels-Platz was reduced to the diminished role of large car park and occasional rally, rather than an active square where people met and interacted beside the key institutional organ of the city. The sterility of the Altstadt forum cut the centre off from the city; the adjacent Lustgarten was also left lifeless: the central axis left under-activated and defunct west of Alexanderplatz.

It would require the collapse of the GDR and reunification of Berlin in 1989 to demonstrate the central axis' true value as a piece of urban infrastructural planning, as the recombined agency from across the city could finally descend upon the Spreeinsel.

West—reaffirmed it as the central area of Berlin. Competitions to redesign urban areas around Alexanderplatz, Museumsinsel, and Marx-Engels-Platz have been catalysed by this newfound agency. This is addressed in the next chapter, looking at developments since the fall of the Wall.

4.5 Conclusion

At the completion of the Hauptstadt building programme, The GDR's interventions most patently constituted a major revision of the city's fabric, when viewed in comparison to the early nineteenth-century city of Karl Friedrich Schinkel.

There were two fundamentally inverted foundations to the urban concept from Schinkel's era. The first was geographic. Following the war, the Hauptstadt and Spreeinsel fell under GDR control, yet the disposition of the city has historically been orientated to the west. The reflection of the city plan to the east had long been an aspiration for the city, but only through necessity and cleared war damage was it realised. The second was that the city transformed into an autocratic landscape. As Mary Fulbrook had identified earlier, under the GDR regime the rights and responsibilities of the individual were subjugated to the greater good of the whole. Moreover, this chapter has asserted Fulbrook's observation provides a basis to displace what was considered 'public' and what was 'private' space in East Berlin. There was a critical distinction between where the autonomy of will could be exercised, and where it was subordinated to the whole.

It must be pointed out that this was not a simple reversal of Schinkel's moves to democratise the central space. The GDR regime was 'democratic' not in allowing its citizenry to explore individual freedoms, but in the sense that it expected its people to collectively demonstrate their support for the political system through ritualistic marches. In this regard, it constituted a strict, automated regulation and discharge of ritual. Meanwhile, the periphery was to be rid of inequalities and inefficiencies, redistributed for perfected industrialised output. Every component of the GDR Hauptstadt had a delineated function. Like the disposition of the city, East Berlin sought to determine its subjects' conduct quite precisely.

Typological Transformation

The capability for the GDR to radically change the city's structure was undoubtedly abetted by the significant war damage that the city had suffered and formed a continual underpinning to GDR capabilities. The loss of former spatial relationships between areas

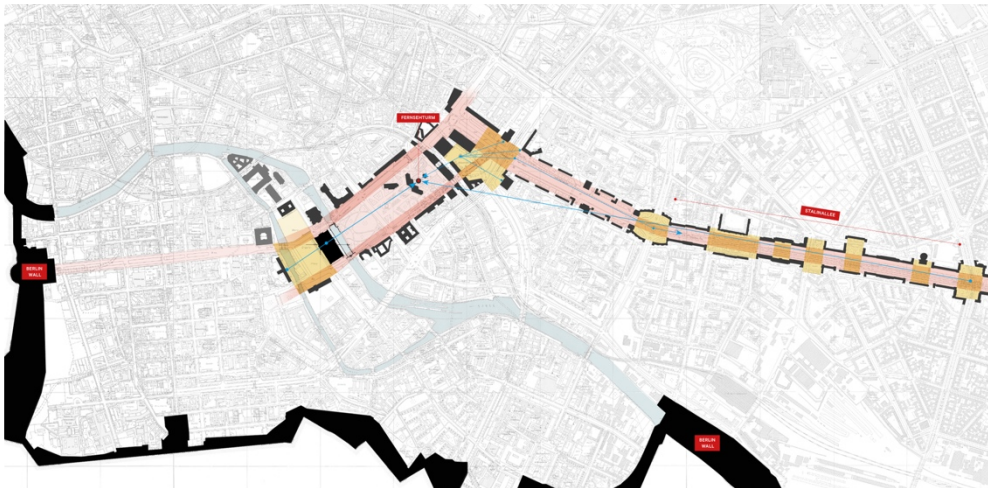

Figure 4.25: Typological transformation 1945-1989
Development of Berlin's central axis and East Berlin Hauptstadt
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: Histomap Berlin, Landesarchiv Berlin.

left the GDR to prosecute their plans directly within the shell of the former city. This was seen clearest on Stalinallee. Because the Magistral provided all the fundamental provisions a life in the GDR needed, it did not so much become a fragment of the city that interacted transactionally with other parts of the urban whole,[152] but rather imposed a hermetic operational structure within the devastated structure of the post-war city. As such a vital component, the street offered no possibility of further transformation and consequently, the city form ossified around it.

In contradistinction to Schinkel's layered and heavily structured urban realm, this chapter has contended in East Berlin there was a fundamental innovation from this condition which materialised as a typological duality, comprised from just two Study Areas of the Hauptstadt and the hinterland: public and 'private'; collective and individual; supporting and supported. There are several particulars demonstrating this division. Stalinallee's wall-like façades restricted lateral connections and reflected all public life inwards. Simultaneously, the divide with the hinterlands was exacerbated and exchange was heavily regulated. The residential 'cells' were contrastingly 'private', in the sense they were not intended for assembly. They were structured by their perimeter, with no central core, and few amenities.

These were therefore 'centrifugal' (literally: 'centre-fleeing') spaces. Missing services and conveniences were re-provided by the central axis. Unlike the dexterity of Schinkel's

152 though Rossi has been shown to have endorsed the GDR approach at Stalinallee, this is judged as erroneous. See Section 4.3.1

interplay between literal and phenomenal space, they were broadly coextensive in East-Berlin's main threshold divide. The threshold between the areas was noticeably abrupt and taut, emphasising the polarity of the two domains' characters. The lack of interstitial space brought the private domain closer to public life and facilitated the city's typological performance of life in the open gaze..

A distinct innovation that operated at a subsidiary scale to the city's organisation was the fragmentation of the rebuilt hinterlands into cells. These have been reasoned as sub-categorisations of the same Study Area, because their repeated morphological patterns made them typologically incomparable to each other in the wider urban whole.

However, whilst their formation and orientation is novel, the 'cell' has been reasoned to be a morphological variation of the Berlin tenement. The cell is judged to be primarily transposed in scale, with principal performative similarities between the two cases. In this sense, the containing perimeter dictates their performance; the centre is characteristically private; the courtyard is read as an analogue of the space between buildings. The extrapolation of scale, but maintaining spatial relationships became a repeating trait in the GDR, as was witnessed at Marx-Engels-Platz (relative to the Lustgarten).

There is a temptation to equate the general openness of the GDR city with Schinkel's open urban landscape principles that were discussed in the previous chapter. However, the operation of the space has been found to be orchestrated very differently in the post-war period. Schinkel's open landscape was a closed-order city that transitioned into a convex urban landscape centrally, stratifying and framing key points of access in the city (such as across the Schloßbrücke). These form important moments of convergence and control, which were exploited to describe the nature of space.

In the GDR, the open space is both uniform and inflated, where each component of the Hauptstadt had a delegated task to marshal the public toward the centre. It was the object (i.e., the Fernsehturm), rather than the quality of space which directs movement. The principal mechanism facilitating this was the network of visual relationships across open space between key components. The lace-like network of visual relationships was deployed throughout the Hauptstadt, for example at Alexanderplatz. Its proliferation can be read as means to cohere different parts of a geographically awkward Study Area together. It formed an innovatory method which replaced Schinkel's approach framed thresholds between areas. Duly, this allowed the Hauptstadt to maintain a typological uniformity, rather than necessarily articulate junctures like Schinkel had to. The primary

sightline structure related to the Fernsehturm. Its positioning in the city was carefully chosen so that it would align with significant Hauptstadt elements, and thus it was an ever-present sight in the skyline. The tower cohered urban relationships and unified geographically separate, but typologically linked, areas of the Hauptstadt. It was the element that congealed and catalysed the centre's activities. However, in comparison to the Altes Museum loggia, there was no phenomenal spatial continuity in support of the literal sightlines between the tower and the city, as its deck was so removed from the city's ground plane. The congruence between phenomenal and literal space is reasoned to be a fundamental component in making the act of viewing democratic, and betrayed the tower's principal function to administer the movement of the collective, rather than contextualise the contribution of the individual against the whole.

Perhaps easy to neglect, the final 'innovation' of the period was the Berlin Wall. Clearly pathogenical, its construction has been shown to have fundamentally altered the dynamic (and destiny) of the city. There was the clear dismemberment of local communities, and its denial of any form of economic or social exchange with the West Berlin. Tt also fundamentally changed patterns of activation within the ecology of the city itself. The Berlin Wall could be considered an 'unwitting' Primary Element for the city. It was deemed a necessity to uphold a viable state. The point is that the other elements of the GDR city were meticulously planned and adjusted (as has been shown at Stalinallee and Fernsehturm) to impose development over the existing, albeit shattered city, and fix its operation. The Berlin Wall was the only 'naturally evolved' physical structure of the regime, which arose as a *response to*—rather than pre-emptive of—people's conduct.[153]

Impact

Viewed collectively, all three Primary Elements of the city were responsible for first defining, then administering the central axis, which became indivisible from the Hauptstadt once the construction programme of the state was complete. Together, they succeeded in reflecting the city plan eastward, covering an area from Brandenburg Gate to Frankfurter Tor. Yet the central axis could only operate with full autonomy after 1990 after the collapse of the GDR, when the role of each of the Primary Elements fell away. The drastic impact of the Wall, which suffocated the central axis' agency, was removed. Meanwhile, Stalinallee lost its primary purpose, as did the Fernsehturm. The latter took

[153] It is acknowledged that the contours of control in the GDR extend well beyond the manifestation of the built environment, such as through the sociological conduct in institutions and the private realm. Architecture is only contributory to these arguments. Control and physical space do not hold a predictable relationship. For information on this relationship, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*. For the specific conditions which contributed to the fall of the GDR, see Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship*..

on a primarily touristic role. The emergence of the central axis superseded its governing components in the reunited city, because it provided a vital redistributive armature to the wider city and functioned to catalyse exchange.

To finish, it is worth recalling Hermann Pundt's concluding statements about Schinkel's work being coherently brittle, and easily dismantled.[154] Last chapter, his summery was discounted on the basis the Schinkel's dispersal of morphological patterns was extensive and whose relations had remained intact through to the present day. Indeed, if Pundt might have been forgiven for writing about the configuration of the GDR Hauptstadt. Cohered by its scenographic latticework, the removal of its spokes risks the defragmentation of the entire system of coherence.

As the next chapter attests, this approach left a brittle urban construction, reliant on visual line-of-sight but vulnerable to physical enclosure. Dorothea Tscheschner's article was written as a plea to the new, reunified Berlin administration in 1990. Her opening paragraph shows the tension between the value of the central axis to a unified Berlin, and the fragility of the system of its coherence. She presciently requested:

> *"It would become very desirable for the surprisingly rapid restoration of Germany's political reunification to become, as it were, a yardstick for the merging of East- and West Berlin. More analytical consideration of the problems that have grown […], as well as more conceptual thoughtfulness about future possibilities and opportunities to not only "put a sicking plaster on" or heal the condition of this metropolis, which bleeds from many wounds, but to turn it into a new qualitative city experience for all people requires careful consideration, sensitivity, and above all, the most unprejudiced possible listening and approach of the Berliners from both sides of the city."*[155]

[—*Chapter End*—]

[154] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 192.
[155] Tscheschner, 'Der Wiederaufbau des historischen Zentrums in Ost-Berlin', 217.

5 1990—Present Day: Reunification

5.1 Introduction

On the night of the 9th November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell suddenly, soon after a decree from the GDR's SED that its borders would be opened to all. The events followed a gradual, peaceful disintegration of the eastern European bloc, precipitated by Michael Gorbachev's USSR refusal to intervene further in Warsaw Pact countries' internal affairs. Images of the public that evening taking pickaxes to the battement and overjoyed East Berliners flooding into the west of the city pre-empted the collapse of East Germany. The country was officially dissolved in October 1990 through its accession to the West-German Parliament. Germany was reunified once more and, in political terms at least, Berlin was no longer a divided city.

Once the initial euphoria and optimism of reunification had subsided, the dim reality set in that after Berlin's split post-war economic, political, and social trajectories meant that a rationale for integrating and redistributing conditions was needed at pace. Berlin's primary issue was that the conditions that had regulated its development since the end of the Second World War had suddenly vanished. There was also a dichotomy between a newly 'unified' city governance—which commentators often mark as a western "*takeover*" of the city Senate—and a fractured and unbalanced urban morphology, left starkly apparent after four decades of division. This demanded solutions to fundamental issues, primarily how to rebuild the city, and where its united centre lay. Presiding over both these questions in such unbalanced conditions was the matter of what degree of coherence between sides was right, and what form integration should take.

Calls from figures such as Dorothea Tscheschner (as mentioned in the previous chapter, an East German architect) and Bernhard Schneider (a West German architect and consultant to the city Senate during the 1990s) identified opportunities to establish an as-yet-determined cultural identity, founded on the bonding of separate ways of life on both sides into a "*different Berlin*", never yet seen before. Their hope laid in the intrinsic diversity of the urban field, which should be channelled into.a new, progressive integration between sides. Their outlook was countered by emerging western social elites' activist groups, energised by sanctimony drawn from the capitulation of the GDR and a political majority in the new Senate. These parties argued instead for a strongly conservative desire to reinstate the image of a Berlin that *could have* existed, had there

priorly been no conflict, division, or ideological triumphalism. Their interest lay in the representation of an idealised past, tethered to founding genealogies.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the Senate majority, Tscheschner and Schneider's appeals were largely marginalised, and rekindling a common identity in shared cultural roots from before the war—and thus before partition too—became adopted as the key to unlocking the union between east and west. Legislators interpreted this to mean that unevenly developed conditions either side of the Wall had to suddenly become integrated and normalised, to bridge the gulf between the two former Berlins. Investors queued to take advantage of the speculative possibilities potential offered by this policy and the regulatory void in the 'new' city. Reunification became shorthand for a period of fresh urban potential as new impetus was given to address Berlin's urban situation, in the period known as the '*Wende*'.[1]

As quickly as possible, the new Senate revised the Neo-historicist practice of "*Critical Reconstruction*", pioneered at West Berlin's IBA[2] 1984/87, to now convey the *Genius Loci* of a "*New Berlin Architecture*", reinstating the pre-war figure/ground plan and the city's "*physiognomy*".[3] According to former Senatbaudirektor (city senior planner) Hans Stimmann, a westerner, attempts to suture the divide together meant recourse to pre–war planning regulations "*following a failure of past experiments with concepts of what constitutes a city*".[4] This era would operate as a yardstick for the collective memory and identification of all Berlin's citizens, he believed. He, like the Planwerk Innenstadt authors Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm and Berndt Albers, has written extensively about the Senate's approach to urban design during this period, which has formed a basis of critique of this chapter. The corresponding East's standpoint was premised on ensuring their ways of life did not just become a "*footnote*" in German history.[5] Its population condemned the policy as anachronistic. Feeling out-manoeuvred and lacking political agency, they placed faith in the physical presence of the key artifacts of the East Berlin cityscape as a safeguard against their way of life being eradicated.

The failures that Stimmann refers to were ostensibly the GDR's interventions in the eastern city, which have been described in the previous chapter. The research that follows assesses the period between 1989 until the completion of the major planned elements of

1 'Wende' is the German word for 'turnaround'.
2 Internationale Bauaustellung [trans: international building exhibition]
3 OED Online, 'Physiognomy', def. 4a. "The general appearance or external features of a material object. […]"
4 Stimmann, 'City Centre Projects', 13–18.
5 'Longing for Yesterday', 152.

the Hauptstadt, for its impact[6] on Berlin's urban configuration and the effect it has had on re-drafting its central extent. Correspondingly, it also records the shifting Study Area configurations and evaluates the degree of fragmentation across the former GDR central area. There are two major factors to the analysis: the impact of New Berlin Architecture and its application through the Berlin planning framework, the Planwerk Innenstadt; and how the newly built components of the Spreeinsel variously induce urban activations into the city depths.

The deployment of the Planwerk in Berlin's east pitted its outwardly disposed, "*convex*" base morphology (whose figure was intentionally radical when it was erected just a generation earlier) against a practice that aimed to reintroduce coherent, inwardly disposed "*concave*"[7] city fabric based on the Berlin perimeter block, placing greater emphasis on the streets, squares and density associated with the Weimar era. Therefore, the sweeping expanses of open space in the East were threatened, despite pledges to retain the East German fabric. The effects of the practice are demonstrated by an assessment of Alexanderplatz, where attempts to manufacture a centralised 'place' are reasoned to fragment the constellation of Study Areas of the GDR-era, stifling other contingent artifacts and public spaces that were formerly activated.

Notwithstanding, when in 1993 western businessman Wilhelm von Boddien erected a vast, at scale scaffold superimposing the image of the former Berlinerschloß over the in-situ Palast der Republik, "New Berlin Architecture" made a substantive leap from an urban, reconstructive strategy to become deployable on individual, key artifacts in the central city. Von Boddien's intended to rally the conservative lobby through an appeal to the historic and cultural consciousness of the central island. His intervention was framed against the adjacent historic façades of Museumsinsel, which was concurrently tendering for its own rejuvenation plans. The subsequent debate around development would define Berlin's restoration efforts. The Spreeinsel became defined as the heart of Berlin, where resurrection was pitched against transformation; and physiognomic contextualism came face-to-face with typological innovation. It became the scene for competing strategies to activate its territory as a new cultural landscape,[8]

6 This includes its potential impact, given the contemporaneous nature of the latest architectural transformations.

7 Definitions from Lucan, *Composition, Non-Composition*. See this doctorate's Literature review.

8 For a detailed account of Post-reunification projects in Central Berlin, see *Der Berliner Schlossplatz: Visionen Zur Gestaltung Der Berliner Mitte* (Berlin: Argon, 1997); For articles offering commentary, see in particular William J. V. Neill, 'Memory, Collective Identity and Urban Design: The Future of Berlin's Palast Der Republik', *Journal of Urban Design*, 2.2 (1997), 179–92 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809708724403>; Adrian von Buttlar, 'Berlin's Castle Versus Palace: A Proper Past for Germany's Future?', *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, 4.1 (2007), 12–29.

Today, after over 30 years of debates, planning and construction, the key manifestations—the historically revived Berliner Schloß (Franco Stella, 2020) and the James-Simon-Galerie / Archaeological Promenade combination (David Chipperfield Architects, 2019)—has been added to the Museumsinsel collective. While amply critiqued and judged according to their representative figures in wider discourse,[9] these two developments have come to embody the competing urban and cultural principles, despite being situated just metres apart. Through the comparison of these contemporary projects, it becomes patent how opposing dynamics between key artifacts of the city and the Study Area impact on architecture's ability to retain a vital and active role in the city. Their performances are assessed independently first, but then also holistically as participants in the same urban ecology. The chapter concludes that the urban threshold established between Museumsinsel and Marx-Engels-Platz under the GDR regime is re-articulated in its appearance, but not surmounted in its performance. The weakness of the Schloß to propagate its own patterns of growth allows Museumsinsel to capitalise on its deficiency. The James-Simon-Galerie and Archaeological Promenade are reasoned to transform Museum Island from individual artifacts into a holistic, propelling permanence. The James-Simon-Galerie surrounds itself with purposefully 'use-less' spaces, furnishing Museum Island's materialisation as a scaffold for unscripted urban life to play out upon. It establishes a major new urban corridor across the island, and propels new activation into the depths of the Mitte district. In this sense, the James-Simon-Galerie reinvents the typological concepts and mechanisms of the Altes Museum from 200 years ago, to bolster Museumsinsel's availability to the wider depths of the city.

5.2 Contextual Background

5.2.1 Berlin in 1990: A Snapshot of the Urban Condition

When the GDR acceded to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1990, Berlin didn't just testify to the destruction of war—the scars of which (particularly in eastern areas) were still evident—but also to the effect that 40 years of division had left inscribed in its form. Figure/ground plans—soon to become the planner's favoured weaponry to initiate urban change—indiscriminately show a broken city morphology, epitomised by a lack of coherent building fabric that held the city together. In areas, the trace of the former

9 For examples of Museumsinsel, see Witschurke, Museum der Museen; Wetzel, From the Berlin Museum to the Berlin Wall; Wedel, Die Neue Museuminsel. Relating to the Schloß, see Kleihues, 'Der Ort, An Dem Das Schloß Stand'; Heinke, 'Schloß in Sicht?', and Dolgoy, 'Berlin's Stadtschloss-Humboldtforum and the Disappearing Glass'.

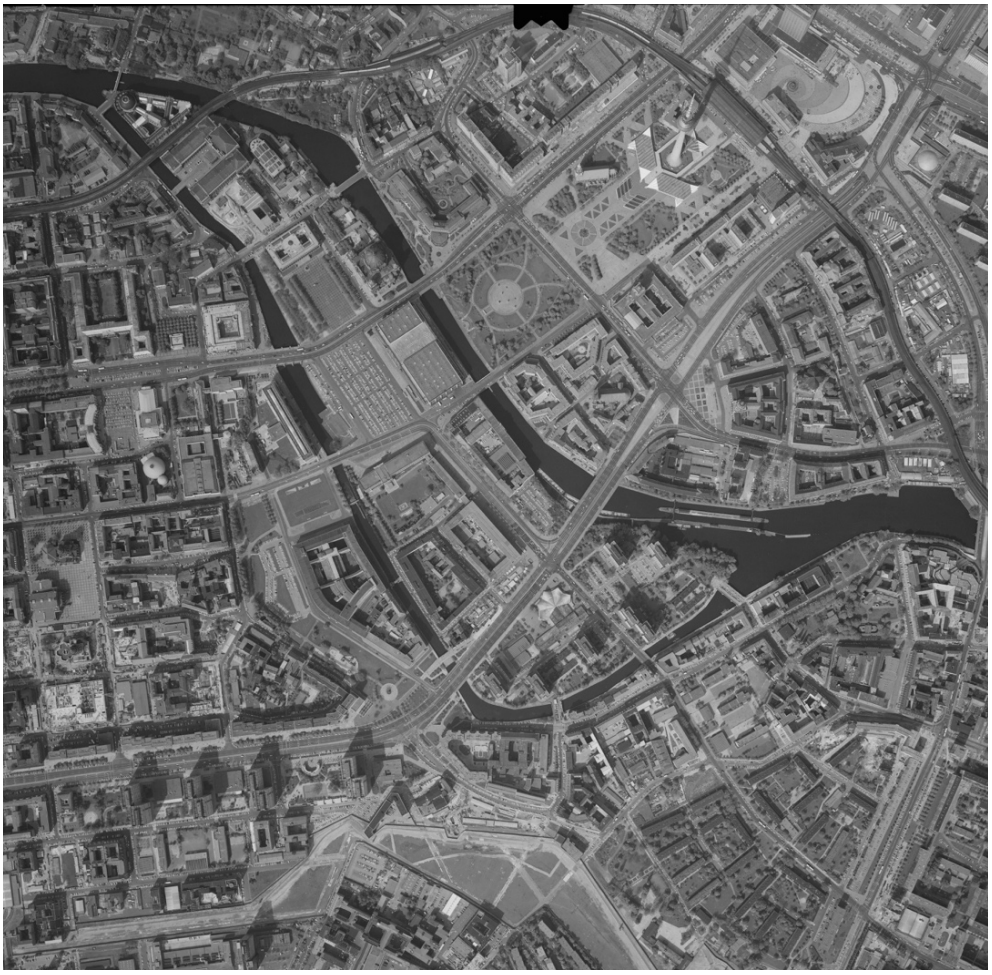

Figure 5.1: Aerial Photograph of Spreeinsel (1989)
Taken one month following the Wall's collapse
Source: Geoportal Berlin

Berlin block form remains clear, but often it appears eroded, the odd building missing. In some instances (for example close to the Wall's path), only the odd building was still left standing. Away from the city core, within the inner-city belt, there were still city blocks with no particular 'texture' to speak of at all. Matthias Sauerbruch described living in post-war West Berlin as "*life in 'inherited, over-sized clothing*'", being "*unable to fill it with the respective activities and life.*"[10] The *Internationale Bauaustellung* (IBA), held in West Berlin in the mid 1980s, sought to address the issues of urban decay through director Josef-Paul Kleihues' strategy of "*Critical Reconstruction*". According to Harald Bodenschatz, the IBA had a twofold agenda: firstly, to establish a planning framework

10 Sauerbruch is clear in his lament for post-reunification development in Berlin however, going on to reason that during division, the urban condition was its greatest architectural asset that gave the city a reading as a physical system, rather than a programmatic one. After the Wende, "This attitude has not been revised […] despite the obvious and complete transformation of the economic basis". Sauerbruch, 'Berlin 2000', 284.

that enshrined redevelopment through renewal rather than demolition; and secondly to instil a new ideology to usurp the Modernist doctrine.[11] Critical Reconstruction offered a template for grafting together and repairing the city's mass with a clear coherence, but no explanation of how these spaces would be filled with a receding population. When the Wall fell suddenly, some of the IBA blocks had not even been completed as an entirely new context emerged through reunification.

The Hauptstadt in 1990

Conditions were at their most acute in the eastern half of the city, where a lack of funds for redevelopment meant just the areas directly associated with the discharge of the GDR's politicised way of life received much attention. Only toward 1987 and the 750th anniversary of Berlin's founding did schemes receive token notice. The Friedrichstadt passages and Nikolaiviertel exemplified a turning attitude to development behind the Iron Curtain.[12] On the Spreeinsel, the vast expanse of Marx-Engels-Platz had established a threshold east-to-west across the island. The Museumsinsel estate was restored at slow pace throughout the GDR's existence, ostensibly for ideological purposes.[13] No museum was spared war (or post-war) damage. The Altes Museum's peristyle formed a distant edifice onto Marx-Engels-Platz and thus was restored quickly. At its heart, the Neues Museum was left alone, in a state of ruination throughout the GDR years, amongst discussions (in true GDR-form) that it might be better to pull the ruin down altogether.

5.2.2 Cultural Shifts in the Post-War Era

Across western Europe and as part of a wider globalised trend, the last portion of the twentieth century witnessed fundamental changes to the way that culture was thought of, disseminated, and architecturally harnessed. As East Berlin was rather impregnable to international developments disseminating from the West (especially those relating to displays of cultural identity), the subsequent readmission of the West to its territory was viewed by many as fertile opportunity to implement such ideals.

Whereas in times past the typical spatial arrangement of cultural institutions was aimed at a withdrawal from the city context and protection of content (see for example the Altes Museum's figure), the student insurrection of the late 1960s in Paris demanded

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11 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 99.

12 Florian Urban has written extensively on these matters. See*Neo-Historical East Berlin: architecture and urban design in the German Democratic Republic 1970-1990*; 'Designing the Past in East Berlin before and after the German Reunification'; 'Friedrichstraße, 1987: neo-historical design in the German Democratic Republic'.

13 For further details about Museumsinsel during the post-war period, see Witschurke, *Museum der Museen*, chap. XI.

Figure 5.2: View of Leipzigerplatz Achteck (1989)
Source: www.planb-berlin.eu

change to the 'Ivory towers' model of scholarly institutions to become places more receptive to fluid social dialogue.[14]

Through a new openness to culture as a commodifiable medium for the masses, an understanding of the link between its promotion of a place's identity, narrative and history emerged, as "*a process of storytelling that speaks of the experience of the everyday and our sense of self, as well as the special and the unique*."[15] As much as there has been a clamour for increasing numbers of new cultural buildings, extensions to major collection holdings[16] were used to signify gestalt entities where whole symbolised more than the sum of an institution's parts, and better communicate the identity of the place in which they were situated. Hans Witschurke termed this translation as the creation of the "*Metamuseum*".[17]

14 Naredi-Rainer and Hilger, *Museum Buildings*, 17.
15 Macleod, Hourston Hanks, and Hale, *Museum Making : Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, XIX.
16 Works to other major museum complexes—including the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in London (Robert Venturi), and the underground expansion and circulatory re-working of the Louvre in Paris (I.M Pei)—were significant developments, involving the imposition of a new circulatory and organisational scheme.
17 Witschurke, *Museum der Museen*, 253.

In cultural institutions, architecture found a key vehicle to re-connect itself to a historical awareness in cities. Particularly, Collective Memory was a construct that many believed should be deployed to symbolise an individual's shared stake in the civic past. This has informed the prevalent, though inert urban tendencies presaging this doctoral research, through what Stan Allen terms a "*built discourse*", which underplays architecture's potential to transform contiguous urban areas.[18]

5.2.3 Autocratic Governance to Cultural Landscape

Prior to reunification, Berlin's political condition defined the split cities, and was seen to be linked to both sides' economic survival. When the Wall fell, the political and socio-economic model of the East disintegrated with it. As Bernhard Schneider observes, these systems collapsed before any template had been established for what should follow. He wrote in 1997:

> "*Berlin's cultural resources are one of the city's main assets and driving forces in a period of difficult transition. But former conditions of its political and economic survival have fallen away before future grounds have been secured.*"[19]

This statement—to which this doctorate fully subscribes—is founded on the conviction that public space forms a city's largest cultural asset. Culture is innately linked to architectural endeavour and strategic reasoning, sculpted by the same intentionality that architecture discharges upon the urban field. Rossi explained this link when he stated that "*permanences […] alone can show what a city once was by indicating the way its past differs from its present*."[20] Meanwhile, Schneider understands that the east-west divide in Berlin is intrinsic to Berlin's condition, prior even to political division.[21] Schneider's opinion is seconded by Harald Bodenschatz, who writes of the Spreeinsel at Berlin's heart "*the name "Spree Island" evokes the image of Berlin as a "city on the water," […] the intersection of land traffic and shipping. Berlin is a child of the Spree River […]. The island has always been a passage for east-west trade, representation, cultural activity and social interaction*."[22] The significance of this viewpoint is that heterogeneity and its consequential dynamism are engrained into the city fabric, which can form a logic for organising the city's spaces,

18 Refer to the Introduction to this doctorate for the main contextual argument.
19 Schneider, 'Cultural Politics in Berlin', 235.
20 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 59.
21 These statements are demonstrably intertwined by the way the pre-war city never reached a satisfactory central axis between the East and West. For further details, see Behne, 'Berliner Probleme: Hundert Meter Von Der Ziele ...'
22 See Bodenschatz, 'Wettbewerbsgebeit "Spreeinsel"', 16.

Figure 5.3: Polenmarkt Flea market Being Held in the former Berlin Wall 'Deathstrip', 1990.
This type of activity serves as an example of the interaction that Bernd Schneider promoted in his article 'Cultural politics in Berlin', where different urban actors were brought together in new and unforeseen spaces that previously has not been possible. Owing to post-war division in the city.
Source: www.polityka.pl

across continental, national, and local scales: there is the potential to define Berlin as the union between east and west Europe, as much as the east and west of the city plan.

Schneider's comments were intended to show that Berlin (even some seven years after the GDR's collapse) had not decided culturally what it should become. The issue gained prominence after reunification when it was reassigned as Germany's new federal capital once more. Though culture was understood by "*all parties*" as "*the currency from which Berlin can profit*",[23] there was no consensus of how. Schneider believed the underlying urban conditions were sufficiently rich to justify a strategic vision without demanding recourse to historical form. He understood that the experiences of the city's past were an inadequate and unstable benchmark for the obligations of a contemporary Berlin, to address what in reality was a new set of circumstances. Though the city had been a seat of empire, had sustained damage through war, and had been used to communicate various ideologies (some obviously heinous), these factors never coincided, and so they could only ever become merged by an invented, artificial symbology.

23 Schneider, 'Cultural Politics in Berlin', 237.

By contrast, there was a strong movement backed by a powerful social elite that sought use the occasion—on top of the absence of any coherent city at all to speak of in the early 1990s—to rebuild what the city once was (or, more accurately, *could have been*), prior to destruction, fragmentation, and ideologisation. Cultural restitution was achieved through the reawakening of tradition, myth, and historical genealogy, to a moment in time when the city's development was considered linear, and undertaken with common identity and cause. Politicians from the West began speaking of shared identity, and promoting an ambition of union and a normalisation of relations. Correspondingly, the unwavering tenet underpinning all urban policy after reunification was the eradication of diversity.

Schneider called the ambition for parity "*unrealistic, but in cultural terms also disturbing*."[24] Conversely, he wanted to celebrate the dialectics different lived experiences could bring to urban space. The city's east-west divide afforded new possibilities, instigated on new patterns and relationships between spaces and people. Conversely, to homogenise the city was to ostracise the East Berlin public, and refute its temporal continuity. The reconstructionist agenda was fashioned from an inertial and pejoratively moral perspective. It fallaciously underplayed the complexity of events and actions to suit an overriding narrative of the subject's choosing, repudiating the productive, transformational potential driven by the city's very heterogeneity. It valued the symbolisation of a single filament of urban history above the transformation of space for urban life to play out in.

Agreement between these principles has never been reached, and therefore their contestation continues to define the architectural and urban reality of Berlin to the present day.

5.2.4 Traditional European City, Critical Reconstruction and New Berlin Architecture

Towards Articulating the Traditional European City

In 1991, the newly recombined German parliament, sitting in Bonn, narrowly voted in favour of relocating back to Berlin, its pre-war seat of power. Martin Gegner notes:

> "*there was a triple challenge for urban planning at this time: To provide the expected, internal migrants [of government] with accommodation. Secondly, to fill the gaps in the city with new*

24 Schneider, 241.

> *buildings for business and commerce, and to remake the old city a centre again. All this called, thirdly, for a masterplan, that appreciated the chance of a new start in Berlin*".[25]

Despite projects like Nikolaiviertel in the East, and especially the IBA in the West, where the architectural profession demonstrated a re-engagement with history, conditions on either side of the Wall were seen by politicians as unsatisfactory to carry forward, and the Wende's "new set of circumstances" left the city rudderless until the development of its planning strategy.

Harald Bodenschatz calls the first five years after reunification "*years of euphoria*" and "*the years of super-speculation and major projects.*"[26] According to Virag Molnar, it coincided with a period when "*the legal regulatory framework was taking shape at dauntingly slow pace whereas international developers' pressure required immediate response.*"[27] During Berlin's partition, changes driven by the globalisation of the financial sector saw a rise in capital invested in real-estate specuation.

It is therefore possible to corelate the situation of Berlin in 1990 with the broader discussions—which had been suspended in Berlin since the late 1960s and 1970s—about which direction the city should move to address its new reality. The interface of these currents with architecture's rediscovery of history led to a friction in Berlin's redevelopment trajectory. The project to cohere the appearance of the city and adequately symbolise what Berlin had been, was, and should become had opened up a new front to signal its openness to foreign investment.

At this juncture, one is simultaneously reminded of Stan Allen's prophecy where "*conventional*" architectural practice exists at the behest of the "*multiple and often contradictory demands of context, clients, regulating agencies, media, or economics*",[28] and Robert Venturi's lament of architecture's supposed helplessness in the face of unstoppable urban forces, where architecture is tasked to harness the availability of the sign. Early developments in reunified Berlin, such as around Potsdamer Platz, were heavily criticised for the importation of the global city as a normative model for development.

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25 Gegner, 'The Big "Mitte-Struggle"', 108.
26 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 111.
27 Molnar, 'Cultural Production of Locality', 286.
28 Strom and Mayer, 'The New Berlin', 123.

In response to the initial boom, the Berlin Senatbaudirektor (Senate's building director) Hans Stimmann[29] pitted the laissez-faire model based on the speculation of the privateer, against the "*traditional European city*". He did not view contemporary social change as requiring a new urban planning concept.[30] Stimmann favoured recourse to traditional urban fabric and strong European morphological archetypes, in his conviction that the dense, compact form, emphasis on civic space carved from the 'blackness' of the figure/ground plan would encourage social interaction, which had been missing from a metropolis suffering from urban decay and depopulation for a generation. He developed a crucial alliance with IBA director Josef-Paul Kleihues and adapted his technique of "*Critical Reconstruction*", which had already met with approval in the city Senate at the IBA, as the core urban planning cornerstone for delivering the traditional European city. The policy direction was at first enacted through a series of area planning documents to keep pace with development pressures, and later evolved into the first joint-city's masterplan, the "*Planwerk Innenstadt*". The development of the policy involved key augmentations to the baseline technique deployed in former West Berlin. Through careful reinterpretation within the framework of the existing system, it implored investors follow a historically orientated model, which narrowed development opportunities. Molnar describes this process as a "*nesting*" of a "*New Berlin Architecture*" within Critical Reconstruction.

Local Activist Groups

In 1991, the vastly influential *Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin* (GHB) group was inaugurated, who campaigned vehemently for the historic architecture of Berlin, but importantly also its urban setting. Their arguments for moral superiority were emboldened by the western majority in the Senate, the security emerging from Stimmann's political attitude, and substantial financial resources that allowed them access to daily periodicals in the city. There was a mutual reciprocity between the interests of these groups. Critic Gabi Dolff-Bonekamper was well acquainted with the GHB's concerns. She writes:

> "*The GHB was and is concerned not only with buildings, but also with the whole, with beauty and with happiness. […] Anyone attending events in Berlin in the mid 1990s […] could be certain that*

29 Stimmann held planning consultant positions in Berlin and his hometown in Lübeck, West Germany, prior to becoming widely regarded as Berlin's most influential figure in Berlin's planning policy. He held the Senate post from 1991 until 2006, when limits on the number of turns in office forced his retirement. Post-appointment, he has continued to write and publish his views, and remains a weighty and significant individual in Berlin's planning debate.

30 Molnar, 'Cultural Production of Locality', 286.

> *the words used would be harsh and the atmosphere emotionally volatile."*[31]

Dolff-Bonekamper suggests here a strive for coherence and the stability of place, which have led to the GHB advocating for structures to be resurrected, or conversely for the destruction of other buildings they consider blemishing their preferred vision of a Berlin. In undertaking to purify the historical setting, the group suspended the general assumption of temporal continuity in favour of a purist image of Berlin form prior to any conflict or division, from around the late 1920s. Correspondingly "*buildings from the GDR period […] were not considered to be historical but rather seen as disturbing the historical, and as relics of a state rightly consigned to history*."[32] There was clear alignment between the groups interests and the direction of Senate policy, as the release of the Planwerk Innenstadt framework substantiates.

The IBA 1984/87 and "Critical Reconstruction"

The Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition (IBA)), was announced under partition by the West Berlin Senate in 1979, and was held between 1984 and 1987. It is referred to by date to differentiate it from the previous IBA exhibition of 1957, which resulted in the development of West Berlin's Hansa district.

Its aspirations were manifold. First, it was a response intended to stimulate the entrenched economic stagnation of West Berlin, which was largely determined by its spatial reality encircled by the East. War damage, though not as prevalent as in the East, was still evident, and "*gaps*"[33] remained etched in West Berlin's morphology, with little impetus provoking change. Secondly, it's agenda was shaped by the bourgeoning interest in general architectural discourse around the role of history in cities, provoked by figures such as Rossi and the wider Tendenza movement.[34] Rossi's '*The Architecture of the City*' had been translated into German just a few years earlier, in 1973. Thirdly, this reawakening coincided with the upcoming 750th anniversary of Berlin's founding in 1987. Both sides of the split city developed projects to celebrate this milestone.[35]

Josef-Paul Kleihues' involvement in the IBA 1984/87 was courted following early reconstruction projects in West Berlin in the 1970s. Vinetaplatz (southern Wedding)

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31 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 'Longing for Yesterday', 152.
32 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 152.
33 De Michelis, '»Zwischen sozialen Belangen und künstlerischer Verantwortung« West-Berliner Architekturen bis zur IBA', 32.
34 Aldo Rossi had indeed taught at TU Berlin at the invitation of Ungers in the 1960s.
35 Notably, the Nikolaiveirtel was redeveloped in the East Berlin Altstadt by the GDR.

enclosed and reinstated a hard perimeter against the street, forming private courtyard space to the interior.[36] Around the same time as the commencement of Vinetaplatz, Kleihues had been commissioned by the West Berlin Senate in 1971 to survey the suburbs of Charlottenburg and Kreuzberg as a basis for prospective restoration projects. His commission employed figure/ground plans as an analytical tool, indicating in-between 'grey' spaces for intervention, whilst retaining the historic fabric of the neighbourhoods.[37] Subsequently in 1977, Harald Bodenschatz and Cordelia Pollinna recall that Kleihues wrote in the Berliner Morgenpost alongside writer Wolf Jobst Siedler[38] for "*an integrated exhibition that would deal with the existing urban fabric in order to restore, repair and supplement it.*"[39]

According to Bodenschatz, the IBA had a twofold agenda: firstly, to establish a planning framework that enshrined redevelopment through renewal rather than demolition; and secondly to instil a new ideology to usurp the Modernist doctrine.[40] Thus, rather than focusing on a single area as a showcase foregrounding individual buildings like the precursory 1957 IBA in Hansaviertel, the 1987 edition sought a more expansive repertoire that would constitute an exemplary and transformative attitude towards urban planning in the city.[41] Its programme was split between a relatively small component repairing existing city blocks in Kreuzberg (IBA-Altbau), and a wider programme of newbuild adhering to Kleihues' proposals, centred around the South Tiergarten and Friedrichstadt areas (IBA-Neubau).[42]

At the IBA, Kleihues' reconstructive approach specifically identified facets of urban design that should become manifest in its architectural projects. These are recorded in the IBA project overview handbook. The most relevant parts concerned are quoted *ad verbatim*:

> *"The focus of the district development is on social, needs-oriented housing construction with complementary utilities. Attempts will be made to attract institutions with supra-local needs, […] to the*

36 Zedda, 'The Modern Berlin Block', 208–9.

37 Kleihues, 'Berlin-Atlas Zu Stadtbild Und Stadtraum. 2, Versuchsgebiet Kreuzberg'; Kleihues, 'Berlin-Atlas Zu Stadtbild Und Stadtraum. 3, Versuchsgebiet Charlottenburg'.

38 Seidler is most renowned for co-authoring the 1964 book "*Die Gemordete Stadt*" (trans. "*The murdered city*") Whilst not amounting to a theory on urban restoration, it's puplication did prove influential and helped add momentum to the reconstruction movement.

39 Krüger, 'Das Pathos endet an der Haustür.'

40 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 99.

41 Bodenschatz et al., *25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987*.

42 There was construction in Tegel to the north, and Wilmersdorf to the west also.

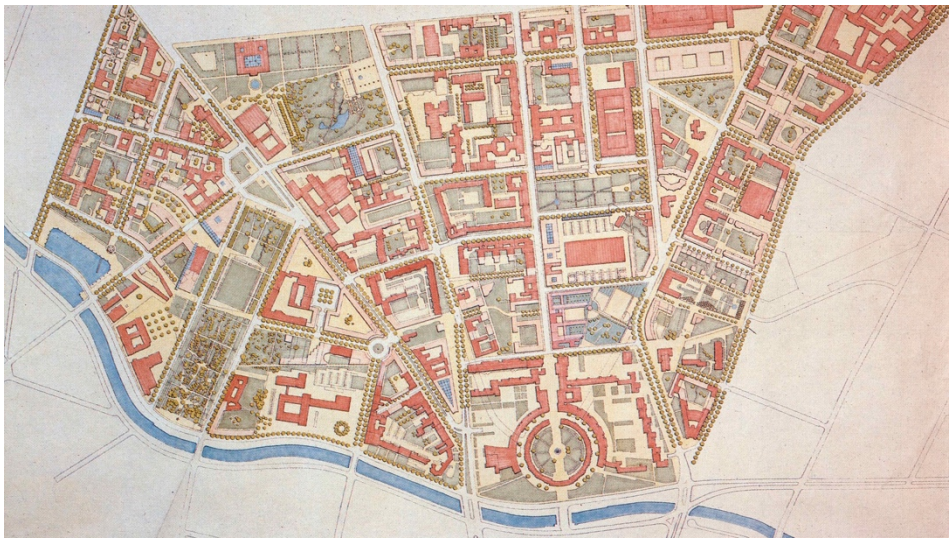

Figure 5.4: Masterplan of the IBA in Southern Friedrichstadt
Pink: New additions. Red: Existing fabric.
Source: Internationale Bauaustellung Berlin 1987

> *Südliche Friedrichstadt to give it new tasks—in keeping with its historical significance—and to achieve an upgrading of the entire area.*
>
> *"[…] Historical traces are taken up and the remaining urban layout and the existing buildings are preserved. The public street and square spaces are to be restored through differentiated architectural forms. […] Buildings will mainly be five to seven storeys high, to orientate themselves on the old Berlin eaves height. […]*
>
> *"The new housing must consider different population groups and their diverse ideas of living and lifestyles. […]*
>
> *"A mix of urban functions such as living, working, recreation and socio-cultural services is sought in a small area – if possible at block level […] The ground floor zones on the important streets will be reserved for district-related trades, commerce and services."*[43]

43 Kleihues, *Projektübersicht / Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987*, 95.

Apart from conveying an overarching prudence, Kleihues' remarks remain very general, and descriptive rather than prescriptive.[44] In its most directive clauses, Kleihues stipulates buildings' eaves heights, but overall and thus there is scope for their interpretation. It is also noticeable that there is little historical (or future) bias: the principles read as an assessment of need in the present.

Bodenschatz and Pollina recognise ""*Critical" meant that the approach to the historic elements of the city was not carried out schematically, but was understood as a stimulus for creative further development.*" Ilaria Maria Zedda agrees with this assessment, stating

> *"The IBA's challenge to restore the form and image of the historical city […] as a starting point in the presence of buildings constructed precisely as a reaction to these traditional urban components, can be seen as the attempt to apply Colin Rowe's advice to "allow and encourage the object to become digested in a prevalent texture or matrix".*"[45]

As this reference to *egas V* suggests, the IBA's task was to apply a critical approach, such that Critical Reconstruction could prevail in the Modern city. It sought to achieve this through the re-establishment of a background fabric, and it did not set out to unnecessarily challenge the structure or hierarchy of this form. Background, because there was no possibility that such a model can accommodate for transformations of Primary Elements against the traditional configuration of the metropolis without first redressing the 'persistence versus alteration' equation, which defines and accommodates new performance. Accordingly, the foundation of the restoration project is a reawakening of historically established Study Areas alone: a reconstruction of flesh, but no organs. Phrased differently, there was no agent of structural transformation included in his model: its overall aim is a stabilisation of (historic) context rather than catalyst of change.

When the Berlin Wall fell suddenly in 1989, some of the IBA blocks had not even been completed as an entirely new context swept across a newly reunified Berlin. With the embargo lifted on the Western half of the city, it is impossible to ascertain whether Kleihues' model would have withstood the economic stagnation long-term.

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44 It should be noted that what was published in the official IBA Projektübersicht was diluted from many other accounts of Kleihues' work. However, as an official record of the event and therefore representative of its intentions, this has been referenced rather than other interpretations of its director, which show much more of a focus on architectural representation, the embodiment of a Collective Memory within architecture. For other accounts, see De Michelis, '»Zwischen sozialen Belangen und künstlerischer Verantwortung« West-Berliner Architekturen bis zur IBA'; Kromrei, *Postmodern Berlin*.

45 Zedda, 'The Modern Berlin Block', 210.

"Critical Reconstruction" to "New Berlin Architecture"

However, as Critical Reconstruction became embedded in post-Wende Berlin's regulatory codes, additional stipulations began to crystalise.[46] These began to shape Kleihues' initial urban theory into prescriptive aesthetic and architectural concerns. Molnar states that despite the policy framework's vagueness, it did imply an architecture that was commensurate with the "*spirit of Critical Reconstruction which would have a better chance of securing commissions for architects*."[47] Undoubtedly, this related to the building's appearance more than its urban contribution.

During the 1990s Stimmann and his team embarked to define the "Berlin tradition". Like all invented custom the endeavour was mired in questions of legitimacy, rigour, and authority, but nonetheless allowed him to determine a series of archetypes for mimesis. Stimmann staunchly adhered to his belief—shared with Kleihues but not patently inscribed in the IBA documentation—that the ground plan was the fount of the city's memory. Stimmann believed architects, urban planners and politicians jointly held a moral obligation to address history respectfully, which he considered Modernism to be in contravention of. He professed that *"he considered his role as a policymaker for urban construction, and not for urban planning"*,[48] a nuanced but important inflection betraying that he considered individual buildings (as autonomous objects) as vessels of tradition and historicism.

Molnar notes that there were two facets to determining what course New Belin Architecture should follow: first, Stimmann's aesthetic preference was for the department stores (Geschäftshäuser) of the interwar period for their austerity and restrained elegance. Stimmann claimed they played a substantive role in determining the atmosphere of modern-day Berlin.[49] Secondly, Stimmann pursued a "*Prussian rationalism*," typified by what he describes as "*disciplined, Prussian, restrained in palette, stony, more straight than curved*."[50] For Stimmann, Berlin's post-war architecture had been rooted in internationalism, and thus there was a moral issue of integrity for him. "*In the*

46 Conjecturally, much of this criticism derives from a conflation of Critical Reconstruction (pre-Wende) with Stimmann's utilisation of Critical Reconstruction as a drive for a "new Berlin Architecture" and the development of the Planwerk Innenstadt (Post-Wende)

47 Molnar, 'Cultural Production of Locality', 294.

48 Stimmann, Kieren, and Ouwerkerk, *Die Architektur Des Neuen Berlin*, 53.

49 Stimmann, 'New Berlin Office and Commercial Buildings', 17.

50 Stimmann, "'Ich bin ein mächtiger Mann": Gespräch mit Senatsbaudirektor Hans Stimmann', 51.

Figure 5.5: ***Office Building on Unter den Linden***
Kurt Berndt & Albert F M Lange & Bruno Paul (Façade). Built 1910-11. An Example of one of Hans Stimmann's preferred archetypes for New Berlin Architecture to follow.
Source: Berliner Architekturwelt 14 1912. In: 'Neue Berlinische Architektur: Eine Debate'

1950s, the Berliners began searching for their identity: some in America, others in the Soviet Union, and later in the direction of who-knows-where. In any case, it had to be terribly international. That was a wrong path. The Berliners have to take their own themes seriously again."[51]

His comments are often described as amounting to a "*physiognomic*" approach, a word imported from Kleihues' lexicon, but he was later expressly adopted.[52] Naraelle Hohensee suggests use of the word implies the overall ""*character*" *of the city [can be determined] through the face of the individual building*". She continues, saying that this became an "*essential part of overall city planning*" as it "*allows design decisions to be made on the basis of*

51 Stimmann, 51.
52 See Stimmann, 'The physiognomy of a major city'.

whether a building expresses the character of the city."[53] It implies Stimmann privileged an aesthetic bond to the city's history as a visual 'mesh' to the city through a perceptively appreciated placemaking exercise.

The suggestion is not that Stimmann's archetypes were copied on a like-for-like basis, but that the concept underpinning their deployment was inert in disciplinary terms. Applied to the background fabric of the city, this had little consequence, as according to Rossi the connecting fabric of the city is typical, and the typical nature of the city is a state of transience. However, New Berlin Architecture's assimilation with the Planwerk Innenstadt framework would fully mobilise the concept, and provide a new interface for Stimmann's vision at the urban scale.

5.3 Preliminary Steps

Immediately after the Wende, propositions for a 'New Berlin Architecture' to reform the traditional European city emerged, premised on the search for a collective consciousness and mutual heritage of all Berliners, even at the expense of eradicating the post-war years from mind altogether. Berlin's development outline was largely determined by the unveiling of the flagship planning policy, the Planwerk Innenstadt (also just known as 'the Planwerk'), which formed a universal vision across central Berlin, covering both eastern and western areas.

Up until this juncture, the key omission from visions of Berlin had direction over how to activate its core. The Planwerk complimented concern for how to rebuild the city with the question of how to reconsolidate the city centre. Officials spoke of a "*void in the centre of Berlin*",[54] but also of "*the dual history of the site*."[55] Naturally, attention fell on the Spreeinsel from all sides, whether as the seat of settlement over 750 years ago,[56] or as the centre of the East Berlin Hauptstadt during the post-war years. The unsatisfactory issue of the redundant Palast der Republik still dominated this debate. In 1993, The federal government held a competition to rehouse two ministries of the Bund on this island. Concurrently, businessman Wilhelm von Boddien erected a shrink-wrap replica of the demolished Schloß over the skeleton of the former East German parliament, the

53 Hohensee, 'Reinventing Traditionalism: The Influence of Critical Reconstruction on the Shape of Berlin's Friedrichstadt', n. 40. The use of the word was later adopted by Hans Stimmann in; 'The Physiognomy of a major city: Berlin - 1945-1953-1989-2000-2010 - 50 years of experiments in urban developments', wherein his appraisal extends to the link between form and Collective Memory.

54 Hoffmann-Axthelm, 'Stadt Und Staat in Der Berliner Mitte', 8.

55 Hoffmann-Axthelm, 10.

56 Coincidentally, this corroborated Schneider's earlier claim as well of the intrinsic dualism in Modern Berlin's condition.

building that ultimately had been demolished to make way for the building which was widely despised in the West. [57] The episode beckoned New Berlin Architecture's metamorphosis from a practice used to define the character of the city's background texture, into a validation to revive key foreground artifacts.

Meanwhile, Museum Island was preparing for a vast upsurge in the number of visitors following reunification and understood the ensemble would play an important cultural role. The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin ('SMB')[58] embarked upon an analytical process to evaluate and scope the cultural cluster's potential role in the ecology of the contemporary city. The publication of the Museumsinsel Masterplan was realised the same year as the city's Planwerk Vision in 1999, at which time arguments for and against resurrecting the Schloß were also at their peak.

Comparison between these two approaches demonstrate competing modes of constituting and articulating the reunited Hauptstadt. Despite critiques of Berlin's Centre often focusing on the symbolic and historic narratives that are encapsulated by their respective projects, this section foregrounds the significant typological consequences to account for the related material consequence in the wider city. Whereas the Planwerk was premised heavily on a potency of symbolism rooted in an unreliable, even synthetic historical account, Museum Island attempted an ambitious strategic reasoning of current-day city form. Despite their clearly divergent aspirations, their effect on the city's catalysation is evaluated in this following section.

5.3.1 The Planwerk Innenstadt

The reunited city's first full policy framework was readied for 1996, and formally ratified by the city Senate in 1999 (fig 5.6). It covered an area from Ernst-Reuter-Platz in Charlottenburg in the West to the Ostbahnhof in the East, thus presiding over both former centres of Berlin—East and West. Though it has existed for nearly 25 years,[59] some of its proposals are only today being constructed, and others have been altogether mothballed with newer releases of the document. Bodenschatz recognises this "*has less to do with the Planwerk itself, but with the hesitation of private investors, given the previous over-supply of apartments in Greater Berlin*."[60] Despite forming the legally binding arm of

57 It is to a degree contentious that the two buildings can be linked as tit-for-tat claimants to the same space, given that when the GDR razed the original Schloß in 1950, they had no set plans for what to replace its footprint with. The Palast der Republik came about in very convoluted circumstances, almost 25 years after the act of demolition. Balancing this perspective, the GDR understood the Spreeinsel was going to be the heart of their city and the pinnacle of a grandiose vision. The Palast der Republik was the final component in a wider array of changes. Refer to Chapter 2 for detailed commentary of the GDR Hauptstadt development.

58 The SMB are a subsidiary of the umbrella organization, the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz ('Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation')

59 The Planwerk has been systematically updated at intervals, but has retained its general shape and emphasis until the present day.

60 Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 129.

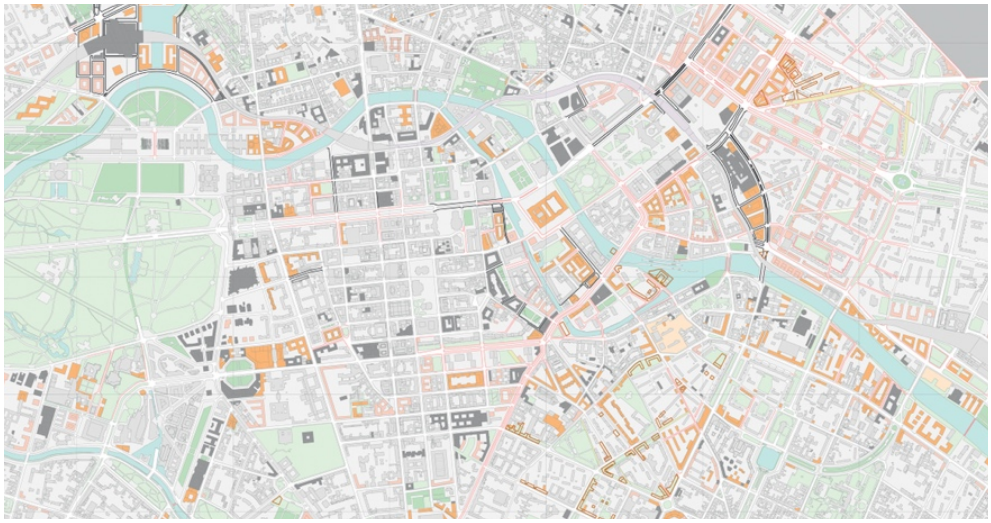

Figure 5.5: Planwerk Innenstadt 1999.
Light Grey: Built prior to 1999; Dark Grey: Built between 1999 & 2010.
Orange: Proposed in 1999 Planwerk Innenstadt; Orange plot Outline: Deleted from Planwerk Innenstadt between 1999 & 2010.
Source: Berlin Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen

Berlin city planning, it is important to contextualise that the Planwerk's greater legacy is therefore in its intent rather than its execution. Despite the relative lack of material product from the Planwerk, its publication was heavily influential and conferred significant agency to Stimmann and his senior planning colleagues, allowing his objectives to be debated and slowly gain traction. Particularly, exposure—backstopped by activist groups like the GHB—was significant to secure momentum behind the campaign to resurrect 'lost' city artifacts. These aspirations were mutually supported by the Planwerk.[61]

Throughout literature on the policy—a lot of which has been penned by Hans Stimmann and the Planwerk authors themselves (notably Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm)—there is a litany of contradictions, sometimes even in the same text.[62] Therefore, the analysis which follows has unpicked this by appraising the implications of the policy wherever inconsistencies arise. Articles often strikes a rather belligerent—sometimes even bellicose—rhetoric toward the East, criticising their disfigurement of the traditional

61 The Planwerk tacitly endorsed this campaign through the indication of an outline of the reconstructed Berlinerschloß overlapping the still standing Palast der Republik in the 1999 published plan. See figure 5.10

62 An example of this is Hoffmann-Axthelm stating there was uniformity in the plan's application, and then going on to state the two sides of the city were treated differently. This has been interpreted as a difference between intention and reality. Another is apparent when he writes that the eastern centre had been spared the Planwerk's hand, but then says that GDR artifacts will have a "*new text*" over the GDR centre.

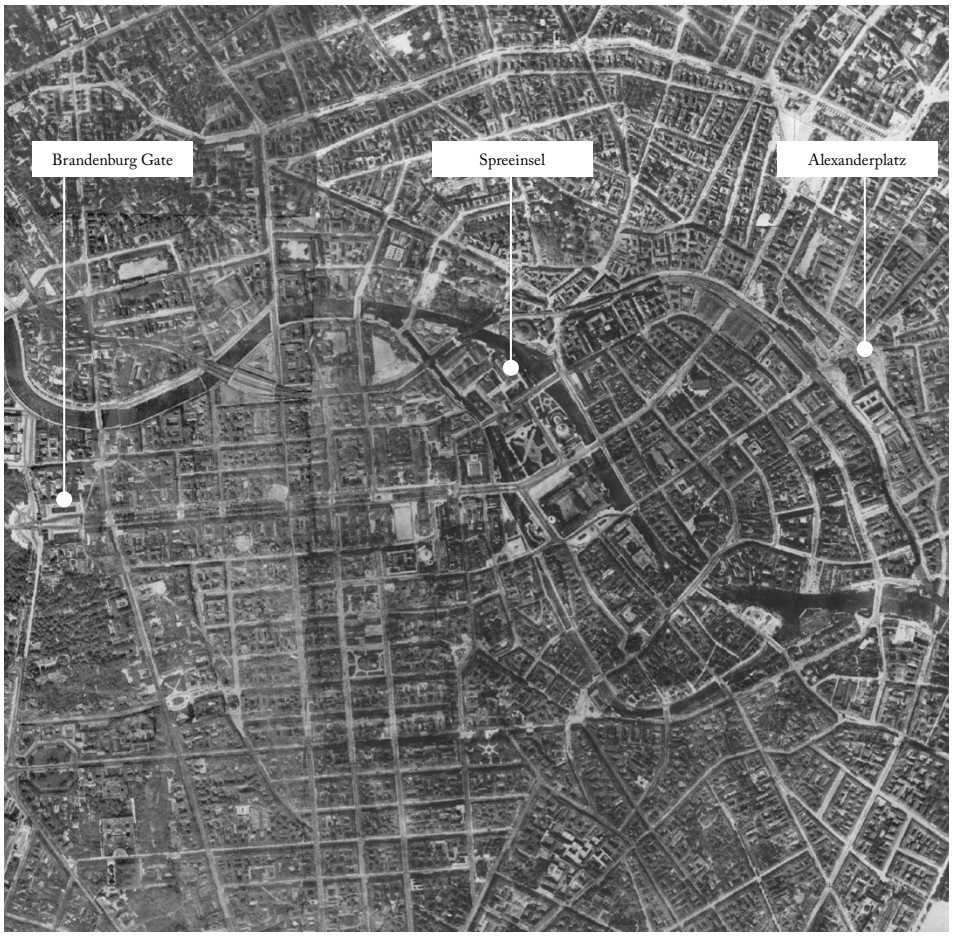

Figure 5.6: Berlin Aerial Photograph, 1928

Showing the disparity between the broad western axis of Unter den Linden (left hand side) connecting Brandenburg Gate (far left) with the Spreeinsel (centre), versus the more confused and disconnected eastern side of the city toward Alexanderplatz (far right). Note there is no singly connected route joining these three urban elements together. Picture annotations by the Author.
Source: Geoportal Berlin / dl-de/by–2–0.

fabric of Berlin.[63] This became a continual subtext to the publication of the planning document.

The Strategy of the Planwerk

The Planwerk, incorporating earlier area development plans,[64] was concerned with delivering Stimmann's New Berlin Architecture vision on an urban scale. Stimmann recognised " *[the Planwerk planners] did not start with a land use scheme and a street plan,*

63 As this thesis has contested in Chapter 4, to a notable degree (though by no means exclusively) the GDR built their proposals around the ruins of the war-damaged city, in areas where the texture of the pre-war city had been lost. Some larger-scale, foreground artifacts, including the Schloß, were polemically destroyed.

64 These were planning policies devised prior to the agreement of the Planwerk, for example, the area around Alexanderplatz. This area like others had been planned as private development following a masterplan with "*persistent interventions from the Senatsbaudirektor*" through a planning direction that was gradually refining, most particularly reflecting the reconstruction of the pre-war city plan. As such this and other early schemes can be viewed as early precursors to the wider Planwerk imitative. See Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 117.

but with a strong picture of the new [city]."[65] Elsewhere, he wrote "*the city's ground plan shapes the physiognomy of the city*".[66] Hence, the images of essential archetypes became intentionally fixed to the streetplan, and this was set at a point in time prior to any fighting, dispute, or extremism, which was perceived as the last moment the whole city enjoyed a shared history.[67] This became central to the Planwerk's technique.

However, influenced by the approaches of Kleihues and Rossi in renouncing demolition, the masterplan's written objective was to accompany Modernist post-war fabric (on both sides of Berlin) with new buildings which reinstated a definite relationship between architecture and the street edge, chiefly through the creation of new perimeter blocks that echoed the pre-war state of the city. The implications of this edict were that streets would be narrowed, eaves heights (as per New Berlin Architecture) would be strictly consistent, and open spaces would be enclosed.

As the intentions underwriting the masterplan revolved around a city-wide rediscovery of shared heritage and culture, the most fundamental tactic that shaped the impact and criticism to the Planwerk was planners' resolve to deploy it uniformly, irrespective of local conditions. Despite different formal settings between east and west, centre and periphery (i.e., along the Wall's path) were all treated 'equally'. There was a crude universality to intentions. In practice this meant East Berlin, which had borne the more severe effects of post-war planning efforts, was disproportionately exposed to the proposals.

Accordingly in the East, the published Planwerk document overlayed block forms reminiscent of the traditional city upon the existing, post-war GDR Hauptstadt. The post-war configuration of binary Study Areas was juxtaposed against the traditional European city's dense form composed of individuated quarters. The area's abundant open space, and its morphology that relied on open sightlines stretching long-distance between artifacts was intrinsically vulnerable to fragmentation. The Planners' vow that no post-war buildings would be demolished was left redundant, as outwardly disposed, 'convex' blocks were defenceless to confinement within newly formed, 'concave' perimeters. GDR buildings lost visual connections that bound them to the constellation of other parts of the system which sustained them, and were thus stripped of their

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[65] Stimmann, 'Die Verstädterung der Peripherie', 584.

[66] Stimmann, 'The physiognomy of a major city', 17.

[67] There is no fixed consensus for the specific date this relates to. According to Bodenschatz, the moment was found at the end of the First World War (see Bodenschatz, *Berlin Urban Design*, 112.). However others, citing the archetypes said to influence Stimmann place it in agreement with the city's 1897 building regulations. (see Molnar, 'Cultural Production of Locality', 292.) In consideration of its paradigmatic urban figure—the maximum density of building and 'peak blackness' of figure-to-ground—this doctorate advances that the Weimar-era Berlin of the late 1920s, just prior to Nazi dictatorship serves as the composition in Stimmann's mind.

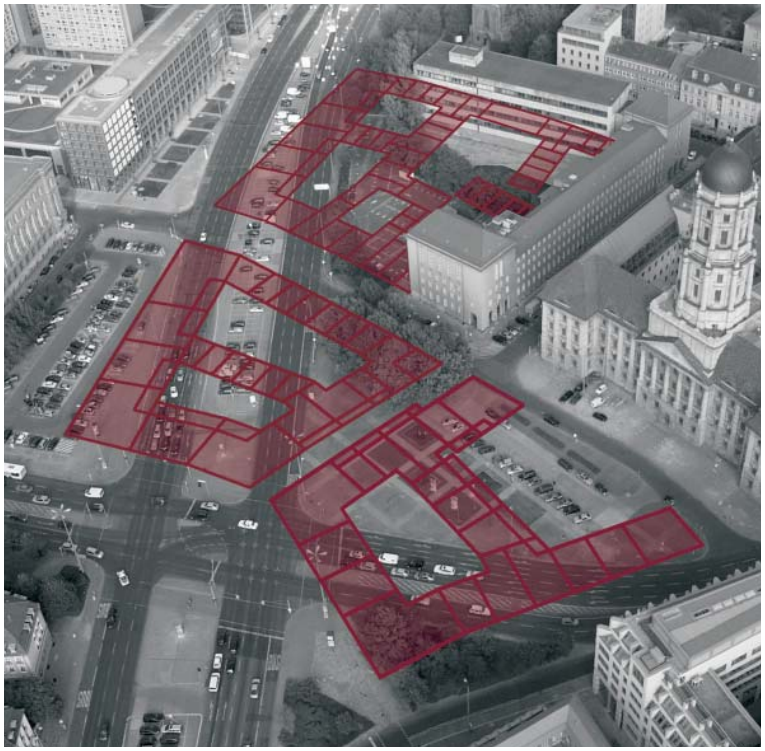

Figure 5.7: Planning concept for the Molkenmarkt area of eastern Berlin
Showing the interruption of Modern town principles with the proposal of perimeter blocks forming tightened street edges. Only since the end of the Coronavirus pandemic has this scheme begun on-site with carriageway straightening.

performative agency by the reinstatement of a context from before their own construction. The practice was inherently anachronistic, and in the literal sense, 'pre-posterous' (meaning prior to coming after). Today, this initial policy is currently being enacted around the Molkenmarkt area of the Altstadt, with tightened street lines and new perimeter blocks constructed (see figure 5.8).

Fritz Neumeyer comprehended the anger of locals in his critique of the Planwerk, when he retorted "*balance in the [planning] node will also largely depend on the extent to which new projects do not benefit only from the potential of the existing matrix and consume its energy, but are also able to create new energy by arranging themselves within the urban structure and accenting it.*"[68] However, given that there was a radical rejection of the pre-war city under the GDR, the possibility of the Planwerk approach complementing the urban morphology in former East Berlin was beyond plausibility. The policy was deployed to answer questions of performance that it did not have the native apparatus to confront. This contrasted with areas in the west, where the urban fabric was closely aligned with

[68] Neumeyer, 'Nodes in the network', 41.

the Planwerk intentions. It should be remembered that the IBA 1984/87 sites, which inaugurated the adoption of Critical Reconstruction by Stimmann, were located close to the Wall's path in West Berlin. In these areas, there was a congruency.

At this juncture, any belief that the planners were prepared to engage with stakeholder calls to soften the scheme should be rejected. Even glancing study of the proposals betrays an intransigence of its authors, ostensibly motivated on a higher, ideological plane than to be sidetracked by local concerns. However, it is contestable that their approach was not only resolute, but also disingenuous and politically calculated. With a majority in the city's reunited Senate, heightened social agency through local activists' groups like the GHB, and notable access to the city's press through their subsidy, the Planwerk authors recognised their political ascendancy. In a demonstration of gamesmanship, their mandate to apply the Planwerk universally was deftly balanced with the potential reaction to stipulating the conditions of the Hauptstadt. Officials strategically opted to avoid heavy intervention in the most sensitive areas of the GDR Hauptstadt.[69] These locations with the highest spatial and programmatic value, which would ordinarily seek assurances and safeguards under a developmental policy framework, were instead left vaguest. As Hoffmann-Axthelm referred to "*an extended [planning process] in terms of both space and time*" in the centre, and his assurances that "*it is about planning a city, and not about using architecture to furnish a city. It is about structures, not symbols*", he was also aware that a debate played out in public was to his team's benefit. Ultimately, it kept open the possibility of New Berlin Architecture being applied in the most hallowed area of Berlin's Hauptstadt on the Spreeinsel, as is explored later in this chapter.

Despite claiming that "*the former eastern and western centres are represented on an equal footing*", Hoffmann-Axthelm later conceded that the "*plan shows two different approaches, one features an ad-hoc urban repair, and the other is much more wide-ranging and relates to the city as a whole.*"[70] In the same article, he wrote of "*a procedure that lays a new text over the Socialist Modernism of the GDR centre.*"[71] The accusation levelled was that the proposals were dogmatic, sanctimonious—even duplicitous—and by design, the masterplan took aim at East Berlin.

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69 Hoffmann-Axthelm defended the Planwerk's intentions, saying that "*the questions it [the Planwerk's design] throws up […] were too far reaching and would have been far too heavy a burden on an ambitious structural project.*" He noted the framework was "*deliberately provisional, whose complete version remains in the realms of conjecture: on the old Cölln Spree Island a combination of Palast der Republik and Schloß. On the Old Berlin side: Marx-Engels Forum […] that could become either an urban park or an urban quarter.*" See Hoffmann-Axthelm, 'Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin', 30.

70 Hoffmann-Axthelm, 29.

71 Hoffmann-Axthelm, 29.

The endorsement of the pre-war planning model—prior to when the GDR state even existed—renounced the existence of East Berlin entirely. The accusation therefore was that it constituted a policy of city sponsored amnesia that aimed to eradicate the only way of living that an entire generation had known, delegitimating their right to existence in a contemporary Berlin. Contrary to Hoffmann Axthelm's hopes, in the East the proposals were viewed in symbolic and not structural terms as the total, systemic undermining of the GDR built environment. The Planwerk officials were accused by former GDR critic Bruno Flierl of a "*colonisation of the East*", with the intention to restructure their city "*so that Berlin's Altstadt […] in its character that has evolved during GDR-times becomes unrecognisable*."[72] Notwithstanding, arguably the greater legacy for many ordinary East Berliners was that having yearned to purge the hegemony of the GDR regime for a generation, the Planwerk was an exercise where rule was imposed on them once more, and their opportunity for political representation denied.

Criticism of the Planwerk also came from the West. In his response, Bodenschatz attacked how the reinstatement of the city streetplan echoed the era's inequalities rather than an organic growth according to multiple stimuli over time.[73] His point corresponds to a notion that becomes clear walking around traditional cities, where their organic and natural order is structured by the diverse mix of uses and stakeholders built from mutual trust and partnerships, cohering different areas to their needs. For this reason, the relations of different Study Areas to each other are mutually unstable but concurrently self-supporting.

The Planwerk fabricates a facsimile of the process Bodenschatz describes, where the Study Areas of the city become coextensive with reinstated, visually determined scenes. This gives an impression of stability, but by prioritising aesthetic coherence, the approach fails to account for how and where urban relationships have formed, or will likely form in the future. Synergistic relations are usurped by pictorial taste. Florian Urban speaks of the Planwerk cohering the city together through the replica imagery of postcards, and the hope that they will remain constant and enduring (because society values the images they represent). He countenances that "*as architects and planners, rather than with buildings and the conditions of their making, we have to increasingly deal with the images that are attached to buildings, largely because the politics of identity is increasingly connected with these images*."[74] Thus, as urban change is naturally ongoing, building appearance becomes an

72 Flierl, 'Zwischen DDR Moderne Und Planwerk Inszenierungen in Berlin-Mitte', 77.
73 Bodenschatz, 'Eine provokation: Planwerk Innenstadt Berlin', 2690–92.
74 Urban, 'Picture Postcards of Urbanity', 72.

inertial factor, unyielding to transformation. In this sense, the traditional European city's revival was not linked to its performance (of a multi-part, mutually interoperable structure), but instead dependent on recalling splintered Images of specific places fixed against their settings, which inherently stifle the relationships between existing Study Areas and their associated permanences. The rules for Berlin's redevelopment were implicitly rigidified, and a historic 'model'—in Quatremère's sense of the word—was defined, but the typological component—how it synthesised and interrelated with the specific conditions of the city—was not.

Criticism of the Planwerk should not in any way diminish the clear need to transform East Berlin's Hauptstadt condition. It must be stressed that the overall manifestation of the GDR city was inherently pathogenic, intended to discharge a narrow set of objectives centred around the subjugation of the collective.

Fair assessments therefore must be made about which parts of the GDR cityscape are suitable for preserving as they are found. This exercise requires a dispassionate understanding of how these components can contribute to a new strategic reality, and enrich the way that they previously operated. It highlights that what was lacking from the Planwerk approach was an objective critique of the urban value that the GDR morphologies brought to the city, such as the creation of the central axis for the first time in Berlin's history. Rather, the attitude and rhetoric of the Planwerk authors betrays their opinion that there flatly wasn't any.

It is perhaps unsurprising that with the Planwerk's fixation on a formal and physiognomic resolution to city planning issues this structural issue is overlooked. The central axis densified the patterns of connection and forming an equilibrium in the city plan that redistributed opportunity across the city. Macro-equilibrium delivered by the GDR's central axis might seem intangible to actual experience, but the rupture in the deep structure of the urban plan impedes Berlin's ability form new relationships between stakeholders.

Whereas this doctorate makes the argument that cultural identity is a consequence of chronological permanence, physical presence, and sustained purpose in the city, the Planwerk / New Berlin Architecture couplet supplant this notion with a counterfeit, artificial monumentality. The Planwerk's approach of referencing archetypes as base-forms generates a simulated and hollow permanence. Revoking the present in favour of the past ruptures the temporal continuity of the city, which Rossi identifies as one of its three essential qualities. The preference is to represent a fictitious history rather focusing

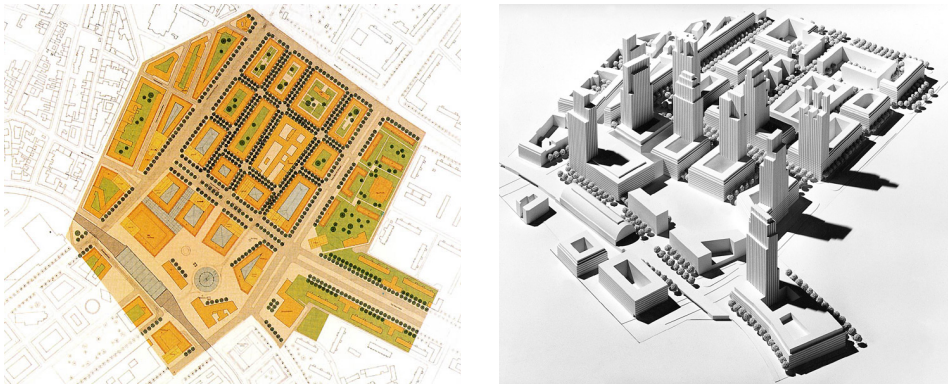


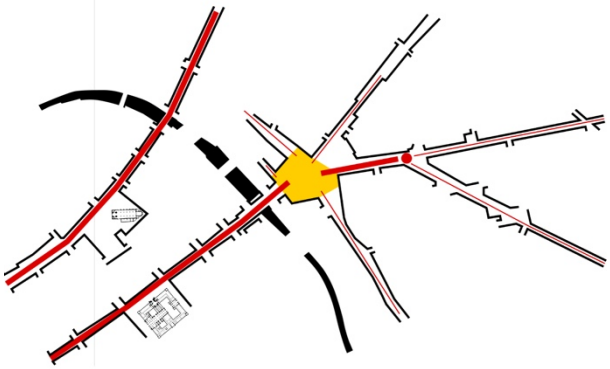
Figure 5.8: Alexanderplatz Winning Competition Scheme, Hans Kollhoff and Helga Tillermann (1993-1994)
Source: Berlin Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen

on strategies that address systemic deficiencies or promote interaction between groups, which is necessary to exert any form of agency over the city of the present.

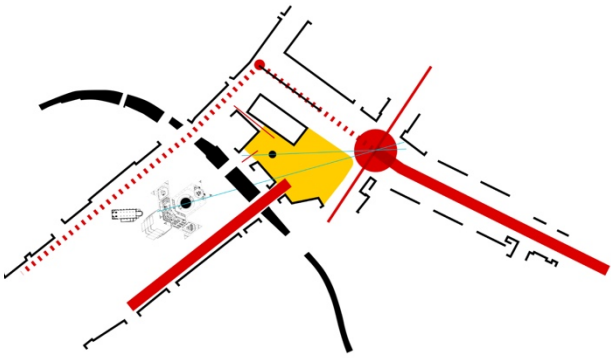
Alexanderplatz: A Case Study of Berlin's Planning Policy impact on Study Areas.

Nowhere was a fragmentation of the GDR planning concept more apparent than in the area around Alexanderplatz, which, following an initial competition, had been subject to a 1994 masterplan to meld the high-rise morphology with a return to the pre-war city plan (fig 5.9). A recurring theme through all competition entries was to return the scale of Alexanderplatz to its pre-war proportions. The lack of a definition to the north-eastern corner has been identified as an opportunity to halve the size of the square (and deliver greater rentable space. See fig 5.10). Following a hiatus of over 20 years due to unfavourable market conditions, work is now underway to deliver the first tall buildings of the planning framework, with nine 150m towers along both sides of Alexanderstraße planned. The pattern of the blocks has been partly delivered in the interim, through piecemeal commercial properties built up to a podium height, ready to receive the towers.

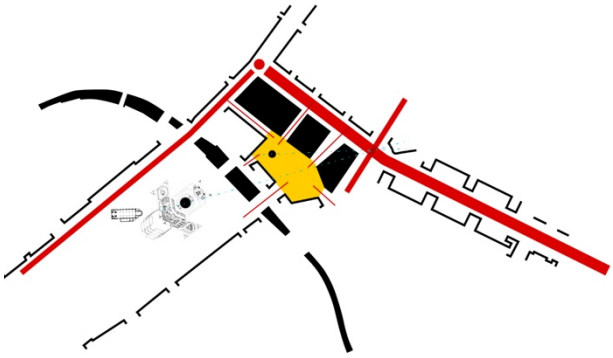
There is little doubt that the proportions of GDR-era Alexanderplatz were too open and exposed, but the unavoidable primary consequence of redevelopment has been to establish dense thresholds in between Karl-Marx-Allee and Alexanderplatz. Former visual relationships that enticed people into the square (see fig 4.19) between the World Clock and fountain, and the *House des Lehrers* and *Haus der Statistik* are thus eradicated, rendering the connection between street and square incoherent, sacrificing the Gestalt of the wider urban territory for the integrity of Alexanderplatz's scenography. By renouncing the interim GDR-era—during which Alexanderplatz was developed to



Pre-war Era



Post-war Era



Post-Reunification

Figure 5.9: Alexanderplatz typological performance diagrams

Top: Pre-war plan (c.1929). There was no connection in the central axis, between the Marienkirche and Alexanderplatz.
Middle: Post-war era. Under the GDR, Alexanderplatz was reconstructed in the 1960s. Sightlines between Karl-Marx-Allee, Alexanderplatz fountain and the Fernsehturm cohere the square and initiate the public's reorientation toward the Altstadt Forum. The central axis is now in place.
Bottom: Proposed Alexanderplatz plan, 2023. The new tall buildings to the north of the contracted square sever Karl-Marx-Allee from the central axis route. Dense thresholds around the square allow Alexanderplatz to develop a sense of place detached from the rest of the city.
Source: Drawn by the author.

concatenate Study Areas together—the reconstructed blocks become a typological anachronism. As inwardly disposed figures deployed in a outwardly disposed field, the additions dismantle the square's inherent performative agency, and thus instead of

Figure 5.10: Alexanderplatz / Haus der Statistik Aerial View, 2020.

The tightened perimeter of Alexanderplatz is clear in the centre of the image. The new footprints of the first towers to be built can be seen above the main crossroads in the view. Former sightlines cohered Karl-Marx-Allee (bottom left) to the square's fountain. The Haus der Statistik is visible bottom centre, showing its relationship to the square.

catalysing new urban relationships, their polarised arrangement deadens any. There had patently not been an evaluation of how the Study Area is impacted by contemporary planning decisions, because the aspiration is not typological innovation, but its inverse—a stultification of transformation and a deadening of the scene for perpetuity.

However, rather than the performative impact on the square itself, no doubt the biggest repercussions are the collateral effect redevelopment has on Karl-Marx-Allee. It is undergoing a severance from the central axis of Berlin, and consequentially the balance in Berlin's streetplan between east and west is at stake. Responding, Stimmann discloses his intentions were to "*[create] two striking public spaces with extremely different atmospheres.*"[75] Clearly this was not an unforeseen consequence, but planning has failed to consider the fragmentation of the city at its widest possible scale. Instead of capitalising on inherent strength where it is found, the division in areas creates a strategic weakness for the city to countenance and contributes to the argument that the Planwerk's proposals stifle, rather than catalyse the city's prospective enrichment.

75 Stimmann, Kieren, and Ouwerkerk, Die Architektur Des Neuen Berlin, 84.

Haus der Statistik

On the opposite corner of Alexanderplatz, The Haus der Statistik provides a counterexample to the development process of its neighbour, capitalising on bringing stakeholders together at the newly formed junction between Study Areas.

The broad alliance of small institutions and stakeholders saved the building from demolition in 2015—a campaign which ultimately culminated in the building, alongside other adjacent GDR structures receiving scheduled monument protection. This move in turn has meant that the original proposals for Alexanderplatz have had to be redrawn to include these buildings amongst proposals.

With collaborations from across the city, the venture demonstrates how new urban participation can enliven the very threshold which separates Karl-Marx-Allee from the city centre. The building is currently being reconfigured to integrate new housing and cultural programmes within its curtilage. The project testifies to the typological process as the ultimate terrain of architectural reasoning and experimentation, which allows for new understandings of the city as form, and for new definitions of urban subjectivity and participation, too.

5.3.2 New Berlin Architecture's Application to Key Artifacts

Well before mobilisation on site, the proposals to overhaul Alexanderplatz foreshadowed an important evolution of concept, where New Berlin Architecture was appropriated from its application to background fabric, to become the generating principle for the city's key urban components.

Figure 5.12: "Das Schloß?" Exhibition (1993/94)
Schloßplatz occupied with the giant scaffolded replica of the former Schloß (yellow structure; centre-right), appearing to 'grow' out of the Palast der Republik (centre).
Source: www.akg-images.com

Marx-Engels-Platz or Schloßplatz?

Coinciding with a government competition to regenerate Berlin's urban core and rehouse two Bonn ministries on the Spreeinsel,[76] in August 1993 businessman Wilhelm von Boddien[77] constructed an at-scale scaffold and plastic-sheeted replica of the former Preußisches Schloß at the Schloßplatz (fig 5.12). His replica stood for 15 months in-situ. It appeared to grow out of the Palast der Republik, which had been condemned quickly upon reunification on public health grounds, with deep-seated asbestos in its construction. easterners contested that this was just another tactic of the West neighbours to move for its demolition—or at least enough to require partial demolition as to warrant finishing the job. The Berlin administration fixated on the demolition of the Palast der Republik, and was enchanted by the image of von Boddien's facsimile Schloß and the possibility to spearhead a vision of "New Berlin's" collective consciousness. The geographic singularity of the site magnified its symbolic significance to both parties.

76 The Spreeinsel Wettbewerb was one of three major urban design competitions run by the Senate in the first months after reunification. The others were for the Spreebogen (the 'Spree arc') and for the Reichstag (German Parliament). These competitions were intended to prepare Berlin for the relocation of its state ministries from Bonn in western territories to Berlin as part of the reunification process.

77 Von Boddien was the founder of the Förderverein Berliner Schloß (Friends of the Berlinerschloß, "FBS"), another local activist group emanating from West Germany (Von Boddien was based in Hamburg).

Claim and counterclaim were made stronger by a somehow incontrovertible validity that is conferred by its occupation.

Spreeinsel Competition

In reality, after reunification there were few serious ideas for how to address Marx-Engels-Platz and its redevelopment. The Palast der Republik had been condemned, stifling the activation of its oversized forecourt. In the initial years it was reserved for temporary uses, such as for travelling fairs, as a volleyball stadium, or meagrely just as a car park.

Therefore, the Spreeinsel Competition, which accompanied the Federal government's return from Bonn to Berlin, offered hope of significant new purpose for the area. An ideas competition for the area was opened in August 1993 as a joint venture between the city and federal tiers of government, to rehouse two ministries and regenerate Berlin's urban core ahead of its arrival.[78] Despite the contest's purported focus on Spreeinsel's potential to encapsulate the cultural consciousness of an integrated Germany, the event is remembered in broadly negative terms. It ended with no proposals concretely adopted for further development, and was characterised as a tussle between different level of government with conflicting interests.[79] Instead, as Hoffmann-Axthelm recalls, "*Its most important result was determined before it began: to restore the city's historical layout*."[80] What evolved from a restoration of the streetplan and the relative similarity of the competition entries was a powerful, conservative lobby spearheaded by von Boddien calling to rebuild the Schloß.

Typological Implications

Von Boddien's intervention marked the first high-profile and large-scale effort that deployed New Berlin Architecture principles to resurrect a demolished key artifact of Berlin, largely as it appeared from historical account, in the place it once stood. It would initiate an enormous, protracted, but ultimately successful campaign to reinstate the Schloß. It gained planning approval in 2007.

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79 The federal tier was only interested in the requirements of the ministries. The city Senate—now occupied solely by western figures—was preoccupied with an emerging idea to rebuild its treasured Schloß.

80 Hoffmann-Axthelm, 'Stadt Und Staat in Der Berliner Mitte', 8.

Beyond its immediate representational appeal, New Berlin Architecture's appropriation to key urban artifacts raises questions of typological agency, and therefore is associated to the relationship between artifact and its urban area.

Usually, owing to an iconic stature prior to loss (or, as Rossi notes, a point of atypicality amongst the typical anonymised and transitional background of the city), the elements chosen for retrieval were former Primary Elements and key permanences of the past. However, as reinstatement is contemporary and (invariably) materialises in altered contexts, former patterns of spatial relations are modified, and it is not possible to determine whether the retrieved artifact will persist to become a 'permanence'. One can safely assume though that the ultimate objective of New Berlin Architecture's recasting is to supersede all prospect of change in the city and for the revival to remain monumentalised in-situ against its historic scene.

For this to occur, the practice puts faith in the 'postcard' holding sufficient value and congruence with its scenic background to ossify the visual relationship and deny the future prospect of change. It is understood as an extension of the Planwerk's technique to assimilate Study Areas and scenes. Whereas before the background connective tissue was reinstated without consideration for how the area's agent(s) of change will affect it, now the artifact that coheres relations between scenic foreground and background is reinstated, which is hoped can be petrified for perpetuity.

However, this 'Historical-Revivalism' will not supersede either persistence being associated with its synergistic use, nor its typologically link to performance in the Study Area. Likewise, it cannot supersede the city's normative state of change and transformation. Though restoration simulates recreated conditions from a bygone era, it only charges the contiguous urban surfaces within a scene, whereas before it performatively commanded the Study Area's full extent. In the centre of Berlin, the configuration of Study Areas has drastically changed (no less than in around the GDR Hauptstadt), first through war damage, then post-war alteration. There is no possibility that former conditions, nor performances being matched, and prospect of an artifact controlling the Study Area is lost.

Therefore, two observations can be made. The first is resurrected artifacts that hold a dialogue with existing and surviving fabric are more likely to persist, and the other is the revived artifact (which is bound to the representation of a pristine historical image,

supposedly its holistic historical form[81]) cannot relate to its environment and expect a temporally stable, 'fixed' relationship between foreground and background to exist.

A persistent argument voiced by proponents of historical revival relates to the collective memory of the place. However, it should be noted that at no point did Rossi ever countenance loss and retrieval as part of his theories. This includes in his citation of Halbwachs' concept of Collective Memory, where memory endured and interacted amongst social groups until the destruction of the artifact, at which instant it becomes historical record, nor does it feature in Focillon's treatise of "*Pathological Place*", which implores the Locus to signify its collective cultural *history*.[82] Both of these theories shift a question of memory to one of history. Irrespectively, both theories in their induction of the past inherently demand the symbolisation of a prior state, which necessitates architecture's recourse to its disciplinary exterior: a false unity (preferred representation of the past) has been used to supersede a categorical absolute (strategic reasoning of present-day urban reality). It is a schism in time, into which any spatial changes between favoured historical image and the present-day fall. Thus, the crucial issue Historical-Revivalism presents, is the incapability of a resurrected artifact mediating between the actual, real demands of the present-day city, and a symbology left marooned at fixed coordinates in history.

As transformation is the normative state of the urban realm, if reconstruction is to be critical (i.e., to uphold relatively autonomous praxis through a self-reflexive revision of architecture's internal disciplinary material), logic dictates it must be capable of perpetrating the change that occurs around it. The difference then is clear to buildings that settle for a critique of their setting (and allow non-autonomous practices to infiltrate). This is what makes Rossi state that propulsive permanences are the only urban components capable of structuring the city. New Berlin Architecture can only ever formulate pathogenic, disciplinary inert artifacts.

Rossi's paragraph determining the characteristics of the typical pathogenic persistence is worth quoting at length for how clearly it surmises the matter:

> *"We have just distinguished between a historical or propelling permanence as a form of a past that we still experience and a pathological permanence as something that is isolated and aberrant.*

81 This is contested by the final design of the revived Schloß. See §3.4.1 below.

82 For an explanation of the difference in terms between 'history' and 'memory', refer to §2.2.3 on "The Locus".

> *In large measure the pathological form is Identifiable because of a particular context since context itself can be seen […] as something isolated from the urban structure. […] so-called contextual preservation is related to the city in time like the embalmed corpse of a saint to the image of his historical personality. In contextual preservation there is a sort of urban naturalism at work which admittedly can give rise to suggestive images […] but in such cases we are well outside the realm of a past that we still experience. Naturally, then, I am referring mainly to living cities which have an uninterrupted span of development. The problems of dead cities only tangentially concern urban science; they are matters for the historian and the archaeologist. It is at best an abstraction to seek to reduce urban artifacts to archaeological ones."*[83]

Bernhard Schneider: Spreeinsel's Reconnections between East and West

Writing a separate, but related article[84] to his aforementioned paper, Bernhard Schneider builds upon criticism of Historical-Revivalism through a contextualisation of its implications on Berlin's central island. He views the Spreeinsel contest as pre-concerned with the symbolic act of reinstating a contentious icon as a remedy of the postcard historical scene of central Berlin.[85] He adds weight to the viewpoint that to truly activate the Spreeinsel, the veneered image and hollow massing of the Schloß are strategically inadequate and hold little agency to affect urban catalysation. Instead, Schneider argues that at typology's structural level, rather than through architecture's symbolic registers, equal and unimpeded access needs to be choreographed from East and West to allow all citizens access to a dense cultural heart at the centre of the city.

Schneider's commentary, written in 1997, is structured around several observations on evolving proposals for the Schloßplatz—particularly the growing clamour for a reinstatement of the imperial Schloß, and the failure of its physiognomy to register convincing urban strategies. He uses this to frame a different approach, consistent with the philosophical attitude of his first article, where urban space—particularly that with the spatial potential of the Schloßplatz to draw East and West together—should be

83 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 60.

84 All quotes from this section are taken from Schneider, 'Berlin's Centre'., unless otherwise referenced.

85 Terminology from Florian Urban's previously discussed article, 'Picture Postcards of Urbanity'.

harnessed to cultivate the union of stakeholders in the city for the challenges of the present-day.

This issues Schneider identifies are as follows. Firstly, the controversy of the Schloßplatz in the immediate post-reunification years centred around difficulties articulating the present-day and future aspirations of the Spreeinsel, in a broader historical perspective of a location that has always been associated with grandiose design statements throughout history. Secondly, the site's history implicitly focused on the question of origins of the city, and thus too is concerned with its governance. However, as he determined in his earlier article (with support from Bodenschatz), the Spreeinsel is the natural meeting space between east and west in Berlin, which suggests its centripetal function. Thirdly, he understands "*nostalgic and superficial references to history*" are only capable of exacerbating the sense of "*irrevocable loss of the past and cultural resignation of the present*."[86] Fourthly, he identifies a clear lack of engagement in both the public spaces and needs of the contemporary city. He traces how—despite the former Königliches Schloß becoming a byword for a lack of sovereignty—the spaces in and around its envelope remained publicly accessible. Equally, he regards the GDR attempts to brand the Palast der Republik as an interpretation of a traditional '*Volkshaus*' as "*phoney*" and "*one of the more subversive punchlines in the reunited Berlin*", as both the terms '*Palast*' and '*Republik*' were disproved by the actions of the GDR state. Contemporary attempts to seize the romanticised and idealised identities of these polarised ideas therefore become disingenuous, incapable of addressing what the city truly requires, and a smokescreen for the principal issue, that the spatial configuration of proposals is either contingent to, or completely absent from the debate.

Schneider understands that a truly "*Republican project*" as he terms it "*orientates itself on the entitlement to culture and the cultural potency of the present*". His points listed above not only testify that architecture's agency lies in the transformation of the present, but also that symbology and aesthetics should be subordinated to reinforce the performance of the building. He understands the prevailing approach as "*merely intend[ing] to get rid of the unbearable large void and the uneasiness of the actual historic situation*", and "*the methods of contemporary architecture and urban planning are incapable of mastering the problem. The primary motive for the proposal is, thus, cultural despair*."

86 He also refers to proposals from the mid 1990s to integrate aspects of the Palast der Republik and Schloß together, but arrives at the same conclusion that a fragmentary approach only exacerbates the feeling of destruction of the past. He remarks "*this kind of compromised concoction of two half-hearted historic remakes would at the same time be a monument to Berlin's obstructed future*."

He sees the debate between east and west—a "*people's palace*" versus a "*royal palace*" as a distraction to restore and represent public space in an area where it has been in dispute ever since the erection of the first Schloß 550 years ago. Clearly indignant to the shallow references of the past amount to a substantive cultural offering, Schneider undoubtedly would have looked north across the Lustgarten to Museumsinsel, to consider the efforts initiated almost two centuries ago to recognise the spatial integration of building, river, street, and island as the city's four major planning components,[87] as a strategic representation of the arts' democratisation, which becomes embedded in the form of the buildings. He surmises with a simple yet poignant question: "*What can be achieved today that for 550 years the [Schloß] had prevented the city from doing*?"

5.3.3 Post-Reunification Museumsinsel Planning

In marked contrast to the approach of reconstructing the Schloßplatz, and echoing Schneider's calls for the provision of spaces that foster different actors in the city to come together under the same architectural scaffold, Museuminsel's post-unification development followed a significantly different trajectory than the space to the immediate south. Its task was perhaps easier, for while the Schloßplatz was troubled by contested ground, Museumsinsel was more concerned with repair and modernisation, not loss or retrieval. Any questions around the Museums' collective history were therefore linear, and Schneider's overarching enquiry of 'how can a project integrate the wonts and desires of both sides of a divided city' had space to mature. Nevertheless, the estate's proposals still had to be publicly judged against their historic setting (not less the setting of the historical Berlin centre). This constituted a hurdle rather than a constraint, and would distil to ways that architectural projects could use their representational and symbolic capacities in ways that supported the typological idea.

Museumsinsel Competition

Reunification presented a two-fold task of adapting Museum Island to firstly (re-)house its permanent collections, which had been split across East- and West Berlin, and secondly prepare for a vast upsurge in visitors that the integrated institutions would attract. Reassembled, it was calculated that the combined possessions would constitute one of the three densest collections of cultural holdings in Europe.[88]

87 Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, 1972, 153.
88 Witschurke, *Museum der Museen*, 254.

Expansion of the Museumsinsel collections was not a new concept hastened by the fall of the Wall. An exercise consolidating the supporting functions of the museum collections dates to as far back as the 1930s, when along the Kupfergraben canal the adjacent Packhof warehouses were removed, freeing the land behind the Neues Museum. Reunification provided the catalyst to act upon these dormant plans.

A competition was held to to consolidate the Museumsinsel estate in 1993. It had a broadly twofold brief. Firstly, to deliver proposals for the Neues Museum's rebuilding, and secondly to provide a solution to join the separate Museums and link the collections as one. The latter criterion also necessitated the provision of museum infrastructure which the cluster had historically lacked: accommodations for temporary exhibitions; additional storage; cloakrooms; revenue generation (such as cafés and bookshops); and ticket selling facilities, all at a single position within the ensemble. [89] At the time of the competition, that was intended to be housed within the Neues Museum.

More generally, the competition responded to the developments in global museology (as have been outlined earlier). Consequently, improvements to the circulation of the museums and the evocation of the cultural identity of the reunified nation were significant priorities. The extension to the Louvre in Paris helped persuade Berlin of the need for a centralised entranceway to its collections, but the "*lengthy compulsory terrain*" that had to be negotiated before reaching the main attraction (considered unsurprisingly to be the Mona Lisa) was to be sidestepped.[90]

According to Witschurke, forming a conscious expression of Museum Island's own heritage became the heart of the briefing debate.[91] Wolf Dieter Dube, the estate director in-post at reunification, realised that despite already strong characters to the individual museums, as an integrated cluster their collective image could embolden the Museum Island status , whilst also reinforcing the individual museum's offerings, akin the Witschurke's "*metamuseum*" concept (introduced previously). An architectural proposal that united these treasures into a single entity would not only bolster its educative function but also express the cultural heritage of Germany. This was seen as vital in the aftermath of reunification, and reflected notions of the *volksgeist* that accompanied the Altes Museum's opening, and again around German unification in 1871.

89 Dube, 'Zielvorstellungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin', 27.
90 Dube, 27.
91 Witschurke, *Museum der Museen*, 257.

It is interesting to compare the complexion and structure of the Museum Island competition with its Spreeinsel counterpart. Whereas the Spreeinsel contest had been intended to capture as many entrants as possible but confine them to a very prescriptive brief, Museum Island's procedure inverted this configuration, whereby a small pool of 16 invited architects were invited to submit proposals, to expansive guidelines that expressly didn't curtail or favour specific architectural approaches. Of the invitees, five were awarded prizes (from fifth to first: Axel Schultes; Frank Gehry; Francesco Venezia; David Chipperfield; and Georgio Grassi).

Competition Entries

Even so, the shortlisted entries to the competition displayed a range of different attitudes to the relationship between Museology and heritage. Fourth-placed Frank Gehry's well-rehearsed deconstructivist aesthetic—purportedly favoured by Dube[92]—demonstrated in an inverse manner to the Schloß reconstruction opposite, its command of place through its incongruous presence, dominated by formal plasticity and exacting scenographic intent. His proposal thus recalled a similar urban strategy to his Bilbao Guggenheim project.[93] Contrastingly, the competition winner, but not the scheme pursued finally by the client, belonged to Georgio Grassi. The proposal was derived from a close analytical reading of the site: most significantly that the Museum's outwardly-disposed entrances—and particularly the 1930s Pergamon museum—are the root cause of the ensemble's potential to unite. In response, Grassi explains that his team used Stüler's colonnade to enforce the segregation between buildings. The isolated figures in turn could rely on the support from their reciprocal public spaces. In this manner, Grassi's proposal attempted to build the symbiotic relationship between figure and ground as a basis for mutual programmatic activation, forming an 'open foyer' to the Alte Nationalgalerie, Neues- and Pergamon Museums altogether. For the Pergamon Museum, its entry route was inverted entirely so it no longer faced outward. Instead, its cœur d'honneur was turned into a pocket of parkland, whilst the Pergamon Altar was connected to everyone's visit, as visitors walked underneath the structure on arrival.[94]

However, it was David Chipperfield's forensic study of Stüler's original intent of the Neues Museum which won the eventual backing of the jury in 1999. It offered a third way to resolve the issues which the ruin had confronted the GDR, sat between the building's total demolition (which patently would have enraged the 1990s city

92 Witschurke, 258.

93 For a detailed description, see Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015.

94 Sayah and Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Museumsinsel Berlin*, 42–49.

administration), and a pastiche facsimile of the museum to Stüler's exact plans, as preferred by the GHB (which would have risked losing the traces of history that the building had accumulated. His team ascribed value to the condition of the ruin, using the depiction to develop a series of rule-based principles to determine the magnitude of restoration. The difference in approach with the Schloß can be attributed to the fact that despite its years of ruination, the Neues museum never ceased to exist. Whereas the Neues Museum embraces continuity, the Schloß prioritises the awakening of an artificial history. The museum's corresponding dialectic with the past remains ongoing rather than conjectural—It is the disparity between conserving what is left, rather than the simulation of what has been destroyed. The museum was restored to Chipperfield's designs, opening in 2009.

Museumsinsel Masterplan

Chipperfield also spearheaded the Museumsinsel Planning Group (Planungsgruppe), comprised of key stakeholders involved in the redevelopment effort. The formulation of the masterplan afforded opportunity to clarify some of the aspects arising from the earlier competition. In the intervening period, it became clear that the Neues museum shouldn't become the central entrance to the whole museum cluster. Instead, the principal access, temporary exhibition spaces, and infrastructural components to deal with mass-visitation should all be relocated to a new and dedicated entrance building, which fed the new underground passageway between museums.

The masterplan distilled into four planned changes to the pre-1990 Museumsinsel estate. Firstly, an underground link between each of the museums (except the Alte Nationalgalerie). Secondly, the construction of a new entrance building to the linked museums, with a temporary exhibition area on the footprint of the former Packhof warehouses next to the Kupfergraben. Thirdly, the Pergamon Museum's north and south wings should be united with a fourth wing to form a closed circulation route. Lastly, all administrative, storage and warehouse programmes were to be moved to the Engels barracks site on the opposite bank of the Kupfergraben from the Bode Museum.[95]

The Planungsgruppe began the masterplan design process with an appraisal of the historical and urban significance on the Museumsinsel estate. It must be remembered that the analytical work was undertaken in 1998 (ahead of 1999 publication), and

[95] Additionally, the other significant post-reunification task of restoring the Neues Museum was detailed by a simultaneous conservation guideline document. Chipperfield, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin: Abschlussdokumentation Dezember 1999*, 53.

Figure 5.13: Museum Island Aerial photograph (1992)
It is worth noting the state of disrepair of the Neues Museum and the Stüler arcade.
Source: Geoportal Berlin.

although the commission would have been aware of developments in the wider context (none less than at the Schloßplatz), these would not have been reflected in the report. Their work intended to clarify three main issues: access to the Spreeinsel (where Museumsinsel is located at its northern end); the island as 'an entity' (in Rossian parlance, a Study Area); and the island's relationship with the wider city (how the Study Area relates to the city). It reported that "*the Spree Island forms the urban highlight of Berlin's east–west axis*", but also intimates that there were barriers to the scheme relating any further east than the island. They write that Museumsinsel's cultural nucleation at the eastern end of Unter den Linden is a counterbalance to the political agglomeration at its western end near the Reichstag.[96] This thus forms a "*urban spinal column*" across the city. However, the *inference* of the planning group's text is that the ease of connections west is juxtaposed against the relative difficulty connecting eastward. They suggest that "*The Schloßplatz could function as a pivotal point of a physical link between the Lustgarten, Schloßplatz, and the open space between Karl-Liebknecht-Straße and Rathuasstraße [i.e., the GDR Hauptstadt area].*"[97] The commission consequently grasped the potential of the

96 Chipperfield, 43.

97 Chipperfield, 43. This should be compared with the eventual resolution of the James-Simon-Galerie. See §3.4.2 beneath, at a point when the fate of the Schloßplatz had been determined.

museums' underused contiguous space. They recommended "*the objective [is] that all open spaces are to be accessible to the public and that the areas are to be restructured. Excluding the Lustgarten and the Colonnade Courtyard these areas have hitherto been merely left over areas between the museums*."[98]

The masterplan therefore demonstrated how an analytical design process could seek to enrich the vitality of the city, based on evaluation of urban form and its potential to activate new spaces. Its identification of patterns of urban aggregation and synergy in the city forms a clear juxtaposition with the approach of the Planwerk (which in its publication left the Museumsinsel estate undescribed). Though some of the assessments the report makes transpired to be mistake (such as the coordinates of the urban corridor Museum Island would open up), the Planungsgruppe's concepts can still be interpreted in the built form that resulted from the report. Firstly, by agglomerating the museum buildings together without compromising their solitaire characters, secondly, the intent to link both the east and west of the city (when the documentation suggests that it would have been much easier to focus on the western approach), and finally the crucial importance of open space to the overall design execution as validation of Georgio Grassi's initial analysis of servicing and served spaces.

The masterplan was formally adopted by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in June, 1999.

Post-Museumsinsel Masterplan Ratification (1999—)

UNESCO World Heritage Designation

The UNESCO designation is reserved for exemplary artefacts of worldwide significance. Accordingly, World Heritage status attracts significant prestige and reputational promotion. It also represents a global awareness of the need to conserve and protect any given artefact. In December of 1999, UNESCO[99] designated the Museumsinsel estate a World Heritage site, for its "*realisation of a visionary project and the evolution of the approaches to museum design over this seminal century. [It forms] a unique ensemble that serves purely museological purposes and constitutes a town-planning highlight in the urban fabric as a kind of city crown*." The body also commended Museum Island's "*historic role in the conception and development of a certain type of building and ensemble, that of the modern museum of art and archaeology. [It] is one of the significant and most impressive ensembles in*

98 Chipperfield, 71.
99 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Figure 5.14: Museum Island First Entrance Design
As depicted in Heinrich Wefing's 2006 article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung "So Nicht, Mr. Chipperfield."

the world" and declare that it constitutes "*a remarkable example of the urban and architectural realisation of an urban public forum which has the symbolic value of the Acropolis for the city*".[100] Museumsinsel benefits hugely from its listing in terms of the uplift it brings through tourism and investment. Changes to its urban surroundings and internal configuration are therefore sensitive and assessed against the committee's criteria for selection.[101] The label of World Heritage was seized upon by activist groups to mean an injunction preserving the setting of the island. They would use this defence in their protest at initial proposals for the James-Simon-Galerie in 2006/07.

First New Entrance Design

Following the adoption of the Museumsinsel Masterplan, a significant press article by critic Heinrich Wefing was published in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in November 2006 (fig 5.14), criticising the first developed proposals by Chipperfield for an entrance building on the former Packhof site. Just days prior, the federal government had approved financing for the build to commence, ending a four-year impasse following unfavourable financial conditions in the city. The eleventh-hour criticism centred on the appearance of the proposals—four crystalline, interlocking glass cubes, as having "*nothing*

100 UNESCO, 'UNESCO Museumsinsel'.
101 UNESCO, 'UNESCO: Criteria for Selection'.

[to suggest] that this is intended as the portal to Berlin's World Heritage site" and an "*ambivalent appearance*" (Chipperfield's own phrase, turned against him) that "*is entirely out of keeping with the island.*"[102] However, though it was not criticised at the time, the building also occupied the centre of the Packhof site to emphasise its isolation and autonomy, but therefore left little space for urban activation around its perimeter. The article concluded by imploring the design team to channel the appearance of two other Chipperfield projects in a redesign: the Am Kupfergraben private gallery on the opposite bank of the canal; and the Museum for Modern Literature (identifiable by its lapping colonnades) in Marbach.

Wefing indeed got his wish as the criticism toppled Chipperfield's first design. Alexander Schwarz, design lead for the project, speaks of how priorities changed from creating a sixth solitaire building on the estate, to a new strategy integrating its form within the ensemble. The modern design motivations, of its own programmatic self-containment and the expression of its functions to the exterior were replaced with a far more urban proposal that on one level addressed concerns about its appearance, but on a spatial register looked to embrace the urbanity of the museum cluster within the wider city situation. This was a significant typological revision from the initial scheme

A redesign of the James-Simon-Galerie was presented to the Akademie der Künste a little over seven months after Wefing's publication. The GHB had arranged petitions to the first scheme in newspapers and distributed leaflets outside the venue, seeking to incite resistance to the scheme.[103] The new scheme however resisted the criticism of pressure groups who were arguing for a replica of Schinkel's Packhof warehouses in its place, or at least its volume and an appearance in spirit.[104] Instead, the redesign pushed the massing of the entrance right against the canal and wrapped itself in Stüler's colonnade. This relinquished some of its individuality, but gained a significant urban space that it could take ownership of. The colonnaded appearance appeased conservatives whilst also cohering the Museum Island as a collective ensemble. Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper recalls "*The presentation of a completely new design and the comments made by the architects changed the tone of the dispute.*"[105] Senatbaudirektor Regula Lüscher writes the proposal is "*neither a replica nor a reconstruction […]. It reinterprets the Packhof buildings that once stood there and incorporates the [Museumsinsel] colonnades […]. It is a building for the here and now. It*

102 Wefing, 'Not like That, Mr Chipperfield! The Design for the Entrance Building for Museum Island Is Misguided'.
103 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 'Longing for Yesterday', 151.
104 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 154.
105 Lüscher and Dolff–Bonekämper, 154.

offers what we need today, without compromising the existing buildings in any way." Final approval was granted in 2009.

5.4 Realisation on Spreeinsel

Thirty years after reunification, debate, and due process, the two main built components have today been delivered on Berlin's central island. This following section is an appraisal of the physical form and urban effect of first the reconstructed Schloß (2020), then the James-Simon-Galerie (2019), and finally their combined and relativistic urban effect. The following critique deploys the typological reasoning already established to demonstrate the contrasts in architectural performance from two perspectives: first as individual structures and then in combination as a complex set of relations upon the Spreeinsel and central Berlin.

Whereas many accounts have been critical (both positively and negatively) of the buildings as objects, in keeping with the understanding developed by this research, the differentiating motivation below is to provide a relational evaluation of the artifacts: first individually within the urban domain; and then to formulate a synthesis of the two buildings' relations within the same urban system, which to date no account has been found to have done.

5.4.1 The Reconstructed Schloß and Humboldtforum

Little-known Vicenzan architect Franco Stella's scheme unanimously won the contest to build the Schloß, with the jury commending "*the logic, geometry and consistency of the model, praising the design's 'successful natural urban integration of the reconstructed palace as the Humboldtforum*'."[106]

As has been demonstrated above, New Berlin Architecture's application to foreground urban artifacts ruptures the temporal continuity of the city, which is understood by Rossi as one of the three constituting natures of city fabric. However, Rossi rclaims the relentless onward march of time "*suggests that we can connect comparable phenomena which are not by nature homogenous along temporal coordinates.*"[107] It stands to reason therefore

106 'Humboldt Forum: Architectural Press Kit', 5.
107 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 63.

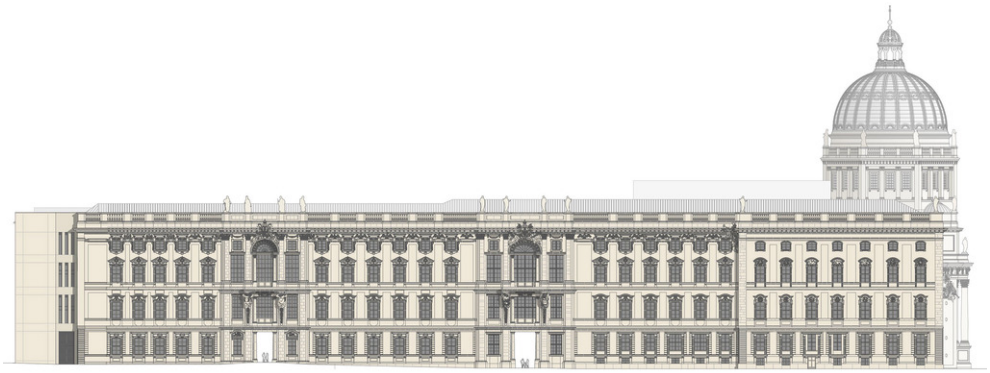

Figure 5.11: The reconstructed northern façade of the Schloß.
Note that although the entranceways are articulated, the portal size is extremely narrow. The façade has been revived to the same appearance as it had as an imperial, private palace, rather than being altered to the building's new mixed-use public programme. It is therefore relatively 'phenomenally opaque' for its programme which

that the Schloß's effects can be appraised by the same methods of permanence and performance as all other urban artifacts.

It is worth beginning with architect Franco Stella's own remarks about the building. He declares:

> "*Now the reconstructed Baroque facades reveal that it was the firstborn in its urban context and therefore suggest that it was the reference for the main places and buildings of the monumental historic centre of Berlin: in particular for the triumphal axis Unter den Linden […], or Museum Island […], the Berlin Palace returns as teacher of urban history.*"[108]

Correspondingly, if Colquhoun's explanation of representation from *Typology and Design Method* is followed, then the Schloß has been resurrected for its paradigmatic symbolic richness, and commensurate ability to communicate a subjective systematisation that makes the built environment socially available.[109] Colquhoun writes that "*the resulting organisation does not correspond in a one-to-one relationship with the objective facts but is an artificial construct which represents these facts in a socially coherent way*." The Schloß's significance lies with its emblematic and pristine representation of unified power,[110] at the moment in time New Berlin Architecture references, as well as its position at the heart of the city. This leads Stella to prematurely miscomprehend the original (pre-war)

[108] 'Berlin Palace – Humboldt Forum - Franco Stella'.
[109] Colquhoun, 'Typology and Design Method', 46.
[110] Though it is often contested what this power then represented, here the symbolism is as the seat of executive power.

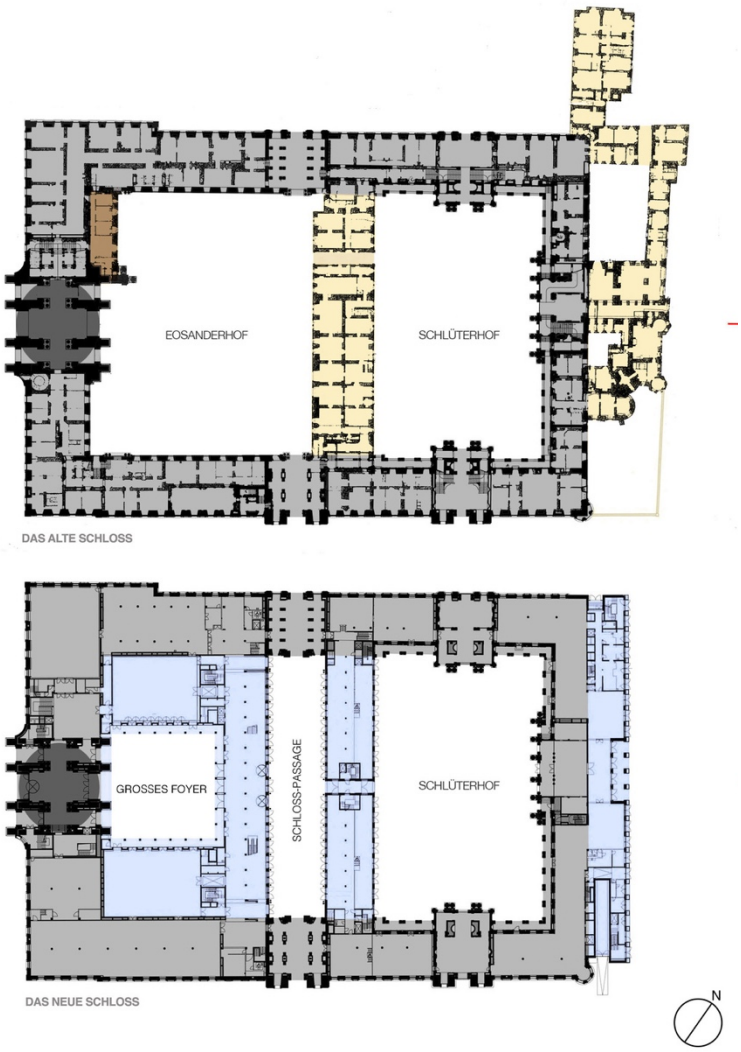

Figure 5.12: Former / Revived Schloß Plan Comparison, showing extent of historical revival.
Yellow: Removed and not rebuilt. Grey: 'Revived elements'. Blue: "Modern' elements.
Note that in the bottom diagram, the interiors indicated in grey are actually restored as Modern spaces. Only the façades are historically restored.

Schloß as a catalytic Primary Element around which development nucleated ("*the reference point for […] the historic centre of Berlin*"), but his opinion has already been contested by Schneider, who makes the counterargument that the original Schloß actually "*rid itself of the surrounding city*".[111] The project is intended to hold such symbolic cogency that it relates to the entire city, or even the entire nation. This ostensible credibility is both accentuated and legitimised by—but importantly not reducible to[112]—

111 Stella's opinion is predicated on false unity rather than categorical absolute, and so can be bracketed with Colquhoun's remark concerning representation pertaining to an artificial construct. The only satisfactory way to unpick this tit-for-tat understanding of history is to undertake a full Foucauldian archaeology.

112 Its metaphysical presence has transcended inscription in urban views when the Schloß moved from an active memory to historical record. See Section 5.3.1 above.

its grounding amongst the historic backdrop of the former city, but this belief relies on the artifact as a standalone object as the subject of critique, rather than understanding its relations in space and time.

If for one moment more the Schloß is appraised as a conceptual object, then its position at the geographic centre of Berlin, figuratively surrounded by water on all sides helps isolate it from its context, and elevates it as the epitome of an ideal structure. For this reason, Stella implies that the scene at the centre of the Spreeinsel is perfect, uncompromisable, and timeless ("*the firstborn in its urban context*"), and the view along Unter den Linden is especially important to fix. Undoubtedly, this vista was considered to have been seriously denigrated under the GDR. Viewpoints and perspectives onto the island foreshorten the distance between its pristine façades and the scenic backdrop, so the postcard—which supposedly could have been taken any point in the last 550 years—looks to reflect the supposed indubitable truth of it broadcasts.

Stella's quote demonstrates that the reconstruction priority was reinstating its giant edifices to operate as a scenographic communicator of "*history*". Yet, if the Schloß's physical presence in the city is now considered, it is clear there were also other important urban components that aided the façade's effect. It is certainly true that the Schloß's northern façade had played an important scenographic role in projecting a visitor's eye around the perimeter of the Lustgarten, which during the 19th century was arranged almost like a cul-de-sac in the city centre.[113] But it was one component of a more complex entity, including the apothecary wing of the Schloß (which cannot be reinstated, at least in full, owing to the major road carriageway extending eastward), the row of chestnut trees that formed a rhythm that was penetrated by the original portico to the pre 20th-century Dom (which is completely out of scale and cannot be considered "historic Berlin"[114]). These factors, along with the everchanging Lustgarten design are important reminders that even the 'historic centre' of Berlin has undergone—and undoubtedly will continue to undergo—significant change.

When cultural buildings are entered on their interior face, they tend to have wide urban thresholds, highly transparent façades (literally and phenomenally), and/or a tensioned streetscape surrounding them. These design moves propagate the catalytic effects of their programme and create a destination space to lure people to the interior. The Schloß however, by recalling the image of the past—a private imperial residence with public

113 Refer to §3.4.1 for more information on the Lustgarten's spatial arrangement.
114 Despite its Neo-baroque appearance it was built by Julius Raschdorff in 1905.

Figure 5.17: The 'Schloß-Passage'
The internal street through the reconstructed Schloß, showing the mix of Neo-Historical façades amongst Modernist additions. The building in the background is the Altes Museum.
Source: Photograph of the author.

courtyards—fails to conjure the same participatory vibrancy and, to some degree, all of these attributes are lacking in the Schloß (see figc5.18). Firstly, the portals into its courtyards, in keeping with the original Schloß. They are 'announced' to the exterior, but equally they are set in place by the façades and determined by historical form. Most notably they are relatively narrow apertures to the interior for a public building of the Schloß's magnitude. Second, the façade is intended to read as solid, load-bearing masonry (though it is in fact a self-supporting 'Decorated Shed'), but the faithful reproduction of the historical artifact precludes transparency or complex spatial relations across the building envelope. This is compounded further as much of the Schloß's private programme occupies the exterior wings, leaving no potential for dialogue with the surrounding urban realm. collectively, any cross-linking of the Schloß interior with the city is therefore diminished. Thirdly, as mentioned previously, the building's original position on the Spreeinsel is precisely restored, which means it is constructed with large setbacks from wide-carriageway roads.

From the city's major western axis, what promises to be a holistic and faithful historical record, is disappointingly and incoherently diluted by the building's modern frame and disconnected Modern façades. Whilst internal elevations to the outside are determined

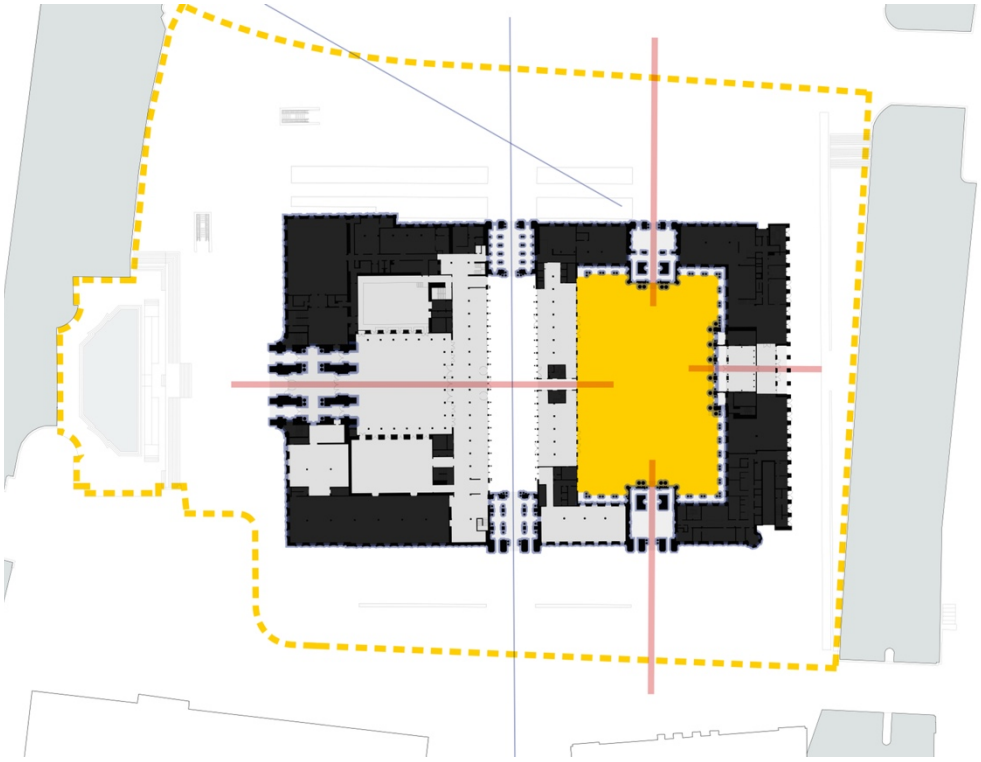

Figure 5.13: Diagram of the reconstructed Schloß's urban performance

The plan is drawn as a public – private figure ground (Nolli) map, private programme dominates the perimeter of the principal urban space, the Schlüterhof courtyard (deep yellow). Moreover, to the outside, a vast, but empty urban realm (dotted yellow) must be negotiated to access the building. Therefore, the entry vectors (red) do not link well with the city surroundings. The principal sightlines and historic surfaces of the building can be seen in purple.
Source: Drawn by the author

according to their access onto historical scenes. Interplay between 'new' and 'old' elements, materialise into conflicting design hierarchies between scenography and spatial arrangement. The Schlüterhof courtyard forms "*the architectural heart of the palace*".[115] This space, which is animated through cultural and municipal productions, is in fact not the entrance to most of the Schloß's public programme. To access the main entrance visitors must walk from here through a tunnel-like link, burrowed through an internal modern wing of the development, across an interiorised street which incorporates the entrance. This passage (see fig 5.17) is unadorned, reflecting a typical Modern palette, except for reproduced Baroque portals, which assume visual priority through their ornateness, but these are actually the exits onto the historical backdrop of Berlin's Lustgarten. Considerations of old and new are decided exclusively by the availability of the scene. In

[115] 'Humboldt Forum: Architectural Press Kit', 8.

fact, the Schloß's call to all the historic surfaces of "old" Berlin can be seen to form an active area that is coextensive with its scene. There is no 'phenomenal' depth to its extent.

And, therefore, if there is temptation to liken Historical-Revivalism with the exercise of bricolage promulgated by Rowe and Koetter's '*Collage City*', then the Schloß operates antithetically to the book on two clear fronts. Firstly, collage—and by Implication Rowe and Slutzky's methodology of Transparency—relies on contradistinction, when the Schloß aims for homogeneity. Secondly, this analysis has substantiated that there is no threshold tension to speak of at the Schloß. Relationships between interior, courtyard, and exterior space are un-tensioned. The consequence dilutes any potential for the Schloß to form genuine public spaces which link with the city.

Programmatically, the Humboldtforum is intended as a cultural anchor to the city. Though not institutionally part of the Museum Island ensemble, the Stadtschloß intended to bolster the cultural offering of the Spree Island as "*the meeting place with the cultures of the world*".[116] The programmatic offer is significant, particularly as home for the Humboldtforum and backed by a significant marketing campaign, but this research contests this is only so up to a point. The Humboldtforum supports the Schloß's theoretical objective of symbolising unity through the narrative of its programme. But because of the disjunct between its marketing, and the typological articulation of the Schloß's spaces, its efforts feel synthetic.

Beyond its museum programme (which includes a token exhibition squashed into the basement corner about the Schloß's past and the Palast der Republik), it contains collaborative spaces with the nearby Humboldt University, including conference facilities and workrooms (though when the museum opened, it was questioned why only four researcher positions were advertised to sustain its supporting facilities).[117] As noble as these uses might appear, the fact of the matter is that the Schloß is such a vast building that no matter how diverse and poly-functional its programme appears, the Humboldtforum takes a minority of the available floorplate. Other uses in the building's cavernous interior are more ambiguous. Correspondingly, much of the floorspace is reserved as private rentable events space, which erodes the full potential of a vast building to house an offer akin to a genuine people's palace, which would operate much more convincingly to pull urban stakeholders together.

116 'Berlin Palace – Humboldt Forum - Franco Stella'.
117 Wurth, 'Dreams and Ideology Clash at Humboldt Forum in Berlin'.

The activation of the Humboldtforum is therefore restricted to three distinct factors, which are themselves limited by the building's typological performance. Firstly, the weight of its programme, which is undermined by the building façade's historical 'opacity'. Secondly, the success of its publicity campaigns, which are necessarily active (especially in tourist literature) to promote engagement with the building and compensate for its urban performance. Finally—and most significantly—through the appeal of the building's simulated image, which hopes a cultural consciousness can be reconciled to a point beyond living memory, and in a building that has formed the basis of urban pathogenesis for centuries[118]).

In summary, the revived Schloß amounts to an exemplary pathogenic, though key urban artifact. As the description above has illustrated, none of these factors satisfactorily answer Schneider's most pertinent of questions, of what the Schloß restricted Berlin from becoming for 550 years. The prospect of change, transformation, or innovation based on a synthesis of architecture's disciplinary constitution is denied by the impossibility of altering the façades of the building for fear of aesthetic deviation from its historical record.

5.4.2 The James-Simon-Galerie and Archaeological Promenade

The James-Simon-Galerie and Archaeological Promenade descend directly from the Museumsinsel Masterplan, which had called for a new entrance and the consolidation of all Museums into a holistic entity. This provokes an initial, if rudimentary, question of what type of artifact the James-Simon-Galerie is, as its functions of assembly and orientation would not allow it to operate independently of the other museums. The new building is too mutually dependent on the rest of the Museumsinsel to be considered performatively autonomous. It had been a key strategic task of the masterplan to integrate the museums for their collective representational 'image', but this was also associated with reciprocal support of their fixed activities (i.e., their museological display). Hence, by the individual museums relinquishing most of the functional and auxiliary accommodations to a dedicated new building (which houses a generous entrance foyer, a large cloakroom and adjacent bathrooms, a purpose-built auditorium for presentations and lectures, and a large bookshop and café terrace), in return they would be able to gain

118 See in particular sections 3.2.1, and section 4.3.2.

Figure 5.20: Visualisation of the Archaeological Promenade

The route of the link can be seen highlighted in dark. It runs from the Bodemuseum (top left); to the Pergamonmuseum (middle top); to the Neues Museum (middle bottom); to the Altes Museum (bottom right). The James-Simon-Galerie can be seen as the branch adjacent to the Neues Museum. The Alte Nationalgalerie (right) has no connection, and never had any during the Archaeological Promenade's development. A proposition for its omission is that it does not follow the other museum's figures, featuring internal courtyards to connect with. Source: 'James-Simon-Galerie'. / Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz & Art+Com

some operational flexibility and more space for collections. The James-Simon-Galerie and Archaeological Promenade (which are often referred to collectively, but actually hold a more complex interrelationship) are additions that augment the performance of wider Museum Island Primary Element, and therefore their principal barometer in analysis should be how it facilitates the cluster's ability to "*show what [the] city once was by indicating the way [Museumsinsel's] past differs from its present*."[119]

Therefore, it makes sense to start with the role of the Archaeological Promenade: often in literature the James-Simon-Galerie's poor cousin, at least in architectural terms. Owing to its limited representational scope as a subterranean passageway, it receives comparatively little attention relative to the above-ground building. However, on a typological basis, it is important to affirm it as crucial to consolidating Museumsinsel as a single entity, with enough additional capacity to accommodate for the mass-tourist market. The Promenade discharges a vital function of addressing the existing museums'

119 Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 1982, 59.

Figure 5.21: Plan of the Archaeological Promenade and Museumsinsel's open spaces.
Source: Drawn by the author

inconvenient accessibility, inflexible arrangements, and remediates their lack of facilities in a manner that complements, rather than detracts from their original typological performance.[120] These factors are vital to modern-day cultural buildings. Historically, outward-facing entrances were an impediment to the museums to forming any degree of homogenisation. Rather than superseding the spatial arrangements of existing museums, the Promenade deftly bypasses their original entrance sequences, allowing visitors such

120 It should be noted that at different times in the past, the museums have been linked to each another by bridges. However, these were considered too narrow to be fit for purpose by the Museumsinsel Masterplan. See Chipperfield, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin: Abschlussdokumentation Dezember 1999*.

as locals or experts who would rather experience them to do so. Areas like the courtyard between the Alte Nationalgalerie and Neues Museum feel refreshed: having been freed from the obligation of selling tickets and as the muster point of large groups, it is often now full of people taking advantage of a more tranquil public space. Stüler's typological intent to separate this space from the city through the colonnade becomes recharged. The Archaeological Promenade can therefore be viewed as a carefully calculated alteration to existing fabric, which has a vital role to play in allowing the cluster to adapt to new patterns of public interaction. It transforms the individual museum solitaires into an integrated figure, where the dextrous relationship between interior and exterior spaces define an active cultural quarter.

Meanwhile, the James-Simon-Galerie's objective is a composite task of accommodating the displaced auxiliary museum programmes within a form that relates to their collective existing character, and providing a form that related to the wider urban area. Following the first redesign,[121] the conceptual premise changed from establishing a sixth solitaire on the island (each building a vignette of the period it was built in), to a design enmeshed with the other museums. This had profound benefits associated with prioritising relations between elements, as the Galerie's placement formed a coherent parti for the entire museum cluster. Functions and forms are rationalised across the estate and thus the buildings have become co-dependent. Moreover, existing open space has been rearranged so that a balance of figure and ground characterises Museumsinsel's integrated whole (see fig5.2§ . The six isolated buildings are reconceived as an interwoven and coherent matrix. Therefore, just as Georgio Grassi had intimated in the 1990s with his competition winning scheme, a reciprocal activation between figure and ground emerges, akin to a corelating served-to-servicing schema. The effect is then intensified through the tectonic articulation of the Galerie. Rather than it just constituting a linguistic device or a symbolisation of other concerns like its 'Spreeathen' identity, its constructional system is exploited to guide and activate the new interstitial spaces of the estate.

Duly, the Galerie interweaves loosely programmed, yet eminently purposeful spaces into this form—the canal-side terrace; the flank of the Altes Museum; the building's new atria; and particularly the main staircase and new courtyard bordering the Neues Museum—are each opened to unscripted urban performances. These last two areas are subject to a key typological transformation, where the typical sequencing of kerbside, public space, stairs, plinth that normatively isolate the building from its context, is

121 See §5.3.3 above

Figure 5.14: Aerial view of the James-Simon-Galerie
Aerial view for an understanding of the building's general disposition.
Source: www.e-zeppelin.ru / Laurian Ghinitolu.

reconceived (see fig 5.24) to bring the stairs and plinth into immediate contact with the pavement, and situates the space along the building's side. The gentle rise of the stairs forms an arena for unplanned recitals, which spill along the street. Meanwhile, as opposed to losing prominence, the public space is provided with greater definition and coherence by the colonnade. The effect transforms the street into a proxy cultural space, charged by the Galerie's immediate proximity and provision of purposely 'use-less' space as a scaffold for personal expression.

The role of the colonnade is complex, and intrinsic to the discharge of the building's typological performance and its manifold logistical obligations. It is readily identified as the constructive element that coheres the architectural language of all the Museumsinsel structures together. However more pertinently to typological critique, it forms threshold conditions that facilitates porous interconnectivity across it and peripheral movement along it simultaneously. This is exploited continually by the Galerie. It not only defines edges between spaces, and tensions adjacent spaces, but through the planar tautness at the its edge it crucially also transmits the activity of key spaces, like the new square along the colonnade, disseminating the building's activity into the urban realm.

Thus, the building's dissolution into the rhythmic Stüler colonnade on Bodestraße intensifies its movement as a new transverse axis allows the estate to dissolve into the

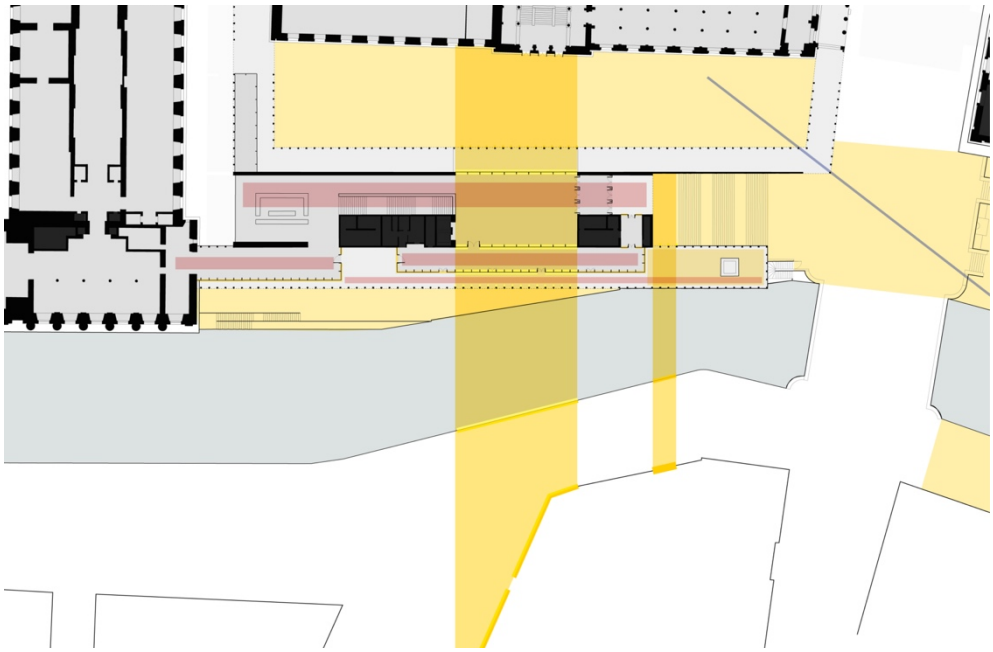

Figure 5.22: Diagram of the James-Simon-Galerie's urban performance
The multiple planes of colonnades can be seen wrapping around the buildings' internal spaces. Also note the lateral transparency of the Foyer, a moment that is a spatial transformation from to the Altes Museum's rotunda section. This forms the principal lateral connection of spatial territories in the building. The reconfiguration of the urban space (between the Neues Museum and James-Simon-Galerie); stairwell and Street is clear also.
Source: Drawn by the author.

new urban trajectory. The former freestanding, deep-plan disposition of individual museum buildings is reconceived as a new, patchwork texture of form and void. The arrangement dovetails with patterns in the wider urban fabric (especially the fragmented figure/ground composition of Mitte) to become dispersed amongst the matrix of public spaces in the city. The strategy reinterprets Schinkel's use of urban framing to generate a new route, fusing urban areas together and cohering them by cadence and rhythm.

Urbanistically the effect is to unfurl a third corridor onto the island, from Gendarmenmarkt, through the Hackescher Markt into Spandauer Vorstadt and Mitte beyond. It follows in the genealogy of Schinkel's trasformations to open the island to the west, then the subsequent revisions of the GDR to unfold to the east. The cultural offer of the cluster forms the highlight of this new axis, and is responsible for propelling the cluster's catalytic propensity deep into the twisting, dense fabric of Mitte. The effects of

Figure 5.15: Photograph of the James-Simon-Galerie atrium space
Source: Photograph of the Author

catalysation are clearly demonstrated to the northeast of the Spreeinsel. Hackescher Markt has welcomed high-value tenants in recent years, now including an Apple Store. The retail mix is balanced by independent and local retailers selling in Hackescher Höfe. Meanwhile, Spandauer Vorstadt has become home to a significant number of private art collections and creative professionals. David Chipperfield has his own offices just beyond Gipstraße in the middle of this area.

To the southwest, the catalytic effect of the James-Simon-Galerie could be much stronger if it were not curtailed by the narrow, twisting streetplan between the Am Kupfergraben gallery and the rear elevation of the Neue Wache, impeded by I.M.Pei's Deutsches Historisches Museum extension. Nevertheless, it relinquishes—or at least redirects—the traditional east-west axis of Unter den Linden and Bundesstraße, with new stress on the more northerly corridor of Bodestraße. Perpendicularly, the oblique view of the building from the canal-side offers a small diversion that absorbs some of the impediment. From here, the neatly cleaved approach along the Lustgarten's flank offer fragmentary glimpses that complement the Galerie's asymmetric parti, activating the north-south axis and drawing people toward the entranceway, deep within the constellation of other Museum Island buildings. Outside the former Zeughaus there is now a regular arts market, and a new U-Bahn entrance has been built in recent years.

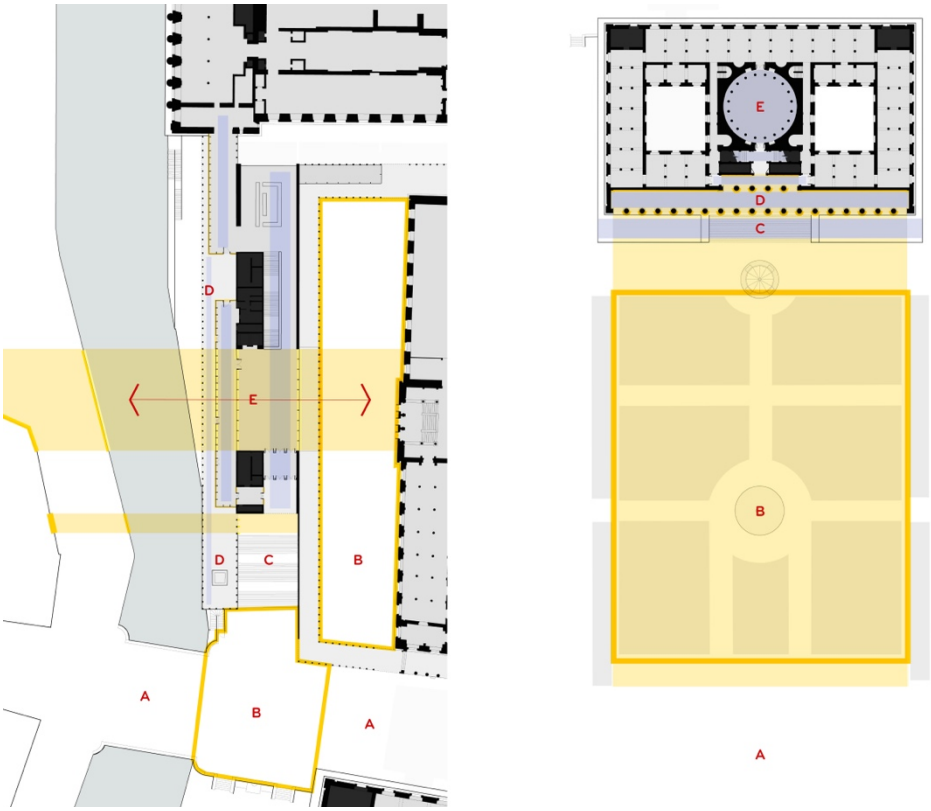

Figure 5.24: A comparison of the James-Simon-Galerie (l) and Altes Museum (r) entrance sequences.

The James-Simon-Galerie makes two key transformations from the Altes Museum. Firstly, key public voids (marked 'B') are located in proximity, or even overlapping, the street. Secondly, the purity and awe of Altes Museum's rotunda is replaced with a moment of complete lateral visual transparency (marked 'E'), cutting across multiple planes of phenomenal space (in blue).
Source: Drawn by the author

David Chipperfield admits the title of 'entrance building' was distracting, despite its clarity and partial accuracy. He refers to the James-Simon-Galerie instead as an assembly and orientation building to portray the extra complexity that was involved in its design, and a looser interpretation of function.[122] He also insinuates connection to the Altes Museum as a device that locates the individual in the civic heart of the Hauptstadt. Chipperfield organises the Galerie's more perfunctory facilities in such a way that they are conspicuous without being obtrusive, or interrupting the sequence of key spaces between exterior and the Archaeological Promenade (see fig 5.24). The building receives the diagonal movements from the city and processes them lineally as every visitor moves uniformly up its grand urban staircase. The structural envelope becomes almost incidental, deconstructed by the laps of columns and float glass that dissolve into the wider sequence of framed thresholds. Forming a hybrid between the rotunda and the

[122] Chipperfield, 'Introduction', 9–10.

loggia spaces of Schinkel's Museum, visitors are wrapped in veils of gently enclosing spaces. the Galerie atrium then floods the space laterally with transparency, leaving the visitor caught in-between the stratified spatial layers of the building and the city which are laid out before them: Neues Museum façade; new public space; Galerie atrium; Galerie café; Galerie terrace; Kupfergraben; and the city beyond. Differential movement is registered in every stratum, by virtue of each volume's narrowness limiting motion to the lateral plane. The visitor becomes directly involved, suspended in a transparent frame showing the city's performance, as the urban cross-section is laid out before them. As has been seen in the Altes Museum, the separation between phenomenal and literal spaces yields to the visitor their part in the wider collective as the city panorama is performed for them. It is a genuinely exciting space to understand the interpenetration of public and cultural spaces. As the visitor reaches the back of the atrium, the space becomes compressed, the building figure opaque, as they submit to the linearity of the descending staircase and the entrance to Museum Island's collections.

Clearly, Altes Museum provides the dominant typological reference.[123] It is important to comprehend the relationship between one building and the other is not a one-to-one translation of constructed facts, recombined in a new order. Rather, each of the James-Simon-Galerie's quotations from Schinkel's Musuem have been interpreted as rules that then interact critically with Museum Island's setting. As has been stated above, two particular architectural elements have been substantially rewritten: The first is the reorganisation of cultural building's entry sequence;[124] the second is the initial internal space. In both cases, these typological reinterpretations have a profound impact on a cultural reading of public space, and serve to dispense with 'definite' museum space and 'definite' urban realm. They override the nineteenth-century concept of self-fulfilment, instead presenting architecture as an everyday scaffold upon which public life can naturally play out. As such, this revision can be considered as an innovation the James-Simon-Galerie engenders. It is supported by the new urban corridor which feeds these spaces, cementing Museum Island as the midway point in the city between east and west. Overall, each alteration reformulates direct and indirect quotations of the Altes Museum to clearly reveal how Museumsinsel's past is different to its present. The Archaeological Promenade activates the existing museum interiors, and the James-Simon-Galerie

123 This is not to deny the mention of others—Both Alte- and Neue Nationalgaleries are important formal benchmarks (notwithstanding their own genealogical debt to Schinkel's Museum too), as does the programmatic distribution of the Louvre extension, which greatly rationalised a sprawling museum. However, the civic weight accompanying the Berlin's first museum is reserved a central role in the new building.

124 Pavlos Philippou makes the robust case that the majority of cultural buildings have followed the same entranceway section for the past 200 years, including the Altes Museum. Starting from the kerbside, they follow the arrangement of public space, stairwell, piano socle (plinth), building envelope, key internal space (atrium). Refer to Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015.

energises their surrounding spaces to make their original typological intentions clearer against a charged urban realm. The compound effect is that the typological performance of the whole transcends the value of its representational figure alone, to generate an indispensable artifact which caters, fosters, and intensifies culture as an active and dynamic entity.

5.4.3 Collective Urban Effect on the Spreeinsel

Through the completion of its biggest developments in a generation, Spreeinsel is left with one artifact that has catalysed public life and urban development, and another which stifles growth and aims to preserve its setting, within 200 metres and direct sightline of each other. By comparing the two projects, it is noticeable how polarised their urban performances are. These opposing strategies alter the urban balance of the island, and its patterns of relations with wider Berlin.

This corelates to the formation of corresponding 'strong' and 'weak' elements. It is clear that Museum Island gains influence over territory that the Schloß concedes. In the post-war era, the Palast der Republik established an urban threshold running east to west along the course of Unter den Linden/Bundesstraße. This formed because the Palast der Republik had no active front on its northern edge, and the Lustgarten had no southern focus, as Marx-Engels-Platz was used chiefly as a car park. The Schloß today also broadly fails to activate and charge the same space, but it does radically change its appearance. Even though the Schloß (through the Humboldtforum) has a valid and quantifiable programmatic draw, its façades are opaque and the activation of its perimeter edge is poor.

Compounding the Schloß's problem is the James-Simon-Galerie's activation of Bodestraße, which has diverted some activation from the Unter den Linden/Bundestraße route further north. Each of the corridors that converge on the Spreeinsel are less associated with the Lustgarten, as they now continue along its flanks and terminate on Bodestraße instead. Despite this relocation, the Lustgarten draws vitality from these activated edges, allowing it to draw activity from the canal-side to the west, and from in front of the Dom for those arriving from the east. This vibrancy is noticeable on summer evenings, when the square remains very vibrant and a destination of its own. The Altes Museum derives contingent benefit from these activities, as activity spreads up the museum's steps and along its peristyle. Although the Lustgarten and Altes Museum belong to the setting of "Historic Berlin" (the Schloß aligns itself to them for historic views), they feel like they are activated by the draw of the Museumsinsel cluster,

Figure 5.25: Schinkelplatz, awaiting the reconstruction of the Bauakademie.
Source: Photograph of the author.

rather than in spite of it. Thus, the urban threshold from GDR times remains rooted to the Unter den Linden axis, despite the Schloß's claim to ownership of the scene looking northward.

5.4.4 Approaches to Future Development

In consequence, the disparity in typological character between the two new artifacts means that they each prefigure different types of prospective development. Museumsinsel, as has already been detailed, has played a significant part in catalysing the Spandauer Vorstadt area. It is interesting that this portion of the city was almost entirely ignored by the Planwerk. Irrespectively, significant infill plots that have been developed in the area ad-hoc. The point is that Museumsinsel has lent impetus to the development of areas that had no underpinning planning framework.

As the Schloß reintroduces a vital component of Schinkel's famous vista from his museum's vestibule, the only conceivable practice in the presence of the Schloß now is to reconstruct more of the adjoining city according to the same revivalist principles. Consequently, the reinstatement of the Schinkelean panorama along the canal is likely to become the next focus of the conservative planning lobby, who look to strengthen the sense of place around the Spreeinsel. Already, a hoarding displaying a reconstructed Bauakademie was erected in-place between 2004 and 2019 (see fig 5.27). The German

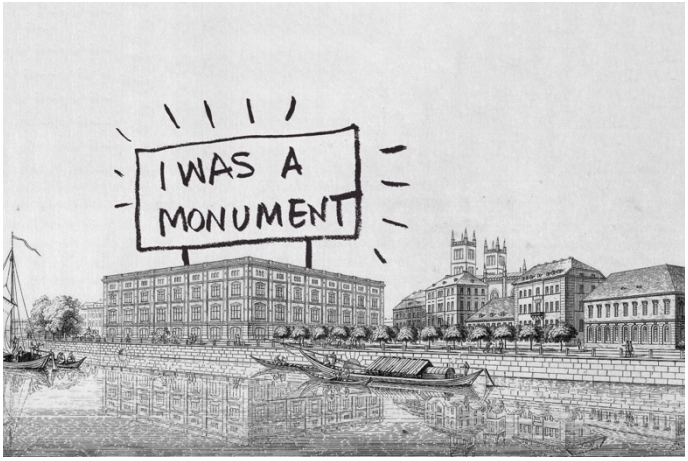

Figure 5.26: Illustration parodying the reconstruction of Schinkel's Bauakademie.
Source: Baunetzwoche 11 498. Illustration by Oliver Elser, Florian Heilmeyer und Ulrich Muller

Figure 5.27: Replica scaffold reconstruction of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Bauakademie
Source: Public Domain (wikicommons)

federal government has invested €62m towards its reinstatement.[125] This move will be important to the Schloß. The more of central Berlin's historical image that is restored, the more stable and 'convincing' the reconstructed edifices will be.

However, this doctorate still contends that wherever there are competing interactions between typological activation and Historical-Revivalism, it will ultimately be the typological method that will preside. As the recent past has demonstrated, when a new representational order is imposed on a city, then scenes become vulnerable to rapid collapse. The current configuration of the Spreeinsel demonstrates those artifacts that can interact with the city on a practical level by inciting engagement between urban

125 'Berliner Morgenpost: 62 Millionen für Wiederaufbau der Schinkelschen Bauakademie'.

actors and energising the public plane of the city hold an advantage over others that are urbanisatically mute.

5.5 Conclusion

In contradistinction to the other periods this doctorate has investigated, both of which have demonstrated the embodiment and execution of a particular set of typological ideas, the condition of Berlin's present-day Hauptstadt is marked (with mild irony, given political reunification) by conflicting materialisations of the valid way to design in its "*hallowed*" setting.

Correspondingly, rather than being able to speculate about a new systematisation of relations to mark an innovation in the urban condition, there is clearly no stable basis to make such a claim. The post-reunification period is characterised by hybridity: debate; petition; and juxtaposition. The prevailing question has been how (often) opposing systems of relations interact to form accord or friction. How can the built environment foster a sense of tolerance and acceptance to widen city participation?

These value systems have been traced to emerging cultural ideals, which emerged as Berlin transitioned from a politically motivated urban landscape into a cultural landscape to encapsulate the consciousness of the city.[126] The first of these proposed that all disparity between sides should be eradicated. An ideal city, anchored to a time bbefore any division or conflict, when Berlin shared a common root could be reconceived. The concept of 'New Berlin Architecture' accompanied this vision, demanding the 'traditional European city' was 'critically reconstructed', to represent the romanticised past. Of course, this risked ostracising the East Berlin population, as lines were redrawn to before their existence. There is the obvious problem too that such a history never did exist—it is synthetic, subjective, and by definition edits an extant period from record. The second postulation understood that there are intrinsic distinctions underpinning the city's state, which through a strategic reasoning of objective facts could be unlocked to enrich its operation. The city's spatial arrangement is viewed as innate to its culture, and therefore architecture is determined by a typological reasoning of the unmotivated present-day. Thus, rather than cohering around a ostensibly shared genealogy, unity is posited in

126 It is important to restate the pattern of these effects cannot be reduced to an equivalency between eastern values being progressive and western valued being conservative, nor does this correspond to the West (as those who provided the political framework that the GDR capitulated to) be levelled with the criticism that it 'only' aimed to disrupt the eastern configuration of the city. However, there was a powerful political and social class emanating from the West to whom representation of the collective will has acquiesced.

public spaces that could join urban actors together and nurture their interaction, the prospect of which had been tantalisingly beyond reach for so long. Bernhard Schneider epitomised the approach when in 1997 he asked "*the question many people are asking is: what will Berlin be like after the next 10 or 20 years?*"[127]

Typological Transformation

In the developing reconstruction of the city, there are several ways that have been identified where intervention in an existing context has disrupted the performance of existing artifacts. Firstly, the nesting of the New Berlin Architecture vision within the city's Planwerk Innenstadt framework transcended the remit of urban governance to stipulate a narrow prescription of permissible architectural solutions. The approach exposed the open morphology of the post-war city—most notably in the east—to enclosure within perimeter blocks, changing its prevailing spatial relationship. Secondly, Alexanderplatz has demonstrated how New Berlin Architecture inevitably fragments existing Study Areas, interrupting the GDR city's constellation of visual sightlines with newly constructed dense city blocks. Thirdly, New Berlin Architecture has been re-centred around the resurrection of key urban artifacts, especially those which can hold a dialogue with surviving historical fabric. The most debated artifact, with the greatest consequence is the restoration of the Schloß, formerly demolished under the GDR in 1950.

This chapter has built the case that these interventions have a significant effect on the shape and limits of Berlin's reunified Hauptstadt, The Senate's actions under the auspices of the Planwerk have served to disarticulate the eastern reaches of the central axis. Karl-Marx-Allee is currently undergoing severance from this artery. Unofficial plans linger for development in the Altstadt void around the Fernsehturm which would impede connection from Alexanderplatz to Unter den Linden.

Meanwhile, redeveloping the city centre as a cultural landscape has focused efforts on the Spreeinsel: According to one faction, the site of the city's purported origins, and the seat of historic governance; to the other, the strategic congruence of east and west. The 'strength' of the Schloß's connection to time and place were believed to reinforce its symbolisation of collective unity—temporally through its representation of an 'immaculate', unbroken history (at least on three of its façades), and spatially because of its irrefutable geographic claim to hierarchical centrality. This perspective is challenged in this chapter, which notes that the Schloß's opaque and unactivated façades outweigh

127 Schneider, 'Cultural Politics in Berlin', 235.

Figure 5.28: Typological transformation 1990-present day
Addition of new Primary Elements. Activation of third urban corridor between Mitte and Spreeinsel.
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen

its programmatic contribution, to leave a sterility stifling the island's central belt, and therefore refocusing attention at the Spreeinsel's northern end. The Bodestraße axis has been animated by the typological transformation of Museumsinsel into a holistic, propulsive Primary Element, counteracting the Schloß's pathogenesis.

Within this context, the additions to Museum Island's figure of the James-Simon-Galerie and the Archaeological Promenade have led to significant typological transformations modulating the spatial relations of the island. Specifically, the James-Simon-Galerie reconceptualises the Altes Museum's entrance sequence[128] to create a direct relationship between new public spaces and a new urban corridor the building activates.

128 The case has been made by Philippou that this forms the basis of a normative entrance sequence for cultural buildings to follow. See 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015.

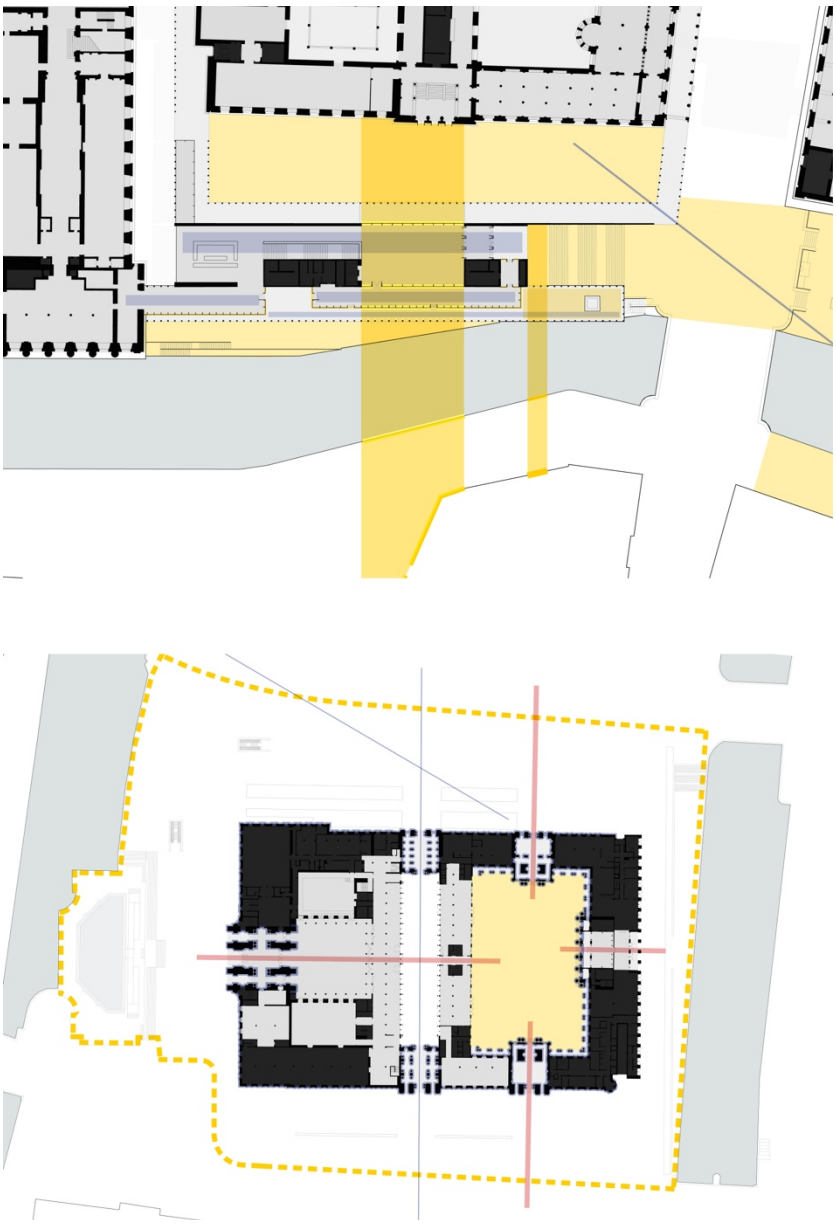

Figure 5.16: Typological Comparison between the James-Simon-Galerie and the reconstructed Schloß

The connection of the James-Simon-Galerie to public space is readily apparent in the artifacts' comparison. The opacity of the Schloß's historic façades, and its isolation from the city fabric to assert itself over the context impedes its urban agency
Source: Drawing by the author.

Secondly, Schinkel's panoramic machinery of the Altes Museum loggia is reimagined in the James-Simon-Galerie atrium. Here, the individual occupies one stratum in manifold space as the panoramic nature of the city is performed around them. They are exposed as both viewer and participant, object and subject in this moment. Both revisions are reasoned as innovations of the type. They are considered paramount to facilitating an architectural figure in ideal tension with an interspersal of 'purposefully purpose-less'

spaces, which correspond to a configuration of figure and ground in the wider urban surrounds to unfold a new, third corridor onto the island. Recent changes to stakeholder patterns in the Spandauer Vorstadt area have validated the new pattern of urban catalysation.

Interaction of Two Systems and Relations with Existing City Fabric

Despite the Schloß's contribution to the historic setting of Berlin—most famously represented in Schinkel's drawing from the Altes Museum landing—the performance and appearance of the scene are substantively different activations. Though New Berlin Architecture structures coextensive scenes and Study Areas, this cannot to overpower the instrumentality of a relatively autonomous, typological discipline. This has been verified on the Spreeinsel, as the Schloß's reinstatement has failed to dissipate a former urban threshold that split the Lustgarten from Marx-Engels-Platz in the post-war period, even though the appearance of this scene has changed markedly.

As this chapter argues, Historical-Revivalism is a non-autonomous architectural theory, which is paradoxically bound in historical continuity with the Social-Realist tenet it tries to renounce. Both formations are shown to share a structural dependency on scenography, despite its manifestation in different constellations. Precisely because they share these characteristics, there is a similar brittleness accompanying post-war East Berlin that is detectable in the city's post-reunification incarnation too. Indeed, the two approaches are in competition for the same compositional systematisation of the urban domain. Hence, it stands to reason that any given scene will only be protected for as long as the public (or its elected representatives) see value in keeping it. Beyond such a moment, either architecture or scene is vulnerable to alteration. The argument's logic returns to the same reasoning as the two previous chapters—that 'environmental planning' formations, as Hermann Pundt labelled them, are delicate and susceptible to change.

The question then turns to which types of structures, spaces and architectures will afford greater prospect of persistence, with (relative) protection from reprisals versed in dogma or sanctimony? After more than 20 years since Schneider asked what Berlin would be like in the future, it is testament to architectural productions like the James-Simon-Galerie and the collective Museum Island that the answer remains categorically unknowable. The building provides the scaffold for unforeseen unscripted performances. Its availability, instrumentality, and versatility guarantee through its persistence that the same question can be asked of in 20 further years' time.

[—*Chapter End*—]

6 Conclusion

6.1 The Specific Context: Incoherent Berlin and the Need for Type as a Strong Agent

Principally, each of the chapters above has analysed Berlin's typological transformations as contributions to the city as an overall exemplar case, demonstrating that architecture holds an agency to materially restructure the city morphology as described above.

Following analysis of Aldo Rossi's explanation of urban dynamics and theory of permanences in '*The Architecture of the City*,' this thesis has built the case that type propagates a spatial reasoning, which determines the persistence of artifacts. Correspondingly, those architectural artifacts that interact with the city in a permanent way (Primary Elements) transform a limited urban catchment (Study Areas). These regions are identifiable through patterns and dispersals of morphological and synergistic coherence. They are also transient, and subject to architecture's typological agency, allowing type's effect in the urban domain to be measured and studied.

This thesis' introduction framed the view that efforts invested in placemaking, as a form of what Stan Allen has termed a "*built discourse*", obscures urban transformation and the appropriation of city spaces by the public who use it. It does not hold the agency of discipline to forge urban change, because it is not capable alone of changing the materialisation of space, but only to describe or critique the conditions that the space is located within.

Mathias Müller and Daniel Niggli, co-founders of Zürich-based EM2N architects, exemplify a contemporary interpretation to Rossi's approach. They are also critical of his *"memory technology with the aim of historical continuity"*,[1] but nonetheless they are co-participants of his, concerned with how the organisational logic of architecture can catalyse and transform portions of the city to enrich the relationships between different urban actors. Their stance is sceptical of placemaking, and instead of pursuing a hard regimentation of urban space in a search for coherence and meaning, they seek to incite participation between stakeholders. They write:

1 Müller and Niggli, 'Schönheit Des Chaos'.

> *"every architectural object is a location- and meaning-specific distillation of urban life, one that, by itself becoming a piece of the urban fabric, in turn enhances the city around it. […] If we take this reciprocity between the city and building as read, then issues of foreground and background become relative. At the same time, all urban stakeholders […] share responsibility for codeveloping the city."*[2]

This quote betrays the appropriateness of their work to Berlin, and their links both to Rossi.

Correspondingly, contemporary inner Berlin's typical condition today, despite (or rather, because of) numerous actors' attempts to apply order, consistency and convention, is incoherence. The Hauptstadt today exhibits juxtapositions of where old meets new fabric, figure meets void, Prussian Classicism meets Social-Realism. No overarching dialectic systematises the others. The placemaking project in Berlin has failed to form coherent and eternally meaningful space, yet it has contributed its residual territories, left for appropriation.

Meanwhile, the constancy between Rossi and EM2N lies on a practical level, of strategies to trigger movement though space, and the blurring and manipulation of thresholds to create opportunities for social interaction and enrichment. Marc Angélil notes that "*EM2N engage in the design of the unfinished*" and offer a "*treatment of public space as a continuous infrastructure*" that "*softens*" the boundary between interior and exterior space.[3] A dynamic civic realm carried by the motion of the public is paramount to the sustainability of communities, which is lodged in the persistence of key artifacts that foster mutual tolerance, productivity and exchange.

Accordingly, the city should be seen as providing less of a specific formwork to develop an overarching urban coherence from, but understood as demonstrating the field of urbanism's ever-changing understanding of what the city is, and what it has to do. As Rossi, Müller and Niggli all attest—it is up to architecture to develop a legitimate and strong agency to negotiate in this space.

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2 Müller and Niggli, 'Plea for a City of Tolerant Coexistence', 478.
3 Angélil, 'Empited Typologies'.

6.2 From Specific to General Context: Type's Pan-Contextual Agency

It is now important in synopsis of this thesis to return to its primary focus, and elucidate the claim that this research makes to a general knowledge. That is to say, though the urban and architectural transformation of Berlin has been the primary vehicle of discovery, the ultimate target of this work has been an exploration of type's role globally upon the urban field, through the way that architecture contributes to the life of cities. Illustrating the common reach and application of type in generating architecture's agency across conditions affords this claim.

In the following discussion, the ambition is to respect and extrapolate the innovations identified in each chapter, and reason their grounding in other locations. Though typological comparison is often elicited on the basis of formal similarity between models which share discrete characteristics, this merely contributes to the same post-rationalisation exercise of serialisation that this doctorate began by being critical of. Instead, what follows is a careful exploration of the characteristics that have propagated the urban performances of their period, and seeks to showcase their application elsewhere in the field.

6.2.1 1800—1830s

Chapter 3 documented how Prussia's democratisation of the arts became manifested through the Altes Museum's capacity to provoke movement in and around Berlin's central area. The Museum became an extension of the landscape, its building envelope coincidental amongst the wider sequencing of space from the city's edge to its heart. It became a vital organ of the city, immersed in the pulse of everyday life on the Spreeinsel. central Berlin's morphology was transformed from a dense, predominantly inwardly disposed fabric into an outwardly disposed civic landscape where certain spaces associated with (semi-) private space become delegated to the public sphere. It provided a scaffold from which the individual could grasp their contribution to the new democratic terrain of central Berlin through the panoramic apparatus of the loggia, where motion of the viewer reciprocated that of citizens outside, to drive their comprehension of the city's newly situated freedoms. Schinkel's collective transformation was driven by the presence of dialectics between open- and closed-order fabric: background and foreground. However, the presence of these dialectics was not used to centralise or invest power in the central space or in. his museum, but instead to encourage movement from the periphery to the core in a shared and participatory freedom, which was driven by his main building. Schinkel's actions afforded new opportunities and new accessibility to the

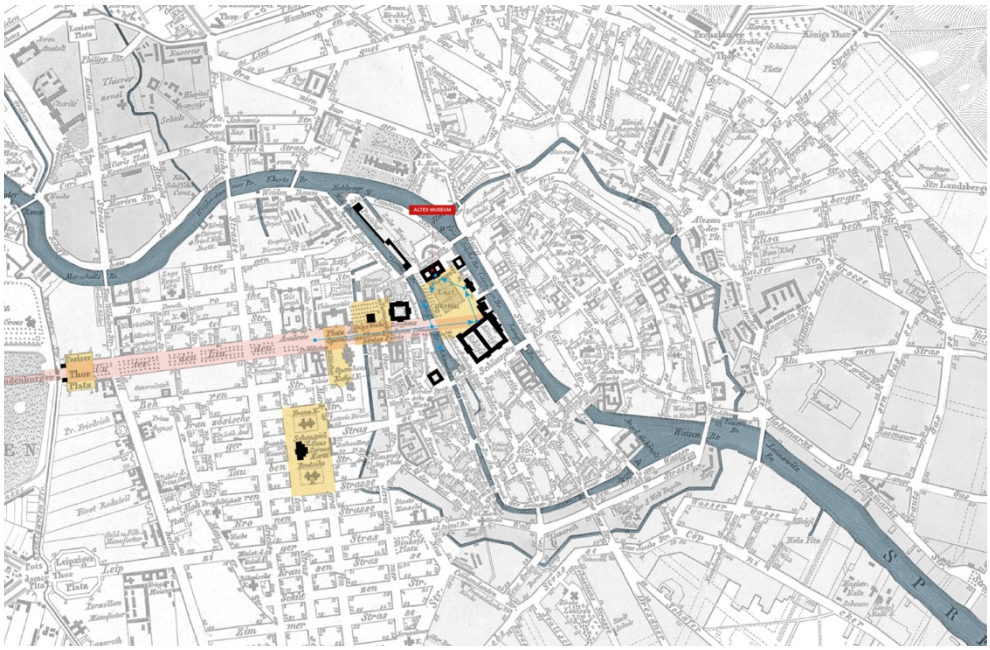


Figure 6.1: Typological transformation 1800-1830
Unter den Linden becomes the first corridor to activate the Spreeinsel
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: public domain

Spreeinsel, to supersede the pathological presence of the Schloß which had impeded access to it for centuries.

Thus, the most significant of Schinkel's typological principles relate to a strong and deepened urban hierarchy, which renders the building envelope a trivial moment in a lengthened journey. The extension explodes the conventional idea of threshold into many different components, and generates the 'typical' building section, which Philippou notes has formed the cornerstone of *"most"* cultural buildings since, following the disposition of *"road, pavement, open space, podium socle […], formal entrance and imposing foyer-atrium […]"*.[4] While he doesn't directly claim that the Altes Museum forms the genesis of this sequence, it is the earliest of several examples across different eras that he gives in his commentary. Though the motivations underpinning this organisation have changed over time, its conventional ordering has endured. In the present-day, the underlying principle of this sequence has shifted from a question of asserting an urban hierarchy toward the purpose of fully isolating the architectural object from the surrounding area. The public space is no longer dynamic, but ostensibly desolate, to focus attention squarely on the artifact, rather than exploring the possibility of drawing together differentiated urban

[4] Philippou, 'Cultural Buildings' Genealogy of Originality', 2 November 2015, 1044.

Figure 6.2: View of the Haydar Aliyev Centre
Source: Zaha Hadid Architects

populations and fostering a plurality of unforeseen events.[5] Contemporary cultural buildings, such as Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (as Philippou identifies), or Zaha Hadid's Heydar Aliyev Centre in Baku, Azerbaijan, exemplify this trait (see Fig 6.2).

Altes Museum vs. Centre Pompidou

Philippou details three key precedents that innovate against this sectional sequence. Each of Denys Lasdun's National Theatre in London, Lina Bo Bardi's Museum of Modern Art in Sao Paolo (MASP), and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin are reasoned to make typological displacements to the standard arrangement for the sake of catalysing the surrounding urban domain. Another building that could have been included in Philippou's list is Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano's Centre Pompidou in Paris (see fig. 6.3 and 6.4). Like in Berlin, the Centre Pompidou sits in a central location in the city, roughly longitudinally aligned with the Île de la Cité, and latitudinally with the site of Les Halles. Despite the monolithic appearance of the deep plan building, whose iconic image is known for its inverted building services that cover the exterior, its figure all but dematerialises in a public-private (Nolli) plan, offering a truly public space at the intersection of these key urban fluxes. The building and the new urban square, the Place Beaubourg, thus form a strategic intervention, which capitalises upon crossflows in the city.

[5] Continuing Philippou's section, the plinth intends to separate architectural expression from urban effect; the formal entrance seeks maximal transparency to communicate an identity-narrative; and the foyer erupts in spectacle in celebration of its own formal plasticity.

Figure 6.3: 1970s pedesttran map of central Paris
The Pompidou Centre is seen slightly high centre of the image.
Source: Renzo Piano Building Workshop

Whereas Schinkel's fellow public first journeyed to the central municipal space, engaging with his museum by ascending its artificial topography to review the city at height from the vestibule, in Paris they are convinced to sit and stare into the Pompidou's transparent façades by the gentle rake of the Place Beaubourg. Here, the plinth of the Altes Museum is inverted and forms a gentle rake downwards to the building's entrance. The primary direction of the gaze between the two buildings is inverted, and there is a fundamental transformation from a visitor looking at content, to a passer-by looking at a visitor looking at content. It was one of the very first buildings to democratise the practice of looking at the programme of the building as a public ritual. Jean Baudrillard called it "*the space-time of the whole operational simulation of social life*."[6]

In Paris, this principal transformation is supported by some significant typological revisions. The Public space (marked 'A' in the illustration) is lined with cafés and bars, activating the ground throughout the Pompidou's opening hours, and servicing the Place.

6 Baudrillard, Krauss, and Michelson, 'The Beaubourg-Effect: Implosion and Deterrence', 8. This is not to expressly claim that the Pompidou was the genesis of this paradigm (other examples may include Peter Celsing's Kulturhus, or Cedric Price's unbuilt Fun Palace), but the Pompidou expresses the typological figure extremely clearly. This transposition from a building simply containing a programme (with or without its circulatory spaces interfacing with the exterior), to linking its programme to the spaces of the city constituted a typological innovation as the thresholds between artifact and urban surface had fundamentally adjusted.

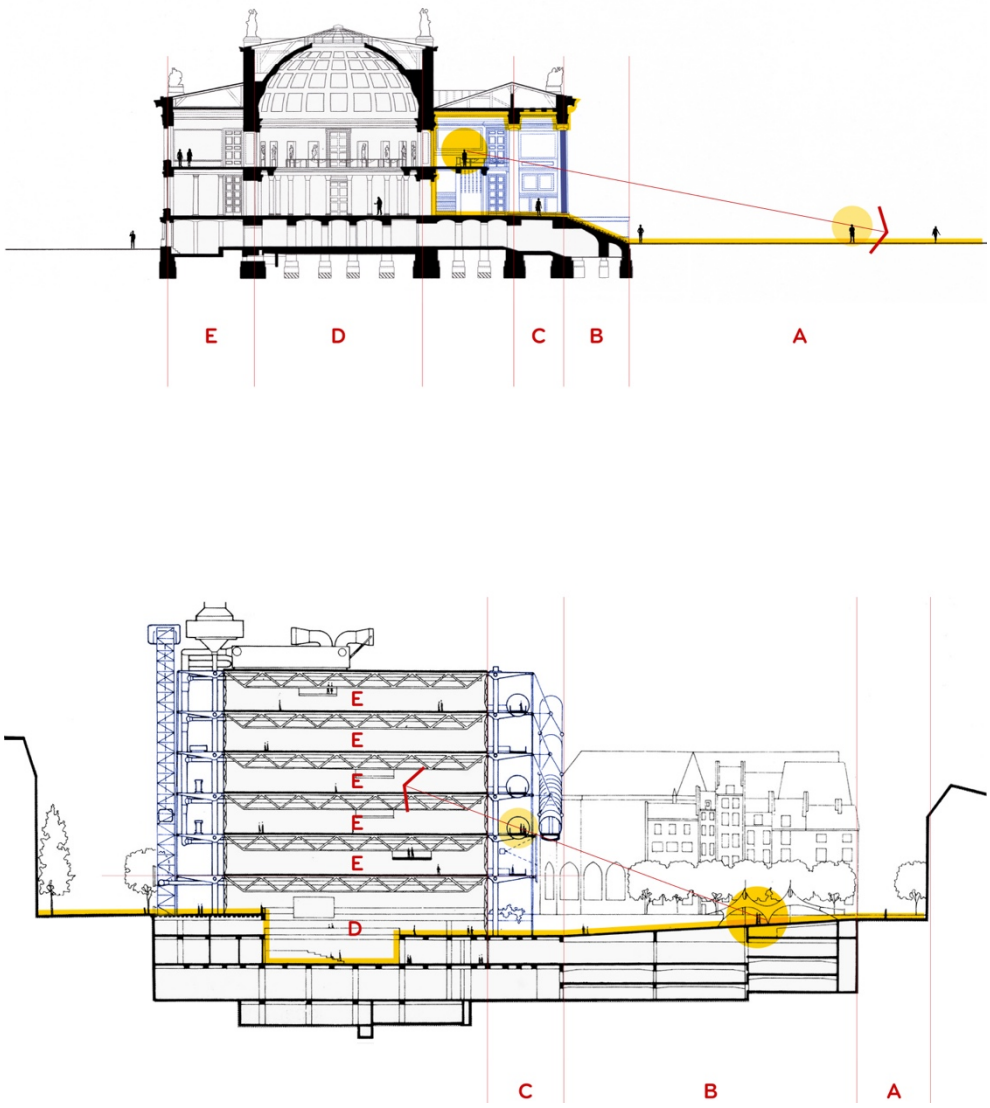


Figure 6.4: Comparison of the Altes Museum and Centre Pompidou's entrance sequences.
Source: Drawn by the author

Next, the circulation is thrust to the exterior. Even though the stairs in Schinkel's Museum are already peripheral in the building's organisation, they are more prominently articulated Rogers and Piano's building owing to its transparent skin, which allows the visitor to engage with the city more as the journey rises along the façade. The sky bridges are akin to the Altes Museum's vestibule area (marked 'C'). The additional height and exposure that Rogers and Piano afford from the ground gives a sense of panoramic freedom, in a picturesque sense. Unlike Schinkel though, the point of reference is not the individual's journey to the building, but a dance with the scenic roofline of the French capital through the effects of parallax, which induces movement. The first key internal space (marked 'D') operates differently in Paris, where a sense of awe is generated by the

Figure 6.5: Comparison of the Altes Museum and Chandigarh Capitol's urban disposition.
Source: Drawn by the author

impressive column-free interior. Trusses running front-to-back imbue a strong horizontality and emphasise a connection to the exterior, rather than the Altes Museum's attempts to deny access to the external world. In the Pompidou, the journey between 'A' and 'D' is expedited, knowing that transparency to the outside denies any heterotopic sense that the Altes Museum successfully imbues.

Prussian Central Berlin vs. Chandigarh

Le Corbusier's design for the Palais de L'Assemblée in Punjab's capital is well documented as being a transcription of the Altes Museum's interior figure. In plan, the drum of the assembly hall is a clear reinterpretation of Schinkel's Rotunda—though now asymmetric disposal in plan—whilst the galleries and front peristyle of Berlin are

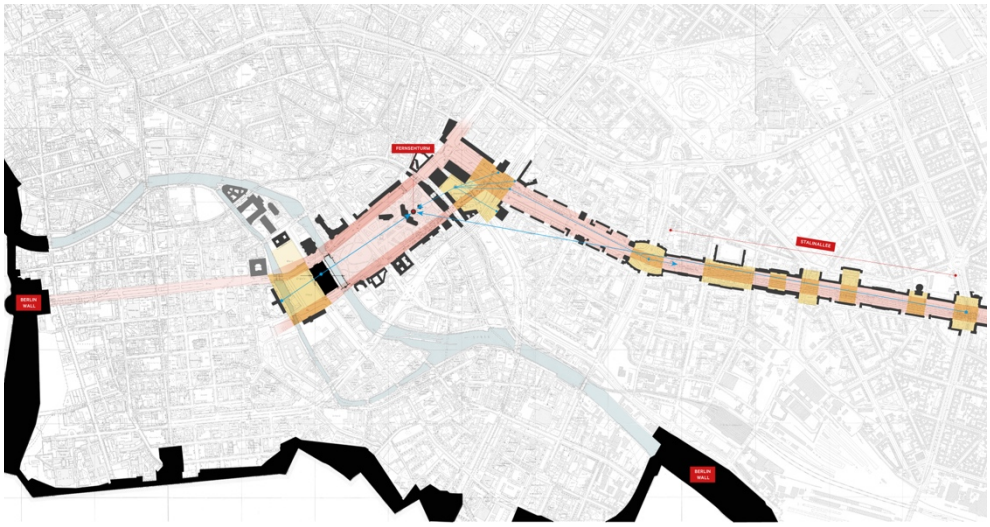


Figure 6.6: Typological transformation 1945-1989
Development of Berlin's Central Axis and East-Berlin Haupstadt
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: Histomap Berlin, Landesarchiv Berlin.

transposed as a halls of columns, and a partially orphaned front loggia from the main massing of the structure. However, when the urban positioning of the Chandigarh capitol is compared on a wide-scale to Schinkel's Berlin Hauptstadt, there is a less-documented displacement of typological traditions apparent in the setting out of routes and axes (see fig. 6.5). Schinkel's dextrous ploy to engender movement onto the Lustgarten, across the considerable threshold of the Kupfergraben canal, is seized upon and rearticulated by Le Corbusier as an asymmetric promenade architecturale around the key Punjabi state institutions. The Lustgarten is thus embedded in Chandigarh's Capitol as well. None of the axes between institutions connect with the main arterial route deep into Chandigarh, which compels movement up to and through the Capitol plan. Allan Greenberg wrote an article in the periodical *Perspecta* in 1969[7] diagramming the differences that Chandigarh's disposition made relative to Lutyens' symmetrical plan for New Delhi. He did not identify the urban-scale typological parallels Le Corbusier shared with Schinkel who, unlike Lutyens, was interested in divesting with a single point of unitary power.

6.2.2 1945—1989

Chapter 4 evidenced the significant revisions made by the GDR regime throughout the post-war era. Two significantly different precepts emerged from Schinkel's period: firstly, the city was re-orientated to the east, whereas historically the city plan had favoured the

7 Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied'.

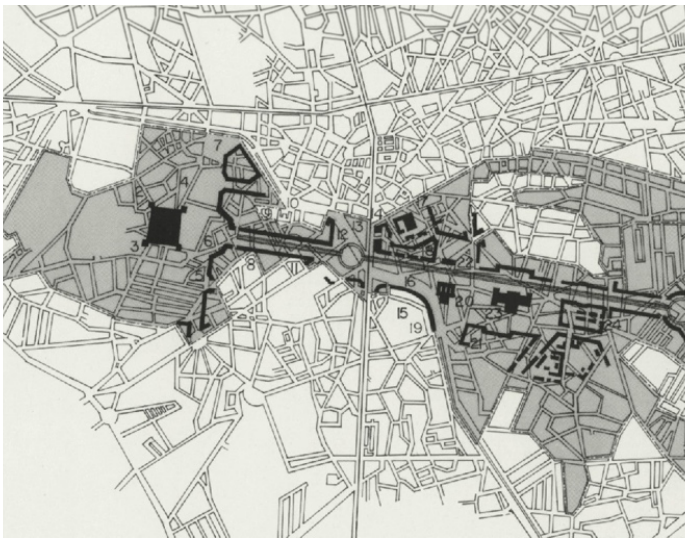


Figure 6.7: Map of post-war proposed transformations to Bucharest, Romania.
Long-form blocks separating a proposed city core from the remainder of the city fabric are clearly visible.
Source: www.myleszhang.org

west; and the city was transformed into an autocratic landscape, automated to coordinate the collective rather than the individual's will. Uniformity and conformity were key strategic objectives of post-war East Berlin.

These principles were delivered (over the course of 25 years) by the realisation of the 'central axis', which formed the city spine, by mirroring Unter den Linden heading east. It formed the critical distinction with the hinterlands upon a shifted understanding of the 'public'/'private' divide, determined by where personal autonomy existed and where it was subjugated to the whole. Accordingly, the GDR's interventions were structured into just two corresponding Study Areas: a flattened city hierarchy with a stark distinction between conditions.

Therefore, the role of the strong edge was very important in regulating the city's performance. The abrupt contrast and immediate proximity of polarised conditions became assimilated with greater control of city subjects' will in the hinterland/Hauptstadt duality. The Hauptstadt as a 'public' space of exchange, and the hinterland as the atom of 'private' neighbourhood.

The plainest of comparisons of East Berlin are to other post-war eastern European state capitals, Warsaw and Bucharest to name but two (Bucharest seen in fig 6.7). These cities replicate characteristic extended forms separating background cells from a foreground forum space. Analogously, the Via della Conciliazione linking St. Peter's Square with the

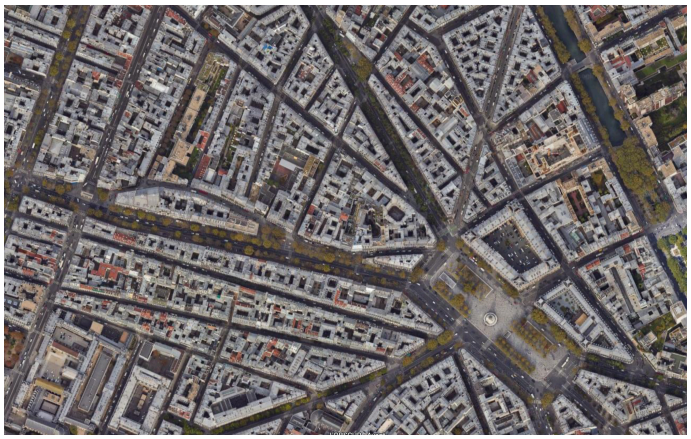


Figure 6.8: Parisian Avenues around Place de la République
The protracted length of city blocks is particularly prevalent in this area.
Source: Google Earth

River Tiber in Rome, was cleared of obstructing buildings in 1936 to form a similar configuration of long flanking blocks and processional avenue. Prior to these examples, the Avenue de Paris and Place d'Armes in Versailles (late seventeenth-century) also exhibits the same characteristics. In each case, the heightened ambition to centralise institutions and state structures within the public domain led to a deployment of Baroque city-planning principles.

It must be highlighted that the presence of an absolutist or authoritarian regime is difficult to ignore across each of these examples. Equally, in all these cases, command of the urban figure is driven by a stronger urban hierarchy that in East Berlin, where the institution was the final component of the cityscape to be constructed. Other, perhaps more accurate typological comparisons in the wider field therefore relate to examples providing an abrupt separation of adjacent conditions to regulate the city in front and behind, rather than the exactitude of individual urban forms.

The morphology of central Paris provides rich comparison and illustrates these differences. The attempt here is not to compare Stalinallee with the Champs Elysée based on the streets' cross-sectional scale, nor with the Rue de Rivoli for its rhythmic propulsion along the street. Instead, more accurate comparison might be around the Place de la Republique, on the Boulevard St. Martin, Boulevard Beaumarchais, or Boulevard Magenta (fig. 6.8). Here, the city block is substantially elongated and appears to withstand the force of the private domain from behind the building façades from spilling

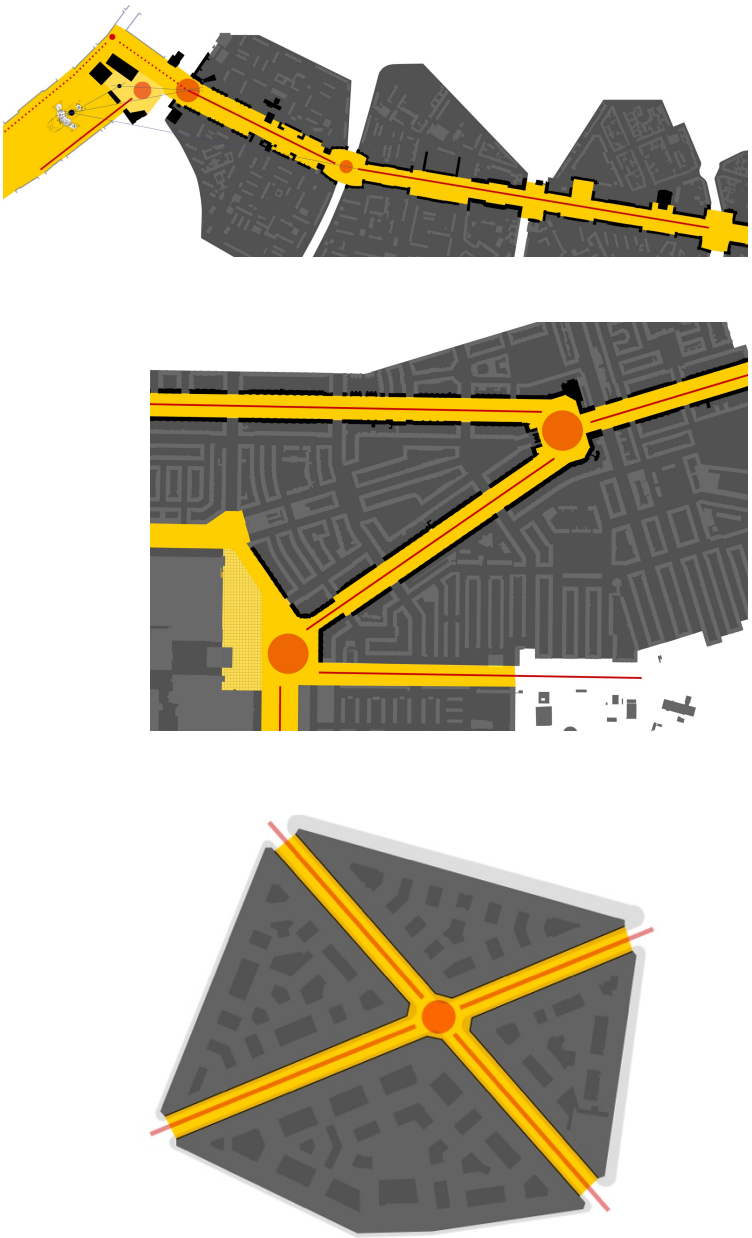


Figure 6.9: Comparison of Karl-Marx-Allee (top) to Amsterdam Zuid area (middle) and the Rue Eugène Sue and Rue Simart Carrefour (bottom).
Source: Drawn by the author

out onto the street. The block is completely in-filled as a wholly private realm, leading to the intense contrast with the street as a place of social exchange. At a different scale, the area surrounding Rue Eugène Sue and Rue Simart (fig. 6.9) demonstrates the same organisational figure where the perimeter is thrown into significant tension. Here, as with around the Place de la Republique, only the binary conditions of public and private space exist, however deep the urban fabric stretches.

Figure 6.10: View of Rafael Moneo's L'Illa Diagonal in Barcelona
Source: Arquitectura Viva

Apparently inspired by the urban performances of nineteenth-century Paris, Hendrick Berlage structured the Amsterdam Zuid area (fig. 6.9) around straight boulevards and elongated façades, which contained residential areas behind. Rather than a quite 'literal' barrier to these areas, the blocks form phenomenally contained perimeters with porous connections at intersections into them. This figure appears to resemble most clearly the morphology that Stalinallee would employ 20 years after the completion of the Amsterdam district.

However, to compliment these antecedents with a more contemporary example, Rafael Moneo's L'Illa Diagonal (fig. 6.10) on Barcelona's longest avenue seeks to form two completely differing characters in front of and behind the building's primary massing. The building's form amplifies the street's axiality. In the design process Moneo converted a crossroad intersection on Diagonal into a tunnel, thus lengthening the building's principal façade to over 300m. Even though the building is publicly porous at junctures along its length, the massing successfully contains a courtyard to the rear and denies it any direct exchange with the street. L'Illa Diagonal's ambition is to create a distinct enclave in the city for a different set of public performances to play out, in and around landscaped parkland, whilst emphasising the character of the street.

Forum

The deployment of the hard edge was not reserved strictly for accessing the armature, but rather it demarcated the extend of the city's core. Henselmann's 'Forum der Nation' proposal[8] (fig. 6.11) reveals a significant loosening of form, where only the boundary

8 See also Section 4.3.3, and figure 4.17.

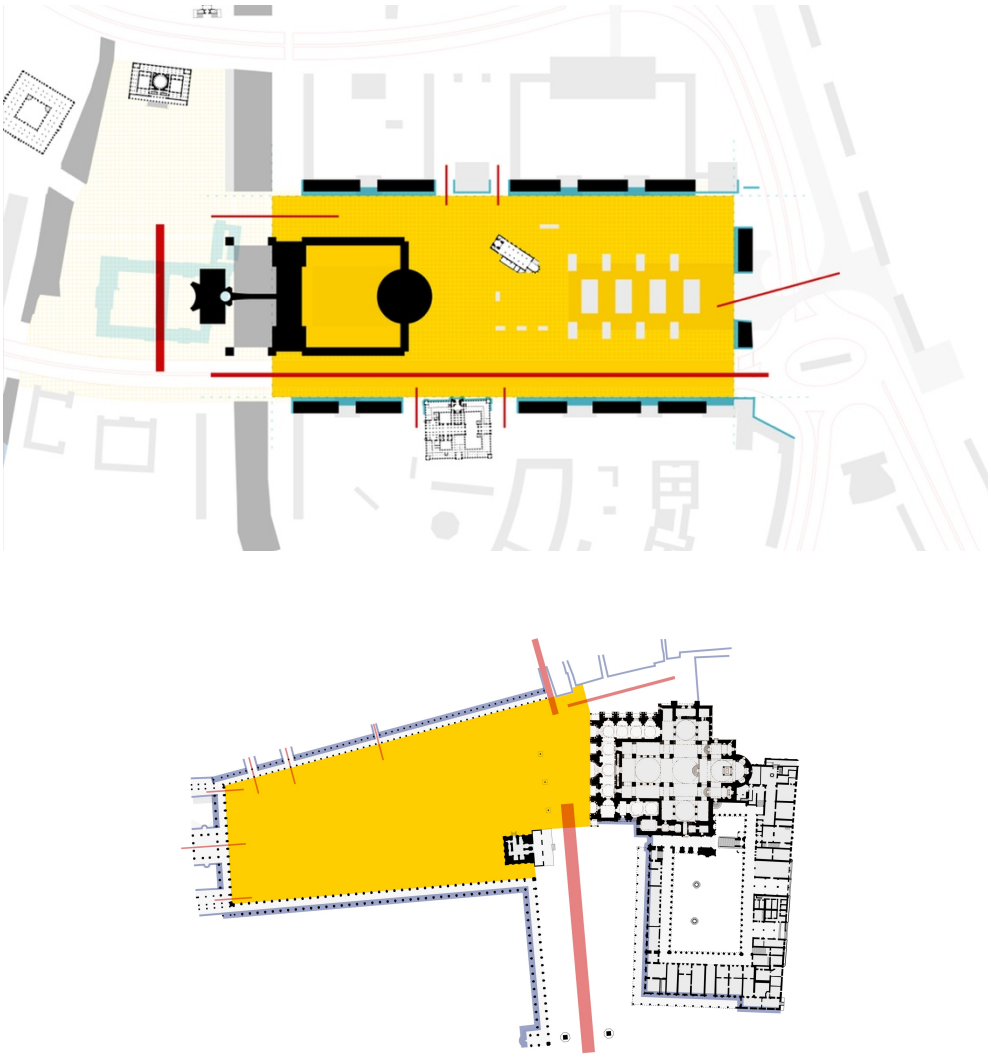


Figure 6.11: Participant's movement induced by Panorama of the Altes Museum landing.
Source: Drawn by the author

between Hauptstadt and hinterland appears to be in any tension. These long-form blocks, like those on Stalinallee, withhold the pressure exerted from behind, maintaining a crisp, continuous façade line demarking the centre's edge. Comparisons with other forum spaces reveal similar approaches. In Venice, the snaking form of the Procuratie Nuove and Vecchie contains three sides of St. Mark's Square in a continuous, folded long-form block. Shane's own analysis of Covent Garden in London reveals elongated blocks around the perimeter that contain the enclave with only limited opportunities for access, but these are noticeable for being positioned one block deep in the surrounding city fabric. In Spain, both Madrid (Plaza Major) and Cordoba (Plaza de la Corrodera) reposition this threshold right on the square's edge, as the voids are apparently 'cut' from the uniform morphology of the surrounding cities. Like in Barcelona, the threshold

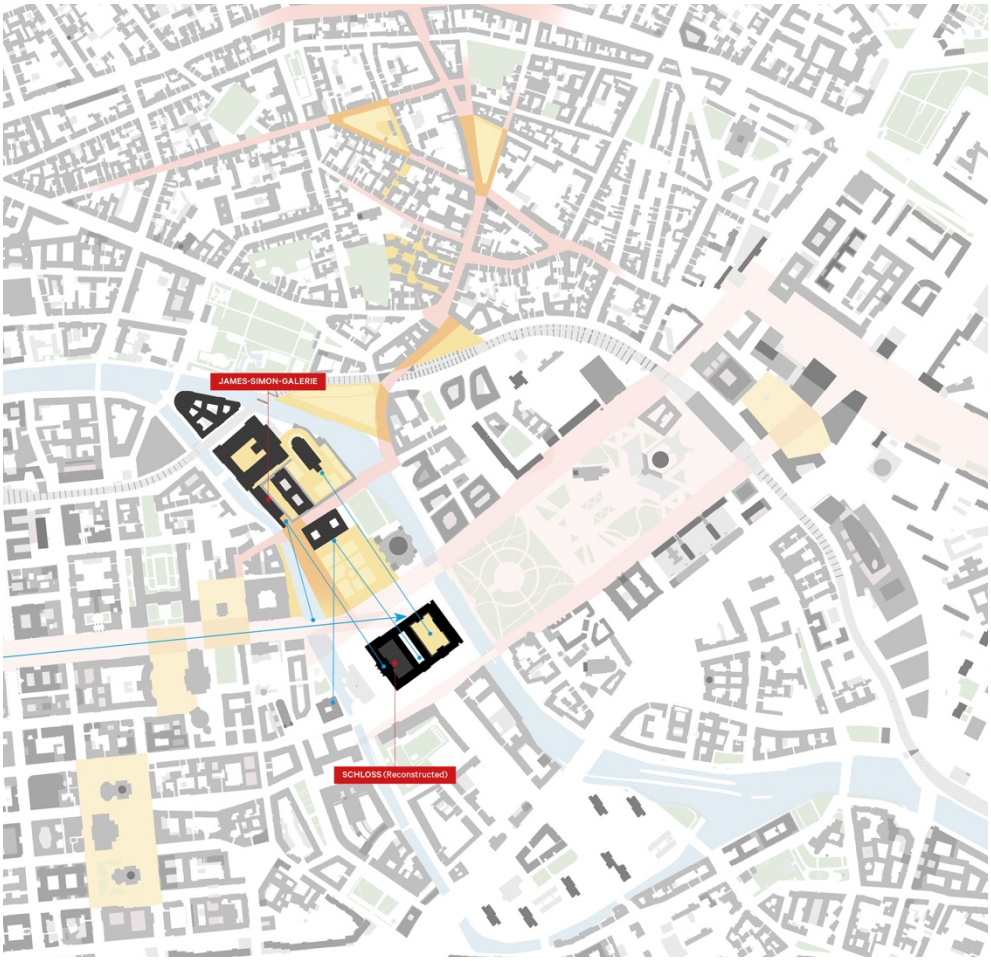


Figure 6.12: Typological transformation 1990-present day
Addition of new Primary Elements. Activation of third urban corridor between Mitte and Spreeinsel.
Source: Drawn by the author. Base image: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen

renders certain urban performances possible that otherwise would not be—the winding narrow streets and private courtyards cannot support a space for social exchange like the forum can. The denial of conduct in one arena or another is clearly comparable to East Berlin, whether one's will is free or otherwise is of no consequence. The processional rituals associated with the GDR communist state are an overlay to an architectural configuration that supports multiple possible performances.

6.2.3 1990—Present

The final chapter records how a reunified Berlin's attempts to invest in a cultural landscape led to competing theoretical approaches split according to the very lines that this doctorate is delineated. On the one hand, renewed interest in history drove aspirations to recapture the collective consciousness of a united Berlin, by restoring the city form to a point prior to division or fighting. The other direction explored in Berlin's

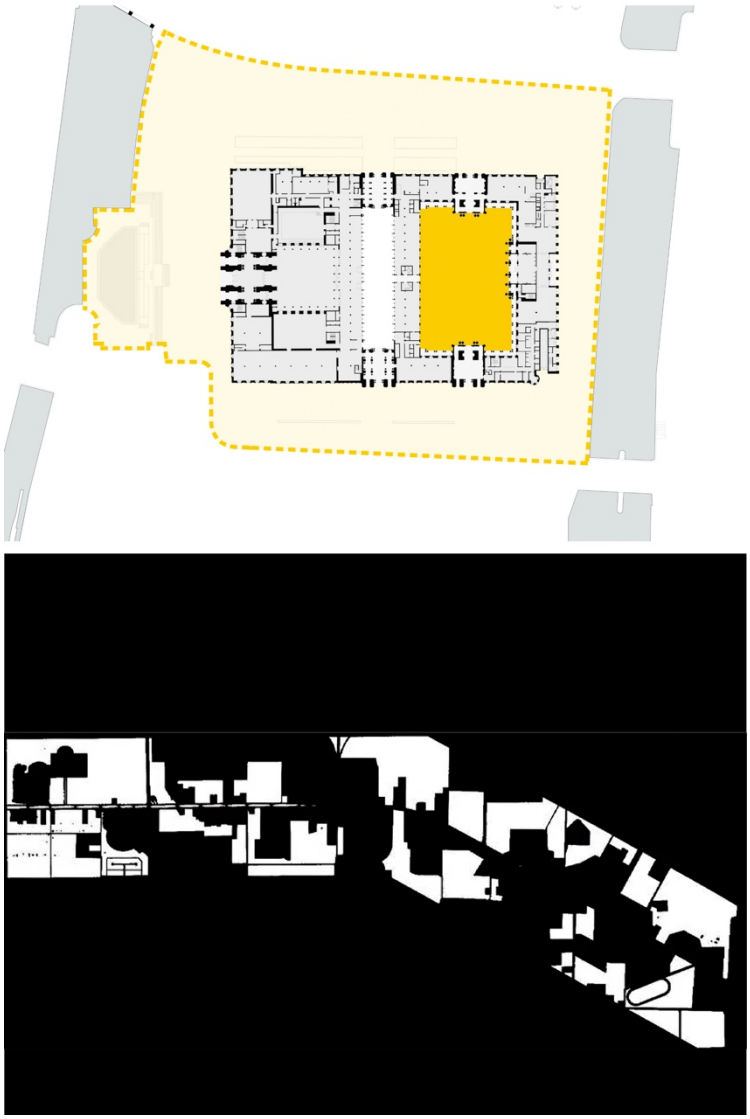


Figure 6.13: Comparison of the urban situations of the reconstructed Berlin Schloß to Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour's analysis of Las Vegas casinos along The Strip.
Source: Learning from Las Vegas

post-reunification has been attempts to create and energise spaces that allow for collective participation. Distributing highly appropriable spaces around the Museum Island estate mirrored the character of spaces in the wider city, to activate a new urban corridor onto the Spreeinsel.

New Berlin Architecture

New Berlin Architecture, in seeking to re-represent the historical image of the city (the movement's pinnacle (so far) being the Schloß's reinstatement), reduced the city's dynamics to a simple correspondence between preserved scenes as Study Area. Revived artifacts are considered (Rossian) monuments, where the hope is that their 'destiny' and

individuality can supersede economics to become 'fixes' in the city, or temporal and spatial anchorages around which the historic city can be simulated once more.

The Schloß's clearest typological appraisal lies with the analysis of casinos and petrol stations undertaken by Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour in '*Learning From Las Vegas*'. The authors derive a taxonomy of architecture based on its semiotic elements crossed against their distance from the building front. Signage affronts the street; the building is separated from the road by parking (paid valet-services prominent); large porte cochère signifies the building entrance; the side of the building is important as this is the predominant approach view traveling along the street, but the back is unadorned and styleless. Significantly, by selecting Las Vegas as the subject of their study, the trio were acutely aware it foregrounded the (lack of) symbology of the original city. The conditions of its existence are divorced from its physical context, and so it requires an artificial construct to represent. The opportunity (the authors might claim the *necessity*) to simulate an-other context, which naturally is determined by the availability of the sign.

In Berlin, the clear difference lies in the distortions that the 'historic scene' makes to the front, back and sides of the Schloß (see fig. 6.13). Instead of a primary orientation determined solely by the Lustgarten, views through the building are important, to see Museumsinsel on the other side. Equally, given it is considered a destination space itself, the Schlüterhof courtyard is treated as if it were a front. But the building's aspect addressing the east is considered less valuable (ostensibly because it addresses the GDR Altstadt forum), and the latitudinal interior elevations corelate with no historical view out.

A summarising observation of this comparison is its resemblance to the sectional analysis deployed by Philippou, speaking of the predominant entry sequence of cultural buildings. Venturi et al write *"it is hard to think of each flamboyant casino as anything but unique, and this is as it should be, because good advertising technique required the differentiation of the product."*[9] The two sequences appear remarkably similar, with intentions centring around the projection of an icon along dominant scenes into the depths of city vistas. The authors also establish that "*the most unique, most monumental parts of the Strip, signs and casino façades, are also the most changeable.*"[10] But herein, Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour confuse transformation and re-use. The sign itself—its physical presence—does not

9 Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 34.
10 Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, 34.

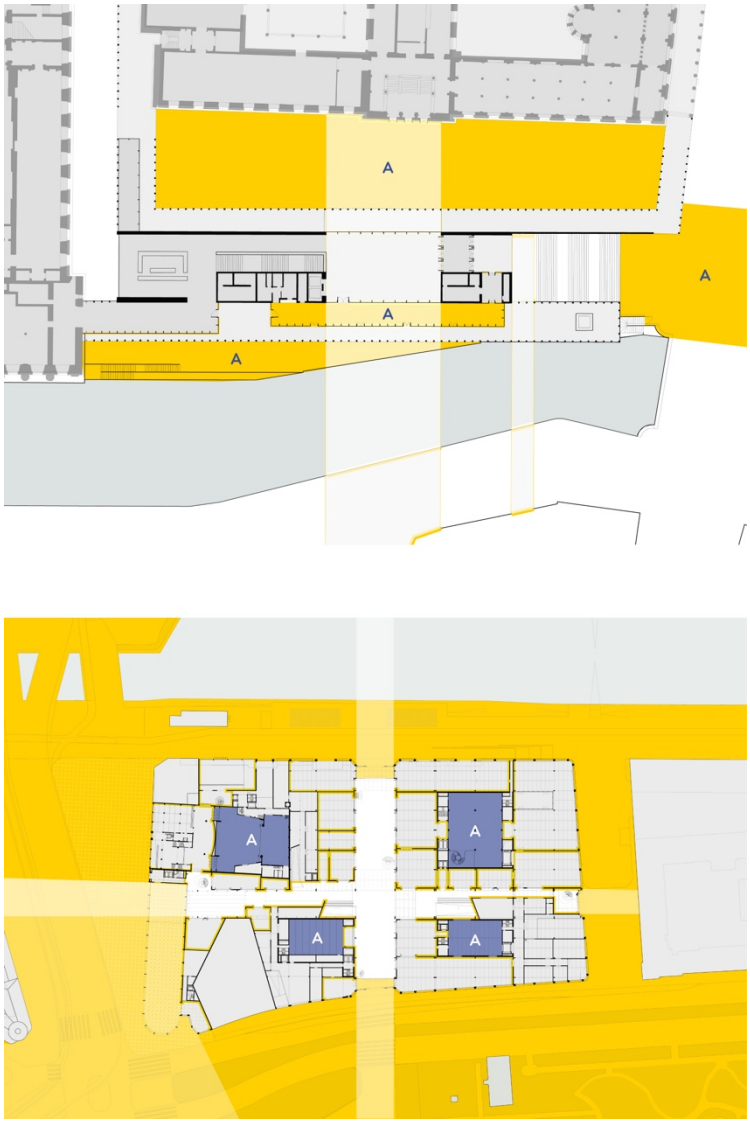


Figure 6.14: Comparison of the urban situations of the James-Simon-Galerie and KANAL, Brussels.
Source: Drawn by the author

change. It merely is a medium that can *react* to a specific input. The sign may well change, but the material facts endure.

Throughout, this thesis has undertaken to show the contours of this prevailing representational approach has little agency to influence processes of transformation in the city. Placemaking supports architectural practice's accepted underwriting concepts as Allen outlines them above, but it is incapable of challenging what they are. Contextualism's inherent limitation is to *critique* what is already known in the world, offering commentary on change after the fact as a "*built discourse*". Notwithstanding, any supposition that these will remain enduring values, or the amount of craft, labour or

capital invested in architectural construction will offer guarantees for its persistence, are fallacy.

Eventually, as the public perception of value in this strategy wanes (possibly over many generations), the approach will be questioned and exposed as pathological to future urban development. In the intervening period it will form a physical barrier to other prospective catalysation, until such a time as it is materially altered or removed. The same process has proved destructive to the former GDR fabric which, as it is substantively reliant on a similar scenographic-compositional framework, is now undergoing a process of fragmentation into splintered scenes. As it loses its overall coherence, its underwriting concept is destroyed, and the perceived urban value diminishes further.

Museumsinsel's Transformation

The opposing pathway to the Schloß understands intrinsic strategic potentials underwrite the city condition, which account for an intrinsic architectural dynamism, and are irreducible to historical development. Museumsinsel's transformations demonstrate how innovation, predicated upon urban analysis can deliver structural catalysation. The morphological disposition of the cluster is understood as holding a strategic potential in amongst the neighbouring city fabric. Its isolated solitaire figures (Altes included) are consolidated as a stable texture that shares spatial coherency with parts of the Mitte district. The James-Simon-Galerie reconfigures the Altes Museum's entry sequence, so that newly formed 'purposefully purposeless' interstitial spaces are positioned adjacent to the urban corridor connecting into the district of Mitte. Architecture becomes a scaffold for everyday life (and culture) to play out unscripted.

The new interstices operate in-between the vertebrae of the Museums of the Museumsinsel estate. The pocketed spaces are deemed successful, because one stratum of the public crosses with another using the site for a different purpose. Similarly, in the early nineteenth century, Schinkel's great ploy was to blend the individuated bands of stakeholders of the city, by using the programmatic weight of the museum to invite them across the Schloßbrücke. In both cases, the foreground performance is seen as integral to the background.

Figure 6.14 illustrates how the building gives definition and separation to many of the purposeless spaces found on Museum Island. The differentiation that is established programmatically and spatially by the building's presence means that hierarchies of servicing-to-served, and public-to-private space fashion dialectics in the urban fabric. Museumsinsel reads as a city within a city.

Whereas the James-Simon-Galerie crafts un-programmed space externally, the same strategy is rearticulated internally at KANAL in central Brussels. The former Citroën car showroom and works is currently undergoing a transformation into a new cultural outpost of the Centre Pompidou, designed by a joint venture of Sergison Bates, NoaArchitekten and EM2N. Rather than the deep-plan shed exerting agency to arrange the neighbouring urban realm, it inverts the idea of programmed and unprogrammed space. Volumes are introduced into the vast horizontality of the plan, but rather than these designated as flexible spaces they become solid linchpins of productivity and learning. On the figure this can be seen by comparing the spaces labelled 'A' with one-another. Like the James-Simon-Galerie augments Museumsinsel's urban grain, these develop a legible texture to the building in comparison with the wider composition of the plan. In between these anchorages, the existing fabric provides an undifferentiated, 'purposeless' topography, enlivened by the crossing circulatory fluxes between the differentiated inserted volumes. Like Museum Island in Berlin, KANAL manufactures a miniature city within the city.

6.2.4 Contributions to Knowledge

The combination of type's agency to propel transformations in both the specific and the local contexts has underscored a sustained pattern of reasoning where, in opposition to the manifold disciplinary demands placed on conventional practice, architecture's relative disciplinary autonomy wields a specific, targeted instrumentality. Innovation gives interiorised discipline a mandate to respond: neither a predetermined and incontrovertible power (teleology); nor left stranded through acquiescence to outside pressures, with no agency (contextualism); but a means of precipitating change in the city arising from shifting urban concepts. Each era above has presented its own set of problems that typological innovation has been able to formulate a strategic response to, allowing architecture to catalyse, intensify, or diversify the city's operation. The instrumentation of this process forms the doctorate's principal contribution to knowledge.

Accordingly, this doctorate advocates for a strong interpretation of architectural autonomy as its principal offering to architectural theory. This is planted in key specific areas. Firstly, the research provides a critique on a wide range of typological literature, but most significantly has demonstrated a thorough revision to Aldo Rossi's construct of urban dynamics. Whilst it accepts his theory of permanence, it rejects the formations of the Locus and collective memory as short circuits of the autonomous project. Secondly (and consequentially), the investigation provides a contribution through founding a new

taxonomy of type, centred on the reticulated and relational understanding between architectural components explained in this conclusion above.

The investigation thus also provides different offers to architectural history. whereas a conventional historiography privileges context and the specific conditions of a city's formation, this investigation works differently by identifying the strategic potential of a single area. This explicitly works counter to the role of placemaking, by identifying the potential for architecture to induce change. On a general plane, it duly provides insight into how cities are formed, and the role of type in structuring urban spaces and the life of cities. In the specific case of Berlin, it has brought together and synthesised many different sources—some unpublished in English, and others not explicitly architectural—to explicate the city's growth and impact on its present-day condition.

The doctorate thus holds a relevance for future practice—both in the general and specific context of Berlin, championing that architects must relinquish any attitude that the discipline is primarily concerned with designing formally autonomous objects. Instead, subscribing to the belief that the city is more interesting, complex and valuable than any one piece of architecture or that any single constituent of the city can ever embody or supersede the whole, the research promotes a design apparatus to develop and enhance vital communities.

Pedagogically, these revised constructs encourage debate around what the nature of public space should be, and provokes new lines of enquiry about how best to revitalise city centres and create nodes of intensity in cities. It suggests new ways of investigating the city so that a targeted instrumentality can alter its spaces. In particular, the use of typological diagramming across scales, expressly with a focus on relations between components demonstrates a clear mode of study. The concerted interrogation of a single area over time holds similar weight for learning—it has been insightful to focus precisely on the key typological agents that have catalysed transformations a single Study Area over a sustained duration: their propulsions and their stultifications.

Indeed, these points extend beyond pedagogy into practice, as a general outlook and 'project' for prospective research. Current prevailing conceptions of type often support the importation of a formal agency consolidated within archetypal objects, in the expectation that effects will be replicated, rather than any attempt to engage in tuning relations to its exterior. This research therefore propounds a different approach that can deliver value moving forward. The appraisal of an urban area offers an enriched

understanding of the full strategic potential of architecture to provide enhancements benchmarked against previous results, and attuned to the requirements of the area.

This thesis has reasoned that typological innovation is the agent of urban morphological change. Understanding the reticulated interface between architecture and urbanism can lead to an architectural practice more attuned and focused on delivering strategic material responses challenges posed by urban discourse, such that addressing new urban demographic flows, or the climate crisis's sustainability challenge might implore. It cannot claim that architectural practice will operate differently, but it can offer a new way to understand the city and a methodology for intervening within it.

[—*Chapter End*—]

7 Appendices

7.1 Typological Maps of Berlin

7.1.1 Berlin pre-1800

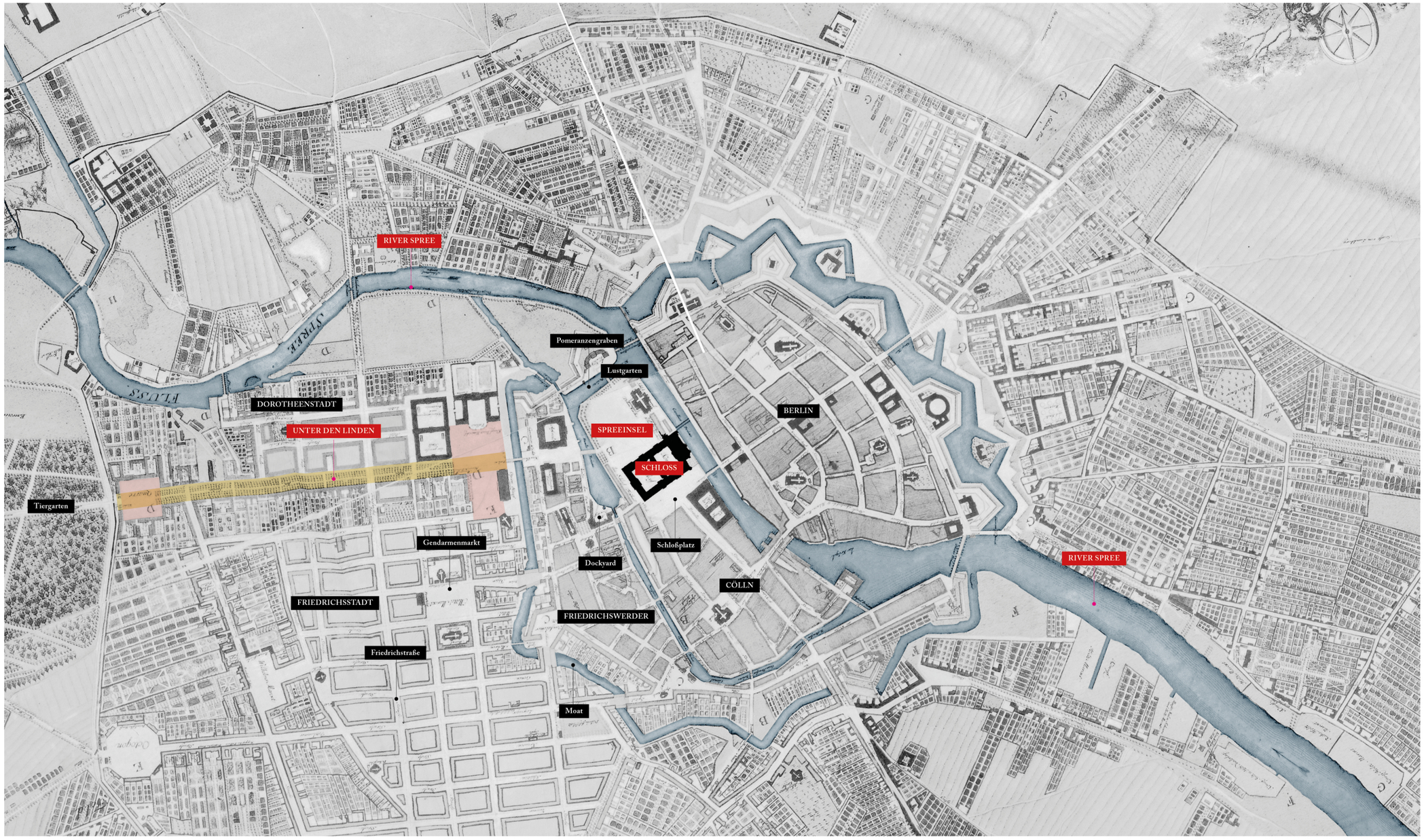
7.1.2 Berlin in the 1830s

7.1.3 Berlin in 1989

7.1.4 Berlin in the Present-day

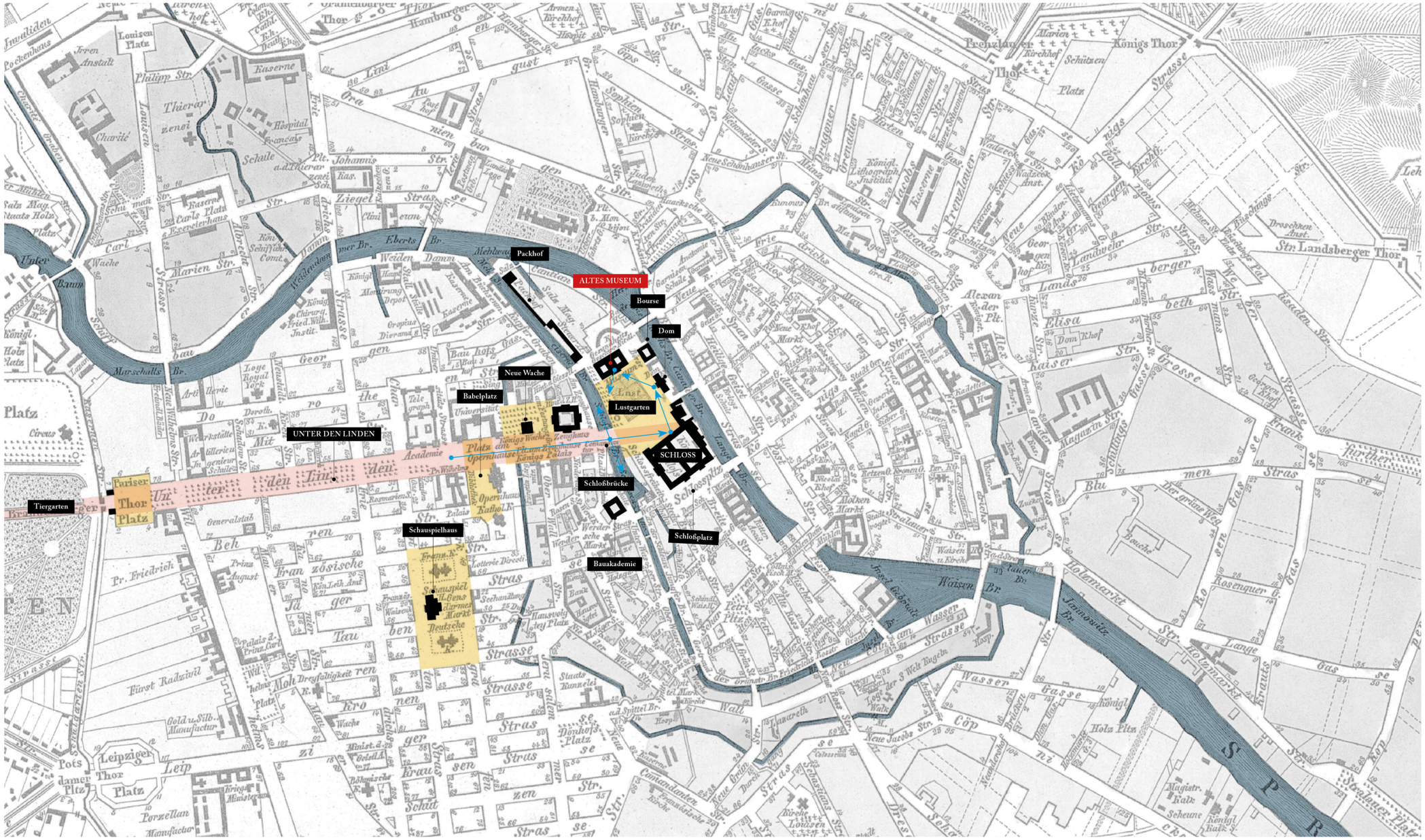
1.1.1 General Arrangement Plan of Spreeinsel.

7.1.1 Berlin pre 1800



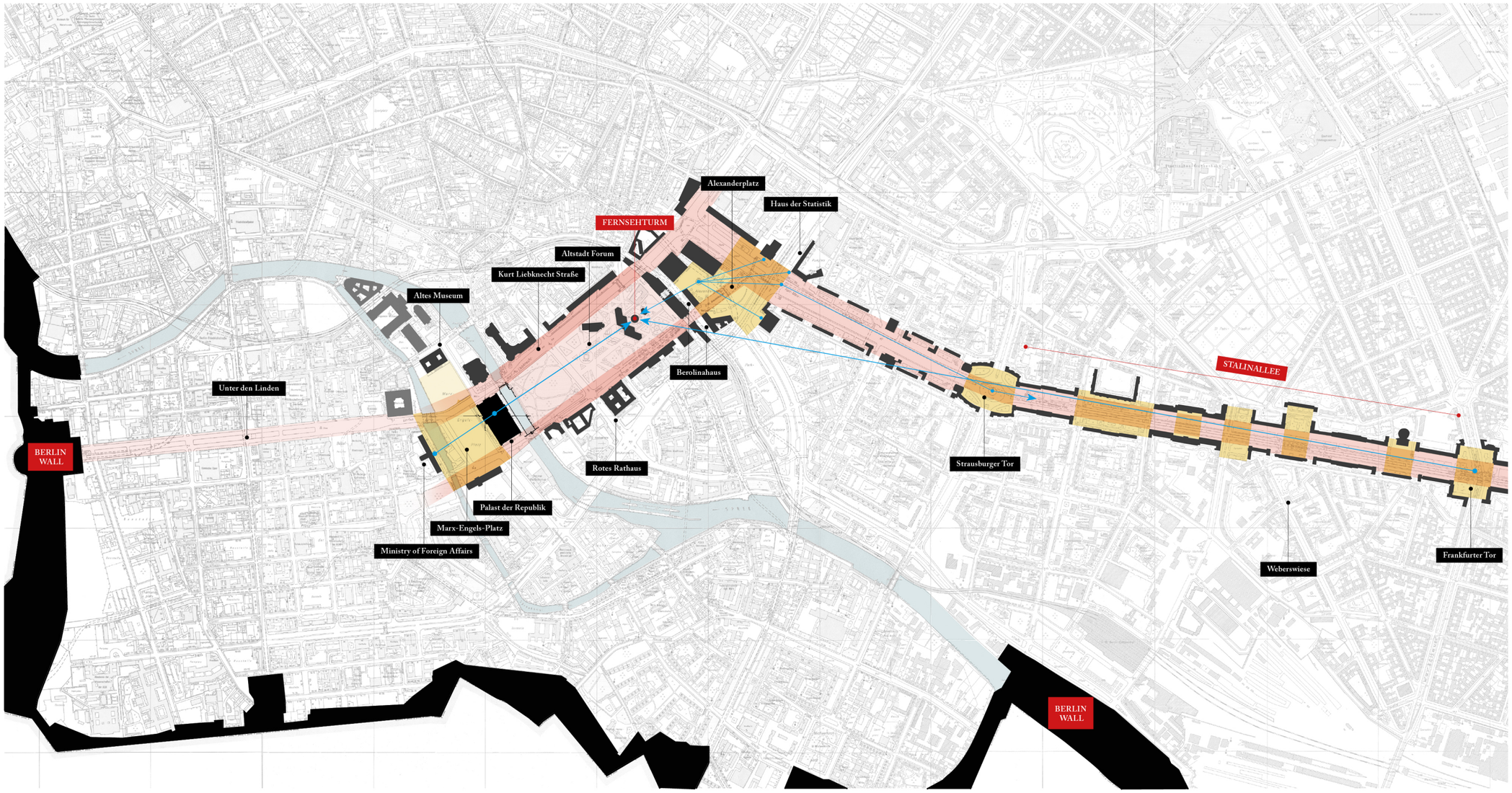
Berlin's pre-Napoleonic configuration was dominated four major planning components: the river; the island; the street (of Unter den Linden) and the building (the Schloß). These were all disunited. The former city ramparts and moats obstructed Unter den Linden from reaching the Island. The Island was the prerogative of royalty. The segmented northern end was mainly private; the Lustgarten was reserved largely for military parades to the king. The Schloß's positioning impeded meaningful connection being made between East and West axes onto the island. The East axis was never formalised as a grand avenue like the West.

7.1.2 Berlin in the 1830s



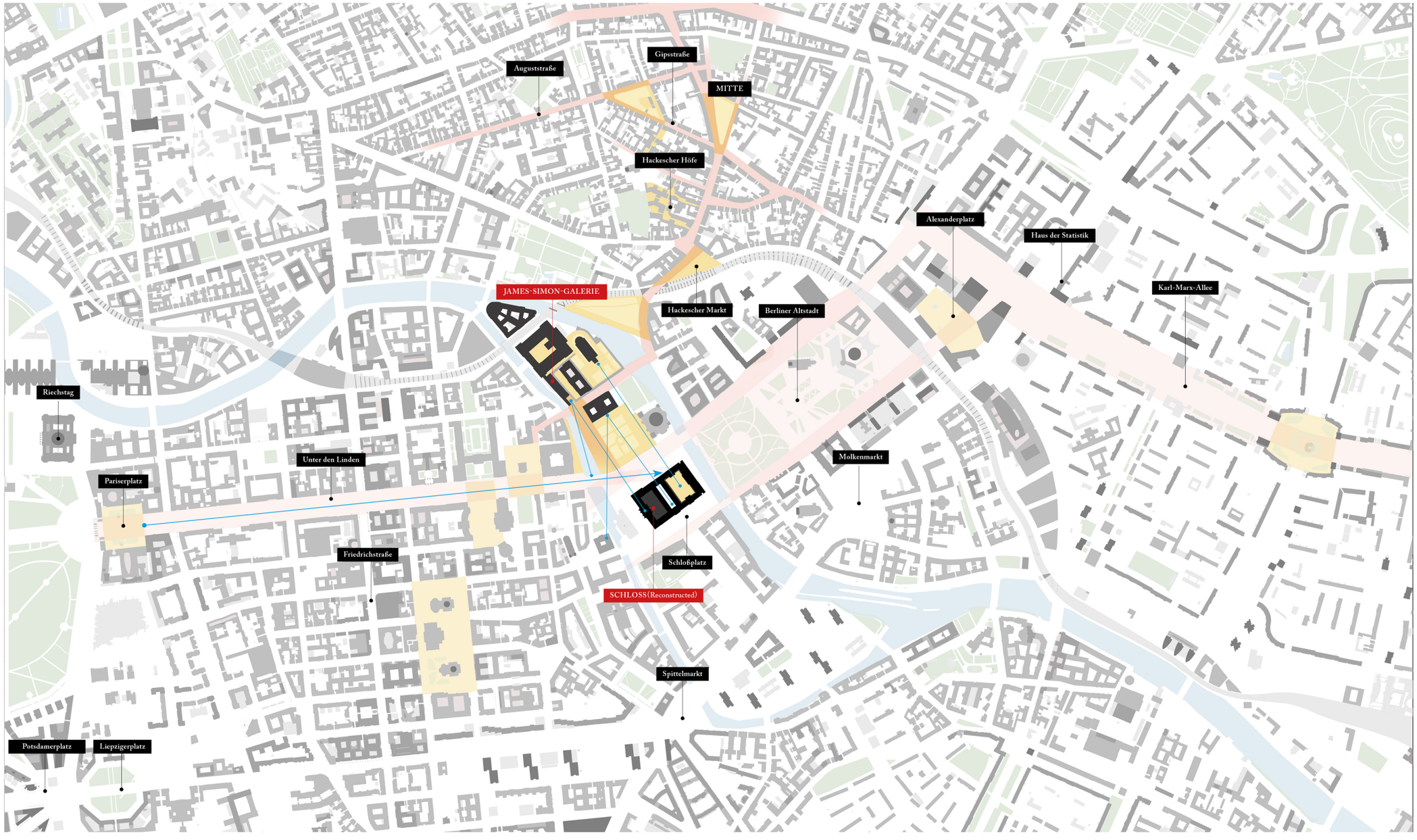
Schinkel extended the Axis of Unter den Linden by concatenating the Study Areas of Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichswerder, by culverting the former moat underneath the Neue Wache. He also rebuilt and widened the Schloßbrücke to form a continuous connection between the street and the island Meanwhile, he intervened in key areas of open space, first at the Neue Wache, then at the Schauspielhaus, to form a series of expanses which too unfolded onto the Spreeinsel. Schinkel positioned the Altes Museum at the most opportune location at the North of the Lustgarten to describe the nature of the liberated landscape from; form a culmination of the journey from city periphery to core; and allow the high faculties of state (Dom; Schloß; Zeughaus) to share an equal stake in its surface. His use of free-standing solitaires with taut perimeters meant key internalised spaces were devolved to the public realm. Finally, the later addition of Packhof warehouses charged the perimeter of the museum with mercantile activity and normalised the Arts programme to the pulse of the everyday city.

7.1.3 Berlin in 1989



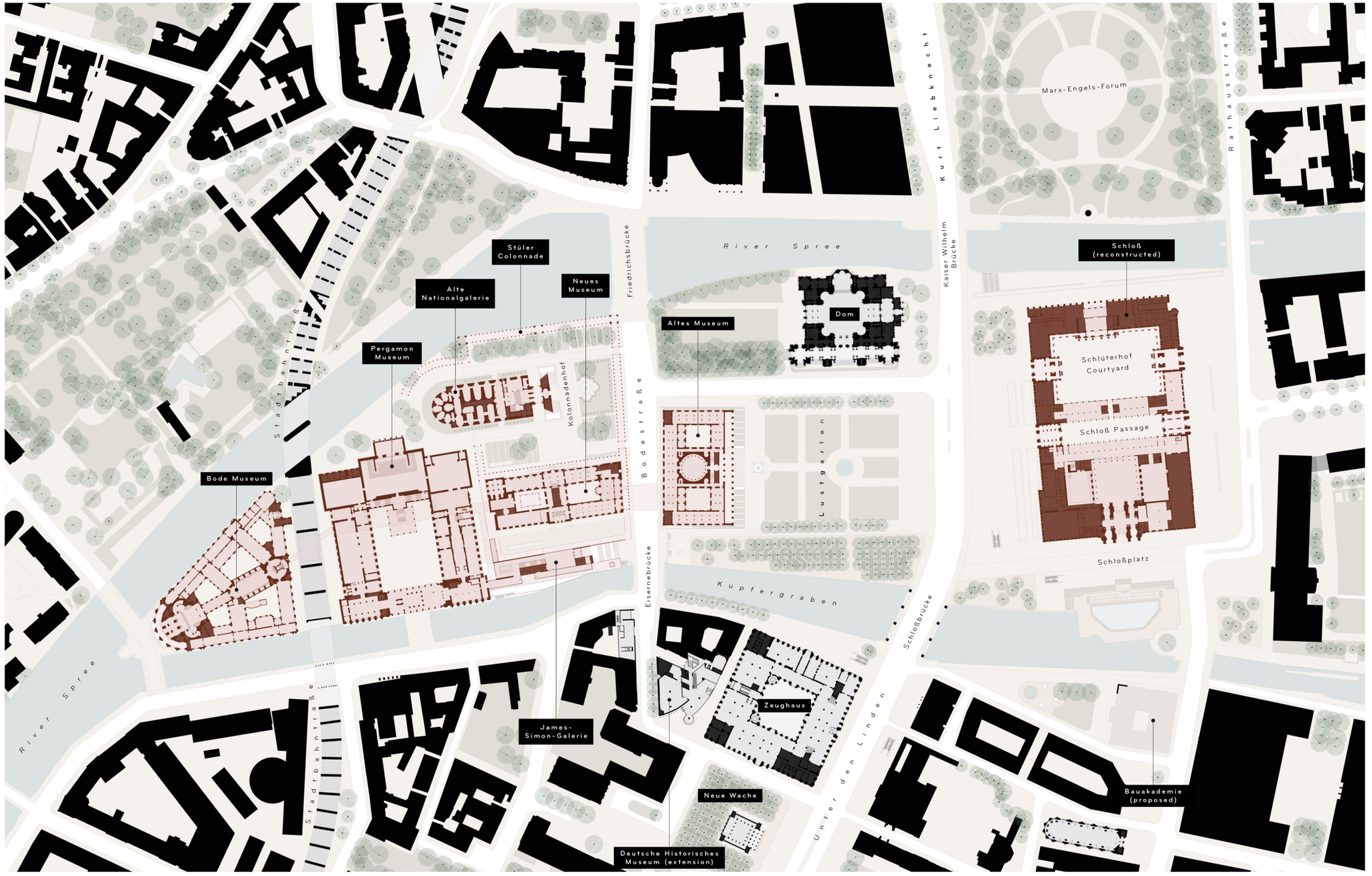
In the Post-war era, East-Berlin reflected the city plan developed under Schinkel to the East, where their city was concentrated. The Spreeinsel was in a strategically eccentric location to the centre of the East-Berlin territory, thus efforts were focused on delivering the 'Central Axis'. Stalinallee and its hinterlands provided the first component of this axis, where its pulsating form, varying between street and square-like proportions, and its long-form edge-blocks propelled movement along, rather than across its length. Later, the Fernsehturm would provide a visual coherence to all parts of the emerging Central Axis, through omnipresent sight-lines which aligned with the key magistals. Between the morphologically consistent performative containment of the elongated blocks, and the lattice of sightlines, the Central Axis was cohered and became co-extensive with the East-Berlin Hauptstadt. The Central Axis was devised for such a time that the two sides of the city would reunite, however the construction of the Berlin Wall severed all exchange beyond, and left the Spreeinsel isolated in the East-Berlin ecology. Notwithstanding, the GDR efforts leave behind a second activation of the Spreeinsel and the Central Axis as their greatest contribution to the (reunited) Berlin city form.

7.1.4 Berlin in the Present-Day



Since Reunification, Berlin has developed according to two different schematisations. The first is 'New Berlin Architecture', which has sought to reinstate the morphology of the pre-war city in various areas across Berlin (many of which are not shown in this frame, but Potsdamerplatz and Friedrichstraße are examples). At Alexanderplatz, the practice has led to proposed towers tightening the perimeter of the square, but also placing dense plinth-and-tower morphologies between the square and Karl-Marx-Allee, which sever the Central Axis from the city Hauptstadt. This is a weakness that prioritises the particularity of place above a strategic typological reasoning which can drive catalysation and growth in the city. The practice has now also led to the resurrection of the Schloß, which had been demolished under the GDR. Its reinstatement re-establishes key urban vistas, including looking along Unter den Linden towards the Spreeinsel, and the view from the Altes Museum landing. However, it is typologically mute to drive any urban catalysation. Meanwhile, Museumsinsel has been homogenised by the construction of the James-simon-Galerie and the Archaeological Promenade, which consolidate a uniform morphological texture across the estate which links with patterns in Mitte and Schinkel's original sequence of open spaces in Friedrichstadt. The Galerie's activation of the Museum estate charges the axis and provides purposefully

7.1.5 General Arrangement Plan of Spreeinsel



Please note: Public buildings are drawn with public - private gradient shown in their plan. Private space is darkest

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