

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt – José Luis Sert – Ernesto Nathan Rogers:
CIAM publication *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. London 1952, Cover
Obal publikácie CIAM *Srdce mesta: k humanizácii mestského života*,
(*The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*), Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, Ernesto Nathan Rogers, London 1952

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CONTINUATION OF A PLANNING TRADITION: The Social Agenda of the 'Functional City'

POKRAČOVANIE PLÁNOVACEJ TRADÍCIE: Spoločenská agenda „funkcionalistického mesta“

Hmotné prostredie, v ktorom dnes žijeme rozhodujúcim spôsobom ovplyvnili hlavné zásady modernizmu presadzujúce funkcionalistické mesto. Mesto 20. storočia však nikdy nebolo len svedectvom čisto racionálnych rozhodnutí. Priestory, ktoré v tomto storočí vznikli, boli vždy vedome plánované ako miesta pred ľudské spoločenstvo. Kongresy modernej architektúry (CIAM) interpretovali mestá ďaleko nad rámec funkčných aspektov. Ešte pred druhou svetovou vojnou malo mesto v pojatí CIAM ľudskú tvár. Nekonvenčná pracovná skupina zahŕňajúca architektov, urbanistov, umelcov, historikov a sociológov, vyzdvihla verejný priestor ako „srdce mesta“ a označila ho za jednu zo základných koncepcií v oblasti plánovania. Rôzne analýzy a projekty CIAM, orientované na „humanizáciu mesta“ demonštrujú unikátnym spôsobom ideologický obrat, ktorý nastal v modernom hnutí. Predstava mesta, ako ju formuloval CIAM sa prejavila v jeho najzásadnejšom príspevku k urbanistickej debate povojnového obdobia, v Mestskej sústave (Urban constellation). V rámci nej prostredníctvom umiestnenia do vzájomných vzťahov (Gegenseitige Inbeziehungsetzen) reinterpretovali štyri základné funkcie funkcionalistického mesta, bývanie, prácu, rekreáciu a dopravu ako sieť miest pre spoločenstvo. Mestský priestor pritom nebol pojatý ako statický systém. Podľa CIAM je dôsledkom jeho vývoja dynamika, ktorá generuje neformálnosť, rast a zmenu, a ktorá súvisí so vzájomným vzťahom konštantných a variabilných prvkov. Táto koncepcia mala mať obrovský vplyv na urbanistické teórie päťdesiatych a šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, ako bolo Klastrové mesto (Cluster city) Alison a Petra Smithsonovcov alebo mesto ako ľudský artefakt a kontinuálny stavebný projekt ako ho formuloval Aldo Rossi.

V roku 1952, takmer dve dekády po slávnom 4. kongrese CIAM venovanom funkcionalistickému mestu, vyšla pod hlavičkou CIAM knihu s názvom *Srdce mesta: k humanizácii mestského života* (The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life). Projektanti, ale aj zainteresovaná verejnosť teraz mali v rukách pôsobivú publikáciu, ktorej sugestívny vizuálny jazyk a didaktické texty boli venované navrhovaniu

mestského centra a mestských verejných priestorov a živo ilustrovali novú stratégiu analyzovania a plánovania mesta, orientovanú na jeho spoločenské a kultúrne funkcie. Skutočnosť, že sa špička predvojnového modernizmu venovala centru mesta na začiatku päťdesiatych rokov, nevyvolávala donedávna veľa otázok. Koniec koncov, ich pohľad na mesto sa bezproblémovo zapojil do rozsiahleho povojnového procesu spoločenskej obnovy. V tomto procese obe otázky zahŕňali prehodnotenie základných spojení ako „ľudská bytosť a priestor“ alebo „ľudská bytosť a technológia“, pričom okruhy problémov a ich riešení boli podobné. Navyše ostrá kritika, ktorú v tom čase mladší projektanti vyjadrili smerom k raným tézám CIAM, predovšetkým kritika funkcionalistického mesta, dobre zapadá do predstavy historiografie kongresov modernej architektúry, ktorá povojnové roky spája so zmenou paradigmy. V skutočnosti však k nijakej zmene paradigmy nedošlo. Konceptuálna fáza CIAM sa zavŕšila na konci vojny. Integrovaná koncepcia mesta, ktorú organizácia predstavila na začiatku päťdesiatych rokov, nebola produktom povojnového obdobia, ale skôr vychádzala z teórií, ktoré vznikli v tridsiatych rokoch. Výskumy CIAM často ignorujú skutočnosť, že táto organizácia sa nikdy neusilovala presadiť konsenzus o modele mesta. Delegáti kongresov považovali teoretické limity funkcionalistického mesta skôr za metodologickú pomôcku pri analýze mesta než za grafický podklad mesta.

Až v druhej polovici tridsiatych rokov sa záujem väčšiny predstaviteľov CIAM obrátil od spoločenských otázok individuálnych budov a sídlisk k spoločenským otázkam mesta ako celku. V organizácii sa vyvinul názor, ktorý zreteľne protirečil čisto racionálnemu chápaniu mesta. Na konci druhej svetovej vojny členovia CIAM vytvorili nové sféry verejných mestských priestorov, ktoré slúžili na podporu spoločenských väzieb, a teda aj na vytvorenie „občianskej krajiny“. Táto iniciatíva spôsobila reformu mestskej štruktúry mesta vo všetkých mierkach. Členovia CIAM diskutovali o takom plánovaní mesta, ktoré by umožňovalo vzájomné prenikanie, rozširovanie a spontánnu premenu mestských funkcií. Cieľom

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nebolo rozdelenie obytných a komerčných štvrtí, spoločenských a kultúrnych centier, športovísk a parkov do izolovaných zón, ale kombinovať tieto odlišné formy využitia pozemkov v rámci jedného kontinuálneho mestského priestoru, a ešte ich aj dostať do kontextu z ich okolím. Jadrom debát CIAM sa stala požiadavka na vytvorenie integrovaného modelu mesta, ktoré by reagovalo na sociálne problémy rýchlo sa meniacej spoločnosti.

V snahe reagovať na spoločenské potreby, členovia CIAM pozorne skúmali myšlienky a koncepcie americkej a európskej plánovacej tradície a inšpirovali sa historickými modelmi. Diskusie vyústili do základných limitov a usmernení, ktoré stanovili najefektívnejšie pravidlá plánovania mesta od začiatku 20. storočia. Hlavné idey plánovania mesta, ako bolo záhradné mesto, susedstvo, komplexné plánovanie a regionálne plánovanie, ktoré charakterizovali vývoj nezávislej disciplíny urbanistického plánovania v Európe a Severnej Amerike, možno identifikovať ako hlavné témy debát CIAM o meste. Ak CIAM nechápeme ako homogénne intelektuálne hnutie, ale skôr ako globálnu sieť, a ak sa okrem kongresov sústreďujeme aj na intenzívnu neformálnu spoluprácu jednotlivých protagonistov, môžeme objaviť viaceré predtým neznáme spojenia s pioniermi plánovania v Európe a v zámorí, ako boli Patrick Geddes, Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, Clarence Samuel Stein a Lewis Mumford, s ktorými mali jednotliví členovia CIAM blízke kontakty.

The Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) from 1928 to 1959 was an unconventional working group and a complex laboratory of progressive ideas for the design of the city ¹¹. Over three decades, CIAM united architects, town planners, artists, historians, sociologists and journalists ¹². Its writings on the 'Functional City' in particular were considered the core of modern urbanist theory. In 1952, almost two decades after the famous 4th congress on the 'Functional City' in 1933, CIAM published a book entitled *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* ¹³. As a result, not only professional planners, but also interested laypeople could hold in their hands an impressive volume whose suggestive visual language and didactic text contributions

Pre prácu na urbanistickom navrhovaní urobil CIAM viac než to, že zhrnul historické koncepcie. V diskusiách počas prípravy aj v priebehu kongresov, ako aj v publikáciách CIAM sa historické mesto pravidelne objavuje ako konkrétna referencia. Napríklad odkazy na kvalitu urbanistického návrhu námestia svätého Marka v Benátkach môžeme nájsť v teoretických príspevkoch členov CIAM už od začiatku štyridsiatych rokov. Benátky sa považovali za živé prostredie, ktoré sa vyvíja v čase a postupne nadobúda svoje špecifické charakteristiky. Práve explicitne spoločenská agenda otázok nastolených CIAM spôsobila, že sú mimoriadne relevantné vo vzťahu k súčasnej diskusii o plánovaní a pamiatkovej ochrane, ktorá sa dotýka kvality mestského života, miešania a hustoty mestských funkcií. Aj keď je debata CIAM o verejnom priestore, rozpoznanie jeho spoločenskej a kultúrnej dimenzie, stále nedostatočne známa, reprezentuje rovnaký pohľad aký dnes propagujú progresívni urbanisti.

Výzva na recentralizáciu mestských častí znovu priťahuje pozornosť nielen medzi historikmi urbanizmu ale aj medzi reprezentantmi ostatných disciplín, ako je urbanizmus, architektúra, sociológia a predovšetkým pamiatková ochrana. Pre pochopenie a ocenenie dedičstva moderného hnutia, pre jeho obnovu, ochranu, údržbu a ďalší vývoj je nevyhnutné skúmať jeho teoretický základ ukotvený v histórii konca 19. storočia a prvej polovice 20. storočia.

addressed the design of the city centre and of urban public spaces and illustrated vividly the new strategy for analyzing and planning a city: a focus on its social and cultural functions. This publication advocated a city space with new qualities that the urbanite would experience spontaneously, creatively, and comprehensively; a city space that would reflect the social composition and intellectual heft of the people who used it. In the collage on the book's cover, the design for a modern city centre, the 'heart' metaphor, and the depiction of a human heart condense into a memorable cipher for the viewer. By defining a stable 'urban infrastructure' and designing 'fixed points' in the body of the city, the contributors intended to produce an environment that fostered communal living. This

“humanized environment”, as CIAM called it, was emerging everywhere where the city was establishing the necessary preconditions.

The fact that the spearhead of prewar modernism turned the centre of the city into a topic for discussion in the early 1950s has not raised many questions previously; after all, its view of the city was seamlessly integrated into the comprehensive process of renewing society after the war. In that both issues involved reconsidering fundamental connections such as “the human being and space” or “the human being and technology”, the sets of problems and answers were similar. Moreover, the sharp criticism expressed by younger planners at the same time of the organization’s early premises – primarily the “Functional City” – fit in well with the assertion in the historiography of CIAM that there was a paradigm shift after the war. In fact, however, no such shift occurred. The conceptual phase of CIAM came to an end with the end of the war. The integrative concept of the city presented by the organization in the early 1950s was not a product of the postwar period but was rather based on a theory that extended back to the 1930s ^{/4/}. In the research on CIAM, it is often ignored that the organization never attempted to establish any consensus regarding its model of a city. The congress delegates regarded the theoretical derivations of the “Functional City” as a methodological aid to organize the analysis of the city rather than as a blueprint for the actual city.

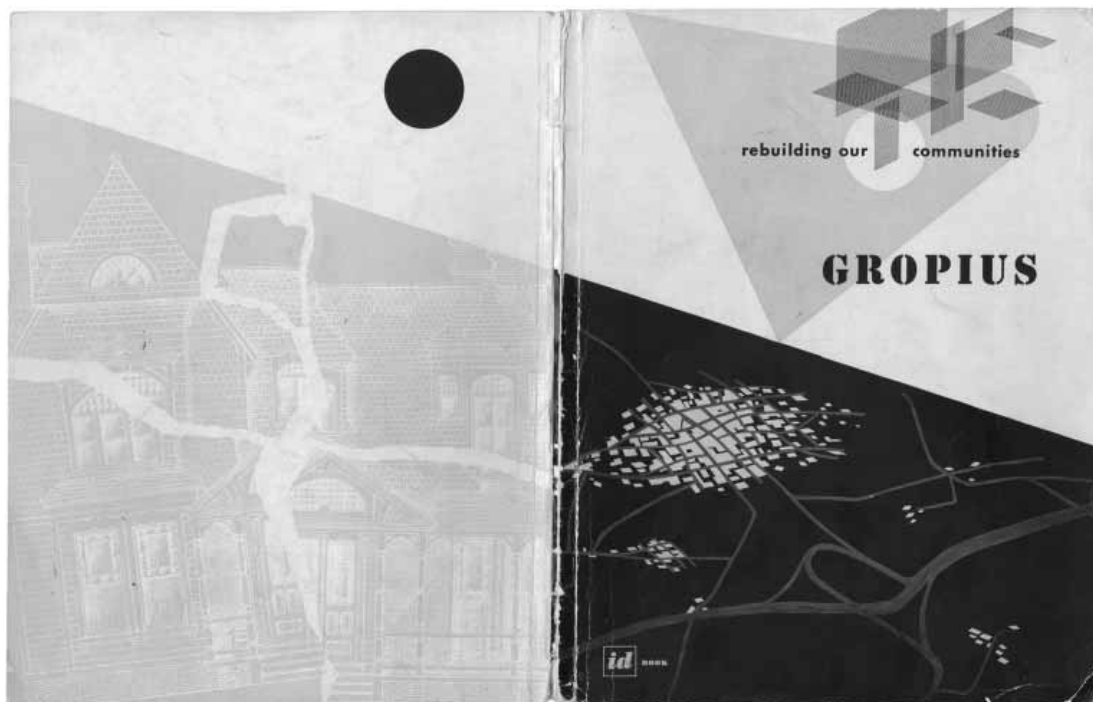
The questions raised by CIAM are of great relevance to the context of current discussions in planning and building conservation theory concerning the quality of urban life and the mix and density of urban functions. While the CIAM debate on public space – the recognition of its social and cultural dimension – is insufficiently studied, it shows precisely the view of the subject that today’s progressive urban planners are propagating. The challenge to re-centralize urban areas acquires new importance not only among historians of urban design but also among representatives of other disciplines, such as urban planning, architecture, sociology, and, above all, building conservation. Furthermore, to evaluate the heritage of the Modernist Movement, to approach its restoration, conservation, maintenance and further development, it is essential to study

its theoretical basis embedded within a history of ideas of the late ninetieth and the first half of the twentieth century.

CITY PLANNING AS COMMUNITY PLANNING

It was not before the second half of the 1930s that the majority of CIAM representatives shifted the focus of their interest in social aspects from single buildings and housing estates to the city as a whole. A view developed within the organization that clearly opposed the purely rational understanding of the city. In the run-up to the Second World War, CIAM members created new public urban realms that served as a social binding agent and hence as a “civic landscape” ^{/5/}. This initiative gave way to a reform of the structure of the city at all scale-levels. CIAM’s representatives discussed urban planning solutions that enabled urban functions to penetrate each other, to be expanded, and to be spontaneously rebuilt. The goal was not to separate residential areas, business areas, community and cultural centers, sports grounds, and parks in isolated zones, but to combine these forms of land use within one continuous city space and, furthermore, to relate them to the context of its surroundings. The idea that an integrated city model had to be created that addressed social issues and weighed them against the backdrop of the rapidly changing society formed the core of CIAM’s debates. Thus, the discussion of concepts for the city centre, the “heart of the city”, became the primary task of urban planning. The parallels to the methodological approaches to the “Functional City” remain evident, however. The “Functional City” concealed the idea that proposals for improving living conditions could be derived from a thorough analysis of the city and that an ideal space can be created for every need. Conversely, it was assumed that the design of public spaces could affect the behavior of residents of the city in a controlled way and could also trigger social interaction.

The contributions of the main presenters at CIAM 6 (1947) in Bridgwater, the first postwar congress, were pervaded by a shared underlying tenor: a community spirit can only come into being if spaces are created that enable community life ^{/6/}. For the postwar era, a form of urban planning was needed in which the rights of the



Walter Gropius: Rebuilding
our Communities,
1945, Cover

Walter Gropius, Prestavba
našich komunit, 1945,
obálka knihy

Source Zdroj: Courtesy of the Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

community would incrementally replace the rights of the individual. All speakers emphasized that only a process that divided the city into neighborhoods could create the necessary framework for social interaction. Accordingly, the goal was in the future to allow for the development of public spaces, rather than primarily living spaces – a thesis that Walter Gropius (1883 – 1969) had already stated in his book *Rebuilding our Communities* (1945), from which he cited the following passage (among others) in his lecture: “The building of neighbourhood community centres is of even greater urgency than housing itself, for these centres represent a cultural breeding ground which enables the individual to attain his full stature within the community ⁷¹.” A short time later, Gropius affirmed to Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968), the long-time secretary general of the organization, that although it had been the involvement with dwelling that expanded the design horizons of many CIAM

representatives from the architectural object to the city more than a decade before, much too rarely had spaces for community life been created. “The human element did not exist in that period”, he stated with regard to CIAM’s work in the 1930s ⁸¹.

An attempt was made to adapt not only the focal points of the discussion, but also the terminology that had been employed in CIAM’s work until that time, to the re-defined spectrum of the task of planning. As an alternative to the “menschlicher Massstab” (human scale) of the prewar years, which had mainly been oriented to the minimal needs of the individual and the design of the residential apartment, the congress speakers offered a “humanized urban scale”. The president of CIAM, José Luis Sert (1901 – 1983), had already introduced this designation half a decade earlier in *Can our Cities Survive?* (1942) and derived from it an organization of housing units and community facilities that are grouped into neighborhoods. In

the contributions to CIAM 6, the concept of “humanized urban scale” was associated with a complex spatial constellation that was broken down according to the tiers “neighborhood unit – community – city – region”, which Giedion had already anticipated in his article “The Need for a New Monumentality” (1944): “From the single cell, to the neighborhood unit, to the city and the organization of the whole region, is one direct sequence^{/9/}.” The discussions also yielded an expanded concept of the city: the city of the future would be limited in its extent, centralized in its structure, and built from simple units that were not equivalent but organized according to a hierarchical system of public “Mitten” (cores). The “neighborhood unit”, the smallest unit of planning, is incorporated into the city in such a way as to enable the city to enter into a relationship with the surrounding region. The functional systematics of the early CIAM congresses thus receded behind a socio-spatial systematics that encompassed urban planning at all levels of scale. On this theoretical basis, Sert and Gropius re-formulated the scale question in their conclusion, looking forward to future CIAM work: “The Athens Charter gave a clear line on principles to be followed for the planning of towns but since then two important fields of physical planning have been opened up – the broader field of national and regional planning and the more localised field of neighbourhood planning^{/10/}.”

In the early 1950s, a holistic view of the city was firmly established within CIAM's debates. This stance went far beyond an analysis and planning-based optimization of individual urban functions. The ambition formulated in the late 1920s to synthetically comprehend all areas of urban activity as a whole on the basis of a scientifically founded concept of the city yielded to a profound interest in the mechanisms of a socio-spatial networking of human activities within the city and in the region surrounding it. Whereas in the “Erklärung von La Sarraz” (La Sarraz Declaration), the passage postulating “dass die Strukturveränderungen, die sich in der Gesellschaft vollziehen, sich auch im Bauen vollziehen” (that the structural changes that take place in society also take place in architecture)^{/11/} still had elicited diverging opinions at the organization's founding congress, the argument for an urbanism as the image of society unified

the participants of CIAM 8 (1951). This urbanism understood the city as the established site of social interaction whose residents no longer needed emancipation through the re-organization of spatial structures. Rather, by contrast, the forms of interpersonal exchange were considered as relevant to planning and social activity was modeled in a building program. With the expansion of its search for theoretical and practical foundations of housing to a comprehensive urbanism, CIAM transferred their thoughts about community from the single building to the city. Within this process, the city center – which in the analytical systematics of the “Funktionelle Stadt” (functional city) had not yet made an appearance – gained significance in multiple respects: as the center of social life it offered a space in which, in CIAM's conception, the city's users converge and pursue a multitude of activities, a site where an urban community assembles. Here, the city dweller was to perceive the city visually and experience urban space no longer as an individual, but rather as part of a social group. Accordingly, the city center was revealed as the most significant element of the urban structure and its treatment through planning was made into the primary task of urbanism. This perspective, which rehabilitated the city dweller as the actor of urban life, was the result of a liberation from CIAM's own doctrine.

THE HISTORICAL CITY AS REFERENCE

In order to serve social needs, CIAM members closely examined ideas and concepts of the American and European planning tradition and used historical models as references for their work. The discussions resulted in fundamental standpoints and mandates for the organization that encapsulated the most effective maxims of city planning since the start of the twentieth century. Central ideas of urban planning – such as the idea of the garden city, the idea of the neighborhood, the comprehensive planning, and regional planning – that characterized the evolution of an independent discipline of urban planning in Europe and North America can be recognized as central components of the CIAM debates on the city. Above all, Ebenezer Howard's “Garden City” would fundamentally influence the housing and urban-planning debate until the second half



Source Zdroj: Courtesy of the Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

Clarence S. Stein: master plan for Radburn, N. J. with neighborhood units

Clarence S. Stein, Územný plán Radburnu, N. J. so susediacimi blokmi

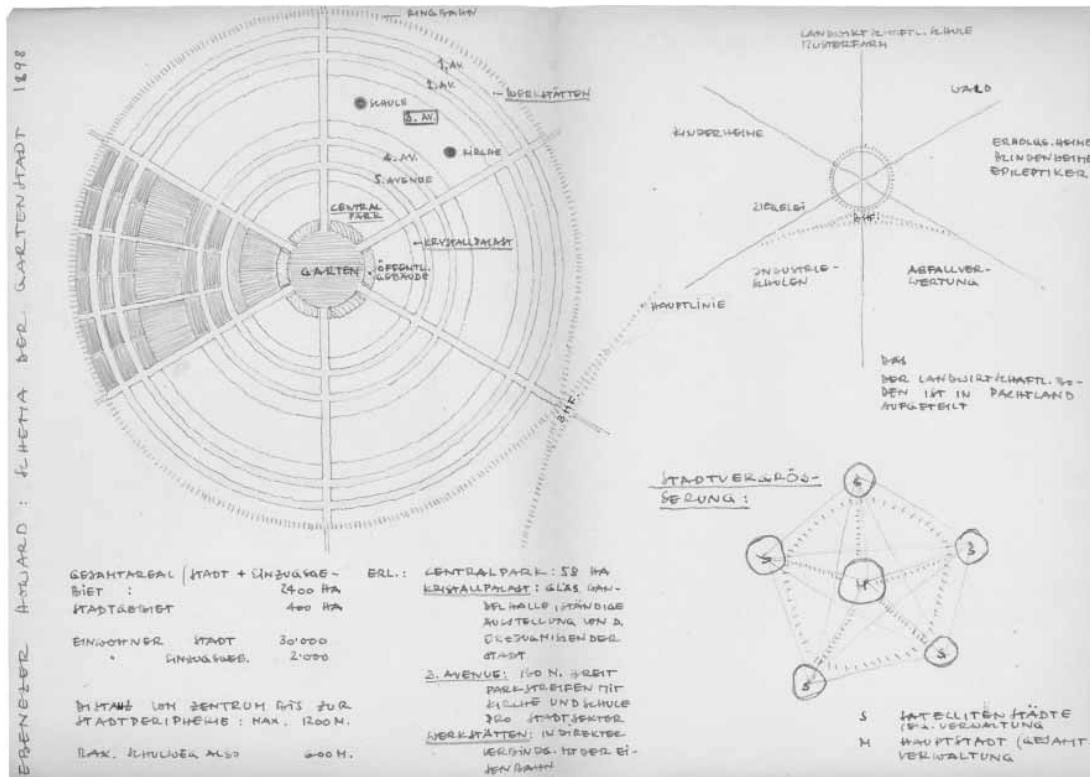
of the twentieth century. In 1898, in *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, Howard presented to a marveling audience of specialists the incremental decentralization of metropolises and their planned re-organization around cultural and social centers as a solution to the problem of rapid

urbanization. At its meetings, CIAM as an organization always avoided the subject of the Garden City and distanced itself as vehemently from its formal configurations as an approach to urban design grounded in the tradition of the Beaux-Arts education. However, the individual members were ideologically deeply affected by Howard's theses, and the view of the city and its residents that CIAM put forward clearly reflects the Garden City idea^{12/}. Both movements attributed central importance to an interaction between the built environment and society. CIAM was convinced that residents of the new city who were familiar with democratic tendencies and with endeavors in urbanism, housing reform, and art education as well as with an aesthetically ambitious environment would exert an influence on society as a whole. What's more, CIAM circles were fascinated by Howard's idea of a "planmäßig"^{13/} layout of the city (layout according to a plan) by which the streets and squares are arranged as sites of social exchange around a center and are linked to larger complexes with an intentionally unified design, and individual buildings are integrated into a superordinate whole.

If CIAM is understood not as a homogeneous intellectual movement but rather as a global network, and if one concentrates one's investigation – beyond work on the congresses – on the intense informal collaboration of individual protagonists, many previously little known connections to pioneers of the planning profession can be shown, such as Patrick Geddes, Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, Clarence Samuel Stein, and Lewis Mumford, with whom individual members of CIAM had close contacts^{14/}. Parallel to the interpretation of existing city models, the members of CIAM distanced themselves from the visual asceticism that the congresses had imposed during the first decade of their existence. In general, the publication for CIAM 8 *The Heart of the City* (1952) is marked by an associative visual idiom that expresses something scarcely present in the debates of the congresses. Here, the different identities of the city, including its historical one, are openly addressed. The drawings and photographs record, in the style of a collage, various impressions of urban life. Graphic structures overlap and intersect, change in scale, and seem to offer an overall picture in the viewer's eye only for a brief moment.

For its work on urban planning, CIAM did more than take up historical concepts. In its discussions in preparation for and during the congresses and in publications, the historical city is repeatedly presented as a concrete reference. The city was definitely regarded as a living environment that develops over time and gradually gains its specific characteristics. It was by no means coincidence that a drawing by Saul Steinberg of the Piazza San Marco in Venice frames the book for CIAM 8. References to the urban planning qualities of the Piazza San Marco could be found in the theoretical contributions of CIAM members since the early 1940s. For example, Ralph Tubbs mentioned the Piazza San Marco as a reference for his design "The Heart of the City" in the exhibition *Living in Cities* (1940) and commented on an aerial photograph of the Piazza with the words:

"Perfectly balanced but informal grouping of buildings and spaces – expression of the free spirit^{1/15}." In Edwin Maxwell Fry's book *Fine Building* (1944), the explanation of an illustration of the Piazza San Marco reads: "Piazza San Marco, Venice, for the grandeur and nobility of a connected architectural setting for a city centre^{1/16}." In 1951 the British CIAM member Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905 – 1983), who effectively developed into CIAM's Americas correspondent in the 1940s, chose the Piazza San Marco as the model for her design of a city centre, "The Heart of the Town", in the Town Planning Pavilion of the Festival of Britain (1951) and summed up its unique spatial experience in these effusive words: "Passing under a heavy arcade suddenly the bright piazza opens before one's eyes, an explosion of space and light; an oasis of space maintained against the pressure of



Sigfried Giedion: Colored Sketch of Ebenezer Howard's principles for the Garden City

Sigfried Giedion: farebný náčrt princípov záhradného mesta podľa Ebenezera Howarda



Attributes of The Core: The Human Scale – Attributes of the Core: Spontaneity, congress publication The Heart of the City, 1952

Atribúty jadra: Ľudská mierka – Atribúty jadra: spontánnosť. Publikácia kongresu Srdce mesta, 1952

Source Zdroj: © Ashgate Publishing Limited

surrounding life by a wall of uniform and hence inviolable facades ^{/17/}.” At CIAM 8 (1951) there was little discussion of the specific qualities of the Piazza San Marco for architecture and urban planning. In the meanwhile it had become the epitome of a place for urban community, so that José Luis Sert could exclaim enthusiastically yet noncommittally: “We all admire the Piazza San Marco. It is one of the most wonderful places in the world ^{/18/}.” The Piazza San Marco became the model for a well-proportioned urban square, a symbol of a stimulating collective urban life and of a place for the community.

CIAM’S LEGACY

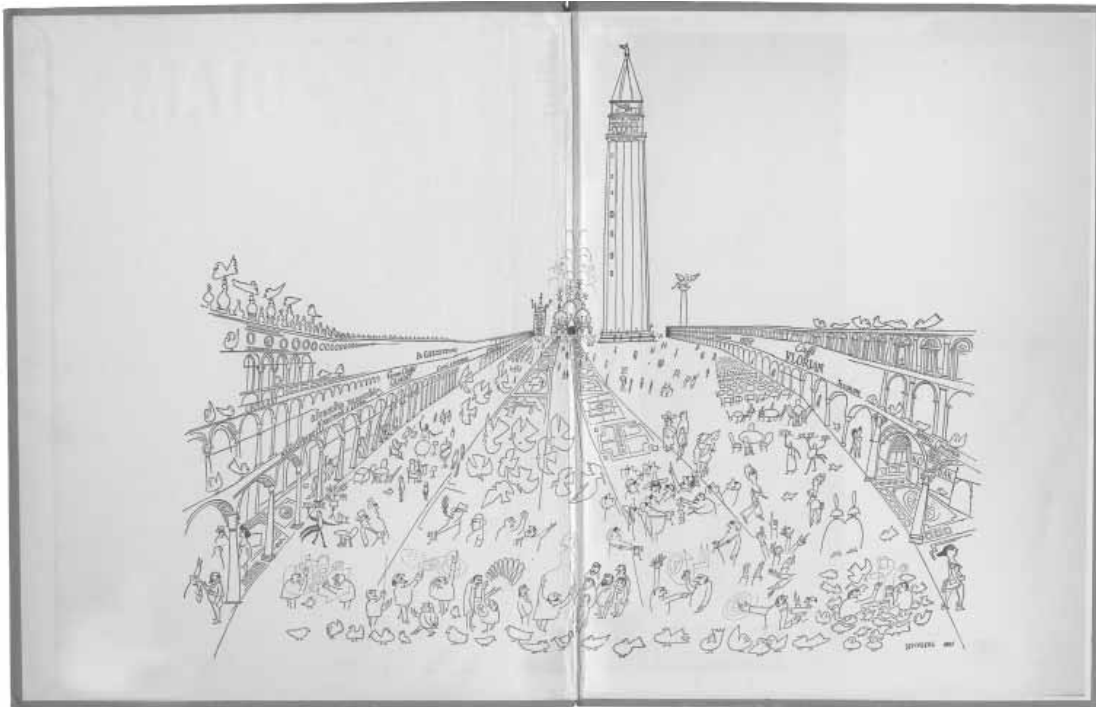
CIAM’s understanding of the city was manifested in its most substantial contribution to the urbanism debate of the postwar era, the “Urban Constellation.” With it, the “gegenseitige Inbeziehungsetzen” (placing into mutual relation) of the four basic functions dwelling, work, leisure,

and transit that was mandated for the “Functional City” was reinterpreted as a network of sites for the community ^{/19/}. At the same time, the urban space was not conceived as a static system. According to CIAM, a dynamic arises from its development that generates informality, growth, and change and that is linked to the interplay of constant and variable elements – a conception that would have a major influence on the urban-planning theories of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, the city that Alison and Peter Smithson describe in 1957 in their article “Cluster City: A New Shape for the Community” in *The Architectural Review*, like the “Urban Constellation,” has a polycentric structure. It is organized in “population pressure points” that promote “the change, the growth, the flow, the vitality of the community”. ^{/20/} However, the structure of the “Cluster City” comes into being through sites for the community at which predominantly commercial, rather than social and cultural, activity develops. In the mid-1960s, Aldo Rossi

expressed his idea of the city as a human artifact and a continual building project. Unlike for CIAM, for him, the question of the identity of the city stood in the foreground. He identified for the consideration of urbanism a differentiation between “elementi primari” (primary elements) and “area” (area of the city) ^{/21/}. Nevertheless, in his theory, too, the conceptual parallels to the system of “cores” in CIAM’s urbanism cannot be overlooked. In his treatise *L’architettura della città* (The Architecture of the City, 1966), Rossi states that the “primary elements,” the constitutive components of a city, are always associated with “le attività fisse” (fixed activities) with a public and collective character ^{/22/}. An environment that is conducive to community life is to be generated through the definition of a constant urban infrastructure and the design of “punti fissati” (fixed points) in the body of the city.

This “humanized environment” (in CIAM’s words) is represented in the “Urban Constellation”

as a flexible framework for the social connections of city dwellers, which according to CIAM accelerate the city’s urbanization process. Particular attention should be paid not to the life cycles of urban structures (as the Smithsons attempted in their “Hauptstadt Berlin” project in 1957) ^{/23/}, but rather to the implications for these structures of the individual life phases of city dwellers. In *The Heart of the City*, the congress publication from CIAM 8, it was stated in 1952, “The possibilities are different at each ‘scale-level’ of community, and the need is for a hierarchy of Cores that punctuate the urban constellation ^{/24/}...” The basis for an urbanism emerged that Shadrach Woods described in his book *The Man in the Street*, published posthumously in 1975, as the “science and art of building for social interrelationship ^{/25/}.” CIAM thereby not only curtailed the planner’s authority and substantially restricted his or her design mandate, but also quite generally leveled a critique at



Saul Steinberg: Piazza San Marco, Venice, 1951, congress publication *The Heart of the City*, 1952

Saul Steinberg: Piazza San Marco, Benátky, 1951, publikácia kongresu *Srdce mesta*, 1952

the determinism and totalitarianisms of comprehensive urbanistic planning. The tabula rasa that was still vehemently represented in CIAM's early years by some of its members and that was effected through an all-encompassing master plan was replaced by a strategy of targeted, specific individual interventions.

For decades, however, the subsequent debates in the theory of urbanism took a very one-sided view of CIAM, reducing it to the utopian thinking of the 1920s and the derided "radikale Entwurf" (radical design). In the 1960s, a multitude of voices were raised against this supposed legacy of CIAM. Among them, for example, was Jane Jacobs with her well-known postulate of a "ubiquitous principle", "the need of cities for a most intricate and close-grained diversity of uses that give each other constant mutual support, both economically and socially", in her widely received work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) ^[26]. In the wake of the Italian *Architettura Radicale* (radical

architecture), Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter with their provocative text "Collage City" in the mid-1970s still felt the need to free themselves from the ideological constraints of a "master planning" ^[27]. From the early 1940s, however, CIAM had already distanced its idea of the city of the future from a deterministic vision of the design of an ideal city in the manner of Le Corbusier's "Ville radieuse" (1930), or more broadly, from a universal model of the city. The embodiment of the "Urban Constellation" was a principle of urbanism.

It is evident that beginning in the second half of the 1930s, the representatives of CIAM attempted to place their theoretical edifice on a new foundation. Inspired by the North American debate on urbanism, the contents, goals, and instruments of planning were re-defined. At the same time, however, the work of the CIAM protagonists remained bound to the fundamental methods of their early urbanistic research: a "Synthese der Stadt" (synthesis of the city) was only to be derived from the systematic apprehension of those forces that drive urban development. As previously, a logically comprehensible connection between analysis and design was to be produced in the design process. Nonetheless, Rossi too later chose this approach. Like many CIAM exponents, he was convinced that the "scena fissa delle vicende dell'uomo" (permanent stage of human life) – in the same manner as Lewis Mumford's "theater of social action" ^[28] – could be constructed predominantly according to rational criteria and the elements of the city could be re-organized with scientific objectivity ^[29]. Only Rossi, though, postulated a continual construction of the city, for which he conceived the change of its sites as an interplay between architecture and society. He gave the city a face that received its expression from the architectural language of the buildings and that reflected social and societal developments. CIAM's "Urban Constellation," by contrast, defines a structural scaffold; how it can be filled architecturally is not to be gleaned from the statements of its authors. The public centers of the city are not architecturally addressed. Correspondingly, in CIAM's theory the "Reich des Fussgängers" (realm of the pedestrian) remains an open space without architectural contour. If one examines CIAM's debates to identify what gives this realm a particular character, one is met with



The Piazzetta, Venice, page from the congress publication *The Heart of the City*, 1952

Piazzetta, Benátky, strana z publikácie kongresu *Srdce mesta*, 1952

an astonishing answer: it is not the form of urban spaces that guarantees the uniqueness of a particular living environment. Urban identity emerges less from the physical design of urban space than through the manifold forms of its use. However, it remains unexplained in what framework city dwellers can develop activities according to their own ideas, since the strictly organized, hierarchical structure of the “Urban Constellation” implies that the freedom of the user is restricted to the narrow confines of a “core” or “community center.” In fact, the “frei bespielbaren Räume” (spaces to be used freely) that are so often spoken of in CIAM’s depictions refer to a very individualistic conception of how activities develop. In the first place, the question of what activity a group of individuals uses to conceive itself as modern society did not arise in CIAM’s discussions; likewise, it was thoughtlessly assumed that all people would understand “sozialer Interaktion” (social interaction) in the same way. The representatives of CIAM demanded a “Planen für die Stadtgemeinschaft” (planning for the community of the city) and at the same time avoided the political and a more comprehensive social discourse.

Nevertheless, by relating its theoretical analyses and practical designs to a “social organization” of urban life, CIAM laid crucial foundations for the debates on the structure of the modern city and the social and cultural dimension in the use of its public spaces. The numerous questions CIAM left open have in recent decades not been granted enough weight – and still are not granted enough weight in contemporary discussions of the design of human living spaces: What conception of society and what image of the human

being does planning assume, or what is relevant for it? Do architects and urban planners have a clear picture of the role of the user of the city? Is there a genuine interest in what motivates the user’s actions? In architectural and urban forums, are discussions being devoted to how city dwellers move, where they like to spend their time, and what they want to experience there? Although an astonishing intellectual-historical continuity with the CIAM of the 1940s is evident in the works of successive exponents and movements of architecture and city planning, many weak points in its theoretical edifice have not been made water-tight. Social interaction in urban space has continued to be a subject of pictorial or filmic representations, but has hardly been made an object of urban design. The analyses of architectural types and of social relationship structures have not been thought of together. The idea of an integrative, comprehensive planning remains fragmentary and what’s more, has yielded in practice to the autarchic project. Often, there is a deliberate omission of reference to CIAM’s work. In the second half of the twentieth century, numerous mission statements and plans were drafted whose authors legitimated their view of the city through a critique of CIAM. Their postulates referred without exception to the organization’s work in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The subsequent urban-theoretical analysis of the CIAM protagonists was categorically ignored. While this deliberately induced break in reception may also give rise to space for new, radical perspectives, vast potential remains unexhausted in the treatment of what is already at hand. Essential findings of CIAM are still unavailable even today.

NOTES POZNÁMKY

¹ This article is based on a paper presented at the 12th International Docomomo Conference “The Survival of Modern: From Coffee Cup to General Plan” in Espoo, Finland, August 7 – 10, 2012.

² A comprehensive view into the conference activities of CIAM across the whole time frame of its existence is

provided in MUMFORD, Eric: *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism 1928 – 1960*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press 2000, 375 p. A collection of essays on the late CIAM congresses can be found in *Rassegna* 14, 1992, no. 52. In addition see MUMFORD, Eric: *Defining Urban Design: CIAM Architects and the Formation of a Discipline, 1937 – 1969*. New Haven, Yale University Press 2009, 262 p., SACCHI, Nestorio: *I Congressi Internazionali di Architettura Moderna: CIAM 1928 – 1959*. Mailand, Consulta Regionale Lombarda degli Ordini degli Architetti 1998, 119 p., and Woud, Auke van der: *CIAM: Housing Town Planning*. Delft, Delft University Press 1983, 168 p.

- ³ TYRWHITT, Jaqueline – SERT, José Luis – ROGERS, Ernesto Nathan (eds.): *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. London, Lund Humphries 1952, 186 p.
- ⁴ The impact of the emigration and the transatlantic exchange of ideas on CIAM urbanism in the 1930s and 1940s, and CIAM's orientation to principles that conditioned the growth of city planning as an independent discipline since the turn of the twentieth century is discussed in DOMHARDT, Konstanze Sylva: *The Heart of the City: Die Stadt in den transatlantischen Debatten der CIAM 1933 – 1951*. Zürich, gta Verlag 2012, 422 p.
- ⁵ For CIAM's perception of the term "civic landscape", see DOMHARDT, Konstanze Sylva: *From the 'Functional City' to the 'Heart of the City: Green Space and Public Space in the CIAM Debates of 1942 – 1952*. In: BRANTZ, D. – DÜMPELMANN, S. (eds.) *Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century*. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press 2011, pp. 133 – 156.
- ⁶ See *Speech of Gropius*, p. 3, gta Archives, ETH Zürich (CIAM/42-SG-19-91/100).
- ⁷ GROPIUS, Walter: *Rebuilding our Communities*, Chicago, Theobald 1945, p. 54; the first "centres" is underlined in the original. For the idea of the neighborhood unit in CIAM's discussions, see DOMHARDT, Konstanze Sylva: *Individuum und Stadtgemeinschaft: Die Nachbarschaftsidee in den amerikanischen Stadtentwürfen von Walter Gropius*. Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte, 1, 2012, pp. 108 – 127.
- ⁸ Gropius, letter to Giedion, July 18, 1947, gta Archives, ETH Zürich (CIAM/42-SG-3-14/15).
- ⁹ GIEDION, Sigfried: *The Need for a New Monumentality*. In: ZUCKER, P. (ed.), *New Architecture and City Planning*. New York, Philosophical Library 1944, pp. 549 – 568, here p. 552.
- ¹⁰ CIAM 6. Bridgwater. 1947. Report of Commission III A. *Urbanism: Preparation for CIAM 7*. In: CIAM 6 documents, p. 18, gta Archives, ETH Zürich (CIAM/42-JT-X-3).
- ¹¹ Erklärung von La Sarraz 1928. In: STEINMANN, Martin (ed.) *CIAM: Dokumente 1928 – 1939*. Basel – Stuttgart, gta Verlag – Birkhäuser 1979, p. 28.
- ¹² See DOMHARDT, Konstanze Sylva: *The Garden City in the CIAM Discourse on Urbanism: A path to comprehensive planning*. *Planning Perspectives*, 27, 2012, pp. 167 – 191.
- ¹³ In the statutes of the Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft (German Garden City Society), Article 1, can be read: "Eine Gartenstadt ist eine planmäßig gestaltete Siedlung..." (A Garden City is a housing settlement designed according to a plan.)
- ¹⁴ For the exchange of ideas among planners, architects and artists in the wider circle of CIAM, see DOGRAMACI, Burcu – WIMMER, Karin (eds.): *Netzwerke des Exils: Künstlerische Verflechtungen, interdisziplinärer Austausch und Patronage nach 1933*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag 2011, 472 p.
- ¹⁵ TUBBS, Ralph: *Living in Cities*. Harmondsworth, Penguin 1942, p. 35.
- ¹⁶ FRY, Maxwell: *Fine Building*. London, Faber & Faber 1944, Plate 49.
- ¹⁷ TYRWHITT, Jaqueline: *Form of Exhibition*, RIBA British Architectural Library Drawings & Archives Collection, London (TyJ/14/9).
- ¹⁸ TYRWHITT, Jaqueline: 1952, p. 76.
- ¹⁹ The mandate can be found in *Feststellungen des 4. Kongresses 1933*. In: Steinmann, Martin (ed.) *CIAM: Dokumente 1928 – 1939*. Basel – Stuttgart, gta Verlag – Birkhäuser 1979, p. 163.
- ²⁰ Smithson, A. – Smithson, P.: *Cluster City: A New Shape for the Community*. *The Architectural Review*, 122, 1957, pp. 333 – 336, here p. 333.
- ²¹ ROSSI, Aldo: *L'architettura della città*, Padua, Marsilio 1966, pp. 59 – 64.
- ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 91 – 93.
- ²³ See *Hauptstadt Berlin*. Internationaler städtebaulicher Ideenwettbewerb 1957/58, Ausst.-Kat. Berlinische

Galerie, ed. by Berlinische Galerie e.V., Berlin 1990, pp. 90 – 105.

²⁴ TYRWHITT, Jaqueline: 1952, p. 104.

²⁵ Woods, Shadrach: *The Man in the Street: A Polemic on Urbanism*. Harmondsworth, Penguin 1975, p. 38.

²⁶ JACOBS, Jane: *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, Random House 1961, p. 14.

²⁷ With their article, Rowe and Koetter continued the critique of the utopian project that had been introduced a few years previously by the groups Archizoom and Superstudio.

²⁸ MUMFORD, Lewis: *The Culture of Cities*. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1938, p. 480.

²⁹ On Rossi's understanding of the metaphor, see Rossi 1966, p. 13.