VISUAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHIES

Essays in Honour of Denis E. Cosgrove

Edited by
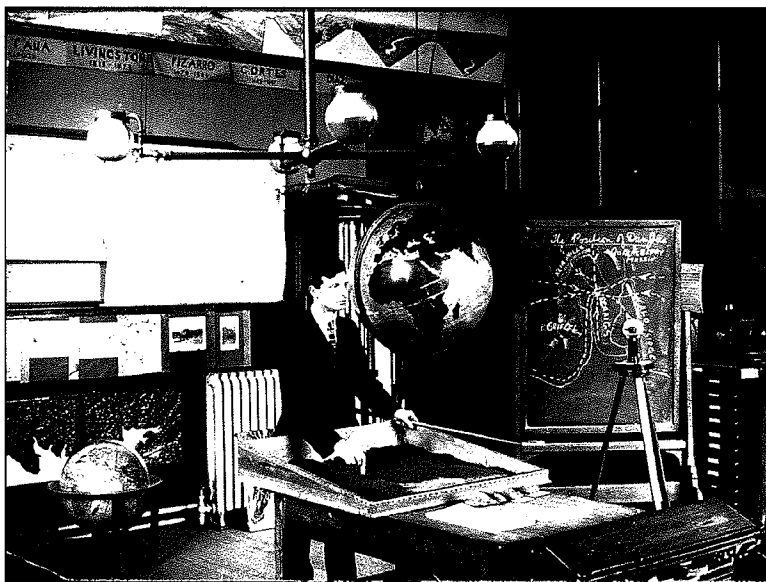### Veronica della Dora, Susan Digby and Begum Basdas

VISUAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHIES
Essays in Honour of Denis E. Cosgrove

Edited by
Veronica della Dora, Susan Digby and Begum Basdas

The Historical Geography Research Series is produced by the Historical Geography Research Group. The Research Series is designed to provide scholars with an outlet for extended essays of an interpretative or conceptual nature that make a substantive contribution to some aspect of the subject; critical reviews of the literature on a major problem; and commentaries on relevant sources. Contributions to the series are welcome. Manuscripts should not normally exceed 30,000 words in length, inclusive of notes, tables and diagrams, and should be in English. In addition to single or jointly authored monographs, the Series welcomes edited collections of papers grouped around a topic of research relevant to the broad interests of the group. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, send an outline of their proposed paper to the Editor:

Dr. David Nally
Honorary Editor of the Research Series
Department of Geography
University of Cambridge
Cambridge, CB2 3EN
United Kingdom

Denis Cosgrove (1948-2008)
Photograph courtesy of Neil Roberts

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

About the Contributors

David Atkinson is a Reader in Cultural and Historical Geography in the Department of Geography at the University of Hull, UK. He wrote a PhD on Italian geopolitical theories and imaginaries under Denis Cosgrove and Mike Heffernan at Loughborough University. He has continued to work on the history and nature of geographical knowledge, but has also developed interests to modern Italian urbanism and colonialism (especially under Fascism), and the geographies of monuments and memory. He has just started a project on Italian partisans of World War II Veneto and their engagements with landscape (with Sarah De Nardi). He co-edited *Geopolitical Traditions* (2000, with Klaus Dodds) and *Cultural Geography* (2005, with Peter Jackson, David Sibley and Neil Washbourne).

Begum Basdas is an Assistant Professor at Yeditepe University in Istanbul, Turkey, where she teaches in anthropology and geography. She is an urban and feminist geographer. Her theoretical interests centre on cultural studies, urban politics and citizenship, gender and sexuality studies. Her current research focuses on experiences of public space, cosmopolitanism and violence in Istanbul. She also actively participates in various NGOs in Turkey that focus on human rights violations and feminist rights.

Stephen Daniels holds the Chair of Human Geography at the University of Nottingham as Professor of Cultural Geography. He is a Fellow of the British Academy and an Academician of Social Science. He is presently Director of the AHRC programme in Landscape and Environment. Professor Daniels is the author and editor of several books and exhibition catalogues on the history and theory of landscape and geographical knowledge. These include *The Iconography of Landscape* (CUP, 1988) with Denis Cosgrove, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and United States* (Polity and Princeton UP, 1992), *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (Yale UP, 1999) and, with John Bonehill, *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (Royal Academy, 2009).

Veronica della Dora is Lecturer in Geographies of Knowledge at the School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol. She is the author of *Imagining Mount Athos: Visions of a Holy Place from Homer to World War II* (University of Virginia Press, 2011) and co-editor with Denis Cosgrove of *High Places: Cultural Geographies of Mountains, Ice, and Science* (IB Tauris, 2008). Her research interests and publications span cultural and historical geography, history of cartography, Byzantine and post-Byzantine studies, and science studies.

Susan Digby is a Professor of Geography at Olympic College, Bremerton, Washington. She has worked extensively in both physical and human geography. Her research has focussed on sea ice processes, high latitude marine habitat, oceanographic information systems, and more recently on cultural and historical geography, in par-

ticular on the intersection between art, geography and home. Her recent publications have focussed on travel and the making of home. In response to her local environment, Susan is also currently working on a project on marine debris.

Jeremy Foster is trained as an architect and landscape architect, and holds a PhD in humanistic geography. He is interested in landscape as an assemblage of material processes and practices, a geographical space of representation, and a medium of cultural discourse. At Cornell University, in addition to design studios, Jeremy teaches courses on the history and theory of landscape and urban design, and the intersections between visual culture and geographical imagination, with an emphasis on how these topics play themselves out in post-colonial situations. In his writing, Jeremy has explored the role of different forms of representation in the cultural construction and use of landscapes. He is the author of *Washed with Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

Joel Geffen worked as a forester for the U.S. Forest Service and as a forest archaeologist and land-use historian for the Yakama Nation, a Native group located in Washington State. He earned a doctorate in Religious Studies from UC Santa Barbara. Currently, Joel Geffen is completing a second doctorate in Geography at the University of California, Los Angeles. He specialises in American ideas of nature and contemporary Native American issues. His research focuses on the role of religious and spiritual beliefs in resource management and Native American views of ecological restoration and species protection.

Pyrs Gruffudd is Senior Lecturer in Geography at Swansea University. He studied for a PhD on landscape and Welsh national identity in the early twentieth century under Denis Cosgrove's supervision at Loughborough University. This led to a series of publications on topics ranging from academic Geography in the 1920s to Butlin's holiday camps in the 1940s. He has since worked on modernist architecture and health, and his current research interests include nature and nation in New Zealand.

Tariq Jazeel teaches Human Geography at the University of Sheffield, UK. He is a social and cultural geographer with interests in landscape, nature, and postcolonial and critical theory amongst other things. His ongoing research focuses broadly on the politics of space, aesthetics and difference in contemporary Sri Lanka.

Paul Kelsch is an Associate Professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture at the Washington Alexandria Architecture Center. He has professional degrees in Architecture and Landscape Architecture and a PhD in Cultural Geography. His research focuses on the cultural construction of nature and its expression in designed landscapes, specifically looking at the interrelationships between ecological understandings of nature and discourses of nature grounded in landscape history, art, experience, and social theory. These issues come to bear especially in urban forestry projects and community relationships with nature.

Glen M. MacDonald is a UC Presidential Chair and Director of the UCLA Institute of Environment and Sustainability. He also holds professorships in Geography and in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a Guggenheim Fellow, a former Visiting Fellow at Saint Catherine's College, Oxford and a former Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, Cambridge. His research focuses on climatic and environmental change and the impact of such changes on human society and sustainability. He has published over 120 peer-reviewed scientific articles and an award winning book on biogeography.

Aya Sakai is Associate Professor in the Department of Architecture and City Planning, Graduate School of Engineering, Hokkaido University in Japan. She has published over 30 peer-reviewed articles, one of which was awarded the best paper by the City Planning Institute of Japan. Her research interests and publications include the public space issues, the urban governance and planning history, and the cultural landscape. With her architect qualifications, she also acquired various practical experiences related to architecture and landscape architecture in Tokyo, Japan, and in Boston, USA.

Helen Sooväli-Sepping is a Senior Researcher at the Centre of Excellence on Cultural Theory, the Centre for Landscape and Culture, the Estonian Institute of Humanities, and Tallinn University. She received her PhD from University of Tartu and was a Fulbright postdoctoral fellow at University of California, Los Angeles. Her research focuses on imaginative geographies, landscape and imagery, and cultural geography. She has co-edited *Seasonal Landscapes* with Hannes Palang, and Anu Printsmann (Springer-Verlag, 2007); and *European Rural Landscapes: Permanence, Persistence and Change in the Globalising Environment* (Kluwer, 2004) with Hannes Palang, Marc Antrop and Gunhild Setten.

Francesco Vallerani is Professor of Geography at the University Cà Foscari of Venice. He is a Fellow of the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti. His main fields of expertise are Human and Cultural Geography, Landscape Evolution and Planning, and Cultural and Natural Heritage. He directed many research projects such as 'River corridors in North-East Italy', 'European modernism and man-made waterways (Canal du Midi, Canal de Castilla, Oxford Union Canal, Gota Kanal)', 'Riverside greenways in Veneto mainland'. He is the author of *Geografia rurale tra ricreazione sostenibile e arcadie domestiche* (2001) and *Acque a nord est: da paesaggio moderno ai luoghi del tempo libero* (2004), editor of *Il grigio oltre le siepi: geografie smarrite e racconti del disagio in Veneto* (2005) and *Dalle praterie vallive alla bonifica* (2008), and Italian translator of Denis Cosgrove's *The Palladian Landscape* (2000).

Introduction

Visual and Historical Geographies
Veronica della Dora

Denis Cosgrove's visual and historical geographies

The image on the front cover of this volume portrays an Oxford University geography classroom in the 1950s. At the centre is a young male lecturer pointing at a three-dimensional model set on his table. The lecturer is surrounded by geographical representations. His head is caught between two globes and is topped by names of the great explorers of the past, a reminder that geography is a cumulative enterprise building on previously acquired knowledge — and on past histories. Maps, diagrams, relief models and landscape images cover the walls of the room. These representations have an iconic quality: they reinforce the authority of the formally-dressed and cold-gazing geographer. They also have a prosthetic quality: they allow the students in the classroom (and us) to see at scales impossible to grasp for the naked human eye and without leaving the classroom (or our room). In other words, they make the world beyond immediate experience visible — the fundamental purpose of geographical knowledge and representation.

The image comes from Denis Cosgrove's digital archives and it is one he was particularly fond of, not only because it told a story of which he had been part as an Oxford undergraduate student in the mid-1960s, but also because it explicitly spoke of the complex relationship between geography, vision, and representation — a subject that remained central to his research throughout his entire career. Linking critical work on landscape and the history of cartography with the expression of geographical imaginations in Western visual arts from the Renaissance onwards, Cosgrove's work brought a unique input to historical geography. As it has been already noted in the numerous obituaries and tributes following his premature death in 2008, Cosgrove, however, was no historical geographer in the traditional sense of the word. He was doubtful of the kind of historicism which fails to acknowledge returns, or parallels between different historical moments.[1] His ecumenical spirit and capacious vision crossed likewise disciplinary and temporal boundaries. Uncomfortable with the narrow textual orientation of much historical scholarship, he drew on a much broader and overwhelmingly visual archive. In his writings, conference presentations and class lectures, images of Palladian Veneto sat side by side those of early twentieth-century Los Angeles; visions of classical Arcadia similarly shed light on nineteenth-century American environmentalism; and so did Abraham Ortelius' *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (1570) on the iconic NASA AS17-22727 picture of the earth taken by the Apollo 17 astronauts in 1972; and so on.[2]

Visual representations, Cosgrove argued, are media of communication more direct than written texts: 'the pictorial image veers towards the affective and sensuous rather than syllogistic and analytic, and in more than merely its aesthetic aspects. … While pictorial conventions are learned and culturally specific, pictorial combinations of line, form, composition, colour, and tone generate immediate sen-

sual and aesthetic responses'.[3] Unlike most main-stream human geographers and map historians, Cosgrove was especially interested in the poetics (rather than in the mere politics) of representation, while remaining always critically aware of power relations. For Cosgrove, engaging with and interpreting spatial images was, above all, an art.

The essays

This collection of essays originates from the symposium *Landscapings: Iconographies and Beyond* held at UCLA in May 2008 in honour of the memory of Denis Cosgrove and celebrates his contribution and legacy in historical geography through the visual medium. Vision does not equal sight, Cosgrove used to stress. Vision is more than optics and perception; it entangles ideological complexities and tensions. Vision implies 're-working—and pre-working—experience in the world through imagination, and imagination's expression in the creation of images. Geography—geo-*graphia*—has always entailed making and interpreting images'.[4]

The essays, written by some of Denis' close colleagues and former PhD students as tokens of appreciation for his contribution to their discipline, critically engage with some of the rubrics of his oeuvre. They explore a variety of visual histories ranging from the micro-scale of paintings, trees, buildings, and memorials to the macro-scale of urban sprawls such as Los Angeles. Spanning from classical antiquity to twentieth-century modernity, these visions take the reader on a journey through some of the iconic landscapes that served as the settings and inspiration for much of Denis' work and life: from the Mediterranean of Greco-Roman antiquity to Palladio's Veneto, from Imperial Britain to America's forests and megalopolises, and beyond.

The collection comprises twelve essays based on visual case studies, followed by a coda by Stephen Daniels and an interview with Denis Cosgrove conducted by Helen Soovāli-Sepping in 2007. The essays are grouped in two parts which broadly reflect research themes running through much of Cosgrove's career. The first part 'Vision of Arcadia and Wilderness' encompasses visual histories of nature from humanistic and critical perspectives. For Cosgrove, arcadia and wilderness were a continuum with, and indeed a creation of, human society; they were places in which the relationship between society and the natural world was historically opened for critical reflection; they were matters of moral concern. And, as he wrote, 'by illuminating earth's spatial and environmental dimensions, geographical visions can render their own service to the greater goal of the humanities: that of critically understanding ourselves and our participation in nature'.[5]

The first two essays loosely engage with Arcadian visions. David Atkinson's opening piece reflects on Cosgrove's classical legacy and situates it within the broader context of British scholarship, from Victorian times on. Whether at macroscale of the cosmos or at the microscale of the Palladian landscape, Renaissance visions of nature rested on classical visions to which Cosgrove, Atkinson shows, was always attentive. A clear example is Virgil's enduring notion of Arcadia in Renaissance European landscapes, and especially in the Palladian landscapes of Veneto, in North-East Italy. In his essay, Francesco Vallerani, the Italian translator of Cosgrove's seminal book *The Palladian Landscape*, takes us back to this region, which

is also the place from which Cosgrove's studies started. However, if much of Cosgrove's historical work on Palladio's Veneto presents us with the aesthetic and spiritual harmony of an 'Arcadia found', Vallerani confronts us with the gloomier vision of an 'Arcadia lost', or at least about to be lost. Over the past few decades, the author explains, the region has been confronted with increasing industrialization, a massive urban sprawling, and, not least, with the commodification of the Palladian heritage, generating new tensions in the landscape. The essay explores these tensions and the production of new iconographies, whose meanings are much more implicated in 'selling places' than in the social awareness of 'a common good' envisaged by Renaissance landscape makers.

The following three essays explore visions of American wilderness. Challenging the common assumption that natural history lies 'outside of culture', Paul Kelsch's essay explores two ecological artworks, Buster Simpson's *Host Analog* in Portland, Oregon, and Alan Sonfist's *Time Landscape* in New York's Greenwich Village. Both artworks are small planted forests in an urban setting. Their parallel stories show how natural history is just as linear and contingent upon particular circumstances as human history. The stories of these ecological artworks also show new possibilities for creative landscape interventions. Susan Digby's essay similarly engages with a 'domesticated forest', this time a memorial forest by the sea. Fort Worden State Park, WA, the author argues, is a place of 'armament and art'; a natural setting in which greenery, defensive cement fortifications, and contemporary artworks intertwine, as do the visual stories of war and peace continuously inscribed and re-inscribed in the landscape. Today the park is a site of competing visual narratives: a heroic site of national defence for military historians; a place for meditation for anti-war artists; and a surface for playful inscription for guerrilla artists.

The ecological artworks explored by Kelsch and Fort Worden State Park show the close connection, indeed the continuum, between natural and cultural histories and their temporal geographies of life, death, and renewal. In both cases, visions of 'artificial' or 'domesticated' wilderness *construct* different stories. Joel Geffen's essay, the last of the section, by contrast, engages with images strategically used by natives to *manipulate* conflict over wilderness. The essay explores two photographs of Indians employed by two different groups (the Gwich'in and the Inupiat) to claim an 'authentic' Native identity and assert a moral authority over present and future land uses in the Arctic Wildlife National Refuge. The visual rhetoric of these images participates to the construction of imagined historiographies, which are likely to have, nevertheless, serious impacts on the present and future of the region.

The second part of the collection is devoted to cosmopolitan visions and visions of modernity both in the Western and Mediterranean contexts familiar to Cosgrove and in other cultural and geographical contexts, such as South Africa, Sri Lanka and Japan. The section begins with an essay on Alexandria, the 'prototype' of cosmopolis, and its cartographic rendering in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's great city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572). Here the city is represented as an insular, self-enclosed entity. The representation, Veronica della Dora argues, reflects classical visions of the city as a microcosm culturally detached from its surroundings. The conceptualisation of the city as such served as a basic condition for its several cosmopolitan re-inventions and for its visualisation and circulation as a mythical

place in the Western Renaissance geographical imagination. It also served as a paradigm for other urban cosmopolitan stories. Begum Basdas and Aya Sakai's essays narrate two of these stories and processes of islanding (or 'othering') of certain urban districts characterised by diverse populations, respectively in the contexts of late-nineteenth-century Istanbul and Yokohama. Everyday users of Galata and Pera, Basdas shows, were exposed to districts of Istanbul that were not only imagined as 'other', but were also perceived as sensually distinct environments. Using stereograph images of the time as a point of departure, her essay critically examines the construction of Galata and Pera as 'cosmopolitan' public spaces; spaces, unlike mythical Alexandria, defined by conflict and negotiation, rather than harmonious Stoic coexistence. Sakai similarly engages with representations of an 'insular' cosmopolitan public space. By focusing on the transition of Yokohama's red light district to public park, she discusses the ways in which Western urban landscape visions and the idea of 'urban moral' were introduced in Japan. The urban park, Sakai shows, worked as a powerful symbol of urban modernity and as the point of convergence of multilayered cosmopolitan stories.

Modernity remains a theme central to the following essays. Pyrs Gruffudd's piece unfolds the visual stories of British imperial modernity narrated in the House of Lords panels in Swansea's Guildhall. Portraying the peoples and products that had loyally supported Britain in the war, Gruffudd shows, these sixteen 1920s panels offer a compelling example of imperial iconography, produced at a time when the 'imperial partnership' was being advocated as a solution to Britain's long-term economic problems. Rather than nostalgically evoking an empire now in decline, the panels – and the modernist Guildhall that housed them – formed part of an imperial modernity: the belief in the Empire as a complementary and supportive economic unit.

The next two essays engage specifically with visual histories of architectural modernism in former British colonies: South Africa and Sri Lanka. Jeremy Foster focuses on the work of architect Rex Martienssen in 1930s Johannesburg. It traces how Martienssen used the implied universality of Corbusier's architectural project to negotiate a structure of 'modern' seeing that envisioned a colonial national landscape in which 'everything was hard and clear', and characterised by its 'monotony, size and light'. As Foster shows, this structure of seeing elided the phenomenological and the ideological by encoding a historical 'return' to the visual origins of Western ideas about the relationship between buildings and landscape – that found in classical Greece. A different structure of seeing emerges from the work of Geoffrey Bawa, a Sri Lankan architect who graduated from London in the 1950s. Tariq Jazeel shows how Bawa's landscape architecture reveals the influences of an alternative set of Sinhala-Buddhist aesthetics that also has particular political connotations. The essay focuses particularly on landscape views from Bawa's own estate on Sri Lanka's southern coast. To read the aesthetics of these images, Jazeel's contribution combines Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels' iconographic method with recent postcolonial theory around translation, suggesting that if landscape is indeed a text, it is not always written in scripts immediately familiar to the Euro-American scholar.

Glen MacDonald's meditation on Cosgrove's engagement with Los Angeles appropriately concludes the section on visions of cosmopolis and modernity and the

series of essays. If Alexandria epitomises the archetype of the cosmopolitan urban vision, Los Angeles represents its modern fulfilment. Much of the seemingly artificial or a-historical in the cityscapes and landscapes of Los Angeles and Southern California reflects a tangible coupling of the visual arts, imagination and opportunity—a vision that found its origins and fulfilment in an early twentieth-century aesthetics to which Denis Cosgrove referred as 'the modern picturesque'. Denis Cosgrove's engagement with Los Angeles and Southern California's 'landscapes of modernity', MacDonald argues, can be anticipated from his initial fascination with the Palladian landscape—which itself is no less the product of imagination and artifice. Like classical and Renaissance arcadias, modern cosmopolis represented for Cosgrove a space for moral reflection, as well as a space of dialogue and hope for the future.

Conversations

Whether in class or at conferences, in his writings or in his everyday life, Denis was keen to remark that the geographical imagination is always rooted in a sense of difference between places—in what he metaphorically referred to as 'geography's compass' (also the title of one of his UCLA cultural geography seminars). In their diversity, the essays in this collection are a celebration of and critical engagement with 'the compass'. Above all, they are also a celebration of the creative marriage between historical geography, vision, and geographical imagination that characterises much of Cosgrove's scholarship. The collection's concluding image, which constitutes the focus of Stephen Daniels' end piece, thus fittingly echoes the cover picture with which this introduction opened. Daniels presents us with the image of another geography lesson, this time set in eighteenth-century Scotland. Rather than on an authoritative male lecturer, the composition is now focussed on three muse-like young ladies engaging with geographical representations (a globe and a map). As Daniels explains, this painting is a 'conversation piece', which is 'not just a picture showing informal social exchanges between familiar figures, but objects that were perceived to be interesting enough to spark conversation about them'.[6] Read 'in conversation' with its historical and social context so carefully unpacked by Daniels, the painting further speaks of the symbolic and imaginative power of geographical representations in a specific historic moment, of their classical echoes, and gender dynamics. Read in conversation with the Oxford geography class, the painting, however, is also a fitting reminder of the continuity of geography's didactic function, an aspect that Cosgrove, the humanist, never ceased to emphasise. As he told Helen Sooväli-Sepping in his last interview,

> We have to go back to why people would want to know the heights of mountains, lengths of rivers and capital cities. And it is about the factual basis, it is about being familiar with the world beyond—and that reflects the curiosity everybody, every child, every person has. It is a curiosity that for them can harness certain ideals: of education, of citizenship, ideals of dealing with otherness and difference. For me geography first and foremost is about education and it is caged in the best tradition of humanist tradition of knowing yourself.[7]

Notes

[1] F. Driver, 'Editorial: Denis Cosgrove, historical geography unbound', *Journal of Historical Geography* **35**, (2009), p.1.

[2] See, for example, 'Los Angeles and the Italian città diffusa: landscapes of the cultural space economy', in Th. Terkenli and A.M. d'Hauteserre (eds)., *Landscapes of a new cultural economy of space* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2006), pp. 69-92; D. Cosgrove, 'Globalism and tolerance in early modern geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **93**, (2003), pp. 852-70; and his collection of essays *Geography and vision: seeing, imagining and representing the world* (London, IB Tauris, 2008).

[3] D. Cosgrove, 'Images and imagination in 20th-century environmentalism: from the Sierras to the Poles', *Environment and Planning A* **40**, (2008), p. 1864.

[4] Cosgrove, *Geography and vision*, p. 15.

[5] Ibid, p. 32.

[6] S. Daniels, 'Geography's compass', in this volume.

[7] H. Soovӓli-Sepping, 'Interview with Denis Cosgrove', in this volume.

PART I

VISIONS OF ARCADIA AND WILDERNESS

.

Classical Traditions and Cultural Geographies
David Atkinson
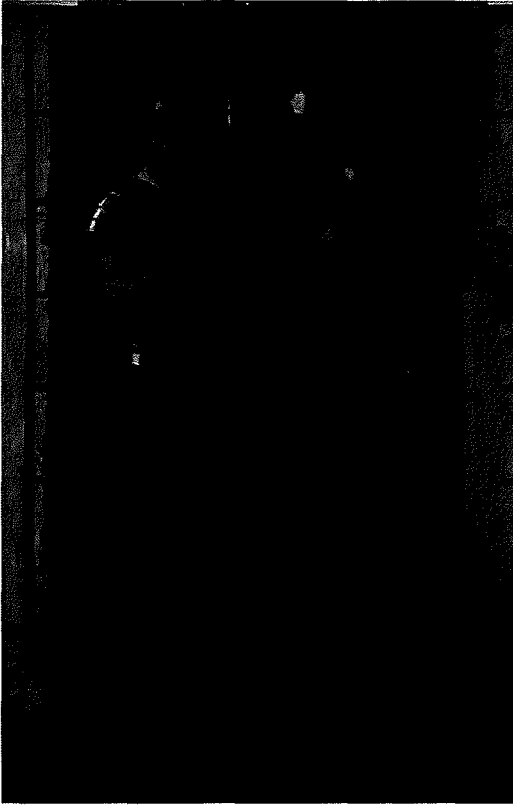
Fig. 1.1. Edward Poynter, *Faithful unto Death*, 1865 © National Museums Liverpool.

Introduction: Denis Cosgrove and his classical imagination

Edward Poynter's *Faithful unto Death* (1865) is a portrait of a Roman soldier in Pompeii who, with no orders to evacuate, holds his position stoically despite his imminent fate (fig. 1.1). It was a hugely popular image in mid nineteenth-century Britain because, some argue, it resonated with Victorian ideas of duty, service and sacrifice.[1] Others attribute its impact to a perceived critique of inflexible, authoritarian rule.[2] Regardless of whether this was a celebratory or subversive image, my point is that it

communicated effectively to Victorians of all classes through reference to Roman classical History in a way that simply would not work today. For Victorian Britons, and especially the educated classes, Roman history was both familiar and didactic. And this history was commonplace as part of the wider Classical Tradition that suffused significant swathes of Western learning and cultures through until the mid Twentieth century.

Denis Cosgrove was a rarity among contemporary Anglophone geographers thanks to his understanding of the Classical Tradition and his appreciation of its influence, impact and insight. While his contributions to the humanities tradition within geography is acknowledged widely, this essay will further note Cosgrove's recurrent engagement with the Graeco-Roman Classical Tradition, especially via its re-interpretation through Renaissance scholarship and practice, and its continued resonance through Western intellectual cultures. Cosgrove worked in a discipline and, more especially, a period where the Classics were neither fashionable nor celebrated. Equally, he never appears to have identified or used the term Classical Tradition (despite it being an established way of thinking about the resonance of Graeco-Roman culture and aesthetics throughout subsequent Western history).[3] Cosgrove was nevertheless open to the enduring reach of these intellectual traditions, and in the pages that follow I argue that they informed and shaped elements of his thinking is subtle yet persistent ways throughout his career.

Western society, professional geographers and the classical imagination

Although he spoke across a range of issues in human geography and became a key voice in a number of theoretical debates within the discipline, Cosgrove's intellectual frames of reference, and much of his writing and empirical foci was unusual for a 1970s-2000s Anglo-American human geographer. Lilley notes that for some geographers, Cosgrove's empirical focus upon Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe seemed esoteric, and he achieved esteem *despite* these seldom-travelled research themes.[4] Denis sometimes expressed a private frustration that some of his papers seldom received the attention they deserved due to his relatively unique empirical foci. Yet while an embrace of the Classics and their legacies were uncommon in late twentieth-century Anglophone Geography, the Classical Tradition has not always been so marginalised within the discipline. Moreover, such learning once bestrode public culture and education in the West. Therefore, before I outline Cosgrove's engagement with this tradition, I will outline how such concerns would not seem so unusual a few decades earlier.

The Classical Tradition

It is widely accepted that the classical world bequeathed myriad legacies to subsequent European and 'western' cultures. From legalistic frameworks and governance structures, through philosophical and linguistic traditions, via architecture and engineering, to the arts and aesthetic realms, the ancient civilisations of Greece and Rome cast long shadows through Western civilisations to the twentieth centuries.[5] Recent debate has suggested that the invocation and reception of Greece, Rome and their legacies varied in different spatial and temporal contexts, and that the uses of this rich tradition were more variegated than scholars once claimed.[6] Even these re-

visionist accounts admit the extensive reach and purchase of these traditions, however. Certainly, for many Western mercantile-industrial imperial powers, ancient Rome in particular proved a template for good government, and simultaneously, served as an explicit warning against complacency and decline.[7] Although these tropes were, or course, contested and re-worked continually in various contexts, in general and as a result, the Classical Tradition was reproduced in numerous forms in imperial Europe.[8]

Unsurprisingly, the Classical Tradition was entrenched in the elite schools and Universities of modern Europe. For the British upper classes of the mid-nineteenth-century, the study of the Classics occupied up to eighty percent of their school day.[9] Indeed, despite continuing debates over the utility of education, the position of the Classics expanded in Victorian Britain, where they: '... pervaded Victorian intellectual life more completely than that of any other academic subject'.[10] A classical education advanced careers in all fields. It was required for access to Universities and the Indian civil service; in some quarters it was seen as an apprenticeship for future social and political leadership.[11] Meanwhile, those identified as future academic leaders were often despatched to formal centres of classical study in Rome, Athens and Cairo that enjoyed generous government subsidies.[12] The Classical Tradition was thus deemed central to the education of the ruling classes.

Further, classicism also remained an enduring influence upon the material landscapes of modern imperial powers. Although fuelled and funded by commerce and industrial commodities like coal and steel, many Western 'Imperial Cities' nevertheless based key elements of their ceremonial spaces and iconic architecture upon ancient Athens and Rome. Neo-classical *Beaux Arts* architecture reproduced the classical orders, forms and iconography.[13] As Cosgrove noted in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, the early twentieth-century reconstruction of central Washington DC developed the Roman republican style (originally favoured by Jefferson) into a city of grander, more imperial forms that consistently and explicitly referenced ancient Rome.[14] This pattern was echoed throughout the modern, Western powers as echoes of Classical Rome were built in Paris, Budapest, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna and others.[15] In London, the British *Pax Britannica* was linked to its Roman precedent when ceremonial axes were rebuilt in neo-classical Roman style and their surrounding buildings were bequeathed with Latin inscriptions.[16]

In Liverpool, one of the British Empire's major ports, the city centre was likewise punctuated by the classical architectural orders. At the waterfront, the Liver building (1911) and the Port of Liverpool building (1907) were neo-classical in style. In the ceremonial heart of the city, St. George's Hall (1854), the city's leading concert venue, was built as a Greek temple with Corinthian columns and porticos. Across the road, the Walker Art Gallery (1877) was also built in a neo-classical style and, inside, the teenage Cosgrove was transfixed on every visit, he once told me, by *Faithful unto Death*. As elsewhere in modern Europe, Liverpool was a city suffused by classical allusions in media that ranged from popular art, through to key monuments, buildings and public spaces. Such 'imaginative resources' of the Classical Tradition were common throughout the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century West, and Cosgrove was exposed repeatedly to their influence.[17]

The classical imagination in twentieth-century geography

Given the importance of the Classical Tradition to elite education, we should assume that early professional geographers were often schooled in the Classics. Of course, we know that people taught and researched geography in various ways before the advent of the formal academic discipline in the late nineteenth century; we also know that the constitution of this modern discipline was not as straightforward as we once thought.[18] Nevertheless, given the reach of wider classical cultures in education, we can assume that many early professional geographers might interpret aspects of their world through classical allusion or simile.

Some early voices in the modern Geographical Tradition, for instance, suffused their work with classical references, and assumed that their readers would recognise and understand these easily. Roderick Murchison, a key figure in the construction of modern British Geography, named the Silurian strata he identified after an ancient Romano-British tribe.[19] Elsewhere, while wintering in Rome in 1850, he wrote about the geology and geomorphology of Lazio in 1850 and assumed the readers' familiarity with the ancient history of the region.[20]

Others worked more systematically on Graeco-Roman histories. One of the earliest appointments in Italian academic Geography was Giuliano Beloch to a Chair in Ancient Geography at Rome in 1901.[21] Likewise, G.B. Grundy, another early professional geographer, was appointed to lecture in Ancient Geography at Oxford University in 1899.[22] These specialist positions disappeared with time, but other geographers continued to write about the Classics — including some key figures in the development of the discipline. Ellen Semple, for example, invested twenty years of field-visits to the Mediterranean littoral to produce her *Geography of the Mediterranean Region* in 1932.[23] Here she explored her environmental determinist theories by mapping the development of ancient Mediterranean cultures onto local soils and environments. The book, however, began with an explicit celebration of the Classical Tradition and the cultural debt that the modern world owed these civilisations. Her opening line insisted that:

> All the world is heir of the Mediterranean. All the world is her debtor. Much that is finest in modern civilisation traces back to seed of cultures matures in the circle of the Mediterranean lands and transplanted thence to other countries [around] the world.[24]

These civilisations, she insisted, had 'given the world standards'.[25] Elsewhere, she assumed that classical histories were common knowledge amongst a geographical audience.[26] Although some today remember her work as connecting classical history and geographical perspectives fruitfully,[27] few geographers pursued similar interests. An exception was Clarence Glacken's 1967 *Traces on the Rhodian Shore* which was esteemed greatly by Cosgrove who often had his graduate students read it.[28] In his preface Glacken apologised for the lengthy first essay entitled 'Classical Antiquity' but it was necessary, he explained, to '... make more intelligible the thought of later periods which ... still rests solidly, at least in part, on classical foundations'.[29] Yet Glacken was largely isolated: for the main part English-language geographical

engagements with the Classics disappeared in the mid twentieth-century.[30]

More recently it is classicists and ancient historians who have demonstrated interest in the geographies of the ancient world. Claude Nicolet's work on the geographies of the Roman Empire and Romm's study of ancient geographical imaginaries, for example, address geographical and spatial questions.[31] Likewise, Clarke surveys ancient Greek 'geographers' and their construction of the Roman world, while Dueck, Lindsay and Pothecary explore Strabo's geographies.[32] Others engage with geographical knowledge, travel and mobilities.[33] Meanwhile, an established debate explores the economic and urban geographies, and the spatial hierarchies, of classical cities and regions.[34] So established is this geographical debate among classicists that Clarke called for a re-engagement with geography and for an appreciation of the '... much broader, inclusive and overlapping [nature of] historiographical and geographical traditions' that characterised knowledge in antiquity — before modern disciplinary boundaries bisected these approaches.[35] Few geographers reciprocate, however. I suspect that many British geographers, for example, simply do not have the vocabulary, training or inclination to 'think classically' anymore. Cosgrove was one of the diminishing number who did.

The Classical Tradition in Denis Cosgrove's work
As far as I am aware, beyond learning Latin at school, Cosgrove was never educated formally in the Classics. Rather, he appears to have encountered them through his work on Renaissance Italy — and particularly through the work of Renaissance cosmographers and architects who created the landscapes of Venice and the Veneto that so intrigued him. I will discuss their persistent eruptions in his work soon, but in passing I will note how unusual Cosgrove's intellectual project was. He became an academic in the early 1970s. He was trained in the British Regional Geography tradition at Oxford University, before moving to Oxford Polytechnic (now Oxford Brookes University) to help establish the Geography department there. Quantification and Marxism were sweeping through British human geography in this period, but Cosgrove pursued a more individual path. His Marxism faded as the 1980s progressed and he was never comfortable with the notion of being a social scientist. When the 'new' Cultural Geography was struggling to establish itself in Britain, he became clearer in his self-identification as a cultural geographer. But throughout these shifts, the classical learning he had acquired informed his thinking persistently.

That said, as noted above, I am not sure whether Cosgrove recognised the Classical Tradition as a specific, discreet way of thinking. For him it probably blurred into the milliard details and contexts of his reading. Neither did he promote his classical learning as a specific contribution that he offered to geography. Indeed, in his introductory essay for the 1998 edition of *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* he discussed Schama's 1995 tracing of landscape elements such as forest, water and rock from classical Antiquity through to the present.[36] But nowhere did he note his own engagement with this Classical Tradition (aside from a brief acknowledgment of his increasing interest in mythic landscapes). Nevertheless, his work demonstrates a clear understanding of classical learning, orders and referents. Just as the Renaissance thinkers and practitioners that Cosgrove studied reached back to the Ancients, so to Cosgrove embraced this vision in his efforts to understand their

thinking. In the next section I note four recurring examples of Classical Traditions that continually erupted in Cosgrove's work.

Vitruvius Pollio

My first example is the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius Pollio who became a constant reference in Cosgrove's work on Venetian landscapes. When Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* were translated into Italian in 1556, it accelerated the replication of classical orders in Renaissance architecture.[37] In particular, Cosgrove focussed on the renowned Vicenzan architect Andrea Palladio (1508-80) — Vitruvius' most celebrated interpreter thanks to the construction of a series of churches, villas and civic buildings across Venice and the *terraferma* (the city's inland territories). Palladio developed his architecture in the light of classical models. His talent earned him access to a classical humanist education and he travelled to Rome and published on its antiquities in the mid sixteenth-century. He also assisted with Daniele Barbaro's Italian translation of *The Ten Books on Architecture*.[38] Palladio was thus embedded in classicism and he translated this into his architecture that, although it re-worked and subverted the classical orders when it suited the practicalities or drama of a particular site, for the main, was 'clearly inspired by ancient and most specifically Roman models. Direct archaeological knowledge [allowed Palladio] to recreate the pure classicism of imperial Rome'.[39]

Here again the Classical Tradition rumbles through history; it is inflected by each different contexts, but remains recognisable. In this case, according to Cosgrove's *Palladian Landscape* (1993), Palladio created a distinctive landscape across the Veneto.[40] This was a coherent, cosmological Renaissance project: designing landscape with awareness of the sacred order inferred by perfect geometry. Of course, these landscapes were also supposed to communicate the civic power and authority of social elites — but they were nevertheless conceived holistically according to Vitriuvian principles.[41] Further, a decade before his death, Palladio enshrined his architectural work in his *Four Books of Architecture* (1570): a study that enjoyed an enormous influence on later architects. From Georgian England to Jeffersonian America, and then via numerous neo-classical imperial cities thereafter, vernacular Palladianisms appeared all over the world as the perceived purity of this form began '... its extraordinary tenacity in the Western imagination'.[42] Here again Cosgrove identifies and traces a Classical Tradition, but without admitting as much.

Claudius Ptolemy

My second example concerns the geographies, cosmographies and chorographies of fifteenth and sixteenth century European mapping that so fascinated Cosgrove and to which he returned repeatedly over his career.[43] This sustained scholarship engaged further with the 'Classical Authority' (in his favoured phrase) of the ancients. In particular, he explored how Renaissance mapping practices and geographical representations of the world were revolutionised when Claudius Ptolemy's second century AD *Geographia* series (eight-books long) was brought from Byzantium to Florence in 1397 and translated and published throughout the fifteenth century.[44] Ptolemaic geographies were themselves the apogee of a Classical Tradition of mapping that originated with the Pythagorean conceptualisation of the spherical earth. And

Cosgrove explained how these intricate, aesthetic and also practically-useful images now served as holistic syntheses of locale, world, and wider cosmos. They were intrinsic to the Renaissance quest for categorisation, hierarchy and intellectual order, he wrote, and were additionally powerful in this regard because they enjoyed '... the authority of a classical text [as they also] appealed to the Renaissance love of hierarchy as a foundation of cosmic and intellectual order'.[45] The Renaissance scholars thought they had captured, and represented, the divine order of the Universe as the ancients had before them.[46] They celebrated their rediscovery of the Classical Tradition and its claim to know the earth; in turn, Cosgrove highlighted *their* scholarship, but also, inevitably, reproduced aspects of this Classical Tradition too.

Virgil and Arcadian landscapes

The classical notions of Arcadian and Virgilian landscapes were also highlighted repeatedly through Cosgrove's writing. In *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* Cosgrove discussed Virgil's enduring influence through the centuries as *the* classical landscape poet for Renaissance Europeans. In the sixteenth-century Veneto, elites celebrated Virgil's pastoral vision of a Golden Age of harmonious human-environment relations through the subtle notions of *poesia* (lyrical poetry in a garden setting). The landscape ideal of Renaissance Italy developed in part, Cosgrove therefore argued, in an attempt to echo and replicate the imagined glories of antiquity as articulated through this classical literature:

> Intellectual humanism and the Renaissance reverence for Antiquity ... ensured that the landscape idea was given a strongly theoretical and classical foundation and reference. From Horace and Virgil came ideas of a Golden Age of harmony between a leisured human life and a willingly productive nature, or pastoral youth and innocence in a bucolic woodland glade, and of the smiling landscape of holy agriculture as an emblem of a morally and socially well-ordered estate. [It was also] a moral imperative justified by reference to Greek and Roman literary models.[47]

In turn, landscape art also celebrated notions of a classical Arcadian idyll. Of the artists who flourished in High Renaissance Venice:

> Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and Paolo Veronese ... were the first to capture the mood of literary arcadia in paint, and their work is the source of a central tradition of European landscape painting stretching through Claude Lorrain to English eighteenth-century and American nineteenth-century ways of perceiving and painting landscape.[48]

Cosgrove then traced the flitting presence of these classical tropes through Flemish landscape art, into the work of Lorrain, Nicholas Poussin and their attendant schools, and across the Atlantic to North American conceptualisations of pure Arcadian wilderness. Here again he traces an element of the Classical Tradition; in one of his final essays he does so more explicitly still.

In *Mapping Arcadia*, Cosgrove addressed Virgil and the literary tradition of Ar-

cadia directly.[49] He reflected on the idea's inflections: from Virgil's re-writing of Roman history in ideological service for his patron Augustus, through to Jacopo Sannazaro's 1480 poem that informed Europe's first recorded encounters with North America and planted the notion that the continent's pristine wilderness was an unspoilt Arcadia. But Cosgrove also undermined more recent saccharine interpretations of romanticised landscapes by recovering the darker stories woven into the canonical versions of the text. He also noted its bloody applications as a metaphor serving European colonialism in North America. From amidst this flurry of Arcadias, Cosgrove hoped to restore '... some of [the concept's] complexity and poetic authority'.[50] To my mind, and although he curiously swayed away from admitting this in print, Cosgrove was here again cherishing the Classical Tradition openly.

The Apollonian perspective

Denis once told me that he considered *Apollo's Eye* (2001) to be his best monograph.[51] In essence, the book traces the Western cosmographical tradition and the genealogy of imagining and representing the Earth—and, to my mind, it is structured by, and written through, the Western Classical Tradition. The opening page, for example, begins with mention of Phoebus Apollo's origins in Greek and Roman mythology, and his translation thereafter through Christian and Renaissance cultures to contemporary twentieth century inflections. The book follows this same trajectory with the aim, Cosgrove wrote, '... to reveal the deep roots of contemporary Global thinking and to acknowledge something of the richly complex cosmographic tradition in which today's geographical imagination is rooted'.[52] I enlist it here, therefore, as my final evidence of this clear theme in Cosgrove's work.

Cosgrove spent the first two chapters of the book excavating various themes from classical civilisations that he revisited and explored in later pages.[53] I cannot outline the rich breadth of his coverage here, but for illustration, it encompasses the impacts of Greek Stoic philosophy on subsequent human-nature-cosmos relations and the enduring belief, since the Ancients, in the 'incorruptible perfection' of mathematics, geometry and conceptual forms. Cosgrove then shifts discussion to the geometrical forms that shaped the iconographic tradition of the sphere and globe as representing empire and territorial power from the classical gods to Christianity, and then, amongst territorial rulers, from Roman emperors to their successors in Enlightenment and twentieth-century Europe. He also outlines how our Western understandings of humanity and humanism find their origins in Greek debate over the human condition and our capacity for abstract thought, reason and logic. While acknowledging the limitations we now worry about in these intellectual frames, Cosgrove nevertheless emphasises how this tradition coursed from 'Greek thinkers ... into Christianity through Hellenism's influence in Rome's empire'.[54] He then notes how it was subsequently inflected by other groups as diverse as Renaissance humanists and Victorian social thinkers.

Cosgrove's geographical concerns also surfaced in these discussions with his concern for how geographical knowledge of global space, and how the imagined boundaries that have continually re-inscribed the earth since classical times, emerged from this tradition. He discussed ancient conceptions of space—of temperate zones, of the liveable *ecumene*, of the 'civilised' spaces of the known world and

the 'uncivilised' realms beyond. He extrapolated these ideas through Greek and Roman conceptions of colony and empire and discussed how they were articulated and represented. Finally, he noted how these concepts found material expression when mapped onto the symbolic and monumental landscapes of imperial cities, with the Rome of Augustus Caesar and subsequent Popes serving as his recurrent example.

For sure, Cosgrove acknowledged that such genealogies are not as seamless and uncontested as some suggest. Perhaps his familiarity with the complex constitution of Renaissance cultures prompted suspicion of sometimes all too convenient conceptual categories like 'Classical' or 'Geographical' traditions? Rather, and with his geographical sensibilities to the fore again, he echoes Nicolet in picking out the *spatiality* of this tradition — as Greek and Roman influences circulated through different cultures, and were impacted by external contact while being re-braided continually into further hybrid forms as this tradition grew and evolved over time.[55] In sum, *Apollo's Eye* revolves around the ways that 'Global representations in antiquity provided numerous themes to be re-worked within later Western imaginations', or, as others would call it, the Classical Tradition.[56]

Of course, Cosgrove's contributions spanned many further intellectual traditions and I do not claim any pre-eminence for the Classical Tradition in his work. Indeed, it would have been possible to write this same essay discussing the role of organised religion — especially Western Christianity and the Judaic-Christian tradition — as influences on the topics Cosgrove studied, and upon how he studied them. Further, his rethinking of landscape traditions in geography and other disciplines may be remembered by history as his most significant contributions to academic debate; there will be far fewer noting his engagements with the Classics.

Yet, throughout his work on Renaissance landscapes and connected geographical knowledge, Cosgrove was always aware of, and careful to note, the classical lineage that informed and shaped the various landscapes, representations and knowledge that he addressed. His understanding of this inherited set of philosophical, architectural, artistic and literary traditions was hard-wired within his scholarship and informed his thinking consistently. This becomes particularly clear in his later books — *Apollo's Eye* and *Geography and Vision* — wherein he routinely leapt across time from the classical civilisations to subsequent articulations of their ideas and influence. It seems to me that although he never identified it explicitly by name, Cosgrove was working with, and through, the Classical Tradition consistently. With his passing, this intellectual lineage is at greater risk of still further neglect from contemporary geographers. William Koelsch argued that Strabo was the 'ancestor of world cultural geography'; my concern is that Denis Cosgrove, one of the pioneering 'new cultural geographers', might also be one of the last English-speaking geographers to understand and appreciate classical thinkers such as Strabo.[57]

Notes

[1] G. P. Landow, 'Victorianised Romans: images of Rome in Victorian painting', *Browning Institute Studies* **12**, (1984), pp. 29-5A.

[2] E. Prettlejohn, 'Edward John Poynter 1836-1919', in M. Liversidge and C. Edwards eds., *Imagining Rome: British artists and Rome in the nineteenth century* (Bristol, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, 1996), pp. 126-128.

[3] On this, for example, see the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (Boston University, USA).

[4] K. Lilley, ' Denis Cosgrove', in P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin and G. Valentine eds., *Key thinkers on space and place* (London, Sage, 2004), pp. 84-89.

[5] C. Edwards, 'The roads to Rome', in M. Liversidge and C. Edwards eds., *Imagining Rome. British artists and Rome in the nineteenth century* (Bristol, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, 1996), pp. 8-19.

[6] D. Bell, 'From ancient to modern in Victorian Imperial thought', *The Historical Journal* **49**, (2006), pp. 735-759; and cf. R. Betts, 'The allusion to Rome in British imperialist thought of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Victorian Studies* **15**, (1971), pp. 149-159.

[7] S. Wood Cordulack, 'Victorian caricature and classicism: picturing the London water crisis', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* **9**, (2003), pp. 535-583; Edwards, 'The roads to Rome', p. 8; P. Jacks, *The antiquarian and the myth of antiquity: the origins of Rome in Renaissance thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993); on the Germans and Rome, see S. Schama, *Landscape and memory* (London, Harper Collins, 1995), pp. 81-100. G.M. Rushworth, 'Architecture and art', in C. Bailey, ed., *The legacy of Rome* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1924), pp. 385-427.

[8] Bell, 'From ancient to modern'.

[9] Edwards, 'The roads to Rome', p. 8.

[10] F. M. Turner, 'Victorian Classics: sustaining the study of the Ancient world', in M. Daunton, ed., *The organisation of knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, The British Academy, 2005), p. 161.

[11] Turner, 'Victorian Classics'; V. Tietze Larson, 'Classics and the acquisition and validation of power in Britain's 'imperial century' (1815-1914)', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition,* (1999-2000), pp. 185-225.

[12] M. J. Heffernan, 'A State scholarship: the political geography of French international science during the nineteenth century', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **19**, (1994), pp. 21-45; Edwards, 'The roads to Rome', p. 8.

[13] J. Onians, *Bearers of meaning: the Classical orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988); D. Atkinson, D. Cosgrove and A. Notaro, 'Empire in modern Rome: shaping and remembering an imperial city, 1870-1911', in F. Driver and D. Gilbert eds., *Imperial cities: landscape, performance and space* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 40-63; Rushworth, 'Architecture and art'; G. Giovannoni, 'Building and engineering', in C. Bailey ed., *The legacy of Rome* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1924), pp. 429-474; on this style at the 1893 Chicago World Fair: J. Gilbert, *Perfect cities: Chicago's utopias of 1893* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[14] D. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (London, Croom Helm, 1985),

pp. 147-159.

[15] F. Driver and D. Gilbert eds., *Imperial cities: landscape, performance and space* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999); H.T. Parker, *The cult of antiquity and the French revolutionaries* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982); P. Woolf, 'Symbol of the Second Empire: cultural politics and the Paris Opera House', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds., *The iconography of landscape* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 214-235.

[16] On London as an imperial city: F. Driver and D. Gilbert, 'Heart of Empire? Landscape, space and performance in Imperial London', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **15**, (1997), pp. 11-28.

[17] Bell, 'From ancient to modern'.

[18] C. W. J. Withers and R.J. Mayhew, 'Rethinking "disciplinary" history: geography in British universities, c.1580-1887', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **27**, (2002), pp. 11-29.

[19] D. Livingstone, *The geographical tradition* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1992).

[20] R. I. Murchison, 'On the earlier volcanic rocks of the Papal States, and the adjacent parts of Italy', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* **6**, (1850), pp. 281-310.

[21] L. Polverini, 'Il primo insegnamento di "geografia antica" in Italia', *Geografia Antica* **1**, (1992), pp. 5-14.

[22] W. Koelsch, 'Squinting back at Strabo', *Geographical Review* **94**, (2004), pp. 502-518.

[23] E.C. Semple, *The geography of the Mediterranean region: its relation to ancient history* (London, Constable, 1932).

[24] Semple, *Geography of the Mediterranean*, p. 3.

[25] Ibid., p. 3.

[26] E.C. Semple, 'Ancient Mediterranean pleasure gardens', *Geographical Review* **19**, (1929), pp. 420-443.

[27] A. Buttimer, 'Home-reach-journey', in P. Moss ed., Autobiography in geography (Syracuse, University of Syracuse Press, 2000), pp. 22-41.

[28] C. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian shore: nature and culture in western thought from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967).

[29] Glacken, *Rhodian shore*, p. xvi

[30] Koelsch, 'Squinting back'.

[31] C. Nicolet, *Space, geography, and politics in the early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1991); J.S. Romm, *The edges of the Earth in ancient thought: geography, exploration, and fiction: geography, exploration and fiction* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992).

[32] K. Clarke, *Between geography and history: Hellenistic constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999); D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: a Greek man of letters in Augustan Rome* (London, Routledge, 2000); D. Dueck, H. Lindsay and S. Pothecary, eds., *Strabo's cultural geography: the making of a Kolossourgia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[33] C. Adams and R Laurence, *Travel and geography in the Roman Empire* (London, Routledge, 2001); A.C. Purves, *Space and time in ancient Greek narrative* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010); K. Raaflaub and R.J.A. Talbert eds., *Geography*

19

and ethnography: perceptions of the world in pre-modern societies (London, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

[34] M.I. Finley, *The ancient economy* (Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1973); M.I. Finlay, 'The ancient city from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and beyond', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* **19**, (1977), pp. 305-327; P. Goodman, *The Roman city and its periphery: from Rome to Gaul* (London, Routledge, 2006); H. Parkins ed., *Roman urbanism: beyond the consumer city* (London, Routledge, 1997).

[35] Clarke, 'Between geography and history', p. 2.

[36] D. Cosgrove, 'Introductory essay for the paperback edition', in *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Schama, *Landscape and memory*.

[37] Onions, *Bearers of meaning*.

[38] D. Cosgrove, *The Palladian landscape* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1993).

[39] Ibid, p. 20.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Cosgrove, *Social formation*.

[42] Cosgrove, *Palladian landscape*, p. 23.

[43] Cosgrove, *Palladian landscape*; D. Cosgrove, 'The geometry of landscape: practical and speculative art in sixteenth-century Venetian land territories', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds., *The iconography of landscape* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 254-276; and D. Cosgrove, 'Mapping new worlds: culture and cartography in sixteenth-century Venice', *Imago Mundi* **44**, (1992), pp. 65-89; D. Cosgrove, 'Images of Renaissance cosmography, 1450-1650', in D. Woodward ed., *The history of cartography*, volume three: Cartography in the European Renaissance (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007) pp. 55-98; D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's eye: A cartographic genealogy of the Earth in the western imagination* (Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[44] Cosgrove, 'Mapping new worlds'; Cosgrove, *Palladian landscape*.

[45] Cosgrove, 'Mapping new worlds', p. 66.

[46] D. Cosgrove, *Geography and visions* (London, Royal Holloway University of London, 1996).

[47] Cosgrove, *Social formation* [1988 edition], p. 142.

[48] Ibid, p. 122.

[49] D. Cosgrove, 'Mapping Arcadia' in D. Cosgrove, *Geography and vision: seeing, imagining and representing the world* (London, IB Tauris, 2008), pp. 68-84.

[50] Ibid, p. 70.

[51] Cosgrove, 'Apollo's Eye'.

[52] Ibid, p. xii.

[53] Ibid, pp. 1-53.

[54] Ibid, p. 25.

[55] Ibid, p. 16, although he was also careful to assert the clear and enduring significance of classical, and especially Greek ideas, in footnote 38, p. 272.

[56] Ibid, p. 51.

[57] Koelsch, 'Squinting back', p. 503.

2

The Post-Palladian Landscape
Iconographies of New Rurality in the Venetian Mainland
Francesco Vallerani

Figs. 2.1 and 2.2. Andrea Palladio's Villa Saraceno, 1545 and post-modern copy of Villa Saraceno, 1998 (photographs by the author).

Villa Saraceno (fig. 2.1) is located in the province of Vicenza, in the Veneto region (north-east Italy). Named after the aristocratic family who commissioned its construction on a pre-existing agricultural annex, the villa is among the earliest and probably most iconic works by Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). A wide pathway leads to the entrance of its main building, whose sober symmetrical façade epitomises the ideal of harmony and equilibrium sought by one of greatest masters of Italian Renaissance architecture. A few kilometres away from Villa Saraceno is a faithful replica of the villa's main building constructed in 1998 and currently privately owned (fig. 2.2). It is a bizarre landmark within the increasingly commodified landscape of Veneto. Two villas, two visions of arcadia: Villa Saraceno serves as the vanishing point of a wide prospect; as a theatrical stage looking over a carefully engineered harmonious landscape. Its twentieth-century copy, by contrast, exists in a fenced self-enclosed microcosm. A high gate and hedge separate this privatised Arcadian retreat from the surrounding world.

The images of the two villas speak respectively of a famed historical iconic landscape and of its contemporary fetishised re-appropriation. Their juxtaposition is just one of many examples that increasingly characterise the landscape of the Veneto region. This essay explores emerging tensions within this landscape. In particular, it considers how the economic boom of the past two decades has been redefining the historical dichotomy between city and country, producing new iconographies that are aimed more at 'selling places' than at creating the social awareness of 'a common good' as envisaged by Renaissance makers.[1]

21

Veneto and the Palladian landscape

Veneto is the eighth largest region in Italy, with a total area of almost 18,400 square kilometres. Historically, the region included a significant part of Venice's territorial possessions. However, it was only in the fifteenth century, after establishing an extensive maritime domain along the coasts of the Adriatic and of the eastern Mediterranean (extending as far as Crete and Cyprus), that the imperial city-state turned its economic and military interests to the vast plain in the hinterland. This change of expansionistic orientation from the sea to the mainland was well justified: a complex geopolitical configuration of city-states including Verona, Padua, and Treviso started to be perceived as a possible threat to Venice's hegemony.[2] But there were also other (and intrinsically geographical) reasons. The Veneto plain is bounded by a pre-Alpine limestone range which rapidly rises before the massive Alpine barrier of the Dolomites. These features result in a thick network of rivers characterised by relatively short courses and irregular flows. The rivers flow into the characteristic amphibious morphology of the Venetian lagoon, producing significant sedimentation.[3] By the fifteenth century, such morphological dynamics had started to constitute a serious danger to the integrity of the lagoon, which risked being completely filled, thus reducing the military safety of the city.

Furthermore, the conquest of the plain and of the pre-Alpine range would have granted the increasingly populated city a secure supply of cereals. At the same time, pre-Alpine forests would have also provided Venetians with wood for ship construction—the key to Venice's success as a maritime superpower. Finally, the Venetian countryside represented an excellent opportunity to fruitfully invest the revenues obtained from trade with the Orient. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new class of Venetian landowners started to purchase land in the plain and on the gentle hills of Veneto and to commission delightful residences equipped with stables, barns and granaries. Their goal was agrarian profit as much as the fulfilment of the exclusive aspirations of a new 'erudite *otium*'.[4] It is in this context that we can situate Palladio's role as one of the great craftsmen of a vast territorial project; a project that sought to redefine the economic and cultural rural landscape not only of Venice, but more generally of Europe itself.

Palladio's work clearly defines the particular landscape unit of the '*villa di campagna*' (countryside villa) as a constitutive element of an aesthetically pleasing and at the same time economically highly productive environment.[5] As shown by Denis Cosgrove, Palladio's design work was connected to a rich array of local meanings that were in perfect harmony with the socio-economic and cultural aims of a European power in decline in terms of overseas relations, but in powerful expansion in the functional and aesthetic construction of a hinterland providing some of the highest rural incomes in Europe.[6] The iconographic method employed by Cosgrove in the Veneto area took his studies into philosophy, literature and art, as well as into the agronomy, hydraulic engineering and trade of the mainland, thereby making a complete analysis of the semantic sedimentation in which the Palladian 'signature' is set.[7] The recent fate of this 'signature' represents a good starting point to reflect on changing economic and rural aspects of the Veneto region, a region in which the chaotic expansion of private planning and pliant production anarchy paid little heed either to the symbolic capital of the inherited landscapes or to the ecological and

geophysical vulnerability of the local environment.

From eulogy to outrage
The muddled, largely unplanned, economic expansion of the 1960-1990 in the Veneto region had the merit of bringing economic well-being and a higher standard of living in general, lifting most of the rural population out of the depressed conditions in which they had found themselves since about the mid 1950s. As recent research suggests, the dramatic increase in living standards is in many respects comparable to the radical transformation of the region that took place at the time of Palladio.[8] During and after the post-war boom, however, the land has been envisaged and used as a simple support, as a source of resources, without any consideration for environmental impacts with often dramatic consequences.

After decades of reckless development, Veneto is now witnessing the emergence of a new movement to rediscover the traditional countryside. This is essentially a photographic promotion of stereotypical Veneto landscape beauty. Images provide a reactionary propaganda that uses the apparent objectivity of the camera to conceal from the reader, or rather the picture 'consumer', the real and irresponsible dynamics of environmental waste, building speculation and misuse, and social collapse that were beginning to alter the region's rural order.

The end of the millennium saw the emergence of a new multi-centred mosaic of activities and functions which various scholars compared to similar earlier developments in different parts of the world, including Randstaadt (Holland), the Ruhr, and the Los Angeles area.[9] Today, Veneto is characterised by a complex heritage of historical landscapes, which recent urban developments are turning into an eclectic mixture of old and new. Although the spreading urbanisation and the fracture of traditional town-country relationships is undeniable, it is also true that a different sense of the land has taken shape, one that is less related to local ties but is more global and sustained by a new geography of flows.[10]

Recent years have also been marked by the expansion of a new 'green' consciousness, with the growth of committees for the protection of the environment and careful restorations, not only of patrician villas, but also of more modest farmhouses. This, however, has primarily been a time of attentive, prolific promotion of the recreational opportunities provided by a widespread network of river routes, cycle tracks, riding trails and walking paths; in other words, with infrastructures associated with the new, self-gratifying ideology of sustainable recreation and with the demand for more authentic tourist experiences.

The consolidation of these shared social attitudes coexists with the recent spread of new chaotic rural dynamics. These are based on the usual processes of land revenues that continue to eat away at the efficiency of the regional system. This concerns not only the region's environmental aspect, but also (and especially) the road network and residential satisfaction. A journey along a good many of the roads in Veneto takes you through an uninterrupted urban strip, distinguished by a relentless formal and functional confusion that makes the usual place names accidental and insignificant. The collective perception of places is increasingly obscured by the plethora of flashy signs advertising manufacturers, shops, restaurants and recreational diversions.[11]

Post-Palladian landscape and post-productive country

The gradual weakening of traditional farming vocations and the subsequent, over-whelming migration of urban population to the country can also be observed in the Veneto. But it occurs with a kind of low-cost suburbanisation, with house sizes similar to those of dormitory suburbs, quite different from the much more prevalent European trend of idealised rural areas. These are seen not only as providing attractive recreational and tourist opportunities, but also as evocative backgrounds against which new existential strategies may be planned and effected. The superiority of country life is another aspect of the Palladian legacy that has influenced the development of European taste for the landscape and holidays. Palladio helped create the moral superiority of the countryside with his villa designs, setting the basis for an attitude to the country that was to take root throughout the Western world.[12]

Beyond this aspect, Cosgrove does not hesitate to relate the Palladian heritage to the current dynamics responsible for the rapidly developing urban sprawl. The rural organisation begun in Palladio's time effectively provided the framework for the current propagation of manufacturing activities, enabled by a well-populated and easily inhabitable area.[13] The villa, like a business structure of today, was a dynamic hub and a driving force for a more efficient use of nature, which was the outcome of rational alterations to the morphology of terrain. This can be read especially in the careful choice of sites and the effective management of water, meaning that not only the noble building, but also the out-buildings, the water works and the irrigated and reclaimed fields are all prestigious forebears of the current agropolitan model of the Veneto.

The prototype of the scattered city launched in the Palladian era was, however, governed by strict public control of the business activities centred on the villas, whether involving farming or pre-industrial concerns. It was necessary to keep to a strict body of law, which ensured the correct use of the resources on which the delicate operation of the mainland system rested. These ranged from the felling of trees to the hydro-geological balance of the slopes, from the quality of the water to protection of the shores, and were intended to ensure that the advantages of the individual would not be to the detriment of the public good. In short, this way of planning the landscape was very different from what is commonly seen today.

The problem with today's landscape of the Veneto region (and consequently with the economic model by which it has been shaped) is primarily one of environmental degradation. The rural advantages inherited from the centuries-old Palladian tradition, which is still present and can still be defended and repaired for use as a prestigious and environmentally sound tool of urban innovation, are therefore being penalised. The precious potential of the landscape as a cultural good is being wasted, the rural marketing potential abandoned, and the growing post-modern demand for pleasantness, or an enjoyable background against which to work and live, ignored.[14] Most of the locals on the Venetian mainland perceive the Palladian legacy as a completely foreign, if not actually hostile, symbolic surplus.

Indeed, the post-Palladian landscape is an intrinsic part of the formal and functional explosion of the post-modern. We are now seeing widespread 'privatopias', cellular territoriality, monumental microcosms and fragments of beauty detached

from their context, whose preservation and conscious defence is removed from the collective imagination, unless it is a question of the places of mass liturgies held in the name of tourism. Palladio is only a hindrance, a reference to the rural order that disturbs the insuperable, incremental choices transforming the quality of the places. It is possible to analyse central Veneto with the cultural idea of an epochal landscape, from the widespread Arcadian landscape of Palladian stamp to the 'urbanised Arcadia' of the more than 300 environmental grassroots committees, a disturbing *summa* of damaged landscapes, from which voices that demand to be heard call for a shared rural policy.[15]

Towards an ethics of common goods

Palladian classicism contains another message: the cohesion between ethics and aesthetics – the beauty that improves the world. Further studies derive from the consideration of the Renaissance treatise entitled *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura* (Ten days of real agriculture) by Agostino Gallo, first published in Venice in 1565 and certainly well-known to those commissioning villas from Palladio.[16] The current sociocultural reconstruction of the idea of the Veneto landscape, nourished by increasingly elaborate escapist notions aimed at the creation of domestic Arcadias, shows a number of not negligible points of contact with the sixteenth-century celebration of 'villa pleasures'. The number of those now living in a countryside detached from farm production life has enormously increased.[17] In the sixteenth century it was rather a very small minority, which was also true of most rural areas in the Western world. Additionally rural tourism results in large seasonal increases in rural population.

Although Renaissance handbooks and the actual reality of villa life reveal a direct and careful control over the quality of the landscape, the post-modern democratisation of 'holiday house' ownership in the former countryside seems to have sanctioned a disturbing disengagement with the environmental impacts of rural urbanisation. This move is undoubtedly detached from the utilitarianism of primary obligations. It rather occurs on the basis of individualistic hedonism. And perhaps this is appropriate, as it confirms the dictates and international canons of 'country style' promoted by the glossy magazines, which have the same prestige as the ancient treatises on villa life.

Today, the most integral elements of the Palladian landscape are at risk; they are the object of requests for new developments, which are progressively eroding the Palladian quality, with new roads being opened in the hills and existing ones being widened (such as in Arquà Petrarca, Valpolicella, the Prosecco hills, quarries in the Berici hills etc.). Once the personal, private landscape has been obtained, far from the damage of the urbanised countryside and well protected by a vast array of fences, a dangerous social fracture takes place. This leads firstly to a withdrawal into the domestic microcosm, an impeccable Arcadian setting for family use, and then to a disengagement from, and fall-off in, interest for the social control of the land which is left to the mercy of speculators and the erosion of its environmental quality. This last aspect is much more evident in highly industrialised areas like the Palladian Veneto than in others, like Provence, Tuscany and Umbria, which still have large areas of predominantly traditional landscapes. These are effectively protected, thus restrict-

ing the contrast with the increasingly widespread scattering of pleasant middle-class retreats, which, like the ancient *poderi di spasso da gentiluomo,* allow escape from reality; they are gilt cages where it is nice to hide away and play at being 'farmers'.[18]

This new perception of the rural reality, no longer dominated by the ties of production, may be assessed by referring to the Renaissance paradigm of *renovatio,* or the almost utopian need for cyclical renewal, a growing desire for morality and justice, and the search for a new personal and social equilibrium by changing lifestyles, all within a new idea of nature, a new environmental culture.

The recent and recurring threats of global food contamination show the topical nature of the thoughts on health expressed in the *Discorsi intorno alla vita sobria* by Alvise Cornaro, once again within the humanist principle of *renovatio.* The sober life is another expression that is widespread in the West, or better, the noun 'sobriety', which along with the other key word, 'decrease', are the conceptual pillars of what will be the next ethical approach to more respectful and ecologically viable living. The ideal of an existence in harmony with nature has many more admirers now than in Palladio's day and, in the case of Veneto, many of these are rural locals who have recently transformed their traditional links with agriculture into a postmodern way of life. This is shown by the large consumer demand for products related to the 'health/sanctity' of organic farming; products that respect the regular rhythms of the seasonal cycles and that do not involve manufactured chemicals. But there is also an increase in farmhouse holidays, outdoor recreational pursuits on foot, bicycle or horseback, and a return to contemplation of the scenery.

The key to a better quality of life is to return to an ethical commitment, both in daily actions and political choices, reminding us of the duty of responsibilities that can turn the easy luxuries of immediate advantage into more farsighted strategies of prediction and the sharing of common duties. This will involve a search for less 'egotistical' and more 'public' geographies, where the sense of ideals and civil continuity can bring about a rural sociability and profound identification with an evolution of the landscape that is respectful of historic and ecological quality.

Notes

[1] G. Kearns and C. Philo, *Selling places: the city as cultural capital, past and present* (Oxford and New York, Pergamon Press, 1993).

[2] F. Lane, *Venice: a maritime republic* (Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[3] F. Vallerani, *Acque a nord est* (Verona, Cierre, 2004).

[4] R. Derosas ed., *Villa.siti e contesti* (Treviso, Canova, 2006).

[5] L. Puppi, *Andrea Palladio: opera completa* (Milano, Electa, 1973).

[6] D. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (London, Croom Helm, 1984).

[7] D. Cosgrove, *The Palladian landscape* (Leicester and London, Leicester University Press, 1993).

[8] B. Anastasia and G. Corò, *Evoluzione di un'economia regionale: il Nordest dopo il successo* (Portogruaro, Ediciclo, 1996).

[9] See, for example, D. Cosgrove, 'Los Angeles and the Italian città diffusa: landscapes of the cultural space economy', in Th. Terkenli and A. M. d' Hauteserre eds., *Landscapes of a new cultural economy of space* (Dordrecht, Springer, 2006), pp. 69-92.

[10] G. Roverato, 'La terza regione industriale', in S. Lanaro ed., *Il Veneto* (Torino, Einaudi, 1984), pp. 165-230.

[11] F. Vallerani, 'Dal successo economico all'Arcadia urbanizzata: i nuovi paesaggi del Veneto', in G. Baldan Zenoni-Politeo ed., *Paesaggio e paesaggi veneti* (Milano, Guerini, 1999), pp. 145-160.

[12] M. Bunce, *The countryside ideal: Anglo-American images of landscape* (New York, Routledge, 1994).

[13] G. Fasolo, *Le ville del vicentino* (Vicenza, Arti Grafiche, 1980).

[14] M. L. Gazerro ed., *Veneto: un ambiente a rischio* (Padova, Cleup, 1997).

[15] F. Vallerani and M. Varotto eds., *Il grigio oltre le siepi: geografie smarrite e racconti del disagio in Veneto* (Portogruaro, Nuova Dimensione, 2005).

[16] A. Gallo, *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e i piaceri della villa* (Vinegia, Farni, 1565).

[17] P. Donadieu, 'Du dèsir de campagne a l'art du paysagiste', *L'Espace Geographique* **3**, (1998), pp. 193-203.

[18] P. Boyle and K. Halfacree, *Migration into rural areas: theories and issues* (Chichester, Wiley, 1998).

Putting the History in Natural History
Buster Simpson's *Host Analog* and Alan Sonfist's *Time Landscape*
Paul Kelsch
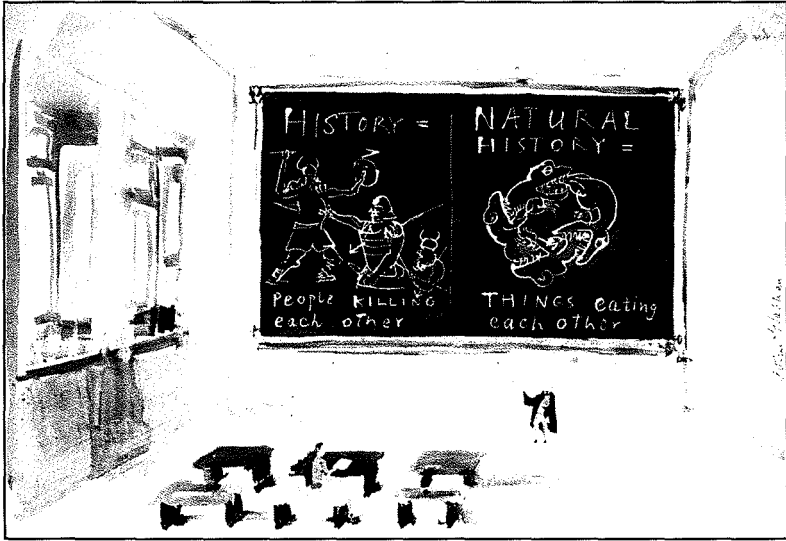
Fig. 3.1. John Glashan, 'History and Natural History' (source: *Spectator*, 29 January 1994, p. 17).

In a cartoon by John Glashan, a diminutive professor stands in front of a nearly empty classroom, dwarfed by the cavernous space of the room and an enormous blackboard with two drawings (fig. 3.1). One drawing depicts a warrior being slain by a second, smaller warrior, who is being slain by an even smaller one. This one in turn has an arrow through his torso, presumably from a fourth unseen warrior. It is titled, 'History = People Killing Each Other'. In the other drawing, four identical crocodile-like creatures are shown in a circle and each is swallowing the tail of the one in front of it, forming a reptilian wreath. It is titled, 'Natural History = Things Eating Each Other'.

Aside from its humour, the cartoon betrays cultural assumptions about history and natural history. The three figures killing each other form a noticeable sequence, the diminishing size of the warriors suggesting a progression in time. A story is implied here, even if we do not know its details. By contrast, the four creatures are identical, and they form a circle. There is no beginning or end, no evident story, just the endless cycle of nature. The implication is that natural history is not like 'real'

history. Nature does not progress, nor does it have stories. History, it is assumed, is a product of human culture, and Nature, standing outside of culture, is therefore without actual history. Natural History, it appears, is an oxymoron.

Two ecological artworks, Buster Simpson's *Host Analog* in Portland, Oregon, and Alan Sonfist's *Time Landscape* in New York's Greenwich Village, show the fallacy of this assumption. Each is a tiny, planted forest in an urban setting, and each illustrates the extent to which nature has history — ecological history and cultural history. Together they show that natural history is just as linear and contingent upon particular circumstances as human history. In this essay I tell two stories about these artworks that place them in ecological history and in art history. I argue that natural history is a vital scientific and cultural endeavour, one that integrates ecological knowledge with other forms of cultural knowledge. I write as both a cultural geographer and a landscape architect and view them, therefore, with both the backward glance of an historical geographer and the speculative agency of a landscape architect. My interest is not just in what they reveal about the understandings of nature that inform the intentions of the artists and the critique of the works, but how that critique opens possibilities for future landscape interventions.

Host Analog and the succession of ecological theory

Host Analog (1991) is a huge Douglas fir log — fifty feet long and six feet in diameter — that Buster Simpson cut into eight segments and arranged in an arc outside Portland, Oregon's convention centre. It is a 'nurse log', a fallen tree on which seedlings germinate and gain a competitive edge in the succession of the forest. A slender, stainless steel irrigation framework traces the same arc above the log, misting the seedlings growing on its back. Simpson hopes to generate a tiny forest as a symbol of the connections between the people of Oregon and the surrounding forests.[1]

I first visited *Host Analog* on a warm, summer day in 1997. I was surprised by the sheer size of the log segments, each as tall, or taller, than I am. I was also surprised to see the amount of volunteer vegetation that had grown up around the logs. Willows, oaks, grasses and other vegetation had seeded in around the log segments, many having grown to ten or fifteen feet tall. This 'weedy' vegetation completely shrouded some of the logs, but on others the original seedlings were growing, slowly establishing themselves on the giant logs. Standing between two logs with a thick blanket of salal, a common shrub of Pacific Northwest forests, I found myself thinking of past canoe trips in the Adirondack Mountains of northern New York State. The salal and tiny evergreens reminded me of the shrubs and seedlings that grow along the rocky shorelines of Adirondack lakes. 'It works', I thought to myself, 'The artwork is evoking my own connections with forests, just as Simpson had wanted'. Later, walking amidst a remnant old-growth forest not far from Portland, I realised that the imagery and associations the work conjured up in me were nothing like those of old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest. Those forests are dark, with huge trunks rising higher than one can easily see or lying like huge decaying carcasses on the soft and very damp ground. The phenomena of *Host Analog* and rocky Adirondack shorelines are nothing like the phenomena of the old-growth forests of Oregon.

A better comparison to *Host Analog* is a 'messy clear-cut'. Messy clear-cuts

were developed by Jerry Franklin, a forestry professor at University of Washington, in the midst of the highly divisive political debate in the Northwest over logging old-growth forests in the 1980s and 1990s. Messy clear-cuts were conceived as hybrid forests, part clear-cut and part old-growth forest, as a compromise in the then raging debate.[2] It is helpful to describe messy clear-cuts in comparison to conventional logging practices. Conventional harvesting involves clear-cutting the forest, burning the commercially unvalued slash, replanting the land with seedlings (usually douglas fir in the Northwest), spraying with herbicides to keep out competing plants, and harvesting on a short rotation, say fifty to sixty years. This produces a fast-growing stand of trees, maximising tree growth and production of wood. Conventional harvesting is often compared to the effects of fires in order to make it seem more natural, but it really is an agricultural model. The trees are a field crop.

Messy clear-cuts are modelled after natural disturbances to the forest and were inspired by the regeneration of the forest after the eruption of Mount St. Helens. Life returned to Mount St. Helens much quicker than scientists expected, regenerating around the scattered remnants of the forest.

> Most significant were residuals left by old-growth—seeds, scattered large trees, dead logs, snags, and rotting organic matter. These carbon sources were the structural components from which much rebirth emerged, providing seedbeds, habitat for insects, and energy for streams. Countless seeds and spores survived in rotting lags, snags and humus ... It was clear that the keys to this revival were the living things and organic matter that survived the disturbance.[3]

Messy clear-cutting mimics natural disturbances by leaving behind these 'biological legacies' in order to regenerate a new kind of forest, one that produces useful timber but which also develops old-growth characteristics more quickly. Franklin's strategy is to 'replant trees further apart to delay the growing together of the evergreen canopy that chokes off light and life underneath; leave logs and other coarse woody debris behind; leave green trees in a clear-cut; provide different ages and species of trees; leave standing snags'.[4] The goal is to achieve timber production without destroying the ecological relationships of old-growth forests.

The emphasis on natural disturbance and the creative agency that led to messy clear-cuts are part of a larger shift in ecological paradigms over the last several decades. Ecology, as it is understood today, is rooted in plant science, and for much of the twentieth century it was grounded in Frederic Clements' theory of vegetative succession (formulated in the early 1900s).[5] Clements theorised that vegetation formed 'communities' of plants that functioned as super-organisms. They followed predictable patterns of succession with earlier stages preparing the way for later stages, culminating in a stable, balanced climax community. In time this theory would be transferred to the concept of an ecosystem, and with it came the notion of stability and the balance of nature. This is the model that underlies the Natural History side of Glashan's cartoon with its endless cycle of time.

Because no one lives long enough to witness succession on any one site, Clements' theory was supported by evidence from different sites in different stages

of succession. A 'classic' example was Glacier Bay in Alaska, where retreating glaciers created a set of newly formed sand bars, spaced about the same distance apart, over a time span of more than hundred and fifty years. On the basis of the vegetation on the different sandbars, the Clementsian model described succession as follows.

> Succession began when plants invaded the shoreline. An initial community of mosses and herbaceous species was followed by low-growing willows, cottonwoods, and alders. The alders soon spread into thickets, which were in turn invaded by sitka spruce. After a century, the spruce forest completely shaded out the lower-growing alders and was itself infiltrated by mountain and western hemlock. This mixed spruce-hemlock forest is considered to be the final, or climax stage of succession, reached after a period of two hundred years.[6]

In the 1980s, Christopher Fastie, a graduate student at the University of Alaska, carefully reconstructed the actual history of each site through analysis of tree rings and soils collected on ten sites spanning the temporal range of the Bay.

> Fastie found that the actual history sometimes differed considerably from the classic successional narrative. The three oldest sites closest to the open sea displayed an invasion of spruce and hemlock much earlier than expected, and there was little evidence that alder thickets were ever a dominant part of the early forest history of these sites. The middle-aged sites were covered with alder thickets, which seemed to have greatly delayed the invasion of spruce and hemlock. At the very youngest sites, over sixty kilometres from the sea and closest to the glacier, cottonwood rather than alder was coming to dominate the earlier phases of vegetational change.[7]

What Fastie found was that each site had a distinct history, and the vegetation developed according to the particular circumstances at each site. Natural history was not a repetitive cycle, but a non-repeatable sequence of events that could be described according to a particular storyline of glacial retreat, available seed sources, and colonisation. Each site had its own story. In other words, he found it to be more like 'people killing each other' than like 'animals eating each other'.

Non-equilibrium ecology, the 'new paradigm' that has replaced the Clementsian model, is built on this understanding of natural history. According to current theory, the vegetation at a site results from the specific history of the site as characterised by the type and frequency of disturbances and the availability of seeds to colonise in the wake of disturbance.[8] This model is more speculative and probabilistic than predictive. It undermines the comfort that a predictive, stable ecology gave, but it opens the door to potentially different landscape interventions. If there is no 'correct' path of succession, then people like foresters and environmental artists who actively modify the landscape can engage successional processes through creative acts of disturbance and seed dispersal.

This is the similarity between *Host Analog* and messy clear-cuts. Simpson, by importing the nurse log and seedlings to the convention centre in the wake of the

disturbance of construction, and Franklin, by cutting the forest and leaving live trees as seed sources, each creatively engage the ecological history of their sites. This is a creative agency that would have been denied by the Clementsian model.

Time Landscape and the Hudson River School of painting

Time Landscape (1978) is a tiny deciduous forest that Alan Sonfist planted alongside LaGuardia Place in Greenwich Village. The forest is a mere 45 feet by 185 feet, surrounded by a simple metal fence with a sign reading:

> Time Landscape
> An environmental sculpture of a pre-colonial forest, showing how this area looked in the fifteenth century.
> This sculpture was made possible through the cooperation of artist Alan Sonfist, 505 LaGuardia Place, Local Planning Board No. 2, and numerous private and corporate individuals.
> To participate, call 431-9563.

When planting the piece, Sonfist resisted his artistic urge to compose it, and instead arranged the trees to look like a natural forest. He sees it as a public, historical monument, focusing on the natural history of the city rather than an important figure or event.

> Public monuments traditionally have celebrated events in human history—acts or humans of importance to the whole community. In the twentieth century, as we perceive our dependence on nature, the concept of community expands to include nonhuman elements, and civic monuments should honour and celebrate life and acts of another part of the community: natural phenomena. Within the city, public monuments should recapture and revitalise the history of the environment natural to that location.[9]

The particular natural history that Sonfist is honouring is that of a clearing succeeding to a mixed-deciduous forest. The works tells a successional story, progressing from south to north from cedars, birches, witch hazel and sassafras, all pioneer or understory species, to oaks, elms, ashes, and tulip poplars, dominant species mid-Atlantic hardwood forests.

Sonfist conceived of *Time Landscape* when Clements' succession theory still dominated ecological thought, and the work embodies that thinking. Its succession narrative represents a classic sequence of field to forest succession. There are two exceptions to this narrative, each reflecting specific human associations with the forest. A small grove of beeches refers to an earlier beech grove that grew near this spot, where an early New Yorker used to eat lunch when fishing in a nearby stream. The other exception is an apple tree donated by members of the surrounding community when the artwork was first planted. Apples trees were not part of the pre-colonial forest of Manhattan, but Sonfist included it in the piece anyway. 'It is part of the human ecology', he claimed.[10]

Like the colonial fisherman and the present-day neighbours to the artwork, Sonfist has deep ties to the forests of New York. As a child growing up in the Bronx, he frequently skipped school to avoid gang violence and instead played in the nearby Hemlock Forest, a literal descendant of New York's pre-colonial forests. He composed branches, rocks and other found objects into simple sculptures, an indication of his future career and style. In 1965, when he was studying art in college, the Hemlock Forest was vandalised. He proposed *Time Landscape* in response to that event, because he wanted other children to have the opportunity to experience a forest as he did.

As with many public art proposals, his met with resistance. Ironically, it was not the local community that resisted it, but the art community. The National Endowment for the Arts denied his application for funding, because they did not see it as a serious piece of art, regardless of what other merits the work might have. Since being planted in 1978, the work has been identified as an important, early ecological artwork, but in 1965 Sonfist's proposal was apparently too far ahead of its time.[11] By 1965, environmental artists like Robert Smithson, Walter de Maria and Michael Heizer had begun working directly in the landscape, but their major works that would define that movement had yet to be built, so it is not surprising that Sonfist's proposal transgressed the NEA's ideas of art. This illustrates Arthur Danto's claim that artworks gain their status as artworks in part due to their historical circumstances. Not everything is possible at all times, he asserts.[12] Andy Warhol's *Brillo Boxes* or Marcel Duchamp's presentation of a urinal as *Fountain* would have been inconceivable as artworks in other times.

For his part, Sonfist saw himself continuing the traditions of the Hudson River School painters, especially Asher Durand, who frequently painted intimate forest scenes with subtle narrative themes.

> I really see myself as an American artist whose antecedents are the Hudson River painters. Durand's special appeal was because a lot of his images were very close to the images of the forest I knew personally. Given the intimate scale, I identified for some reason with these images. Later I discovered Durand's diary. He dealt with the environment on a level closely related to the way I deal with it. He was desperately frustrated by his art and wanted to communicate more directly with nature than by painting. I always fantasised that if he were living in this century, he would be doing exactly what I am doing now.[13]

Like Sonfist, Durand spent time in the woods making oil studies of details of the forest. These served as the basis for larger, narrative paintings about the relationships of people with nature.

His most famous painting is *Kindred Spirits*, painted to memorialise his close friend and co-founder of the Hudson River School, Thomas Cole, after his early death. The painting depicts Cole and the poet William Cullen Bryant standing on a rock ledge. Bryant has his hat off and head bowed, presumably listening to Cole, but also as a sign of respect and sorrow at the death of his friend. A broken tree, at the base of the ledge and directly beneath Cole is a symbol of Cole's life cut short, and

an eagle flying off into the distance suggests his spirit soaring out through the natural scenery he loved and shared with Bryant, Durand and others.

As with *Time Landscape*, the natural-looking setting is explicitly composed to further the narrative content of the work. The scene includes Kaaterskill Falls and the Clove, two of the favourite motifs of the Hudson River painters, which are near each other geographically, but are not visible in the same view as Durand shows them. Their presence underscores the importance of the landscape itself in the life and work of Cole and the Hudson River School artists.[14] Seen in this context, *Time Landscape* is far less radical than it seemed to the reviewers at the National Endowment for the Arts. By emphasising the personal relationships of the forest to the people who fished there and live next to it, Sonfist is continuing a Hudson River School tradition of expressing the close affinity between the forest and the people who live with it.

On natural history and ecology

In 'A Critique for Ecology' Robert Peters tries to distinguish a clear boundary between scientific ecology and natural history in order to give ecology the legitimacy of the hard sciences.[15] He argues that ecology must be experimentally based and aimed at the accurate prediction of ecological processes, whereas natural history is focused on observation and description of the natural world without the need to predict future conditions. He is complimentary of natural history, applauding it for its integration of subjective values with observations of the natural world. But he does not want it confused with scientific ecology.

> Like the historian, the naturalist's achievement is first and foremost a personal one, a state of mind representing a profound understanding of and with the natural world. Again, like the historian, the naturalist's empathetic state does not involve the loss or submission of the human personality, but its enrichment and evaluation in light of the greater breadth of experience, albeit vicarious experience, that natural history provides. This understanding is for individual consumption, like the thrill of great music or the repose of a cloister. It cannot be shared like the predictive power of a scientific theory. Nevertheless, this understanding is among the precious and extraordinary qualities that justify human existence. As an ethical base, natural history could sanction the deployment of scientific theories to protect the high quality of life needed to achieve our potential humanity and the biosphere in which to enjoy it.[16]

I suspect that Peters is referring more to nature writing than he is to natural history. Regardless, I believe forcing such a clear distinction between ecology and natural history is unfortunate for several reasons. First, ecology specifically grew out of natural history. Donald Worster, for example, begins his history of ecology, *The Economy of Nature*, with Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selbourne*, a book that also established the precedent for such nature writing as Thoreau's *Walden* and Aldo Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac*.[17]

Second, contrary to Peters' depiction of natural history as a poetic and ethical

discipline, it has a long tradition of rigorous observation of the natural world that has led to, among other things, Linnaeus' taxonomic system and Darwin's theory of evolution. Relegating natural history to the status of 'folk art', as Peters does, is to ignore the important scientific basis of the discipline. By contrast the table of contents of Marston Bates' *The Nature of Natural History* reads like a history of the scientific inquiry that is the basis for natural history. It traces a succession of the discipline.[18] It begins with the Naming of Organisms and the Catalogue of Nature, then moves to the History of Organisms, Reproduction, and the Development of the Individual, then to The Environment and Biotic Communities, and ends with The Behaviour of Populations, Biological Geography, and The Mechanism of Evolution. This is far from the subjective appreciation of nature that Peters equates with natural history.

But Bates recognises the subjective nature of natural history too. Unlike biology, which is the study of all life, natural history is the study of organisms — of animals and plants and their environment at the same scale as human life.

> I like to think ... of natural history as the study of life at the level of the individual — of what plants and animals do, how they react to each other and their environment, how they are organised into larger groupings like populations and communities. ... I happen to enjoy most the study at the level of the individual; and this level is also, I suspect, most easily understood. I am an individual; so are you; so is my dog and the oak tree on my lawn. What makes us act the way we do? How do we get along with each other — the oak tree, the dog and the man? How did we come to get this way?[19]

The value of natural history, I believe, is precisely because it does operate on the scale of human beings. It blurs the boundaries between science and other cultural realms, showing how intertwined nature and culture really are.

This parallels the relationships that Denis Cosgrove saw between landscape images and environmental rhetoric in the twentieth century. Whereas other environmental scholars have argued that 'modern' environmentalism is predicated upon dualistic rhetoric that posited humans opposed to nature, Cosgrove showed that the images used to illustrate environmental concerns were far less dualistic. Images are nonlexical, and readings of them are non-linear. Thus, when images were deployed to make seemingly obvious points regarding environmental degradation, their use of compositional and iconographic conventions tied them to the very histories and associations with landscape from which they tried to distance themselves. This is part of their power, their emotional appeal even when in contrast with the rational arguments that they are intended to support.[20]

Showing that nature has actual history that parallels cultural history furthers these connections between humans and nature. Whereas Clementsian ecology viewed human activities as being outside of the natural world and in conflict with it, non-equilibrium ecology recognizes that human activities are inextricably part of ecological processes. Historical ecological studies have shown that human activities on the land have impacts hundreds of years later. Current New England forests, for

example, reflect differences between fields that had been plowed in the eighteenth century versus those that had been grazed.[21]

The loss of the predictability of Clements' model is discomforting, because it takes away the assurance that comes from having a constant nature against which we can measure our actions. If we know what nature would do if we just left it alone, then we could simply adjust our actions accordingly. This has been the current of much environmental decision making since the rise of the environmental movement. But the shift to a more probabilistic science rather than a predictive one opens doors to more creative acts. It gives foresters and artists creative license to propose messy clear-cuts and tiny urban art-forests when there is no literal precedent for either. Although it is hard to argue that either *Host Analog* or *Time Landscape* has much actual ecological significance, each engages the ecological and cultural history of its site in a way that causes me to wonder how these speculative seeds will grow? Will the Oregon Convention Center one day be marked by a small row of towering douglas firs and western hemlocks? Will they be harvested as a messy clear-cut when the trees are of a marketable size? Will future artists burn *Time Landscape* as an art-disturbance to regenerate it? Or perhaps make a painting of Sonfist standing within it as a commemoration upon his death?

Already each artwork has changed. *Host Analog* has been moved and reconfigured because the convention centre was expanded onto its former site. The volunteer plants that had engulfed the logs were not transplanted, a disturbance that allows the original seedlings (now small trees) to be more striking and sculptural. It is much prettier than it was when I first visited it in 1997, but it has also lost the chaotic quality that intrigued Simpson at the time. *Time Landscape* has come under the management of the New York City Parks Department. Sonfist's sign has been replaced by a larger Parks Department sign explaining the intention of the artwork. It still asks for volunteers, and judging from the tulips and daffodils blossoming when I last visited, the current volunteers are implementing more 'human ecology' than I suspect Sonfist would like.

Rather than try to predict the succession of these forests with the methodology of an ecologist, it is more fruitful and enjoyable to observe and reflect upon them with the eyes of a natural historian or geographer. In that way their seeds may disperse more widely, inspiring further creative engagement with the processes of succession and the history of nature.

Notes

[1] P. Kelsch, 'Constructions of American forest: four landscapes, four readings', in M. Conan ed., *Environmentalism in landscape architecture* (Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks, 2000).

[2] W. Dietrich, *The final forest: the battle for the last great trees of the Pacific Northwest* (NY, Penguin Books, 1992).

[3] A. Chase, *In a dark wood: the fight over forests and the rising tyranny of ecology* (NY, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995), pp. 166-167.

[4] Dietrich, *Final forest*, p. 109.

[5] Robert Cook, 'Do landscapes learn?: ecology's 'new paradigm' and design in landscape architecture', in M. Conan ed., *Environmentalism in landscape architecture* (Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks, 2000).

[6] Cook, 'Do landscapes learn?', p. 121.

[7] Ibid., p.123.

[8] Kelsch, 'Constructions', pp. 172-173.

[9] A. Sonfist, *Natural phenomena as public monuments* (Purchase, New York, Neuberger Museum, 1978), p. 2.

[10] A. Sonfist, Conversation, 16 September 1997.

[11] B. Matilsky, *Fragile ecologies: contemporary artists' interpretations and solutions* (New York, Rizzoli International Publications, 1992).

[12] A. Danto, *Transfiguration of the commonplace* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press 1981), p.44

[13] Interview with Peter Birmingham, in A. Sonfist ed., *National collection of fine arts/trees* (Washington, DC, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978).

[14] B. Ball Buff, 'Kindred spirits', in *American paradise: the world of the Hudson River School*, exhibition catalogue, (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 108-110.

[15] R. H. Peters, *A critique for ecology* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[16] Peters, *Critique*, p. 176.

[17] D. Worster, *Nature's economy: a history of ecological ideas* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[18] M. Bates, *The nature of natural history* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990).

[19] Bates, *Nature*, pp. 7-8.

[20] D. Cosgrove, 'Images and imagination in 20th-century environmentalism: from the Sierras to the Poles', *Environment and Planning A* **40**, (2008), pp. 1862-1880.

[21] D. R. Foster, 'Conservation lessons and challenges from ecological history', *Forest History Today* (Fall 2000).

4

Armaments and Art
Holographic Histories at Fort Worden
Susan Digby

Fig. 4.1. Cement and trees: military battery in the Fort Worden State Park (photograph by the author).

Taking advantage of a break in stubbornly persistent winter rains we take a walk on the outskirts of Port Townsend, a picturesque town in the Puget Sound Region of the Pacific Northwest. Once a bustling port it is now a haven for tourists seeking weekend escapes from Seattle, artists, and wooden boat aficionados. It is our first time to this area. Starting at North Beach we follow a path across a field and walk uphill into a Madrona and Fir forest on a well-established gracious mossy driveway; unwittingly we are entering Fort Worden. Sunlight turns moss on gnarled old trees an electric green and splashes across the forest. Turning a corner there is a break in the trees and a view extends across cropped grass, children on bikes, a couple and their dogs, to a large expanse of wind-swept water. Whidbey Island is in view as is the hazy outline of Canada to the north. Between us and the sea is a surprising feature, a military battery (fig. 4.1). Gunless, stripped to its bare concrete bones, with park-like grass and populated by families, it is strangely serene. The driveway gives way to a trail which winds through deep silent forest and we come to other now-gunless for-

tifications, sculptural forms with smooth cement surfaces seemingly evoking the art of the machine era. We are not the first—there is evidence of other visitors. Graffiti, messages both of angst and love, drawings and poetry augment surfaces. It is a site of armaments and art; ironically, regimented surfaces of war have facilitated artistic freedom of expression.

Fort Worden: site and history

The Puget Sound and its surrounds are marketed as an area for recreational water-sports; discourses designed to entice tourists feature expanses of salt water, some-times in sun, sometimes in rain, but always peaceful. The region has a deeply crenulated shoreline created by a complex geological history. However, very little of the over two thousand miles of shoreline is accessible to the general public; most of the land, including tidelands, is privately held. Public access is provided through a limited number of parks, mostly of military origin.

A particularly interesting cluster of parks, some of the largest in the region, are located at mouth of Admiralty Inlet where the Strait of Juan de Fuca meets Puget Sound, waters now under the umbrella toponym of the Salish Sea. The parks are the coastal artillery sites of Fort Worden, Fort Flagler and Fort Casey, constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to ensure that enemy ships could be prevented from reaching Seattle, Tacoma, and most importantly the Bremerton Naval Shipyard.[1] Sixty inch diameter searchlights and artillery from multiple batteries at each of the three forts were capable of accessing the entire width of Admiralty Inlet.

Fort Worden is the principal fort of the threesome. It is located adjacent to Port Townsend; indeed land was acrimoniously acquired from town residents to increase the fort's holdings to 940 acres by the late 1800s. The first soldiers arrived in 1902 and the military maintained a continuous presence until 1953.[2] The fort housed about 7,000 soldiers in WWI and 4,500 during World War II and operations related to the Cold War continued into the late 1960s. However, at no time in the fort's history was there ever any engagement with an enemy.[3]

Today Fort Worden is a 433-acre park managed by the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission. The park consists of historic buildings around a parade ground and historic fortifications—now within deep woods, sandy beaches, a light-house and high bluffs. The buildings house a military museum, Centrum—a thriving non-profit multidisciplinary arts venue, the respected poetry publisher Copper Canyon Press, the Port Townsend School of Woodworking, a youth hostel, a performance theatre, a Marine Science Center, and a variety of other functions. A network of old roads and forest trails link the many fort sites with occasional lookouts over the sea.

Visions of war

Military presence is kept alive at Fort Worden through artefacts and performance. The Puget Sound Coast Artillery Museum, which displays Fort memorabilia, is sited in one of the wooden buildings surrounding the parade ground. In summer, this is augmented by walking tours of Artillery Hill; the area of fortifications. Ex-military volunteers armed with powerful flashlights escort small groups of visitors though

eerily silent bunkers, batteries and tunnels some over a century old (see fig. 4.1). Also included are later Cold War sites such as the radar facility control room and a water tower that camouflaged radar equipment.

On our particular tour the volunteer's presentation was enriched by his own military experience and that of a visitor who had served at this very site during the Second World War. A dense fabric was woven from oral history, the excitement and reminiscing of the visiting veteran, layers of story-telling, blurry back and white photographs of men forever-young, written records, and the site itself. The site was a catalyst for his memory. Tales of daily life, pranks, and superior officers revealed a texture of belonging. Men in photographs were linked to known individuals and the grainy images were reconnected to sounds, smells and surrounding events in space and time. The veteran reminisced about loading and firing the great cannons, recalled the weight of the metal, the percussive sound, and the feel of the shock waves; the place was recalled through his body. Through this reliving, the photographs' contents were replenished. The forts military functions and identity were reworked and refreshed as was the identity of the veteran. The fort was the site of geographically anchored personal and societal identities; it was the site of attachment to both its presences and ghosts. Camaraderie, masculinity and heroism in this site deep within the Pacific Northwest were untainted with the ugly reality of lived warfare. As Yi-Fu Tuan has noted, 'various devices exist to shore up the crumbling landscapes of the past'.[4] Here the landscapes were those of the veterans and the physical site. And beyond these, the veteran's engagement functioned to pass on knowledge to the tour participants who included people born after the World Wars and even after the introduction of digital cameras that push blurry black and white enlargements into a seemingly very different and distant past. His stories and engagement with a fort that was both his world and his home bound his view of the past to our present. Unseen layers of usage and significance were made visible to us.[5] Through his eyes the structures became sites of enchantment. He created a sense of wonder; we viewed the area with sharpened senses.[6] Indeed, without the guides, and particularly the veterans, the significance, intricacies, emotional content and past vitality of the above ground and subterranean sites pass unrecognised.

The guide also expressed sadness and anger at the desecration by vandalism. Whereas the guide and we, his pupils, trod gently in recognition of the stories attached to unremarkable crevices and seemingly out-of-place metal artefacts, others have not. Wooden structures have been destroyed, heavy metal doors pried open, and fixtures have been removed. The smooth, high-quality, Belgian cement of the fort sports graffiti, assorted messages and guerrilla art. Interestingly, on another tour, a guide voiced anger at a different sort desecration, that effected by *Memory's Vault*, a state-sponsored artwork in the former location of the vault containing the top-secret plans for Fort Worden and other forts in the region. Evidence of this same anger is seen in hammer and chisel damage to the poems.

Visions of peace
Memory's Vault, unveiled in 1988, is a collaborative effort involving structures and poetry by artist Richard Turner and poet Sam Hamill.[7] Turner selected a site on Artillery Hill, a high bluff with vistas over the Sound, the other two forts, and parade

grounds. When the fort was operational, the comprehensive and minutely detailed plans for the forts were kept under high security at this panoptical site. Turner was drawn to the same bluff site to express his response to Artillery Hill with the hope that viewers would engage in reflective meditation. Walking through the overgrown fortifications he saw juxtapositions: 'natural beauty and historic structures', 'war and peace, creation and destruction, life and death, time and eternity'. And exploring the massive sculptural forms he experienced a similar sense of place to that of 'monolithic religious architecture of Latin America and Asia'. In response Turner designed a series of simple meditative sculptural forms, pillar-like stones, which lead to a rectangular Zen garden in which a throne-sized concrete chair positions sitters to gaze at a large egg-shaped boulder, the single occupant of the door-less vault.[8] The surrounding building has been stripped away (see fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2. Richard Turner's meditative sculptures in Fort Worden State Park (photograph by the author).

Turner selected Sam Hamill, a renowned and local poet and founder of Copper Canyon Press, to provide layers of meaning through a series of five poems on the standing stones leading to the Zen garden. *Black Marsh Eclogue: A Lover's Quarrel, Sonnet* and *Cloistered* largely reflect on the natural environment and human relationships. However one poem *From the Bunkers* responds more directly to the duality and conflict of this particular landscape. And it is this poem that has been the major target of vandals:

> A foolish man might say it's in our blood,
> that long recorded history of our need
> to fortify, to train our guns
> on anything that moves or breathes.
>
> The birds don't understand. Teals scud
> slowly down the Strait. Gulls cry out
> for gulls. Quail in the underbrush
> and the gentle song of a mourning dove.

Reflecting on the cannon-guarded lines of white gravestones surrounded by a spiked iron fence that lie within the fort grounds, Hamill casts doubt on the military glory. He questions the image of an essential heroic force standing watch year after year, protecting the heartland from intruders:

> Nothing happens here. Row after row
> Of military crosses mark the graves of those
> who died of accidents, syphilis, or worse,
> who died of honor or of the common cold.
>
> And soldier's bodies washed up along the shore
> remain in graves, unnamed after all these years,
> like heroes home from war.
> The Harbor defense is closed.

Anger at *Memory's Vault* has its origins in the contestation of space and memory. The fort's vault containing the intimate secrets of the three forts' construction and their workings, water and power — their body and blood —, were replaced by a rejection of that very body in the form of a contemplative structure. The stones and poetry that replaced the security vault are not a call to action and arms; rather they call for reflection and spiritual contemplation. This is not to say the stones and their poetry are passive. Hamill views poetry as an active discourse — one that can be mobilised in support of social justice. In January 2003, the day after George Bush announced his 'Shock and Awe' tactic in the invasion of Iraq, Hamill received an invitation from Laura Bush to attend a symposium on 'Poetry and the American voice'. To be featured were tea in the Rose Garden, and the poetry of such notables as Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman. Hamill's response was to reconstitute and mobilise 'Poets against the War'. By the end of two weeks he had 13,000 poems, a selection of

which was featured at a Lincoln Center event 'Poems not fit for the White House'. Two thousand people attended.[9] To give space to Hamill, a dedicated antiwar poet, at the heart of a military installation was for some, indeed, desecration.

Hamill is not the only person for whom military presence generates thoughts of other world views. In January 2008, a group of international artists, brought together under the auspices of the Centrum, used the battery adjacent to Memory's Vault, Battery Randol, as an installation site. Their work, although not explicitly anti-war, also diverged from a heroic and manly representation of the military.[10] Most striking were the knitted splashes of colours.

Walking up the hill on a damp day, brightly coloured knitted flags of various shapes, colours and designs led into the site. These were the work of Maria Glyka from Greece; they were her response to the prevalence of the American Flag in the U.S. landscape.[11] The misshapen softness and bright colours of the knittings contrasted with the formal concrete shapes and grayness of the battery. Glyka's installations were reminiscent of the many somewhat lumpy homemade scarves, socks, and gloves sent to men in trenches during the First and Second World Wars. Indeed, Glyka's great-aunt knitted for Greek soldiers who lived in the Peloponnese mountains when Germans overran the region. The knittings were items of hearth and home; tangible messages of caring, comfort and goodwill sent to individuals on the edge of their home place engaged in battling unknown forces of the wider cosmos.

In their connection to individuals, the knittings resonated with one of Hamill's verses in *From the Bunkers*:

> All though the war to end all war
> And through that other, bigger, one
> Someone stood, just as always before,
> In hope and terror, watching the empty ocean.

Glyka's knittings were a thoughtful and gentle play on the warrior symbol of the Stars and Stripes, and like Sam Hamill's verse, they were a reminder of the humanness and frailty of these individuals. The knittings, each different and each a little misshapen were a reminder that the neat rows of crisply uniformed men in archived photographs, were all unique. The seemingly identical men of the parade ground photographs looking like cut-out soldiers in a child's book, were far from sameness; all had different hopes, different fears and different feet.

Playful visions
Unsanctioned art appears in the form of what is commonly referred to as graffiti, and post-graffiti or guerrilla art. All the battery walls of Artillery Hill are made of premium cement imported from Belgium and, even close to a hundred years later, it provides a fine-grained smooth surface that beckons. The desecrations are of various types, some consists of decorative initials (conforming to the official definition of graffiti), others are expressions of anger, of longing love, and those rapidly executed drawings familiar on bathroom walls.
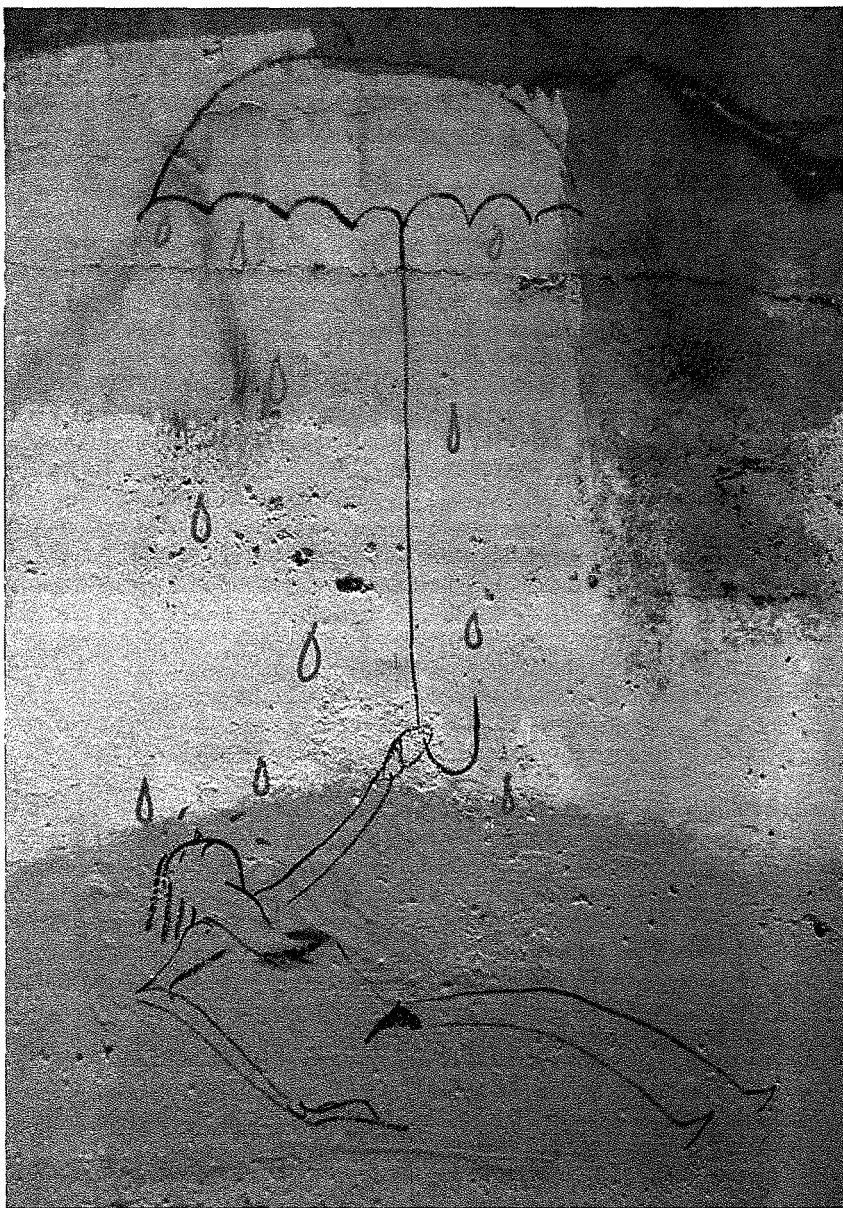
Fig. 4.3. Unsanctioned art: guerrilla art at Fort Worden (photograph by the author).

However, some consist of a more artistic and playful engagement and some involve introspective and reflective commentary as has been noted by Luke Dickens in his discussion of post-graffiti[12] and by Brendan O'Neill in his coverage of guerrilla art.[13] Some edges of the pastel swaths of paint, applied to cover graffiti, are turned into strange animals. For a year Battery Randol sported a cartoon of a slender bikini-clad woman lounging on the beach under a raining umbrella (see fig. 4.3), and a coy Matisse-like damsel sheltered on a pillar overgrown with ivy. These drawings have meanings that are not obvious. They do not appear to rage against society or war, or stake out territory, but through their very existence and their gentle whimsical nature, they serve to demilitarise the site.[14] They are a whispered giggle in a solemn discussion. Other artworks are more introspective or sorrowful; poems express lost loves and bicycles. A full moon with a sad and wistful face looks at viewers from a night sky. The Belgium cement has provided large surfaces for communication; silences that beg to be filled and the post-graffiti guerrilla artists have done just that.

Reading Fort Worden
The Fort Worden landscape can be read in a variety of ways. It can be read as a palimpsest starting with military layers extending from the late 1800s to the 1960s, and to the present through the presence of museums and Artillery Hill tours. These layers are overlaid with sanctioned art, graffiti and post-graffiti. Such multi-layered landscape can be read as a manifestation of the enduring conflict between a pro-military America and a pro-peace America.

However, I suggest that this site is more than a palimpsest with one layer replacing another and leaving only fragments weakly visible. The situation is unlike the George Etienne Cartier monument in Montreal's Mount Royal Park discussed by Brian Osborne in which 'symbolic spaces are not static but are dynamic sites of meaning and depositories for successive generation's ideological bric-à-brac'.[15] Today the cement bones of the fort still stand strong. They function as enduring artefacts, artefacts that relate both to the identity of many and the identity of America as a whole.[16] Could the iconography of this site be the much-queried 'flickering text displayed on the word-processor screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated at the touch of a button'?[17] Certainly, legions of soldiers' stories that can currently be recalled will be lost in the coming decades, each year will see fewer veterans, Glyka's knittings have come and gone, and the graffiti is ephemeral, courtesy of time, weather and the parks department. But war and peace form an enduring duality particularly in the Pacific Northwest. Less than thirty miles from Fort Worden is the Bangor base that houses submarines carrying a high percentage of America's strategic nuclear and conventional weapons. Routinely Trident submarines are escorted past the high bluffs of Fort Worden before the boats descend to the secretive depths of the world's oceans. Stories of military responsibilities and action continue to weave a web of meaning over the site.

Meanwhile the paths in Fort Worden's woods are well worn by walkers, birdwatchers and families on outings. A rough grass meadow below Battery Tolles is a wedding site and in summer a semicircle of white chairs provides a view originally intended as access for canon fire. Away from aircraft flight paths, highways and

houses the bluff has seemingly unique sound, light and wind landscapes, reflecting the natural, rather than human-made, world. In the built and occupied area of the park, the thriving Centrum houses Blues festivals, writing workshops and other arts events. Adjacent Port Townsend has a growing wooden boat centre, a long history of being politically left of centre, an active peace movement, a flourishing farmer's market, and is a lively tourist destination. Fort Worden and its surrounds are places where activities perpetuate the concept of, and belief in, the possibility of peace. The existing duality of war and peace is expressed in the official 'Welcome to Fort Worden' in which the park is described as 'a place to play, relax and learn about the arts, natural history, marine science, music, poetry and the history of a U.S. Army post'.[18] Both story lines, war and peace, are active.

Rather than as a palimpsest, the site appears, and always will appear, according to the angle at which it is viewed, akin to a hologram. As John Berger noted, 'the way we see things is affected by what we know or believe'.[19] The corollary to this is that what we don't know or believe is invisible to us. Veterans, and visitors interested in military history, see the site and are taken back to their own experiences and those of the black and white photographs; once again the batteries and bunkers are inhabited. Today's part is made whole. It is a military landscape that is, for many, an intrinsic element of American identity and a memorial to American power. Fort Worden symbolises America's stand against dark forces that were, and some would say are, only repelled by unceasing vigilance. The story line, composed of many individual and varying elements, resonates down generations and will last long after the Belgian cement has failed. In a military context the site is sacred and revered. Rededication of the site occurs with the mythic retellings. Other, later, non-military structures are meaningless distractions and worse if they have resulted in the destruction of military structures.

For those troubled by America's world view, the cement structures are seen as monuments to folly. And they exist in sharp contrast to the almost super-natural environment of forests and seashore. Although the wars that the fort supported are not only distant in place but distant in time, the forts, and the act of keeping the military presence alive though the performances of the tours are reminders of America's strong nationalism and predatory predilection for war. For proponents of peace the forts, and their physical and cultural longevity, speak to a constant need for neutralising discourses and readily support conversations about contemporary concerns.

And what of the guerrilla art that is the dominant unsanctioned art? These artists see the site as a stage setting perhaps relating more to fantasy fiction involving castles, caves and mystical beings than to a long history of military engagement. The whimsical fashioning of beings from swatches of graffiti-covering paint is a means of inhabiting the landscape with benign characters. With or without conscious design, guerrilla art tilts the experience of the built-for-war environment towards that of an art park. Additionally, musical performances within the belly of the fort, a cavernous cistern that features a forty-five second reverberation time, are piped to the open air above.[20] These engagements, both visual and musical create a whimsical and playful landscape. They are blithe communications that are beyond the conversation about war and peace.

The three predominant engagements, war, peace and play are made possible by the physical landscape. High, with views across the sea linking to those of other forts, the landscape of Fort Worden is geographically compelling. It is a defensive body; looking out from the headland the forts function as eyes. But headlands and hilltops are long-established sacred sites, and the fortifications themselves, geometrically precise grey concrete forms organised into avenues, semicircles and rows, are reminiscent of the sacred geography of prehistoric monuments. Avenues—the site of most activities both in the past and today—are at the level of the everyday world, the world of sun, rain and sea breezes. Along the avenues, the monumentally scaled pillars repeat themselves in a visual rhythm. The deep subterranean passages damply echo a lower world. Pillars, stairways and ammunition loading shafts form of timeless axis mundi. Within this site, military drills and exercises, repeated to perfection, functioned as ecclesiastical rituals to sanctify these spaces for war.

Memory's Vault echoes these cosmologies. Turner's seven standing stones, megaliths, although slight by comparison to the massiveness and rhythmic repetition of the fort's pillars, also form axis mundi. These stones are further strengthened and activated by poetry which, to quote from W.S. De Piero, is 'a verbal axis mundi, the world tree that connects, through our middle world, the root-tangled, cellular underworld to the supernaturals'.[21] Although only loosely forming an avenue, Turner's megaliths are wayfinders into a Zen-type garden featuring the vault as its centrepiece. It resonates with the form of a burial chamber that, as David Atkinson and Denis Cosgrove have noted, acts to sanctify place.[22]

Rooted in cosmologies related to enigmatic prehistoric stones, the fortifications, and sanctioned installations support sharply divergent meanings that are a function of the viewer's world view. Yet within the dichotomy there is a commonality, for both proponents of war and peace, the site is sacred. It is these visual references to ancient constructions that allow visitors to access a spiritual 'deep time'. Serenity is created from a link though time as well as place. And it is this calmness that makes a reflective and playful guerrilla art possible. The physical and cultural landscapes of Fort Worden provide deeply compelling spaces and iconography that invite us to attach meanings. The fortifications and Memory's Vault form a vernacular monument that Cosgrove would have found fascinating given his intellectual pleasure in unravelling landscape's rhetoric and identities.

Notes

[1] V. J. Gregory, *Keepers at the gate* (Port Townsend, WA, The Port Townsend Publishing Co., 1976), p. 82.

[2] Puget Sound Coast Artillery Museum, *Fort Worden guide* (Port Townsend, WA, SOS Printing, 2002), p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 4.

[4] Y. F. Tuan, *Space and place: the perspective of experience* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

[5] For a discussion on the invisible landscape, see K. C. Ryden, *Mapping the invisible landscape: Folklaw, writing and the sense of place* (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1993), p. 40.

[6] See J. Bennett, *The enchantment of modern life: attachments, crossings, and ethics* (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001).

[7] The artwork was funded by the Washington State Arts Commission Art program, the Department of Corrections and the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission. See Art inventories catalogue, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution Research information System (SIRIS) http://siris-artinventories.si.edu/#focus. Accessed on 28 July 2009.

[8] *Art in parks*, 20 March 1987. 'The proposal background and concept' (edited from a commentary by the artist) provided by S. Shively, *Washington State Parks*, 28 August 2007.

[9] Z. Trodd, 'The protest literature of military dissent', *Peace Review* **18**, (2006), pp. 395-402.

[10] Examples of anti war protests involving artists include 'You are not here', see the editorial by C. Lambert-Beatty in *October* **4**, (2008), pp. 95-97.

[11] Personal e.mail communication with M. Glyka, 16 February 2008.

[12] L. Dickens, 'Placing post-graffiti: the journey of the *Peckham Rock*', *Cultural Geographies* **15**, (2008), pp. 471-496.

[13] B. O'Neill 'Backstory: A London scene set by guerrilla art; all around the city; street artists are stopping people in their tracks … and thoughts', *The Christian Science Monitor* January 9 (2007), p. 20.

[14] For works on graffiti as a form of resistance see J. Ferrell, *Crimes of style: urban graffiti and the politics of criminality* (New York, Garland Publishing Inc., 1993) and F. Benavides-Vanegas, 'From Santander to Camilo and Ché: graffiti and resistance in contemporary Colombia', *Social Justice* **32**, (2005), pp. 53-61.

[15] B. Osborne 'Constructing landscapes of power: the George Etienne Cartier monument, Montreal', *Journal of Historical Geography* **24**, (1998), pp. 431-458.

[16] For a discussion of the roles of artefacts in identity construction, see Y. F. Tuan 'The significance of the artefact', *Geographical Review* **70**, (1980), pp 462-472.

[17] D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, *The iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[18] Ibid., p.3.

[19] J. Berger, *Ways of seeing* (United States, Penguin Books, 1977), p. 8.

[20] The cistern is almost 200 feet in diameter and 14 feet deep and was capable of

holding three million gallons of water (*Fort Worden Guide*, 2002). Sound from the performances is piped to the surface where most of the audience is located due to limited oxygen in the underground enclosed space.

[21] W. S. Di Piero, 'Semba! A notebook', *Poetry* **189**, (2006), pp. 43-53.

[22] D. Atkinson and D. Cosgrove, 'Urban rhetoric and embodied identities: city, nation, and empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II monument in Rome 1870-1945', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **88**, (1998), pp. 28-49.

5

Re-Presenting Native Identities
Images as Rhetoric in Struggles over the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
Joel Geffen
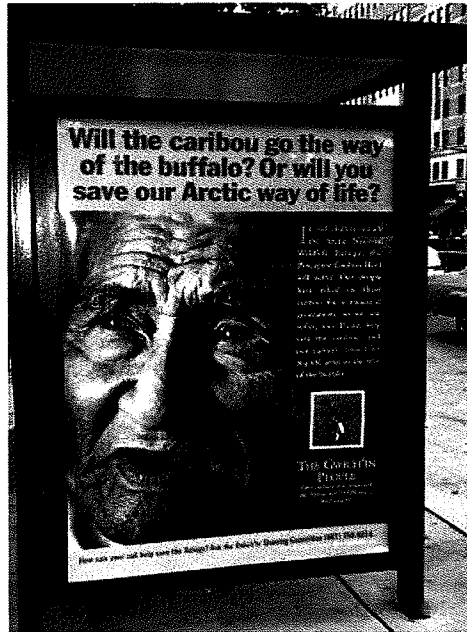
Fig. 5.1. 'Will the caribou go the way of the buffalo?' Gwich'in poster
(source: http://www.gwichinsteeringcommittee.org) .

We all know what an Indian looks like. How could we not? In the United States, Native Americans have for many years been depicted on postcards, calendars, tobacco products, book covers and highways signs. They have been represented and misrepresented in movies, paintings, and sculptures. Americans, along with millions of other people around the world, have come to know, they think, what an Indian looks like. They have come to know, they think, how an Indian acts and even what they believe.

From the time of Christopher Columbus forward, the people that he, in his geographical confusion, mistakenly labelled as 'Indians', have been bound by two overarching stereotypes. As the 'noble savage', Native peoples are portrayed as being wise, kind, physically attractive, and morally pure. Described in terms of the 'ignoble savage', they are associated with impulsiveness, ferocity, destructiveness, and

50

forms of immoral behaviour such as deceptiveness. It is unlikely that these represen-
tations have ever accurately portrayed the multi-dimensional historical and cultural
realities of Native peoples.

One of the most persistent conceptions of 'Indians' is that all of them have, or
ought to have, a harmonious and deeply spiritual relationship with the earth. This
has long been a favourite of environmentalists. It possesses tremendous symbolic
and political potency for many Native peoples as well. In the Arctic National Wild-
life Refuge controversy, Natives draw heavily upon images of the noble and ignoble
savage, using them as rhetorical instruments as they seek to shape federal land man-
agement policies.[1]

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge: creation and conflict

President Carter signed The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) into existence
in 1980. Comprised of 19.5 million acres that stretch south for 200 miles from the
Arctic Ocean, over the towering East-West trending Brooks Range, and into the inte-
rior of Alaska, it is large enough to fit New England (excluding Maine).[2] North of
the mountains, the vegetation can generally be characterised as tundra. Boreal forest
reigns to the south. Two Native groups have land claims in the area. Traditional ter-
ritories of Inupiat peoples extend from the crest of the Brooks Range into the Arctic
Ocean. The Gwich'in, an Athapaskan people, have for millennia been utilising lands
extending south from those mountain peaks.[3]

When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, everyone living
in the ceded lands, 'with the exception of uncivilised tribes', were given citizenship.
Natives received no rights to their lands, personal freedom, or religion.[4] Land claims
remained unresolved a century later, when Alaska became a state. In 1963, twenty-
four Native communities asked the Secretary of the Interior to implement a 'land
freeze' on all lands that the federal government was then in the process of giving to
the state. Three years later, Native representatives from across Alaska asked Con-
gress to place a land freeze on all federal lands until claims were resolved.[5]

The discovery of vast oil reserves in Prudhoe Bay in 1967 provided Alaskan
Natives with the political leverage they needed to resolve pressing issues. Having
the potential to yield roughly 9.6 billion barrels, the Prudhoe oil fields were the larg-
est ever found in North America. By 1970 the situation was coming to a head. Na-
tives wanted land claims to be settled. The oil industry wanted to build a pipeline
from Prudhoe to Valdez. Congress floated the idea that Native corporations be
formed in Alaska. This was a revolutionary notion in several respects. First, unlike
Indian reservations, Natives under this plan would manage their lands for profit.
Second, traditional relationships where community members managed their territo-
ries through tribal governments, shareholders now were individual owners who
managed land through local and regional corporations. Finally, with incorporation
all land claims would be ended.[6] Agreement was finally reached in 1971. President
Nixon signed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act into law. In addition to a
monetary settlement of one billion dollars, Natives retained 44 million acres as their
own.[7] Twelve regional corporations were created.[8]

When the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge was established, there was little if
any doubt that reserves of oil existed under its coastal plain. It was also recognised

that vast caribou herds used the plain for calving.[9] Congress decided to postpone any determination of whether the coastal plain would be a place primarily for the protection of wildlife or dedicated to fossil fuel extraction until researchers had time to gather relevant data.

Itshik Gwatsan Gwandaii Goodlit: 'The sacred place where life begins'

'The next great conflict pitting energy development against wildlife conservation is gathering momentum on the nation's Arctic frontier', the *New York Times* reported in 1986.[10] Thomas Cook of Chevron stated that everyone in the Alaska Oil and Gas Association, an organisation representing interests of the oil industry, 'give a high priority to opening the coastal plain'. Environmentalists hoped to prevent oil or gas drilling there. 'This is the last chance we have to keep a migratory caribou herd intact in its natural setting', said Eric Smith, attorney for Trustees for Alaska.[11] In 1988 the future of ANWR was still hanging in the balance. Deeply concerned about the outcome, seven thousand Gwich'in convened a meeting in Arctic Village that year. They formed the Gwich'in Steering Committee. Both images and text were used on the website they launched to present their perspectives on ANWR.

In the introduction to *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988), Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels observe that 'every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol'.[12] Narratives of identity are formed and maintained through verbal and visible cues. As Renaissance scholars knew, compositional elements of such visual renderings could be examined and interpreted. Cosgrove and Daniels explain:

> Iconographic study sought to probe meaning in a work of art by setting it in its historical context and, in particular, to analyse the ideas implicated in its imagery. While, by definition, all art history translates the visual into the verbal, the iconographic approach consciously sought to conceptualise pictures as encoded texts to be deciphered by those cognisant of the culture as a whole in which they were produced.[13]

Perusal of the Gwich'in Steering Committee website reveals several basic design elements that are repeated in the links provided there. Extending across the top of the page, oriented horizontally, is a picture of a caribou herd making its way across the snow. Brown letters spell out the words 'Gwich'in Steering Committee'. On the left side of the page, immediately below that picture and extending slightly into it, is the form of a single caribou antler. It too is coloured brown. Below the antler is a list of links. Among them are Home, Gwich'in Nation, Gwich'in Niintsyaa, Arctic Refuge, History of Wreckage, Climate Change, Caribou, Take Action, and Donate. As a whole, they represent the primary issues of concern to the Gwich'in. Letters in link text are also brown. Each page associated with these links contains words and images. Most of the words, again, are brown. Most of the images show or suggest links between the Gwich'in and the caribou. Wording on the home page prepares the reader for what follows on other pages. In part, it says:

> The Gwich'in Steering Committee was formed in 1988 in response to increasing threats to open the Sacred Place Where Life Begins, the coastal

plain (also known as 1002 area) of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to leasing for oil. Recognising that this threat to the very heart of our people, the elders called upon the chiefs of all villages from Canada to Alaska to hold a traditional gathering, *Gwich'in Niintsyaa* ...[14]

This text speaks to the significance of tradition. Website visitors read about 'the Sacred Place', 'the very heart of the people', 'elders', and 'a traditional gathering'. Words combined with images potentially have great rhetorical force. They may acquire the power needed to convince readers that today's Gwich'in, like their ancestors, are a traditional people. Words and images on the home page underscore a Gwich'in fear that endangering caribou through oil and gas exploration in the coastal plain simultaneously endangers their cultural survival.

A large image there shows the weathered face of an elder Gwich'in man (fig. 5.1). The shape of his mouth implies that he is speaking. Text reads: 'Will the caribou go the way of the buffalo? Or will you save our Arctic way of life?' The reference to buffalo is a poignant reminder that genocidal policies once decimated both bison and the Indians who depended for their livelihood upon them. The text goes on to ask viewers to consider the ethics of that historical event. It asks them to help prevent a repeat of that disaster.

'Every photograph', Roland Barthes noted, 'is a certificate of presence'.[15] His observation is certainly true in this case. The primary colours used as a housing for the text are yellow and blue. These are diametrically opposed hues on the colour wheel used by photographers. The visual effect of using them together is jarring; it grabs a viewer's attention. It is also a photographic tenet that human eyes are attracted to light hues more than they are to dark ones. By framing the man's face top and bottom with yellow rectangles, viewer's eyes are immediately drawn to his face. One's eyes then proceed to move about the remainder of the image — over to the plaintive question about the buffalo with its relatively large letters, and then to other portions of the representation.

Gwich'in are shown to be one with nature. The implication is that they are so close to the caribou that they are, in some real sense, one with them. Further, not only is it implied that they live in harmony with nature, but also that they are a traditional people with an identity that is inextricably intertwined with their traditional lands and the creatures who live there. Traditional referents continue on the page entitled 'Gwich'in Niintsyaa'. The text of the resolution to prohibit oil and gas extraction on the coastal plain states that Gwich'in people today, just as in the past, depend on caribou for 'nutritional, cultural, and spiritual' purposes. An image of dancers in traditional outfits is intentionally blurred. The blur suggests lively motion. It seems to say that the ancient traditions of the Gwich'in are still active, vibrant, and significant. Image and text emphasise the sacredness of the caribou and the deep traditional beliefs of contemporary Gwich'in. In the conclusion of the resolution, the Gwich'in Steering Committee demands that the coastal plain 'be made Wilderness'. This is quite interesting. Concepts of wilderness do not fit traditional forms of Gwich'in land use. Legal definitions of wilderness, in fact, typically separate humans from nature, a form of strategic essentialism.[16]

This wilderness theme continues on the page entitled 'Arctic Refuge'. This page

is divided into four sections: Overview, Indigenous Cultures, Wildlife, and Wildland. Text in these sections amounts to a paean to the Edenic wilderness qualities of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. To the extent that Native peoples are mentioned, they appear as a natural part of the landscape. Great time depth is extended to them, just as it is to mammalian 'relics' of the last ice age. Readers learn that both Gwich'in and Inupiat have 'subsisted on this land for thousands of years'. The statement is objectively true. Additionally, however, it implies that Natives, like ancient animals, and like the primeval flocks of birds and schools of fish thriving in the Refuge, are a 'natural' part of the environment. Ideas of harmony are highlighted by the claim that '[t]he Gwich'in have respected this land and its animals for millennia, caring for its clean air, clean water, and clean land'. Natives are depicted verbally as utopian environmentalists.

Given the indisputable fact that the Gwich'in have a long-standing and close relationship to the land, why all this verbiage about a wilderness paradise? One possibility is that the Gwich'in Steering Committee, is, consciously or unconsciously, is drawing upon non-Native ideas associated with Romanticism. The thoughts of Jean Jacques Rousseau concerning wild places and the 'natural man' are of the utmost importance in Romanticism. For Rousseau, a pure experience of God could be found in wild places. He believed that 'sources of truth and understanding were to be nature and his own sentient self, preferably put into direct communion with each other, the better to grasp at the Infinite'.[17] Following Rousseau's lead, many Europeans and Americans expounded upon the sublime in poetry, literature, landscape painting, and science. The 'noble savage' ultimately came to epitomise this 'natural' or 'primitivistic' life.[18] Over the remaining course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, members of the larger society repeatedly signified Native Americans in terms of the 'noble savage' and 'ignoble savage'. The 'noble savage' acquired new life in the 1960s. During this period Native people were seen as a positive counterpoint to the destructiveness seen by many in warfare and environmental degradation. Although national support for environmentalism arguably faded during the 1980s and afterward, fascination with 'noble savages' in particular did not.

With Romantic ideas of nature as a backdrop, the references to genocide, buffalo extinctions, tradition, and sacredness all make sense. So do images and text that speak of solitude, primeval nature, and the benefits of wilderness. Analysis of Gwich'in Steering Committee's website strongly suggests that the overarching goal is to mount an effective appeal to a worldwide audience in hopes of obtaining sufficient support to enable them to shape management policies in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Inupiat perspectives
Two years after the formation of the Gwich'in Steering Committee, an Inupiat and former tribal council member named by the name of Paul Ongtooguk attended a discussion at Michigan State University concerning the fate of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Glendon Brunk was the main speaker that evening was Glendon Brunk. According to him, the Inupiat supported oil extraction 'because the leadership was motivated by greed and a short sighted belief in the power of money to correct social problems'. The Gwich'in who resisted development were described in

far more positively as 'acting on their heritage and tradition'.[19]

Ongtooguk mused on the fact that to non-Natives, 'we are less Native the more we are successful in taking Western tools and organisations and using them for the benefit of Alaska Native society'. Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* a decade later, North Slope Borough mayor George Ahmaogak, Sr. sounded many of the same notes as Ongtooguk. Ahmaogak, like many Gwich'in, is a subsistence hunter. 'I share their determination to protect the health of the [caribou] herd', he said. 'But I believe their fear for the future is unfounded'. He added: 'All healthy cultures continually adapt to changes in their environment. Native people are not "noble savages", and neither we not the non-native people who seek to save us from a changing world should cling to that Hollywood stereotype'.[20] In 2005, Tara MacLean Sweeney of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation implicitly pointed out problems with the ways that the Gwich'in were representing themselves. They began speaking publicly about the spiritual values of caribou only after their own search for fossil fuels failed, she said. Sweeney went on to mention that some Gwich'in want to drill in ANWR. Doyon Ltd, a corporation with Gwich'in membership, supports development in the Refuge.[21]

One of the village corporations under the umbrella of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation is located on Kaktovic Island, just off the ANWR coast. The Kaktovic Inupiat Corporation (KIC) owns 92,000 acres on the Refuge's coastal plain.[22] Visitors to the KIC website first encounter a visual statement of identity in relation to place. A light-toned circular logo is presented against a blue-gray background. Within the logo are two concentric circles. The outer one is quite narrow and simply contains the words 'City of Kaktovic, Incorporated March 26, 1971'. The inner circle, which comprises roughly 90% of the image, shows four animals: The caribou, Dall sheep, Polar bear, and bowhead whale pictured there represent traditional Inuit subsistence hunting ways of life. The logo is a straightforward representation of Inuit identity in Kaktovic. The path to understanding land use perspectives held by the people of Kaktovic Island, literally, is through their representations of identity.

This logo appears on every page linked within the Kaktovic website. The links, as with those of the Gwich'in Steering Committee, indicate subjects of pressing concern to the organisation and its constituency. Taken in their entirety, text and images repeatedly communicate a handful of ideas that are significant to the Kaktovic Inupiat. First, residents of Kaktovic have lived on their lands for thousands of years and identify extremely closely with it. Second, they remain, as they always have been, subsistence hunters. Third, they care about and help each other. A strong sense of community exists. Fourth, their lives changed dramatically with the arrival of Europeans and then Americans. Tradition was transformed, but not obliterated, by hegemonic cultural impositions by non-Natives who assumed control of Inuit territories. Fig. 5.2 from the KIC website illustrates those points.

Fig. 5.2. Image of Inupiat 'whale harvesting' from the KIC webpage (source: http://www.kaktovik.com/).

The Inupiat have been harvesting whales and other sea mammals in this area for millennia. The relationship between humans and 'nature' is close. In fig. 5.2, superficially, we can see a whale resting on the beach. At a deeper and more symbolic level, however, one can also perceive that land, sea, whale, and people are symbiotically integrated. Even with cultural changes wrought by non-Native traders, missionaries, and integration into a capitalist world economy, older ways of life persist. The modern and the traditional are contiguous and juxtaposed. Whale hunting and community processing are traditional activities. Sharing food is a traditional activity. At the same time, the people shown here are wearing modern clothing. They are using modern tools. The power of this contemporary image lies in the fact that Inuit cultures are still vibrant despite centuries of transformation.

Many outsiders do not understand Inupiat perspectives. Anthropologists, sociologists, and television crews, say the Inupiat, do not see Natives for who they are. Instead, they are seen through the lenses of pre-existing beliefs, conclusions, and prejudices. Backpackers and similar recreationists do not see the Inupiat any more clearly. Imbued with the idea of pristine nature and a longing for wilderness, they do not always understand or treat the Inupiat well. 'Few have any respect for us or our country and yet they seem to worship it in their own strange way and resent even us being here'.[23] The land is sacred to Kaktovic Inupiat, but in a different way than most non-Natives may understand. In Inupiat tradition, and in the present day, land, water, and their respective inhabitants can be simultaneously used and re-

56

spected. They can be hunted, eaten, and honoured. Respect in the sense being used here is a profound concept.[24]

Kaktovic residents neither believe that oil development is an unmitigated good nor accept the proposition that the coastal plain should be designated as wilderness. Of the two, however, the latter seems the greater threat. A wilderness, as previously mentioned, is according to legal definition a place where humans are separated from their environment. Given Inupiat claims to ANWR territory, given their long history of land use there, and given the fact that their core identity is based in part upon access to and an on-going relationship with that place, any efforts to eliminate their presence and use of that place is tantamount to cultural extermination. 'It is the loss to us of our land which puts us most at risk, that and the dangers to our people, that we shall perish from this place, be driven from it, destroyed in all the insidious ways that Native people like us have been destroyed in so many other places'.[25] In some ways, the Inupiat are not so different from the Gwich'in. Both have fears of losing themselves in the face of the cultural impositions by other groups. Both seek to secure the survival of present and future generations. For both, that future is very much at stake.

Kakovik leaders hope to find a middle ground where the land can be used to generate revenue while protective measures are implemented to protect the animals upon which subsistence hunting and tradition are based. Severe problems with alcoholism and the scarcity of challenging jobs plague the Kaktovic community.[26] Cooperating with the oil industry can help. In Kaktovic, the construction and maintenance of Native identity hinges upon participation in traditional hunting activities. Yet, the Inupiat are part of a cash economy. Like it or not, revenue is today essential to survival. Like tradition, employment that offers intellectual challenge and brings a sense of pride is important. For older ways of life to survive, the resources upon which those practices are grounded must also survive. As the KIC logo indicates, bowhead whales, polar bears, Dall sheep, caribou, and by implication many other species as well, must be protected. The Inupiat have a great interest in wise management strategies. They are not simple 'sell-outs' to the oil industry.

There are no 'noble savages' or 'ignoble savages' here. There is no black and no white, only shades of gray. Even the Gwich'in, who represent themselves as traditionally pure on their website, have a more complex narrative and identity than that website indicates. Inupiat people sometimes tire of Gwich'in claims about the sacredness of caribou. According to some Kaktovic Inupiat, at least, there is less than complete honesty in those claims. 'As we fly over that country and notice the seismic lines cut through their forests', they write. 'We wonder where all the religion came from so suddenly. Could it have anything to do, we wonder, with their not finding oil? They have surely looked hard enough.[27]

The power of images
For centuries now, Native peoples have been frequently characterised and indeed signified by the larger society on the basis of two unfortunately persistent stereotypes. I say 'unfortunate' because both bind Natives into impossible identities. Human beings are inherently complex. Rarely, if ever, is a person fully 'this' or 'that'. The 'noble savage' is ultimately a nature-centred image of moral perfection. It is a

representation by members of the dominant American culture of 'that-which-we-are-not-but-somehow-should-be'. Similarly, the 'ignoble savage' is, in the final analysis, a nature-centred depiction of human immorality. It is, to use the same phraseology, a picture of 'that-which-we-are-not-and-never-should-be'. As 'savages', both portrayals are nonhuman or less-than-fully-human representations of the Other. They are not *us*. However, nor are they *them*. Signified and bound as 'Indians', or in the case of this narrative, Native Alaskans, they are expected by that larger society to live in ancient, timeless, and harmonious ways with nature. This criterion is the standard for being 'genuine'. If Natives act like we do and become capitalistic, they are relegated to a category of cultural inauthenticity. In either event, their 'true' identities are obscured and denied.

The Gwich'in have deployed images and text to re-present themselves, either consciously or unconsciously, in terms of the ecologically utopian 'noble savage'. This image, however, does not accommodate a complete narrative of their contemporary identity in relation to the land. There is evidence that they, like the Inupiat, have actively sought to locate and extract fossil fuels for profit. Inupiat peoples have largely resisted being stereotyped. On the one hand, they push back against being signified as the 'ignoble savage' by various environmental interests. They also disparage the notion that Native realities today, or at any time in the past, receive traction in terms of the 'noble savage'. The Inupiat want to be seen as themselves, not as figments of the American imagination. Both Gwich'in and Inupiat deploy images and text as rhetoric to assert their positions. They do so, also, to gain political leverage in struggles to control land management policies in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Notes

[1] Aristotle made the point that 'rhetoric is concerned with modes of persuasion'. Quoted in E. McMullin, 'Rhetoric and theory choice in science', in M. Pera and W. Shea eds., *Persuading science: the art of scientific rhetoric*, (Canton, MA, Science History Publications, 1991), p. 56. Persuasive efforts may take the form of oratory, written statements, or visual aids. Appeals to reason, social norms, and emotions are common. The intent to win support for the argument being made and even to lend moral authority to actions that the rhetorician wants implemented or maintained. See A. Gross, *The rhetoric of science* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 12, 14.

[2] J. Layzer, *The environmental case: translating values into policy* (Washington, D.C., CQ Press, 2002), p. 107.

[3] Aboriginal territories were more fluid than this brief description might make it seem. Inupiat people certainly traveled into Gwich'in territory, and the Gwich'in travelled onto Inupiat lands. It is worth realising that relationships between the two in the past could be adversarial. The consequence of being discovered in another's territory was sometimes death. See 'Inuuniagviat', in 'In this place: a guide for those who would work in the country of the Kaktovicmiut, http://www.Kaktovic.com/perspectives1.html, accessed on 24 December 2009, p. 2.

[4] See Article III, Treaty of Cession, 30 March 1867, 15 Stat. 539; Treaty Series 301. Native peoples in the United States did not receive citizenship until 1924. It was not until the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed in 1978 that federal legislation offered explicit support for nation's traditional indigenous religious beliefs and practices.

[5] N. Chance, 'Threats to native lands', in *Alaska native land claim settlement Act of 1971*, http://arcticcircle.uconn.edu/SEEJ/Landclaims/ancsa1.html, accessed on 23 December 2009.

[6] Ibid., 'Who should own the land?'

[7] P. Brown, 'Preserving wilderness vs. stimulating economic growth and ensuring the security of U.S. oil supplies: a study of the arguments for and against drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge', *Critique* (Normal, IL, Illinois State University, Spring 2005), p. 40.

[8] Chance, 'Who should own the land?'

[9] Between the mid-1980s and the turn of the twenty-first century, estimates of caribou numbers ranged between 129,000 and 200,000. See P. Shabecoff, 'Alaskan Wildlife Refuge is eyed by oil industry', *New York Times* (National Desk, A6, 1 August 1986); W. Hall, 'The oilmen's last frontier, Alaskan Arctic', *Financial Times* (24 March 1987); D. Ivanovitch, 'Bush puts a new focus on Refuge', *The Houston Chronicle* (5 July 2000); and K. Jaimet, 'Canada to fight Bush over Arctic oil drilling', *The Ottawa Citizen* (4 January 2001).

[10] Shabecoff, 'Alaskan Wildlife Refuge'.

[11] Ibid.

[12] D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds., *The iconography of landscape* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 8.

[13] Ibid., p. 2.

[14] http://www.gwichinsteeringcommittee.org/index.html, accessed on 23 December 2009.

[15] R. Barthes, *Camera lucida*, (New York, Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 87.

[16] Sec. 2 (c) of the federal Wilderness Act (1964) states that 'A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognised as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain'. See Wilderness Act of 1964. U.S. Public Law 88-577, 88th Congress S. 4 (September 3).

[17] S. Schama, *Landscape and memory*, (New York, Vintage Books, 1995), p. 550.

[18] G. Stankey, 'Beyond the campfire's light: the historical roots of the wilderness concept', *Natural Resources Journal* 29, (1989), p. 16.

[19] P. Ongtooguk, 'Group wants only 'genuine' natives', *The Tndra Times* (22 October 1990), pp. 18 and 24.

[20] G. Ahmaogak, 'Arctic drilling will help natives', *The Christian Science Monitor* (25 October 2000).

[21] T. Sweeney, 'Inupiat views ignored in ANWR Debate', *Anchorage Times* (Op-Ed, 25 February 2002).

[22] See 'Oil' in the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation's website for a brief description of Kaktovic's holdings in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, http://asrc.com/lands/lands.asp?page=oil, accessed on 24 December 2009.

[23] 'Mind', in 'In this place: A guide for those who would work in the country of the Kaktovicmiut, (http://www.Kaktovic.com/perspectives1.html, accessed on 24 December 2009), p. 4.

[24] Ibid., also 'Damages', p. 4 and 'Wildlife', p. 1.

[25] Ibid., 'Damages', p. 1.

[26] Ibid., 'Needs', pp. 2, 4-5.

[27] Ibid., 'Wildlife', p. 4.

PART II

VISIONS OF COSMOPOLIS AND MODERNITY

Alexandrea ad Aegyptum:
Cosmopolitanism and Renaissance Cartographic Visions
Veronica della Dora

Fig. 6.1. Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Bird's-eye view of Alexandria*, 1572 (The National Library of Israel, Shapell family Digitalization Project, and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dept. of Geography, Historic City Project).

Islands are central features in Western geographical imagination. They are privileged sites for utopian and Edenic visions; for imagining the future and for and reinventing the past. Islands are also ideal sites for mapping. The well-defined natural boundaries of their coastline create a reassuring self-enclosed cartographic space to be explored by the eye and mastered by the mind. Islands come in different shapes and sizes. They crowd seas and oceans; we find them in lakes and riverbeds, in isolation and in congregations. They can be fluid too, like the waters surrounding them — they come and they go, and they come back again. Herodotus, for example, tells us that 'when the Nile overflows, the *chora* is converted into a sea, and nothing appears but the cities, which look like the islands in the Aegean'.[1] But islands do not necessarily need water to come into existence — they can also be carved out of the

mainland by human action and imagination. Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's bird's-eye view of Alexandria in their great city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572) presents us with such an island (fig. 6.1).

The Egyptian city is portrayed as a self-enclosed insular microcosm separated from the surrounding mainland by fortified walls. Its insularity is further reinforced by geography. Braun and Hogenberg set the city of Alexander the Great on an imaginary peninsula defined by the Mediterranean (on the lower part of the map) and Lake Mareotis (on the right), and roughly following the curvature of the city walls. The authors had good reasons to depict the city as an island on the mainland. Alexandria, they explained in the cartouche, was an 'oldest trading centre of Egypt, a largest city founded by Alexander the Great; its plant with walls, towers and fortresses ... was constructed in 320 BC. It was formerly splendid and today it appears as well-protected, but within the town walls it is full of ruins and remains. Its size corresponds to that of Parisian Lutetia'. From its beginnings, ancient Alexandria was indeed conceptualised as a self-contained microcosm culturally detached from the rest of the African continent. The perceived insularity of the city served as a basic condition for its several cosmopolitan re-inventions. It also served as an effective device for its visualisation and circulation as a mythical place in the Western geographical imagination.

This essay maps Alexandria's insularity within the tradition of Stoic and neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism and explores its visual (re)invention in Renaissance Europe. Alexandria introduces the second part of this collection as the 'prototype' of the cosmopolitan city: as the imaginative point of departure for later urban cosmopolitan traditions — traditions of openness and dialogue in which Cosgrove envisaged a message of hope for the future.

Making a cosmopolitan 'island'

According to Plutarch, the history of Alexandria started with the vision of an island. The city was revealed to Alexander in a dream. Aristotle, his mentor, is said to have appeared before the Macedonian king reciting these lines from the Odyssey: 'Out of the tossing sea where it breaks on the beaches of Egypt/ rises an isle from the waters: the name that men give it is Pharos'. The following morning Alexander immediately visited the islet of Pharos and ordered the plan of the city to be designed so that it would conform to the neighbouring site.[2]

The next step Alexander took was *to make* the city an 'island'. He thus bounded the urban space with walls, 'isolating' it from its surroundings. The walls served cultural, rather than military purposes. Their function, it has been suggested, was to act as a clear boundary between city and country. The walls separated the predominantly Greek cosmopolitan world from the elemental Egyptian countryside; they marked the dichotomy between perceived culture and nature.[3] As with the Greek islands of antiquity, Alexandria's insularity implied both insulation *and* connectivity. Ancient Greeks understood islands as 'distinct closed worlds, ideal locations for the extraordinary and the bizarre, but at the same time ... also as parts of a complex reality of interaction'.[4] A striving port shortly after its foundation, Alexandria not only interacted with Greek islands and other places in the Mediterranean, but it also built its cosmopolitan identity through intense commercial and cultural exchange. As

Strabo records, 'the exports by sea from Alexandria exceed the imports. This any person may ascertain ... by watching the arrival and departure of the merchant vessels, and observing how much heavier or lighter these cargoes are when they depart or they return'.[5]

Shaped as a Macedonian *chlamys* (Macedonian soldiers' mantle), early Ptolemaic Alexandria (304-30 BC) essentially remained a Greek 'island-city', whose imported cultural inheritance its rulers tried to preserve 'in a very foreign land'.[6] As such, Alexandria hosted Macedonian soldiers, Greeks from the mainland and the islands of the Hellenic seas, as well as Afrasian Greeks of the littorals from Cyrene to Bithynian Chalcedon. But it also hosted Syrians and people from all the states of Asia Minor: Arabians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes and Persians; Chartaginians, Italians, Gauls; Iberians and people from beyond the Pillars of Heracles, and far-off Indus. It attracted merchants from all over known world; Jewish; the mixed 'rabble', grading from political sycophants (non-Egyptian) to the common workman and labourer (mostly Egyptian); and finally slaves. While today it is commonly accepted that Greek and Egyptians lived mostly separate lives, the city has been traditionally idealised as a *pantrophos*, or 'universal nurse', in which every race found place and nourishment.[7]

Intellectuals were also attracted to the city because of its famous *Bibliotheca*. Ptolemaic (and then Roman) Alexandria was a centre of accumulation of knowledge. Scholars, poets and scientists found in the king's palace the greatest library of the ancient world. One of the characteristic aspects of Alexandrian culture was its magnetic power of attraction: 'collecting all the texts ever written in the Greek world, as well as by the Barbarians, attracting individuals from across the Hellenised world'.[8] Each one conveyed local knowledge and empirical data from distant parts of the *ecumene* to its centre: the Ptolemies' palace. Here astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy first devised a way to project the earthly globe on a flat surface. As Christian Jacob commented, 'producing a map of the earth was a logical development for this new capital city, itself a microcosm of the greater world beyond'.[9]

City and archive were metaphors of each other. Ancient Alexandria has been defined both as 'memory of the world' and as 'a museum town, a mirror town which would reflect the entire world at the same time as the glory of the dynasty'.[10] The urban space was indeed organised according to the same spatial principle as the universal library—what Giorgio Mangani called '*memoria locativa*', or knowledge retrieval through a topographical classification system. As with the *Bibliotheca*, the city was a self-contained cartographic (and thus legible) space bound by walls. It was divided into different ethnic quarters identified by letters of the Greek alphabet, which composed a pseudonym revealing a signature: 'King Alexander, descendant of Zeus, founded it'. Library and city both participated to the same universal 'pan-mnemonic' project.[11]

The spread of the myth of Alexandria 'as a mirror' (both of the world and of its cosmopolitan founder) can be traced back to the narrative of global imperial visions so neatly captured by Denis Cosgrove's pen. Four centuries after his death, Alexander's alcohol-driven conquest of the known world was idealised by the Romans, especially Plutarch, as 'the quest of the youthful heroic and semi-divine figure towards the edges of space and time' and was used as a 'pedigree' for their expanding Em-

pire. The Alexander myth and the rhetoric of the benevolent Empire attributed to the Macedonian king were indeed in large measure a literary product following Augustus' victory over Mark Anthony and Cleopatra at Actium (31 BC) and Rome's 'worldwide marine domination' (which thus came to include the newly acquired Egyptian province).[12] Plutarch's famous claim that 'Alexander desired that all men be subject to one law of reason and one form of government and ... reveal all men as one people' reflected the thoughts expressed by Zeno, the founder of Stoic philosophy. At the same time it implicitly justified the discourse of a universal Roman Empire extending *ad termini orbis terrarum*.[13] In his *De Oficiis* first-century-BC jurist Cicero had similarly stated this principle explicitly arguing for the potential integration of all the world's peoples within a single civic order governed by the Roman law.[14]

When Romans took control of Alexandria after the battle of Actium, they naturally idealised the city as a small-scale realisation of the Stoic cosmopolis: a self-contained multiethnic cosmos in miniature obeying to a universal Roman law. Unlike the Ptolemies who maintained separate juridical systems for Greeks and Egyptians, Roman justice applied to all, regardless of ethnicity.[15] The Romans called the city Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, Alexandria *by* Egypt, not 'in Egypt', as to set it apart from Africa and emphasise its cultural proximity to the Mediterranean and Southern Europe, thus perpetuating pre-existing insular and cosmopolitan narratives. Dio Chrysostom, for example, wrote:

> You [Alexandria] have a monopoly over the entire Mediterranean sea through the beauty of your harbours, the size of your fleet, and the abundance and marketing of the produce of every land, and also have in your grasp the outer waters that lie beyond, both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean ... with the result that the trade, not merely of islands, harbours, a few straits and isthmuses, but of practically the entire inhabited world is yours. For Alexandria is situated at the crossroads, so to speak, of the whole earth, of even its remotest nations, as if it were another marker serving a single city.[16]

Alexandria in Western Renaissance cartographic imagination
Capital and then main commercial and intellectual centre of the two greatest Empires in Western history, Alexandria came to exercise a special appeal to Renaissance humanists rediscovering Stoic philosophy and advocating the resurgence of cosmopolis through utopian projects.[17] Their Alexandria though was more an ideal than a real place. While in the sixteenth century it still retained a cosmopolitan component of Venetian and Genoese merchants, Alexandria was no longer the marvellous *polis* described by Strabo, nor the global city chanted by Dio Chrysostom. When, after three centuries of Byzantine rule, the Arabs first entered the city in 642, Alexandria was still a magnificent city gleaming with white marble. Although the conquerors fortified the city with thick walls, they enclosed only about a half of the original Greek city. In time many splendid buildings fell into disrepair. Streets were now narrow and dusty, and the marble from the magnificent columns and crumbling houses was constantly being plundered.[18] When Filippo Pigafetta from Vicenza visited in 1577,

after sixty years of Ottoman rule, he found most of the city in ruin and 'the friable stone reduced to powder by the hot desert winds' — a 'cosa degna di compassione'.[19]

Early-Ottoman Alexandria, however, was a place more alive in Western geographical imagination thanks to its ancient Greek and early Christian fame than through direct experience of its Muslim present. Indeed, it was a place in which boundaries between past and present, familiar and unfamiliar, reality and myth somehow blurred. Western Renaissance cartographers typically represented the city as an insular microcosm, as exemplified in Braun and Hogenberg's bird's-eye view (fig. 6.1).[20] The Alexandria depicted by the two Germans was an idealised city they never saw with their own eyes, but rather through those of Strabo and Cologne-based merchant Constantin van Lyskirchen.[21] Their Alexandria was an imagined city shaped on the model of European port cities (such as Genoa, for example) with whom the authors would have been familiar from direct experience, or from other representations. It was embellished with fabulous mosques and with marvellous palaces such as the *domus Alexandri Magni* (probably At-tarin mosque), whose towers and minarets resembled German church spires. The map however captures, perhaps even emphasises, the 'pitiful' state of the city described by Western travellers, with clusters of buildings surrounded by empty spaces. Tumbled ruins of ancient constructions and aqueducts, scattered broken columns, ancient Christian shrines fallen in disrepair, and other landmarks of memory signposted the urban space within the walls. Camels, palm trees, and local inhabitants in exotic costumes were generally relegated outside of the walls: they only served as a contour, or setting for the city; they belonged to 'nature', rather than to 'civilization'; to Africa, rather than to Alexandria. They at once completed the picture of decay and perpetuated the ancient insular narrative.

Braun and Hogenberg portrayed the city of Alexander the Great as a liminal space shaped by the sea and nurtured by the Nile. Ships and vessels of different sizes and provenance approaching and leaving the ports reminded the viewer Alexandria's 'connected insular' nature. Life, however, did not only come from outside of Egypt. The Nile, the authors (after Strabo) explained on the map, 'flows across the city through canals, filling wells and cisterns when it overflows'. It is thanks to this water that the city could sustain itself. On the map, a branch of the river enters the city walls and ramifies into four canals — a pattern resembling the standard iconography of the Delta on contemporary maps of Egypt. In this way, the armchair traveller journeying through the 'Cities of the Earthly Globe' from his elevated perspective would immediately identify the city thanks to its association to the Delta of the Nile (itself an 'icon' of Egypt).

Such iconography bore also Scriptural echoes. It closely resembled depictions of Terrestrial Paradise on Medieval *mappae mundi* and specialised sixteenth-century maps, with the four rivers flowing out from the walled Garden of Eden (the only difference here being that they flew *into* the walled space of the city).[22] In the text accompanying the map, Braun and Hogenberg indeed explained that 'because of the flourishing veneration of divinities there and its sacredness to people, the ancients often called [Alexandria] paradise'. The Alexandria of sixteenth-century Western geographical imagination, by contrast, was Edenic in that it was perceived as a place of loss, 'full of ruins' of that mythical golden age. As with the Garden of Eden, the

67

city of Alexander was a self-enclosed physical place of delight lost to mankind after the Fall (whether of Adam in the Scriptures, or of Egypt to Islam).

Alexandria as a memory theatre

Edenic Alexandria offered the fatigued armchair farer a stop where he could rest from his solitary wanderings. The map was indeed not meant to provide an accurate plan for the adventurous traveller, but rather an imaginative escape, a safe place for quiet meditation for the cabinet scholar. In this sense, Braun and Hogenberg's Alexandria was not too dissimilar from the Vale of Tempe and the other ancient *loci amoeni* Abraham Ortelius represented in his *Parergon* (1579), the companion volume to the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), together with which *Civitates* was sometimes bound.[23]

The *Theatrum* was the first printed atlas. By bringing stylistically uniform maps of different scales together within the same volume, Ortelius set up a project which promoted mankind's 'unity in diversity' and tolerance at the height of the Wars of Religion in western Europe.[24] The title of the atlas (Theatre of the Earthly Globe) reflected the moral goals of the volume. In Renaissance culture the theatre was indeed a pervasive metaphor and a space charged with deep moral meaning. By setting the spectator at a distance from the stage — the Greek term *théatron* literally means 'place for seeing' — the theatre provided the distanciation necessary to attain wisdom. In his *Theatrum*, Ortelius similarly presented the world as a stage for the lives and works of its human occupants, as witnessed from an elevated point above its surface in flux.[25]

Braun and Hogenberg conceived their *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, a collection of 546 prospects, bird's-eye views and map views of famous cities from all over the world, as a continuation of Ortelius' moral project and a companion to the *Theatrum*, as indicated by the similarity in the titles (and sometimes by their physical association). The first volume of the *Civitates* was indeed published in 1572, only two years after the *Theatrum*, and saw the active assistance of Ortelius himself.[26] As Robert Burton wrote in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* half a century later, Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates* would not only provide geographical and historical instructions, but it would uplift the reader's spirit as well.[27] Letting one's eye roam over distant cities and their people exercised a cathartic function on the viewer similar to that ancient Greeks attributed to watching theatrical performances. 'The awareness that life is led as if on the stage insulates the beholder from the reversals of fortune, reducing them to the status of a distant spectacle without the power to shock'.[28] Like ancient spectators sitting on the rows of this metaphorical amphitheatre, Braun and Hogenberg's humanist readers launched themselves abroad, using the city atlas 'to embark on virtual voyages from the safety of their studies, secure in their purely specular relation to the *theatrum mundi*' and its *civitates* mapped in all their richness of topographical detail.[29]

As Braun wrote in his preface to the third volume of the *Civitates* (1581), the topographer's art consisted of 'verbal and visual records of ... journeys ... that complement cosmographical works such as Ortelius' *Theatrum*'.[30] So powerful was the knowledge of place instilled by the topographer, that he transformed the *peregrinus* into a *hospes* (native), imbuing the foreigner with all the privileged information held by the local inhabitant.[31] Turning places unknown to the armchair traveller into

places as familiar as home, the *Civitates* thus transformed him into a 'citizen of the world' — a *kosmopolitēs*.

The *Civitates*, however, was 'theatrical' also in a more 'practical' didactic sense. 'Theatrum' reconnected maps and atlases to a mnemonic tradition rooted in classical antiquity. The ancients regarded memory as intrinsically connected to sight. For Plato and Aristotle, recollection was indeed based on the seeing of internal pictures imprinted in memory and was thus best stimulated by visual means.[32] Cicero was said to have a special circular room furnished with niches to which he associated parts of speeches to memorise. In the Renaissance actual theatres were often adapted into 'memory theatres', in which recollection was activated from the centre of the stage through the visualization of specific objects or architectural features.[33]

Maps were regarded as printed analogous of such memory theatres. From classical antiquity to the end of the seventeenth century, geography had indeed been uninterruptedly conceived of as an encyclopaedic system for information storage and memorization.[34] Maps were the primary source of the *cognitio geographiae* (knowledge of geography). They were also essential to the *cognitio historiarum* (knowledge of history), because many historical events could not be understood without knowledge of place.[35] Thanks to their compositional rhetoric, maps had the advantage of being able to capture the attention of the observer, to vividly bring places and events before his eyes, and effectively imprint them in his memory.[36] Sumptuous cartouches, exotic animals, frightening sea monsters, figurines in exotic costumes, and other icons served as *loci memoriae* analogous to the niches in Cicero's memory theatre.

Alexandria was a unique container of *loci memoriae*, ranging, as we have seen, from ancient ruins to contemporary exotic people and animals. The city maps in Braun and Hogenberg's collection opened small windows on different urban microcosms. As Braun maintained, they should indeed 'be drawn in such a manner that the viewer can look into all the roads and streets and see also all the buildings and open spaces'.[37] As the armchair traveller's eye zoomed in and wandered within, or around Alexandria's walls, different layers of memory were activated. At the western extremity of the old port the ancient Pharos, once situated on the island dreamt by Alexander, welcomed the viewer, reminding him the role of the city as the ancient Mediterranean's 'beacon of knowledge'. Located on a 'highest promontory' north-east of the city, Pompey's Pillar evoked Alexandria's Roman legacy. Within the walls Egyptian obelisks, ruined Greek temples, churches, synagogues, and mosques bore witness to the city's complex spiritual and cultural inheritance. Braun and Hogenberg's map of Alexandria was a threshold the eye crossed not only to access distant places, but also distant times and histories from which the armchair traveller could morally benefit.

Neo-Stoic visions
Alexandria was a *civitas* of ruins. It bore testament to the glory of the two global empires of antiquity. It was a memorial of the greatest political and intellectual achievements of ancient Western civilization, but also a reminder of their ephemerality.[38] Navigating the ruins from a detached bird's eye perspective, Braun and Hogenberg's reader was drawn to ponder on the futility of terrestrial affairs in the best

neo-Stoic tradition. Neo-stoicism was a philosophy derived from stoicism that emerged in the late fifteenth century. It owed to humanists' study of Cicero and other Latin authors and acknowledged that the wise man must be indifferent to the *res humanae*, the vicissitudes of fortune, the contingencies of death, pain and disease, focusing instead on the universal unity and order that are the chief manifestations of Divine Providence.[39] Ancient Alexandrians and their wondrous works had been obliterated by time, but the Nile continued to flow as ever. 'For what can seem of moment in human affairs for him who keeps all eternity before his eyes and knows the scale of the universal world?', Ortelius wrote, quoting Cicero, on his *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (the world map opening the *Theatrum*).

Neo-stoicism built on classical cartographic visions of global imperial destiny, originating in Augustean Rome. The *locus classicus* came from the final book of Cicero's *De Republica*. The Roman rhetorician recounted the story of the great grand son of Scipius Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, as he returned to the site of the victory. There, in a dream, young Scipio ascended to the starry heavens where he encountered his ancestor and was presented with a vision of the beautiful order of the cosmos and the Aristotelian earthly globe. This, as compared to the other heavenly spheres appeared so small that, young Scipio declared, 'I was scornful of our empire, which covers only a single point, as it were, upon its surface'.[40]

Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* (third century AD) offered a similar *topos*. During his march of conquest Alexander began to ask himself whether he had really reached the end of the world. He thus engineered a 'flying machine' powered by two huge griffons. Having reached the sky, the king was approached by a man-headed flying creature who told him:

'O Alexander, you have not yet secured the whole earth, and are you now exploring the heavens? Return to earth as fast as possible, or you will become food for these birds'. He went on, 'Look down the earth Alexander!' I looked down, somewhat afraid, and behold, I saw a great snake curled up, and in the middle of the snake a tiny circle like a threshing-floor. Then my companion said to me, 'Point your spear at the threshing-floor, for that is the world. The snake is the sea that surrounds the world'.[41]

As in his dream preceding Alexandria's foundation, Alexander was offered the vision of an island, this time 'the world island'. As with Scipio, the earth from above appeared 'tiny' to him, if compared to the surrounding sea. Having realised the relativity of the world and thus his own relativity, Alexander, now enriched with wisdom, was urged to return back to earth and complete its conquest. Both Scipio and Alexander's were cartographic visions. The 'maps' they saw were mirrors that eventually enabled them to 'know themselves'. Mirror and map indeed shared the same function: to make one see what could not otherwise be seen, whether one's own image, the earth's image, or a distant land.[42]

Alexandria too was born as a mirror. Alexander ordered the construction of a lighthouse furnished with a large mirror 'to see far away' and, as we have seen, the Ptolemaic and Roman city was itself imagined as a multicultural 'mirror' of the larger world outside.[43] As Braun and Hogenberg's map shows, Renaissance carto-

graphic interpretations of Alexandria gave visual shape to this imagery to act as mirrors for the humanist reader. Their Alexandria was a place the viewer was invited to enter, but at the same time contemplate from a distance; it was a place for philosophical self-reflection about one's own place in the world and in its universal history—and thus a place for self-knowledge, the ultimate achievement of every humanist.

Notes

[1] *Hist.*, 2.97.1.

[2] Plutarch, 'The life of Alexander', in Plutarch, *Alexander*, trans. I. Scott-Kilvert (London, Penguin Books, 1973), p. 282; the Homeric verse is from *Odyssey* 4.354-355.

[3] N. Finneran, *Alexandria: a city and myth* (Stroud, Tempus, 2005), p. 53.

[4] C. Constantakopoulou, *The dance of the islands: insularity, networks, the Athenian empire, and the Aegean world* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 2.

[5] *Geog.*, 17.1.7.

[6] H. Maehler, 'Alexandria, the Mouseion, and cultural identity', in A. Hirst and M. Silk eds., *Alexandria, real and imagined* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004), p. 7.

[7] See ibid., pp. 3-4; E. Parsons, *The Alexandrian library* (London, Cleaver-Hume Press, 1952), pp. 56-57.

[8] C. Jacob, 'Mapping in the mind: the Earth from ancient Alexandria', in D. Cosgrove ed., *Mappings* (London, Reaktion, 1999), p. 30.

[9] Ibid.

[10] C. Jacob and F. Polignac eds., *Alexandria, third century BC: the knowledge of the world in a single city* (Alexandria, Harpocrates Publishing, 2000), p. 14.

[11] G. Mangani, *Cartografia morale* (Modena, Cosimo Panini, 2006), p. 23.

[12] D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's eye* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 43.

[13] According to Zeno, 'all the inhabitants of this world of ours should not live differentiated by their respective rules of justices which separate cities and communities, but we should consider all men to be of one community, and we should have a common life and order to common us all' Plutarch, *On the fortune of Alexander*, 329A-B, quoted in C. J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian shore: nature and culture in western thought from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967), pp. 23-24.

[14] D. Cosgrove, 'Globalism and tolerance in early modern geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, (2003), p. 860.

[15] Finneran, *Alexandria*, p. 25.

[16] Dio Chr., 32.36. See also Jerome, *c. Naum* 3.8/12-563.

[17] See S. Toulmin, *Cosmopolis: the hidden agenda of modernity* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[18] A. Wolff, 'Merchants, pilgrims, naturalists: Alexandria through European eyes from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century', in Hirst and Silk eds., *Alexandria*, p. 199.

[19] 'A pitiful sight'. Pigafetta quoted in ibid., p. 217.

[20] Pierre Belon (1547), Willem Janszoon (1619) and other sixteenth-century anonymous cartographers produced similar maps of Alexandria. The same 'insular' template can also be found in the early eighteenth-century (for example, Abbé Calmet, 1722).

[21] N. Sauders, *Alexander's tomb: the two thousand year obsession to find the lost conqueror* (New York, Basic Books, 2006), p. 23.

[22] See A. Scafi, *Mapping paradise: a history of heaven on earth* (London, The British Library, 2006).

[23] See Cosgrove, 'Globalism and tolerance'; J. Keuning, 'The *Civitates* of Braun and

Hogenberg', *Imago Mundi* **17**, (1963), p. 42.

[24] Cosgrove, 'Globalism and tolerance'.

[25] Ibid.; see also C. Jacob, *The sovereign map: theoretical approaches in cartography throughout history* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 94.

[26] 'Ortelius' share in the realization of the work is proved by the 1572 preface to the reader by Georgius Bruin, which states that many of the city descriptions are from the hand of Ortelius. 'Opus nostrum merifice, multarum urbium, genuina descriptione ornavit, Praestantissimus, Doctissimusque vir, D. Abrahamus Ortelius Antverpianus, hoc nostro tempore insignis Geographus' (Keuning, *'Civitates'*, p. 42).

[27] Burton, quoted in http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/mapmakers/braun_hogenberg.html, accessed on 20 September 2009.

[28] W. Mellion, 'Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: meditation, vocation, and sacred history in Abraham Ortelius' "Parergon"', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* **57**, (1999), p. 53.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 68.

[31] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[32] M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 17.

[33] F. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 367.

[34] Mangani, *Cartografia*.

[35] Melion, 'Ad ductum itineris', pp. 50-51.

[36] As Ortelius explicitly declared in the introduction to the *Theatrum*, maps 'being placed as it were certaine glasses before our eyes, will the longer be kept in memory and make the deeper impression in us' (London 1606, quoted in S. Alpers, 'The mapping impulse in Dutch art', in D. Woodward ed., *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 88.

[37] An urban island stamped with the iconography of the Nile, Braun and Hogenberg's Alexandria also represented a powerful *locus* within the spatial narrative of the *Civitates*. Aware of its iconic power, Willem Janszoon Blaeu borrowed the same image as the central medallion of the frame of the map of Africa in his famous atlas (1619). By linking it to the iconic view of Alexandria and to the corresponding figurines in turban and *galabiyya*, the Egyptian region would thus make 'deeper impression' in the viewer.

[38] 'Urbs olim opulentissima atque magnifica, superbissimis aedificiis tam publicis quam privatis ornata. ... Sed temporum iniuria, bellorum, et domesticarum seditionu violata furoribus, a pristina dignitate plurimum amisit. ... donec in Mahumetanorum potestatem venit, plurimum authorum testimonia constat: exinde multorum annorum spatio collapsa, vetusta celebritas intercidit, quod nullus fere vel Graeciae vel Europae mercatorum in ea mercimonium exerceret, velut inculta remansit' G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 3 (Nuremberg, various publishers, 1572–1617), n.p.

[39] Melion, 'Ad ductum itineris', p. 53.

[40] Cicero, *Cicero in twenty-eight volumes*, vol. 16, trans. C. Keyes (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 269.

[41] Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek Alexander romance*, trans. R. Stoneman (London and New York, Penguin Books, 1991), p. 123.

[42] 'Cosmography', Apianus wrote, 'mirrors the image and appearance of the universal world as a mirror does one's face' Braun and Hogenberg say of the chorographer: 'He describes each section of the world individually with its cities, villages, islands, rivers, lakes, mountains, springs, and so on, and tells its history, making everything so clear that the reader seems to be seeing the actual town or place before his eyes' (Alpers, 'The mapping impulse', p. 88).

[43] Mangani, *Cartografia*, p. 43.

7

Memories, Images, Cosmopolitan Pasts
Galata and Pera in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul
Begum Basdas
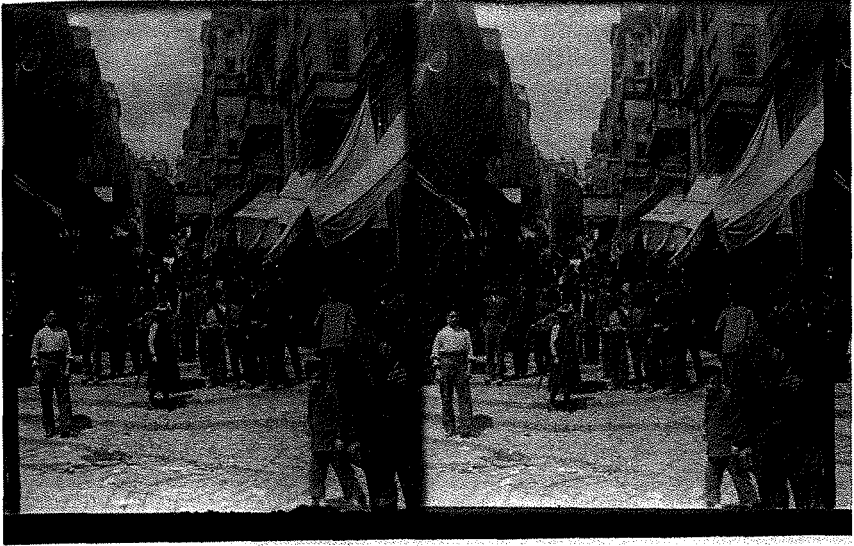
7.1. Yüksek Kaldırım Street, Galata, Istanbul, ca. 1900 (Keystone-Mast Collections, California Museum of Photography).

Fig. 7.1 shows a crowded street in fin-de-siècle Galata, a then renowned cosmopolitan neighbourhood in the European side of Istanbul. In this stereographic image European style hats and fezzes confusedly mix under eclectic building facades, awnings, and multilingual signs. A human torrent of young men, street vendors and gentlemen in elegant suits is frozen in time as it flows towards the viewer. A lone girl in her European dress stands in the frontline of this overwhelmingly male crowd. Further in the foreground a little child and an old man inquisitively stare back at the viewer, as uncanny ghosts of a bygone era. The 'staged confusion' of the image is further accentuated by the unsettling hyperclarity produced by the stereographic medium.

The image is part of a set of stereo cards of Ottoman Istanbul printed by Keystone-Mast in 1900c. and currently preserved in the archives of the California Museum of Photography in Riverside, California. This stereograph was one of the many visual representations of Galata circulating in Europe and North America at the turn of the century. It was also one of the many representations helping construct the dis-

trict in Western geographical imagination as a socially and ethnically diverse entity, somehow distinct from the rest of Istanbul. This essay discusses visions of Galata and Pera as cosmopolitan public spaces. Everyday users of this part of the city, I argue, were immersed in a space that was not only imagined as 'other', but was also perceived and lived as a sensually distinctive environment: an architectural space marked by eclectic stylistic juxtapositions, and a social and cultural space inscribed by ethnically diverse bodies. Denis Cosgrove's writings on early modern geography's significance towards a hopeful cosmopolitan imagination emphasise the need for 'recognition of differences'.[1] Galata and Pera, however, struggle with their diversity since they lack the possibility of unity, harmony and tolerance embraced by that cosmopolitan imagination. The spatial narratives of these two districts thus leave us with visions of a cosmopolitan city ever fragmented with agony, political tension and constant negotiations, rather than with visions of utopian peaceful coexistence.

Cosmopolitan Istanbul

Standing there [on the Galata Bridge], one can see all Constantinople go by in an hour ... A Mussulman woman on foot, a veiled female slave, a Greek with her long flowing hair surmounted by a little red cap, a Maltese hidden in her black *faldetta*, a Jewess in the ancient costume of her nation, a negress wrapped in a many-tinted Cairo shawl, an Armenian from Trebizond, all veiled in black—a funeral apparition; these and many more follow each other in line as though it were a precession gotten up to display the dress of the various nations of the world. It is an ever-changing mosaic, a kaleidoscopic view of race, costume, and religion, which forms and dissolves with rapidity and the eye and brain can with difficulty follow ... It is stupefying merely to note the diversity of religions represented ... There is hardly time even to make a note of the different nationalities.[2]

As the traveller walks across the bridge leaving the historic peninsula behind, she arrives in Galata, the most cosmopolitan quarter of the Ottoman imperial city. From the Ottoman conquest until the nineteenth century, for Europeans and Ottomans alike, this part of the city, along with Pera, symbolised the European presence in Istanbul: an 'exotic' non-Muslim environment somehow detached from the Ottoman Empire. By contrast, the historic peninsula (or 'old city') represented the Muslim Empire with its monumental and religious landscape which emerged soon after the conquest. Despite the existence of various other non-Muslim neighbourhoods in parts of the city other than Galata and Pera, it was in these two districts that Western travellers envisaged as the political, diplomatic, and commercial centre of European presence and trade in Istanbul. In particular, Ottoman Galata was perceived as a port city for and of Christians. Everyday, its bustling streets, especially around the waterfront and in the commercial area, were filled with European merchants and sailors melding with the local non-Muslim populations and the buildings they owned: churches, stores, warehouses, coffee shops, taverns, brothels, and inns.

According to Europeans, Galata was, both physically and socially, reminiscent of any other Mediterranean port city in Europe, and thus uninteresting and com-

monplace. This perception of Galata, however, was selective, as it tended to ignore the Muslim quarters of the neighbourhood and focus exclusively on mixed non-Muslim communities. The conspicuous presence of these communities and their Christian churches both surprised and assured European visitors about the existence of Christian strongholds in the East. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the population and the religious structures in Galata were predominantly Muslim (as the increased investment in religious buildings showed), but both European and Ottoman observers distorted the facts. The spaces of their everyday lives were marked by the strong presence of non-Muslim social and physical spaces, which made for an overwhelmingly Western and Christian lived, bodily experience. Rather than a complex social and material milieu in continuous flux, Galata was 'imagined' and lived as a haven for Christians. In a sense, 'it was too familiar to be true and *too cosmopolitan to be oriental*'.[3] The real 'oriental' or 'exotic' experience for European travellers lay in the historic peninsula on the other side of the Golden Horn.

In contrast to the period of Islamisation after the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century, the growth of Ottoman non-Muslim, Christian and Jewish, and foreign populations in the nineteenth-century outnumbered that of Muslims and augmented the diversity of Galata.[4] Europeans' interactions always remained limited to non-Muslims (especially Greeks and Jews) who spoke various European languages and knew their trade well, and were therefore able to resolve difficulties Europeans might encounter in the imperial ports. Direct contact between Turkish-Muslims and Westerners was rare. Everything was seen as an obstacle between them: language, religion, civilisation, and a certain mutual contempt. By contrast, European merchants, by necessity and affinity, felt at ease with Ottoman Christians, Greeks and Armenians, even if their Christianity differed from that of the Latin West. Marriages between Europeans and Eastern Christians further reinforced the ties of religion and culture, leading to the rise of a Levantine community.

Local Ottoman Muslims nourished ambivalent feelings towards Galata. Their 'exotic' lived experience of the district was based on the cultural and religious experience of Christendom within the capital of the Muslim Ottoman Empire — somehow ignoring the Jewish neighbourhoods in the district. Galata was associated with the Christianity that was freely performed in the urban life of the district: for example, through non-Muslim religious processions conducted openly in the streets, the frequency of wine shops, and even the common use of taverns. Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi walking through the streets of the district offers a highly embodied, vivid experience.[5] His senses are divided between loathing the vice and depravity in the district and a lust and envy for the forbidden pleasures of the body that are readily available on its streets. He praises the good food and drink that he saw and tasted. He notes his conversations with the local shopkeepers and writes about the beauty of the inhabitants of Galata. Nevertheless, he is also negatively impressed by the essentially Christian character of the district, which was commonly associated with sin. For example, he condemns the 'perturbed' drunkards on the streets as 'captives' of the wine shops.

Cosmopolitanism, modernity and architecture

Between 1838 and 1923, the Ottoman Empire underwent dramatic political, economic, social transformations, meant to bring it closer to Europe.[6] The Tanzimat Edict of 1839 pledged the government to a policy of change and introduced the rule of law and equality over all subjects. The edict established a new and a direct relationship between the individual and the state based on rights and obligations that stemmed from the individual's status as an Ottoman citizen. This translated in a series of urban reforms, European style municipalities, and grand urban development schemes.[7] Urban modernisation and the increased impact of European and non-Muslim populations supported by the Tanzimat Edict and future reforms put Galata and Pera into the vanguard of nineteenth century changes in the imperial capital.

In 1855 the *Şehremaneti* (Mayorship), which was the first step to form a municipal administration in Istanbul, was established.[8] Two years later, the Sixth District Municipality, comprising Pera, Galata, and Tophane (a neighbourhood with relatively more Muslim residents), was set up as an experimental area, as a future example for all other districts. Architectural historian Nur Akin argued that despite the autocratic Ottoman regime, the Sixth District Administration represented a relatively participatory urban experience, even a 'direct democracy', which had never existed in the 'East' before. Most of the council members of the Sixth District Administration were among the influential and rich non-Muslim residents of Galata and Pera.[9]

By the end of the nineteenth century, Galata and Pera had assumed the appearance of a (rather provincial) European town, catering to the needs and expectations of a population of foreign expatriates and local westernising middle and upper classes.[10] The wealthy groups of the Sixth District were the main beneficiaries of the new urban reforms, whereas the poor Greeks, Armenians, and Turks did not benefit from these new urban services. The priority was given to the Europeans in terms of urban reforms and services with the implicit urge to promote the imperial image rather than the democratic distribution of municipal resources.

Nineteenth-century Istanbul was introduced to new building types and architectural styles. Architectural historian Celik has classified the late nineteenth century architectural styles into classical revivalism, Gothic revivalism, Islamic revivalism, and Art Nouveau. These styles, Celik argues, were not totally distinct, but tended to borrow from each other and overlap.[11] At the turn of the twentieth century, Galata and Pera's architecture thus displayed a 'cosmopolitan' façade defined by the eclecticism of its building types and styles. The majority of the structures were built in the late nineteenth century through the urban reforms and after the recurring fires, resulting in a building boom between 1880 and 1914. Galata's built environment was a combination of its past and present. Confined by its fourteenth century street network, the district included a few Genoese buildings and many massive stonework Ottoman structures besides the new buildings that reflected European urbanism and the needs of nineteenth-century capitalism and commerce. By the end of the nineteenth century, the dichotomy between the urban fabric of Galata and Pera and the historic peninsula on the other side of the Golden Horn had grown to a striking extent. The last came to symbolise more than the purely historical: it symbolised obsolescence, stagnation, and backwardness, as opposed to 'modern' and 'westernised'

Galata and Pera. The modernisation and urban developments in the two latter neighbourhoods were intimately related to the commercial relations and the expansion of nineteenth-century international capitalism. The market, banks, insurance companies, stock exchange and innumerable small commercial ventures were all located in Galata and Pera. Apartment houses, Western styled arcades and *cités*, shops and department stores displaying all sorts of imported goods, as well as hotels, clubs, beer halls, theatres, and schools radically altered the structure of the district and imposed new patterns of behaviour and consumption.[12] The Western embassies and the institutions managed by foreigners and non-Muslims, such as the Ottoman Bank, provided the main references in terms of social and political power.

The choice of residence by most inhabitants of Istanbul was no longer necessarily related only to socio-economic criteria, but depended more and more on perceived cultural 'value'. For a Muslim resident of some socio-economic standing, moving to the Europeanised sectors of the city implied a certain cultural choice, which is that of adopting a westernised attitude, as opposed to the more traditional or conservative lifestyles of the historic peninsula.[13] Although Galata became a significant and popular business district after the second half of the nineteenth century, Pera and its environments were preferred as the residential districts by the upper classes of the Ottoman society. Urban modernisation and the developments in transportation, such as the construction of the *Tunel* (subway tunnel) and the tramways, helped fast and easy access to surrounding districts and generated a residential outward growth beyond the two neighbourhoods.

Pera and Galata through the stereoscope

The Keystone-Mast stereograph series offers precious insights into turn-of-century Istanbul and its dichotomous imaginative geographies. While stereographs of the historic peninsula across from the Golden Horn tend to represent mainly monumental religious architecture, images of the cosmopolitan districts of Pera and Galata always focus on the crowds that used to fill its streets (fig. 7.1). Indeed, to the eyes of the European traveller and in Western geographical imagination at large, what defined these districts was the diversity of the people circulating in its streets. Through the lens of the stereoscope, Galata and Pera become momentarily alive and feel uncannily familiar. Human bodies suddenly pop out and the viewer is allowed to venture into the three-dimensional depths of the city.

The 'you are there' experience provided by stereographs is representative of nostalgic constructions of a long lost cosmopolitan history of the Ottoman imperial city. In the late 1980s, many magazine and newspaper articles on the district started to yearn for the multicultural past of nineteenth-century Istanbul, and devoted entire pages to the biographies of former non-Muslim families. Over the years, these articles have been paralleled by an explosion of memoirs and novels on nineteenth-century Istanbul's non-Muslims. Old photographs and stereo cards provide such narratives with 'visual evidence'. They participate to the creation of an idealised, aesthetically pleasing 'cosmopolitan' image of the city. In these images, the kaleidoscopic diversity of the crowds, the variety of their costumes, religions, and nationalities that circulated in everyday spaces is enveloped by eclectic architectural styles and multilingual signs — the visual *topoi* of cosmopolitanism (see fig. 7.1)

Fig. 7.2. Karaköy Square, Galata, Istanbul, ca. 1900 (Keystone-Mast Collections, California Museum of Photography).

Fig. 7.2 presents a view of Karaköy Square, the main square in Galata and customs area for incoming overseas ships — a sort of gateway to Istanbul. The neoclassical facades of banks and other institutions associated with international trade face the square in a chaotic fashion. They are covered with multilingual signs and advertisements. For example, the signs of the clothing store 'Stein' and shirt manufacturer 'Fabrique Chemises' display the name of the company in French, Greek, and Ottoman. Usually, the advertisements in French are longer and more descriptive than those in other languages. The signs 'Yorkshire', 'Aachen', 'Munich', and 'Η Ανατολή' represent companies from different parts of the world converging in the microcosm of Galata. Wooden Karaköy Mescidi designed by Italian architect D'Aranco sits at the entrance contrasting with the seventeenth-century monumental style Yeni Valide Sultan Mosque placed right across the Golden Horn.

Through images like this and the previous, narratives of a cosmopolitan golden past appear as a simultaneous mourning and celebration. Today, these images are over-reproduced in books and in the media to commemorate a time in which everyone mingled and lived happily together, in convivial sociability and civility,[14] before the rise of Turkish nationalism and all that followed.[15] As viewed through the lens of the stereoscope, thanks to their three-dimensional lure, these images help us rethink the ways in which Galata and Pera were envisaged and sensually experienced as cosmopolitan spaces. However, as with any image, the stereographs offer only a selective, and in this case idealised, vision. Reading everyday experiences of cosmopolitanism in the districts through theories of political cosmopolitanism, or relations of conviviality and civility can be misleading. The cos-

mopolitanism of Galata and Pera's everyday spaces can be better articulated and understood through conflicts, clashes, and constant everyday negotiations.

Negotiating cosmopolitanism

Historians of nineteenth-century Galata and Pera question the cosmopolitanism of the district. Edhem Eldem, one of the most prominent historians of the district, argues that Galata as a whole was mostly dominated by Greeks and actually lacked the necessary integration for cosmopolitanism that existed in Pera, the newer settlements on the north of Galata.[16] Even within Pera, Eldem is cautious to note that the nineteenth and early twentieth-century cosmopolitanism of Istanbul was very rare and confined to a small, marginalised group.[17] According to Eldem, both the plurality of the ethnic/religious structure and the state's explicit recognition of essential and unbridgeable divides among the various communities reinforced a static reconfiguration in the Empire. In his words,

> What today is often retrospectively — and in a sentimental and nostalgic way — perceived as pluralism or even cosmopolitanism was in fact a diversity which could not possibly develop into any real integrative process before the appearance of a supra-national or supra-religious ideology that would have offered a more sophisticated and abstract locus of allegiance, thus potentially overriding any other form of identity or solidarity. Dealing with a mosaic far more complex than any equivalent in Western Europe at that time, the Ottoman state could only propose a formula of coexistence based on a systematic avoidance of potential frictions that might result from excessive contact and intermingling.[18]

When the Allied Powers at the end of the World War I occupied Istanbul, all the nationalist ideologies and antagonisms which the Empire had been incubating for decades were exacerbated, and no single group was keen to share the city with the other. Within this milieu, cosmopolitanism (in the sense of a solidarity that supersedes any ethnic or national allegiance) was not common. The intricate economic relations brought by the Empire's integration into the Western world in the late nineteenth-century should thus not be misinterpreted as 'cosmopolitan culture'.[19]

Works such as Stephanos Yerasimos' *Istanbul 1914-1923*, which includes different narratives of the occupied city, usefully demystify nostalgic interpretations of Istanbul's past. As Eldem, again, comments:

> The harsh description of miseries of the period (1914 - 1923), the uneasy feeling of growing hatred among ethnic groups and the fake cosmopolitanism of the city are all powerful antidotes to the present-day edulcorated myth of a cosmopolitan and conflictless Istanbul so dear to certain writers. Quite contrary of what is generally argued, one gets the image and feelings of a city built upon tension, anxiety, rivalry, instability, hatred, ambition, misery... [20]

Reading nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Istanbul through the occu-

pation period would be unfair, and I realise Eldem is using this time of extreme disruption in the city since such events help us to see the dynamics with sharpened edges. I would however use the same context to argue against Eldem that cosmopolitanism does not imply a supra-national coherency or consensus over identity; by contrast, I suggest that friction can be productive (if not even necessary) for the cosmopolitan experience. In Galata and Pera differences were constantly fluid and negotiated, rather than static and harmonious relationships (as per the nostalgic 'golden era narrative').

I am not an Ottoman historian, and the overall structure of ethnic and religious communities in the Empire is beyond the scope of this essay. It is however, well-known that the Empire, failing to, or unwilling to, establish a unifying Ottoman identity despite some vague attempts, allowed the practice of all forms of ethnic/religious identities and solidarities. The Ottoman state allowed relative freedom to different communities to manage their own internal affairs, thus, to separate and segregate themselves. The imperial structure of segregated communities also generally reflected itself in the urban structure and social lives of its cities, including the capital. Ethnic/religious communities constituted the neighbourhoods in the imperial city and were governed by a religious leader. These place-based identities within the neighbourhoods were not always homogenous, and the boundaries were unmapped and subject to interpretation. Yet, the neighbourhood identity was important to how Ottoman residents mapped themselves in the urban social milieu. As Amy Mills argued, the spatiality of the neighbourhoods was defined by social practices (such as collection of taxes or enforcement of social norms) rather than a physically well-defined administrative geography.[21] Neighbourhoods in Galata and Pera, however, stood distinct from the rest of the imperial city, as they were used much more intensely by diverse groups. Unlike in most of the city, the density of apartment living considerably enhanced possibilities of social and cultural interaction in Galata and Pera. Here one could find residents from different, even opposed, political groups, classes, nationalities, sexualities, ethnicities, or religions in the same building — all having different visions and dreams on the future of the city:

> And Istanbul is buried in a cosmopolitan drunkenness all up to its throat. On the fourth floor of an apartment adjacent to Pera Avenue, a handful of officers make plans to rescue Turkey. The second floor — the third floor is a brothel — is the centre for the Caucasian people's liberation committee. On the first floor is a federalist Ottoman party; on the ground floor a giant portrait of Venizelos hangs on the wall of the Greek tailor's shop. On the street, a soldier of the British army, an Italian gendarme, and a Greek soldier patrol together … they find notices calling for the Bolshevik revolution on the seats of the tramways …[22]

Mobility was not readily available to all people living in the city and possibilities of engaging with Pera and Galata were unequally distributed according to gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and nationality. The district was not open to be equally experienced in its totality by all Istanbulites. Muslim women's mobility, for example, was strictly regulated by communal control within their families, households, and

even the neighbourhoods (which was true throughout the city, not only in the European side). Men were better integrated in the urban structure, though free mobility was a luxury experienced only by the few of them who had the privilege of economic and social status. Informal policing of the streets made it easier for Europeans and non-Muslims to circulate in the district. Muslim women were not allowed to enjoy the night-time activities in the district, but they shared spaces and interacted with other non-Muslim women in the two large public parks opened in Pera in the late nineteenth century. Even among the non-Muslims there was an unequal distribution of city resources; only the Europeans and non-Muslims who were socio-economically advantaged could benefit from the participatory municipal developments in the district.

Then, yes, Galata and Pera were not the ideal public spaces inclusive of all the Istanbulites. They were spaces that prioritised Europeans of higher socio-economic status. In these districts, the circulation of Europeans and rich non-Muslim Ottomans was made easier and was supported by an Empire aspiring to become modern and Western. The lived experience of Galata and Pera, however, definitely differed from other colonial cities, such as those of French Algeria, where social relations were hierarchical and literally dominated by Europeans and the urban life divided by the *cordon sanitaire*.[23] Despite the limitations on mobility, Galata and Pera were not segregated from the rest of the city. Almost any type of person could move relatively freely through the three main shores of the city: Galata, Uskudar, and the peninsula.

Galata and Pera thus force us to critically rethink cosmopolitan public space and its geographies of inclusion/exclusion. These districts were clearly contested spaces offering niches to so many diverse groups to express their struggles and get organised for or against the Empire. A multitude of conflicting ideologies and expressions co-existed and interacted within the same space and this was supported by its material landscape of densely populated apartment buildings, and numerous spaces for gathering. While economic interaction characterised much of the everyday life of the district, encounters between different groups were not necessarily of appreciation and welcoming acceptance of difference. Tensions, anxieties, and awareness of nationalistic or ethnic identities underscored the multiple temporary interactions in the cosmopolitanism of Galata and Pera. Most of these groups were agonistic to each other and their relations were marked by anxiety and suspicion — but at the same time such sentiments were countered by stories of good neighbourhood relations among non-Muslims, or the experiences of mingling in various entertainment venues. As the narratives of the period show, the district's users experienced this negotiation as cosmopolitan.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Galata and Pera were not the only non-Muslim residential neighbourhoods in Istanbul. However, it was only in these two districts that the diversity of social differences merged with the physical landscape, generating a significantly different lived experience for those who travelled through the district day and night. Architectural and social spaces in Galata and Pera are linked inextricably in the (re)production of everyday lived experiences.

The everyday cosmopolitanism of nineteenth and early-twentieth century Galata and Pera can be read as the sum of different elements: their eclectic urban fabric and multilingual signs; the coexistence of heterogeneous populations and their conflicting beliefs and ideologies; and finally, imported European consumption models that created an 'otherness' in the imperial capital and engendered the lived experience of cosmopolitanism (although this cosmopolitanism resonated with being European, Western, modern, and civilised). Everyday users of Galata and Pera were exposed to a district that was not only imagined as the 'other', but also sensually distinct from the rest of the city—as it continues to be today.

Notes

[1] D. Cosgrove, 'Globalism and tolerance in early modern geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **93**, (2003), p. 864.

[2] E. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. M. Hornor Lansdale (Philadelphia, Henry T. Coates & Co., 1896), pp. 48-53.

[3] E. Eldem, 'Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralised capital', in E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. A. Masters eds., *The Ottoman city between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 144.

[4] The high percentage of foreigner status in the 1885 census reports had two main causes. First, Europeans moved to the Ottoman capital to reap the economic benefits granted to Western tradesmen and investors under the commercial circumstances following the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty. Foreigners came primarily because of the unprecedented increase in the volume of trade and foreign investment, but also because Istanbul was the political, cultural, and educational capital of a vital multiethnic empire. The second reason was the adoption of foreign citizenship by non-Muslim Ottomans as a part of the Western powers' process of minority protection and intervention in Ottoman affairs beginning in the early nineteenth century.

[5] E. Celebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Istanbul*, ed. R. E. Kocu, vol. 1 (Istanbul, Semih Lutfi Kitabevi, 1949).

[6] Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 196.

[7] Z. Çelik, *The remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1986), pp. 31-37.

[8] *Sehremaneti* was a title that derived from the direct translation of 'préfecture de la ville'. The duties of the *Sehremini* revolved around the provision of basic needs (mainly foodstuff), regulation and collection of taxes, construction and repair of roads, cleaning and embellishment of the city, and control of markets and guilds. He executed those tasks with the help of a city council (*Sehir Meclisi*) of twelve members, selected by the government among the representatives of every Ottoman ethnic class and the honorable, trustworthy members of the guilds residing in Istanbul appointed by imperial orders. See Celik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 44 and O. N. Engin, *Istanbul'da Imar Ve Iskan Hareketleri.* (Istanbul, Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1938), p. 35.

[9] N. Akin, *Yuzyilin Ikinci Yarisinda Galata Ve Pera* (Istanbul, Literatur, 1998), pp. 121, 317.

[10] Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 203.

[11] Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, p. 173.

[12] Eldem, 'Istanbul', p. 204.

[13] Ibid.

[14] For further discussions on convivial sociability and civility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Galata and Pera, see A. Yumul, 'A prostitute lodging in the bosom of Turkishness: Istanbul's Pera and its representation', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* **30**, (2009), pp. 57-72.

[15] With the formation of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s, nationalism and ethnic-cleansing gradually disrupted the urban and social structure of the cosmopolitan districts. The non-Muslim and foreign populations of Galata and Pera were steadily

uprooted and exiled, as populations from different Anatolian Turkish mixed ethnicities immigrated and settled in the city.

[16] E. Eldem, 'The ethnic structure of Galata', *Istanbul* **1**, (1993), pp. 28-33.

[17] E. Eldem, 'Batılılasma, Modernlesme, Ve Kozmopolitanizm: 19. Yuzyil Sonu Ve 20. Yüzyıl Basında Istanbul', in Z. Rona ed., *Osman Hamdi Bey Ve Dönemi* (Istanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayinlari, 1993).

[18] Edhem Eldem, *Istanbul*, p. 154.

[19] Eldem, 'Batılılasma', pp. 12-26.

[20] E. Eldem, book review of S. Yerasimos' *Istanbul 1914-1923: capitale d'un monde illusoire ou l'agonie des vieux empires*, in *New Perspectives on Turkey* **9**, (1992), pp. 154-57.

[21] A. Mills, 'Boundaries of the nation in the space of the urban: landscape and social memory in Istanbul', *Cultural Geographies* **14**, (2006), p. 372.

[22] S. Yerasimos, *Istanbul, 1914-1923: Kaybolup Giden Bir Dunyanin Baskenti Ya Da Yasli Imparatorluklarin Can Cekismesi* (Istanbul, Iletisim, 1997).

[23] See T. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Urban Landscape and Amenity in the Modernising City
Nineteenth-Century Yokohama Foreign Settlement
Aya Sakai
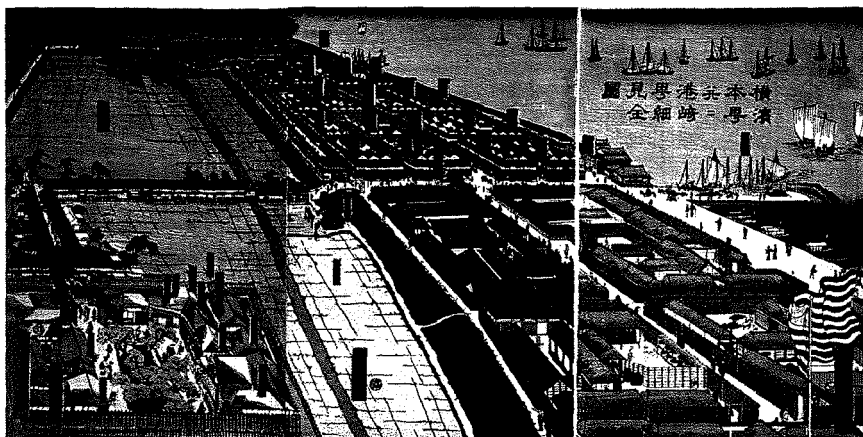
Fig. 8.1. Drawing of Yokohama Honmachi Miosaki (source: Yokohama Historical Archives).

> Reading landscape on the ground or through images and texts as testimony of human agency is an honourable contribution for cultural geography to make towards the humanities' goals of knowing the world and understanding ourselves: to the examined life.[1]

The image of the cherry tree blossoming in the enclosed area contrasts strongly with the grey rectangular buildings of trading offices and residences in the Yokohama Foreign Settlement in nineteenth-century Japan (fig. 8.1). The colourful enclosure contained the red-light district located in the middle of a marsh and connected to the town area by the single path. The drawing was produced in 1860, immediately after the end of two centuries of political isolation imposed in 1639 by the Tokugawa shoguns through the Edo period.

Yokohama's foreign settlement
In the early nineteenth century, Western powers, beginning with the Russians in 1792 and then the British after 1808 and the Americans in 1853, pressured Japan to launch a more extensive trading relationship with the outside world.[2] They required Japan, which had shut down all contacts with the outside world for more than two centuries, to start trading with Western countries, and support their shipping routes

by providing fuel and supplies at ports in Japan. The series of the inequitable trading treaties, which required Japan to open five ports and provide foreign settlements, were signed individually between the thirteenth Tokugawa shogun and the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Russia in 1858. Following these treaties, three ports—Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate—were opened in 1859, followed later by Kobe and Niigata.[3] Of the five ports prepared for trading, Yokohama was the biggest and closest to the city of Edo, which was the capital city of Tokugawa shoguns' Edo regime. The construction of the Yokohama settlement was launched in 1860 to provide housing, offices and communal facilities for approximately three thousands residents, from seven different nations: the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Russia, and China. Consequently, the Yokohama settlement became the main and most influential information centre for conveying Western culture into Japanese society, particularly as hardly any knowledge about Western societies had previously been transmitted to the capital because of the political separation.

Three treaties concluded between Japan and the foreign powers in 1860, 1864, and 1866, after trade relations were established at Yokohama in 1859, determined the construction and layout of the Yokohama settlement. In the first treaty in 1860, the Kanagawa district local government agreed to construct a settlement in Yokohama, then a fishing village, but with a natural harbour deep enough for ocean-going ships.[4] The treaty was based on the earlier Shanghai treaty between China and foreign countries. Western officials moved to Yokohama to manage their political negotiations with the Tokugawa shoguns. The British and French set up naval bases, and international merchants developed businesses in the settlement. Following the 1860 treaty, the area of the Yokohama foreign settlement was laid out with a grid street system on land clearly detached from the existing local village by a surrounding canal and a marsh. Foreigners were to reside in this isolated settlement and their freedom to travel to other parts of Japan was severely limited.

With the establishment of the Yokohama settlement, foreign residents demanded improvements to their living environment through the establishment of specific urban facilities, to match the standards they enjoyed in their home countries. In the geographically enclosed area of the settlement, they built not only offices and houses, but also communal facilities such as a market and hospital for the use of all Western residents. Open-air leisure amenities were also considered essential parts of the settlement. The second treaty in 1864 was a response to requests for the construction of urban facilities from foreigners living in the settlement.[5] It contained agreements for the construction of a horse racetrack, a promenade (a walking path up the hill), a meeting house, an abattoir and a market, as well as extensions to the hospital and the graveyard.

In the third treaty, signed in 1866, urban reform of the Yokohama settlement was a significant consideration, since it was concluded after the disastrous Great Yokohama Fire in the same year. The fire was reported by using an entire page of the *Daily Japan Herald* on November 28th of 1866 with the following introduction. 'November 26th 1866 will ever be remembered in Yokohama as one of the blackest days in its annual, for the conflagration with consumed nearly two-thirds of the native settlement and one-sixth of the foreign. The dawn had broken on one of the brightest

days of the season, but the wind which had been blowing strongly from the south during the night seemed increasing in power'.[6]

Because the fire had broken out in the Japanese area of town, where houses were constructed of timber, the foreigners wrote provisions into the treaty that were designed to protect their area in the future by creating a wide street as a buffer between the two territories. In the third treaty of 1866, four out of the twelve articles refer to the construction of 'a street or road 120 feet in width' between the foreign settlement and the Japanese town.[7] 'The Centre Road,' as it is described in the treaty, had a twenty-foot wide carriageway with rows of trees on both sides.[8] The construction of a drainage system was also planned to enhance aesthetics and hygiene. All the new buildings along the road were to be fireproofed: any which were not fireproof could be confiscated. In addition to the construction of the road, an open space, Yokohama Park, was planned at the end of the road, in part to prevent the extension of future fires into the Western quarters. This function of urban open space as a firebreak has been peculiar to Japanese cities, which have always been at risk from fires started from both human sources and earthquakes. Even in contemporary Japanese urban planning, one of the main roles of open space is to serve as a firebreak.

Parks as symbols of urban morality

There were other reasons for the construction of a park that were expressed in the official documents exchanged between the Japanese government and foreign officials. These are the concerns for the removing an immoral area from the settlement and the request for the provision of an outdoor leisure facility.

As the first article of the third treaty of 1866 mentioned, the Western officials intended to construct Yokohama Park on a specific site. 'To enlarge, lay out, and plan as a public garden, to be used both by foreigners and Japanese, the site of the old Kosaki Machi, which is to be removed to the south side of the Okagawa canal'.[9] Kosaki Machi was the red light district of Yokohama, which had emerged on the north side of the settlement, immediately following the opening of trading between Japan and Western countries.[10] The district was completely isolated by the surrounding marsh with only one entrance which was equally accessible from both the foreigners' and Japanese quarters of the settlement. Inside the red light district, each inn's owner managed his prostitution business, with a total of four hundred women at the peak in 1865.[11] The names of the inns within the district were clearly written on the 1863 map, compared with blanks in the other parts of the settlement. The entrance street led straight from the very centre of the harbour by the shortest route to the red light district.

The 1860 panoramic drawing of Yokohama settlement (fig. 8.1) shows that the buildings along the approach road housed cafes to serve food to visitors and workers in the district. For visitors the canal surrounding the area represented the boundary to another world, while at the same time it also prevented women escaping from their jobs. The central green with cherry trees inside the district and pine trees along the path strikes a strong contrast with the lack of trees in the residential quarters. The plantings, especially cherry trees, represent the place's prosperity, activity and life. A 1862 'travel guide' also describes the interior of the red light district and pro-

vide a list of names of the women.[12] An illustration in this book shows that some inns were specialised for foreign customers by featuring Western styled interiors, furniture and dishes.

For morally upstanding foreign residents in the settlement, however, this red light district was a blemish to be removed from their territory. As early as in the second treaty of 1864 they pushed to erase the district: 'When this [draining the swamp] is effected, the Kosaki-machi, now situated in its midst, is to be removed to the end farthest from the Foreign settlement. In the event of fire and the burning down of this establishment before the completion of this work, it is agreed that it shall not be rebuilt on the present site'.[13] The fire of 1866, which burnt down the Kosaki Machi, provided an opportunity to realise this conversion of immoral space into the more morally acceptable space of a park. Immediately after the fire, discussions on the improvement proposal were started among the foreigners residing in the settlement.

> The plan of the settlement with the proposed alterations and improve-ments, will, by the kind permission of Mr. Myburgh, be on view at H. B. Ms Consulate this day — when all who are interested are invited to exam-ine it. We hear that by a little judicious alteration of the original proposal, all objections have been considered, and, it is hoped, removed. The pro-posal is so evidently an improvement and will not only make Yokohama healthier but in some degree more beautiful, so that we strongly hope that all whose property is affected by the change, will give their support.[14]

Ten days later, the plan was presented to the Governor of Kanagawa and accepted. With this agreement, the district's function and the method of accessing the site were completely altered. The red light district became a park with multiple entrances in-stead of just one. The zone became open to everybody, regardless of gender, rather than to men alone.

The whole process of removing an immoral area and replacing it by a moral space called a park was a new and distinctive transformation in the eyes of Japanese locals, who traditionally tolerated red light districts to be at the periphery of a city. As long as the red light district was separated from daily lives by setting boundaries such as canals and other open spaces or by being located at the periphery, it was found socially acceptable by the end of the Edo period. Yokohama Kosaki-machi, in fact, was surrounded by a three-layer boundary, consisting of fence, canal and marsh. While both foreign and Japanese men made use of the services of the district, there was a strong ideological reaction to it that sought to cleanse the city in moral terms. Urban modernisation, as adopted and adapted in Yokohama, sought not just to erase places that were identified with unhygienic situations and physical sickness, but also those associated with moral 'sickness'.

The third treaty also emphasised that the park was to be planned for every-body regardless of their nationality. There was concern over the segregation between foreigners and the Japanese in the settlement, and more broadly within Japan. Since 1858 when the Tokugawa shogun agreed to begin trading with foreign powers, the nation had been divided between those for and those against such opening. Feelings ran high and foreigners were often targeted by activists for political attack.[15] Even in

the Yokohama settlement, which was one of few places where both foreigners and some Japanese could live together, there was no provision of locations where both groups could mix freely. Part of the modern ideology of open space as articulated in the third treaty was a response to concerns about urban health, welfare and social problems. The provision of open space was conceived as the establishment of a public resource, in which the people could integrate beyond their class, for the general improvement of urban morality. Thus, the movement to open traditional open spaces, such as those owned by the monarchy, to the people was taking place in response to the high levels of social segregation between the poor and the rich in the Western metropolis. In some respects, Yokohama Park was planned through this Western discourse of open spaces as a social place in mind, with its emphasis on free use of the space by all nationalities.

At the same time, the foreigners' strategy was to achieve the construction of the park at the Japanese government's expense. Throughout the negotiations, foreign representatives attempted to push the financial responsibility to the Japanese side. In contrast with the pleasure garden in Yokohama settlement, called Yamate Park, which was constructed at the expense of the members of the foreign settlement and kept for their exclusive use, Yokohama Park was founded by both communities' efforts and opened to both peoples. Thus, the location of Yokohama Park, in the centre of the settlement, represents a symbolic space of both unity between the trading partners and agreement over the moral coding of the open space. Foreign residents in the Yokohama settlement succeeded in taking advantage of the destruction caused by the fire to construct both a safer living environment and a stronger urban form that offered protection against fire, immorality, and social disturbance.

A park for cricket
Although the six Western nationalities (British, American, German, French, Russian, and Dutch) residing in the Yokohama settlement agreed to construct the park to prevent fires and also to remove the red light district, in the process of designing the park each group showed different ideas and demands based on their own cultural backgrounds and life styles. Before the construction of the park, a shooting gallery was provided through the request of The Swiss Rifles Club, whose name suggests a common meeting point for the different nationalities, and as well as a horse racing track. The shooting and horse racing were related to army activities and thus for negotiations for their construction between the different countries were relatively easy. However, the request of the English Cricket Club for a field needed to go through negotiation with other members in the settlement, because cricket is a uniquely English sport. In addition, cricket, requires a large and flat area of turf. As the Yokohama settlement expanded towards the Bluff hillside, the only choices available for a cricket ground in the original settlement area were already occupied by buildings, with the exception of the marsh.

As the British residents consistently formed the largest group in the settlement from the time of its establishment, the British minister took the initiative to negotiate with the Japanese government. In the middle of the 1860s Sir Harry S. Parkes, the British minister, asked the British Foreign Office to assist in recruiting a civil engineer to improve the Yokohama settlement.[16] By hiring an engineer from his home

country, the minister could maintain the initiative in controlling the construction process. R. H. Brunton was contracted by the Japanese government to help establish modern urban infrastructure in 1868. By the time he left in 1876 he had made various contributions to the planning of the settlement.[17]

Brunton is principally famous for his achievements in civil engineering projects in the Yokohama settlement, especially the establishment of the lighthouse and its operating system, and the construction of the harbour and riverside embankments. He was also asked to make a plan for Yokohama Park. His first proposal of 1871 shows a cricket ground covering half the size of the site and located at the end of the boulevard. A park was designed for the other half of the site, with a pond at the centre and curved paths around. As his title, 'rough sketch plan of Public Garden' suggests, the design simply displays the two functions of a public garden and a cricket ground. The American representative, Mr. De Long, claimed that the plan allocated too much space for the cricket ground and served only British users, even though the park was supposed to be used 'for both foreigners and Japanese'.[18] He suggested that the maintenance of the cricket ground should be the responsibility of the Cricket Club alone.

Brunton reflected these comments in his second plan of 1872 with a smaller ground covered by a lawn at the centre of the park. In the plan, the Western garden features such as a pavilion and pergolas were set within a geometric layout, in contrast to the curved paths and random planting plan of the first proposal. He obviously paid more attention to designing the garden area in the second plan than in the first proposal, to respect the demand for a public park 'for both foreigners and Japanese'. In this proposal, Brunton's landscape design did not follow any specific Western garden style. His intention may have been to indicate no specific cultural influence and to avoid any argument among the foreign residents over cultural specificity.

In fact, the six foreign nations each had different images of Yokohama Park, in part because they had different tastes in outdoor recreation. Official communications over Yokohama Park which were exchanged between individual foreign representatives and the Japanese government during negotiations adopted different words to describe the Park.[19] In documents referring to Yokohama Park by Sir Harry Parkes, the park is referred to as a 'public garden.' Mr. De Long, an American representative, used the term 'recreation ground' in his document. A Dutch minister wrote a response in English, also using 'public garden' to indicate the open space. A month later the French representative referred to the Park with the term, 'un jardin public'.[20] The British, French and Dutch ministries thus shared the same term, 'public garden,' although the American term was different.

Adopting Brunton's second plan, the Yokohama local government obtained estimates from local construction companies, mainly gardeners with a professional knowledge of Japanese gardens, especially its planting techniques, but who lacked any visual understanding of Western parks. In the estimates, these specialists calculated only the cost of planting, but budgeted nothing for the construction of a pavilion, flower beds, pergolas or the iron fences intended to surround the park, simply because they had never seen such features.[21] Due to the tight budget, the additions of a pavilion and a pergola were dismissed; iron fences were altered to wooden ones

and the budget for flowers and trees was decreased. Indeed, when Yokohama Park was opened in 1876, the design for its pathways was almost completely changed, but a cricket ground was created at its centre, and was rented to the British Cricket Club from 1878.[22]

The process of constructing Yokohama Park shows the rapid development in the public status of open spaces from enclosed spaces for use by a limited group to open spaces for a wider public. The introduction of the park led not only to the emergence of new styles of open space in the settlement, but also new ways of socialising at outdoor venues in Japan.

In these processes, I suggest that we can see a shift from the 'bourgeois public sphere' to the establishment of the modern public status of open space. Habermas' term 'bourgeois public sphere' is intended to describe 'private people coming together as a public'.[23] In the Yokohama settlement, westerners took on the role of the 'bourgeois', seeking to develop urban facilities outside the state's established organisation, structures and powers. Private clubs set up by foreigners promoted the development of the horse racetrack and the shooting gallery. The club system both explicitly and implicitly indicated that these were not truly public spaces. Nevertheless, these initiatives did lead to the eventual establishment of more genuinely public spaces. In the specific situation of Japan which was experiencing a radical political shift from Edo to Meiji periods, there were theoretically no bourgeois in the Western sense. Therefore, foreigners, who were complete outsiders, were almost the only figures able to influence the process of formation of modern open spaces. Additionally, the geographically isolated location of the Yokohama settlement, which was created by filling a marsh that lacked any historical continuity with Japanese urban culture, provided an opportunity for the settlement to be the main site for innovation in the construction of urban open space amenities. These two factors (i.e. the foreigners, or outsiders, and the place, a non-historical space) led to the rapid development of new open spaces without major conflicts with local traditions.

Yet, within the Yokohama settlement community, the Western foreigners themselves had different opinions about urban amenities, as indicated by the Western ministers' use of different terms for Yokohama Park in their official documents. This indicated that even in the West there were varied ideas about appropriate urban amenities. To establish fire-safe and hygienic urban form and to remove an immoral space from the urban structure, foreigners in the settlement shared the common idea of creating the Yokohama Park at the former site of the red light district. Regarding the recreational function of the park, however, there were different preferences and tastes. In a way, the process of planning and designing Yokohama Park represents a hybridisation of Western modernisation and Western cultures in Japan. It also provided Japanese traditional gardeners with their first encounter with the Western designed public park. The evolution of Yohohama Park illustrates the origin of a public park in Japan. Today parks in Japanese cities are considered to be important modern urban amenities and are planned as a key part of modern urban landscapes.

Notes

1 D. Cosgrove, *Geography and vision* (London, IB Tauris, 2008), p. 15.

2 M. Itoh, *Globalization of Japan: Japanese sakoku mentality and United State efforts to open Japan* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998).

3 J. E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty ports and foreign settlements: the uninvited guests, 1858-1899* (Folkstone, Japan Library, 1987).

4 PRO FO 345/32 'Port of Kanagawa, Land Regulations' (1860), pp. 8-9.

5 PRO FO 345/32 'Memorandum for the Foreign Settlement at Yokohama, Signed the 21st day, 11th month, 1st year of Genji' (19 December 1864). The Meiji government started using the Western calendar from 1873. Here I use the Western calendar for all historical dates, including events before 1873.

6 *The Daily Japan Herald 'Yokohama'* (28 November 1866).

7 PRO FO 93/49/5A 'Convention of Improvement of Settlement, Race Course, Cemetery, &c., signed the 23rd day, 11th month, 2nd year of Keiō' (29 December 1866), Articles 2, 3, 5 and 6.

8 PRO FO 93/49/5A 1866, Article 5.

9 PRO FO 93/49/5A 1866, Article 1.

10 The term 'Kosaki Machi' used in the treaty was misspelled (originally Miosaki).

11 City of Yokohama, *Archives, history of Yokohama and leisure* (Yokohama, City of Yokohama, 1973), p. 405.

12 S. Minamisouan, *Chinji Gokakoku Yokohama Banashi* [Stories of Yokohama] (Yokohama, Gomibunko, 1862).

13 PRO FO 345/32 'Memorandum for the Foreign Settlement at Yokohama, Signed the 21st day, 11th month, 1st year of Genji' (19 December 1864), Article 5.

14 *The Daily Japan Herald 'Yokohama'* (7 December 1866).

15 PRO FO 410/4 'Papers reporting the Attack on the British Legation at Yeddo on the night of the 5th of July, 1861.'; PRO FO 410/5 'Papers reporting the Attack on 26th of June, 1862'; and PRO FO 410/6 'Papers reporting the Attack on 14th of September, 1862'. In these reports, Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Alcock, appealed the insecure living condition of foreigners, who had been segregated from the local society, geographically and socially.

16 PRO FO 46/81/138 'Parks to Stanley' (22 July 1867).

17 R.H. Brunton, 'My appointment to Japan,' reprinted in R.H. Brunton, *Building Japan 1868-1876* (Folkston, Japan Library, 1991), p. 23.

18 Diplomatic Record Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The meeting with American officer, De Long, 10 June 1871'.

19 Diplomatic Record Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Response from British, German, American, Dutch ministers, 27 March 1870'.

20 Diplomatic Record Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 'Response from French minister, 30 April 1870.'.

21 City of Yokohama Archives, *History of Yokohama*, vol. 3 (Yokohama, City of Yokohama, 1978), p. 429.

22 PRO FO 345/32/10 'Yokohama public garden'.

23 J. Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere* (London, Polity Press, 1992), p. 27.

'Majesty and Multitudinous Resource'
The British Empire Panels in Swansea, 1934
Pyrs Gruffudd

Figs. 9.1 and 9.2. Frank Brangwyn, British Empire Panels No.3 and No.5, 1934 (City and County of Swansea: Glynn Vivian Art Gallery Collection; reproduced by courtesy of copyright holder David Brangwyn).

... Monstrous leaves from which exotic birds of gay plumage look down; bunches of bananas impending from high boughs; pineapples and fruits of all kinds; a group of labourers, perched on a high ladder in the building of a bridge in some distant part of an empire on which the sun never sets ... peacocks and parrots; monkeys and marmosets; a tiger and a rhinoceros ... distant glimpses of rainbow-filled skies; sunflowers and whole jungles of leaves and tangled foliage; swans, pelicans, gazelles and reindeer; women, naked to the waist, with great burdens on their heads ... leering camels and giraffes looking down from high among the leaves.[1]

Writing in 1958, the art historian David Bell sought to capture the dramatic visual impression of the vibrant and animated British Empire Panels, hung in the Guildhall in Swansea, South Wales (figs. 9.1 and 9.2). Painted between 1925 and 1932 by Frank Brangwyn, the sixteen panels do not attempt a literal representation of the Empire and its peoples, but aim to depict its 'majesty and multitudinous resource'.[2] Gathered together, in painterly form they echo the universal expositions held in nineteenth- and early-twentieth century Europe (including the 1924 Pageant of Empire which Brangwyn helped stage in London) which, as Denis Cosgrove put it, 'sought to concentrate and display places, peoples, cultures, and products from across the world at its metropolitan centre, as spectacles in imperial Rome featuring exoticised peoples and animals had done in antiquity'.[3] The collective scale is impressive: two measure 20 x 15 feet; two are 20 x 13 feet; and 10 are 12 x 12 feet.[4] The overall conception is riotous and eclectic, in bold yellows, greens and aquamarines, and it is difficult to summarise the immense profusion of imagery. In several panels, luxurious vegetation dominates with animals and humans melting into their surroundings. One is dominated by sugar cane dotted around with pumpkins and tomatoes. Cranes, pigeons and civet cats appear through the vegetation as do three human figures including a mother with child in papoose. Another panel is centred on a bunch of bananas, its large leaves dividing the canvas. Parrots, macaws and monkeys peer out whilst two black women, one balancing pomegranates, gaze at each other from opposite sides. The same balanced composition appears in another more elegant panel dominated by white camellias and lilies and two oriental women caught in dance poses. Elsewhere humans retreat still further into a scene structured around a date palm and figs, where African flora and fauna contrast with an apparently South American male. The one 'British' panel—depicting a cat, sheep, pigeon, rhubarb, apples, and a horse chestnut tree—shows no humans at all.

In another group of panels, the peoples of the Empire process across our gaze— nearly all moving from left to right as if in a literal pageant. One appears to show the landscape of South East Asia with the Great Wall of China glimpsed through trees. The flora and fauna are diverse though, with tigers, monkeys and lizards apparent. There is a profusion of people of all ethnicities and nationalities; a semi-naked woman on the right carries sunflowers; a male with turban and three parrots balancing on a pole across his shoulders glance out at us from the left. There are Indian, Asian and African children. Another panel is dominated by a line of baskets of produce, destined no doubt for the metropolitan core, borne along on the heads of women. This theme of procession is more explicit in a panel that is largely but not exclusively Asian—showing what might be the towers of a palace in the top right corner, and a noble family riding on the back of an elephant in the middle-distance (one of the few explicit references to social hierarchy in the panels). Again, in a profuse and fecund foreground, baskets of fruit and vegetables are borne aloft whilst semi-naked figures glance coyly and a serenely elegant woman holds her child above the attentions of domestic goats. A leopard and panther, macaw and monkey emerge from the luxuriant foliage to mingle harmoniously with human beings of both sexes and all ages. This group of panels reveals Brangwyn's empire of the imagination to be harmonious.[5]

In a final group of panels the connections, or contact zones, of Empire (implicit in the raw materials in the other panels) are explicitly depicted. In fig. 9.1, the left to right march of produce is joined by the uneasy-looking figure of a white man in flat cap, his muscular and weather-burnished forearms securing two carpets across his shoulders. Developed from studies on the quays of London, this consciously connects Empire and metropolis in an allusion to domestic consumption. In the middle distance, primly-dressed white children pick fruits and berries in contrast to the naked African children in the foreground. A Mediterranean village appears at the top-right, though the bottom right is occupied by a pair of kangaroos. Another panel displays several themes consistent with Brangwyn's other works, in particular the nobility of labour. Two men dominate the foreground muscularly carrying large baskets of fruit and vegetables. Behind them, women balance equally large baskets on their heads. Two black women look directly at us, another — bare-breasted — is arguably sexualised and perhaps represents the fecundity of nature. In the background a group of seven white men strain to assemble the contrasting geometry of a stone bridge.

In fig. 9.2 we are drawn immediately to two native Americans in full ceremonial head-dresses. On either side, the familiar images of women (two of them bare-breasted) carry baskets of fruit, or children. Our eyes are drawn up the canvas by the two strong verticals of tree trunks. Whilst that on the left provides a perch for a bald eagle, the one on the right is about to be felled by two hard-hatted white men working a two-handled saw. Between them a surveyor with a theodolite and his colleague with a ranging pole mark out native ground for exploitation. A group of native Americans look on in apparent wonder. There is little hint of conflict here, though, except perhaps in the imposing demeanour of the native Americans in the foreground. The arrival of the surveyors — symbolic as well as material harbingers of Western rationality and modernity — appears to be treated as the inevitable, evolutionary next step of imperial, industrial progress.[6]

Writing in 1933, the critic and modernist Frank Rutter argued that Brangwyn's panels 'were the most splendid and distinguished unit of decorative painting executed in Europe since Tintoretto ceased his work in the Doge's Palace in Venice'.[7] He noted that whilst botanists, ethnographers and zoologists might be able to identify specific elements, 'The world created ... in these panels is one in which East and West are indissolubly fused ... in all there is the same grand prodigal profusion of cosmopolitan elements'.[8] They should be read symbolically and not literally: 'It is not the separateness of the Dominions but the unity of the Empire which has inspired the artist. His decorative scheme is not a sum in addition, a kind of conglomeration of alien elements, but a fusion of harmonies'.[9]

The commission

In 1925 Lord Iveagh, the head of the Guinness brewing family, donated £20,000 to fund the decoration of the Royal Gallery in the House of Lords in London as a war memorial. Brangwyn won the commission and his first drawings were startling and even brutal evocations of mechanical warfare. A 1921 panel for Winnipeg's Parliament Building had established this vision: the composition is dominated by a cannon's strong diagonal and in the foreground soldiers help the wounded, dig

trenches, eat, or play instruments.[10] Flowers offer a living contrast to the human folly represented. Similarly, *A Tank in Action* a 1925 study for the House of Lords scheme, now in the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, shows troops advancing cautiously past wounded comrades, the vast bulk of a tank rearing up behind them.[11]

Brangwyn eventually decided not to include war scenes in his composition. Rather, he and Iveagh envisioned sixteen large panels depicting

> the glories of the Empire which these men died to save ... in a splendid sequence commemorating sanely with a glorious tune rather than with a mournful and gloomy one the fundamental reasons for the sacrifices of the manhood of the Nation. From the uttermost parts of the earth whence these dead warriors marched, from the Dominions and Territories, the great Sub-Continents, gleaming India, the Far East, the far North and the Isles and Crown Colonies which dot the oceans of the World, these men came ...[12]

The Panels form part of the commemorative impulse that characterised British society after the Great War.[13] They are a compelling example of commemoration that operates obliquely through the absence of explicit images of war itself and by stressing the peoples and products that had loyally supported Britain. As Brangwyn said, 'My theme is the Empire, in all its majesty and multitudinous resource, for that, as I see it, is the most fitting commemoration of the things for which we fought'.[14] As a friend later wrote to Brangwyn, the panels 'proclaim the fecundity of life that overcomes man's stupidity and destructiveness, the living forces that serve and preserve him despite his folly'.[15] But the Panels also offer a compelling example of imperial iconography, produced at a time when the 'imperial partnership' was being advocated as a solution to Britain's long-term economic problems. The Panels—rather than nostalgically evoking an empire on which the sun was setting—potentially pictured an imperial modernity, the growing belief in the Empire as a complementary and supportive economic unit. They were not only an act of commemoration but were also a form of commercial imperialism 'bringing the empire alive', to borrow from Constantine's work on the Empire Marketing Board whose posters the Panels echo in their colourful modernity.[16]

Brangwyn's vagabondage

Brangwyn was born in Bruges, Belgium in 1867 to Welsh parents, though he grew up in London. With more than a hint of Matthew Arnold, Shaw-Sparrow discerned an Anglo-Welsh 'racial' influence in his art—a combination of tenacity with imagination and emotion: 'in his colour there is a mingling of Eastern sunlight with the magic of the Welsh hills. When painting an English landscape he sees deeper tones than do our English eyes ...'.[17] Brangwyn had his first painting exhibited at the Royal Academy at 18 and from his early 20s he travelled extensively in Europe and Africa.[18] He became an artist of international outlook and reputation. One critic notes Brangwyn's debt to vagabondage[19] and these early impressions of a world driven by movement, contact and trade informed his work. A biographer recalled visiting a studio filled with Chinese silk paintings, Japanese and Indian figures,

European Old Masters, and French tapestry.[20] Brangwyn had been inspired by the bewildering array of vessels, trades and products encountered on the River Thames. A panel painted in 1906 for the Royal Exchange in London entitled *Modern Commerce* shows dock-workers and porters straining to carry consignments of exotic fruits against a backdrop of towering cranes and ships' funnels. Brangwyn's world was also densely peopled:

> I've painted, sketched, and enjoyed the company of village idiots, beggars, professors bred to the art, strolling players, gypsies, spiritualists, hurdy-gurdy men with monkeys, bear-dancers, artful dodgers, ribalds, all the riff-raff of the Levant, song-singers, madmen, shell-shock men, Arabs, Turks, Rabbis, convicts, all-in wrestlers, shallow-cores, fake-men, jiggers, horse-chanters, charley-pitchers, ring-droppers, magsmen, buzzers and bugsmen, prop-nailers, sawney-hunters, dead-curkers, smashers and many others …[21]

Despite his ribald recollections of this cultural and economic mosaic, the dignity of human life and labour forms an important theme in Brangwyn's work. He 'has never been in danger of sentimentalising his subject, or of degrading it with the lamp-black of miscalled realism. The gleaming, sweating backs and straining sinews, poise and swing of muscular strength, he has painted as he saw them, and he has seen them as splendid and beautiful'.[22]

The movement of humanity and of commodities are themes that characterise early works. Murals for the Panama Pacific International Exposition held at San Francisco in 1914 and for the Missouri State Capital building (1915-25) offer realist depictions of American progress. His unexecuted 1921 design for the new Selfridge's Department Store in London showed more directly Brangwyn's understanding of the material business of empire and of urban modernity. For the store's dome, Brangwyn proposed a *mappa mundi* with Spain, Africa, India, Ceylon, China and Japan on the far horizon and Britain in the middle of oceans dotted with ships under billowing sails. In the foreground, Chinese and Arab merchants display their wares and figures strain nobly under loaded baskets. In 1924 Brangwyn brought this pan-optic imperial gaze to life when he created the backdrop, costumes and sets for the Pageant of Empire, a tableau staged as part of the 'showbiz imperialism'[23] of the Empire Exhibition at Wembley in north London.

Brangwyn thought of the pageant as 'one of the most thrilling experiences I've ever had … I can't believe it ever happened'.[24] He created mountains, a lake complete with full-sized sailing ship, a forest of tropical trees, and fruits and flowers of all descriptions. He told the organisers 'Get over two hundred or more Indian soldiers—thirty or forty elephants, camels, and natives from the Fiji Islands, Malaya … some Chinese, and all types …'.[25] The pageant was staged over three days with a cast of 15,000 people, 730 camels, 500 donkeys, 300 horses, 72 monkeys, 7 elephants, 3 bears, and a macaw.[26] This elision of the copiousness of exotic human and animals appears to reveal the 'othering' of pre-industrial society and the effective reinforcing, rather than collapsing, of categories of difference.

During the seven years taken to complete the British Empire Panels Brangwyn

drew extensively on his sketches of flora, fauna and people from southern Europe, Africa, and the United States. Many of the plants were exotics from his own garden in Sussex. Some of the animals were based on family pets, and rhinos and chimps were sketched during repeated visits to London Zoo. For human figures there were white models, most notably an Italian chestnut vendor from Hammersmith, a prize-fighter, and a female professional wrestler. But Brangwyn had apparently 'imported living models from all parts of the Empire'.[27] One black woman posed for him with her three children and baby. For Brangwyn, black women seemed to bear the weight of an ideological worldview that placed 'natives' as closer to a fertile nature, and children as 'innocent' cyphers of that nature: 'She turned up at my studio, in the latest fashion, with her small boys dressed in velvet, wearing Eton collars. I had the devil of a job to get her to shed any of her clothes'.[28] He continued: 'The first day it was her hat and the second day her blouse, until finally she was as I wanted her – in a state of nature'.[29] Within a very short time the children 'had shed all signs of what the mother called civilization! … In a day or so, they were … running round the village stark naked … stealing and climbing trees … chasing the cattle, and up to all sorts of tricks. In fact I was asked to get rid of them'.[30]

Lord Iveagh's death robbed Brangwyn of his most ardent supporter and the Royal Fine Arts Commission insisted on evaluating five of the completed panels early in 1930. It described them as 'brilliant in colouring, fertile in invention, and full of fancy in their luxuriant variety and treatment' but it argued that such large and emphatic paintings of flora and fauna were inappropriate in the chief monument of the Gothic revival in Britain, and scene of great occasions of State: 'Mr Brangwyn's paintings … are of Oriental processions and exotic scenery. They indicate no connexion with the Empire as such, and the subject-matter and its treatment have no relation to Imperial or Dominion Parliaments'.[31] The art critic of the London *Times* countered that 'if they "indicate no connexion with the Empire as such" it is only because they avoid successfully the less admirable side of the idea of Empire which is associated with conquest and company promoting. The geographical implications of Empire are admirably conveyed'.[32] Debates in the press revealed both supporters and detractors. The *Daily News* lobby correspondent exclaimed: 'Just imagine! Five-feet-long bananas, with grinning black monkeys looking over them, in a room like this, with its historic associations … These new pictures might do very well for a night-club; they are certainly out of place here'.[33] Eventually in April 1930 a sparsely-populated chamber of the House of Lords voted by 55 votes to 11 to reject the Panels.[34]

Disheartened, Brangwyn nonetheless completed the Panels and they were stored by Lord Iveagh's heir whilst Brangwyn began work on a commission for New York's Rockefeller Center. But in 1933 the British Empire Panels went on display to considerable public acclaim at the *Daily Mail*'s Ideal Homes Exhibition. Hung in a quiet hall they offered an imposing and harmonious contrast to the electric bustle of urban modernity elsewhere in the exhibition complex. An offer of £40,000 from an anonymous American was subsequently received but rejected by the Iveagh Trustees.[35] This, however, prompted interest from several British towns and cities. Swansea in South Wales was, at the time, constructing a new Guildhall. Their bid referred to the artist's Welsh ancestry but also offered to alter the dimensions of the

proposed great hall in the Guildhall specifically to accommodate the Panels; they also proposed naming that space the Brangwyn Hall. In October 1933 Swansea was named as the successful bidder, the Panels arriving under police guard in time for the official opening a year later.[36]

Fittingly, the Guildhall's iconography was as lushly and eclectically detailed as the Panels'. The clock tower incorporated the prows of Viking ships, alluding to the supposed settlement of the area by the Viking Sweyn; the law courts were decorated by friezes depicting the laws of the ancient Welsh prince Hywel Dda; and other Welsh motifs were evident throughout.[37] Built at a cost of £420,000, the Guildhall had received an Exchequer grant of £90,000 made conditional on the use of local labour and 'home and Empire materials'.[38] Accordingly, the interiors incorporated 'Empire timbers' including 22-foot high Ionic columns made out of Australian walnut—the largest ever made at the time. The Lord Mayor's room was panelled in Indian Laurel and the Lady Mayoress's room in English sycamore. But far from being an embodiment of presumed ancient authority, the building's iconography was represented as civic and modern in impulse. It drew explicitly on the modernism of the Scandinavian town halls—seen in Wales at the time as model small-nation democracies that had successfully blended modernity and traditional identities.

This blend was represented in a remarkable drawing on the cover of a souvenir supplement to the local newspaper produced to commemorate the opening of the Guildhall by the Duke of Kent in October 1934. A confident and lithe young woman, with plans under her arm, represents the government of the city. Clustered around her in Brangwynesque poses are muscular figures representing local industries—a fisherman, coal miner, blacksmith and ironworker; together with modern shipping, and science represented by the chemicals industry. Public access to the Guildhall and to see Brangwyn's panels—limited on police advice to 5,000 people each day—occupied the local press for several weeks. When the full 2,000 members of the Swansea Hospital Linen Guild tried to attend their Annual General Meeting, being held at the new Guildhall, the police had to be called to deal with those locked out.[39] The Panels drew unanimous praise and spawned some commercial spinoffs for Swansea's department stores, including autographed Brangwyn carpets, in a commercial echo of the porter carrying a carpet across fig. 9.1.

Interestingly it was the panels' status as war memorials that was emphasised in their new home, rather than their imperial iconography. Swansea Town Council asserted this sacred role, referring—in a debate on smoking—to the 'ethics' of behaviour in such a 'shrine'.[40] Brangwyn welcomed a happy resolution to the saga, though he emphasised that the panels (which looked a little lost in the vastness of the hall) had been painted for a specific space in the Palace of Westminster.[41] He was knighted in 1941, but his critical reputation declined steadily despite his being granted the first retrospective of a living artist by the Royal Academy in 1952.[42] He died in 1956. Though placed in a location freighted with maritime symbolism and in a building in which Empire materials were integral, Brangwyn's British Empire Panels had been displaced from the symbolic and material heart of the British Empire and had, therefore, lost some imperial iconographic powers, though gaining some civic and de-

mocratic ones as well as a renewed emphasis on commemoration. Though this seems apt in a world in which the end of empire was well advanced, supporters of the original scheme mourned this shift to the edge of a contracting empire: 'without grudging Swansea its good fortune, one cannot help but wish that [the Panels might have been established] nearer the capital, which is still, to the vast mass of the people, the centre of the British Empire'.[43]

Notes

[1] D. Bell, 'Introduction' in County Borough of Swansea, *The British Empire panels of Sir Frank Brangwyn R.A. and preparatory drawings and studies in the Guildhall, Swansea* (Swansea, County Borough of Swansea, 1958).

[2] F. Brangwyn, quoted in R. Brangwyn, *Brangwyn* (London, William Kimber, 1978), p. 238.

[3] Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's eye: a cartographic genealogy of the Earth in the western imagination* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003) p. 227.

[4] A further two were to fit specific spaces in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords.

[5] F. Rutter, *The British Empire panels designed for the House of Lords by Frank Brangwyn, R.A.* (Benfleets, F. Lewis, 1933).

[6] See, for example, D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's eye: a cartographic genealogy of the earth in the Western imagination* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). M. H. Edney, *Mapping an empire: the geographical construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1997).

[7] Rutter, *British Empire panels*, p. 29.

[8] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[9] Ibid., p. 24.

[10] See H. Furst, *The decorative art of Frank Brangwyn* (London, John Lane/The Bodley Head, 1924).

[11] Brangwyn's *A tank in action* can been seen at http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/art/.online/?action=show_item&item=140, accessed on 27 September 2010.

[12] Rutter, *British Empire panels*, p. 14.

[13] See, for example, P. Fussell, *The Great War and modern memory* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977); J. Winter, *Sites of memory, sites of mourning: the Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[14] R. Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, p. 238.

[15] P. Macer-Wright, *Brangwyn: a study of genius at close quarters* (London, Hutchinson & Co, 1940), p. 217.

[16] S. Constantine, '"Bringing the empire alive": the Empire Marketing Board and imperial propaganda, 1926-33', in J. MacKenzie ed., *Imperialism and popular culture* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986); see also A. Ramamurthy, *Imperial persuaders: images of Africa and Asia in British advertising* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003).

[17] W. Shaw-Sparrow, *Frank Brangwyn and his work, 1910* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co Lyd, 1915), p. 3.

[18] R. J. Lamb, *Sir Frank Brangwyn and the spirit of the age.* Unpublished PhD thesis, City University of New York, 1985.

[19] Macer-Wright, *Brangwyn.*

[20] W. de Belleroche, *Brangwyn talks* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1946).

[21] W. de Belleroche, *Brangwyn's pilgrimage: the life story of an artist* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1948), p. 110.

[22] Macer-Wright, *Brangwyn*, p. 20.

[23] See B. Shephard, 'Showbiz imperialism: the case of Peter Lobengula', in J. MacKenzie ed., *Imperialism and popular culture* (Manchester, Manchester University

Press, 1986). See also A. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: museums, material culture and popular imagination* (London, Yale University Press, 1994).

[24] de Belleroche, *Brangwyn's pilgrimage*, p. 132.

[25] Ibid.

[26] F. S. Sinclair, 'Animals/spectacle and the cultural production of knowledge' http://www.unm.edu/~cleugh/anihum.html (accessed on 10 November 2003).

[27] Rutter, *British Empire Panels*, p. 25.

[28] de Belleroche, *Brangwyn's pilgrimage*, p. 105.

[29] Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, p. 240.

[30] de Belleroche, *Brangwyn's pilgrimage*, p. 105.

[31] *The Times*, 7 March 1930.

[32] *The Times*, 10 March 1930.

[33] Quoted in Macer-Wright, *Brangwyn*, p. 195.

[34] *The Times*, 4 April 1930.

[35] County Borough of Swansea, *British Empire Panels*.

[36] *The Times*, 27 October 1933.

[37] J.R. Alban ed., *The Guildhall, Swansea* (Swansea, City of Swansea, 1984).

[38] *South Wales Evening Post*, 23 October 1934. This was a supplement to commemorate the Guildhall's opening.

[39] *South Wales Evening Post*, 31 October 1934.

[40] *South Wales Evening Post*, 25 October 1934.

[41] The colour tones, for instance, had been modified according to varying light levels in the Royal Gallery.

[42] The orchestral conductor Sir John Barbirolli apparently later dismissed the panels as 'all tits and bananas'!; in L. Horner, *Frank Brangwyn: a mission to decorate life* (London, Fine Art Society/Liss Fine Art, 2006), p. 36.

[43] Macer-Wright, *Brangwyn*, p. 220.

In the Light of History
Modernism and Landscape Vision in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa
Jeremy Foster
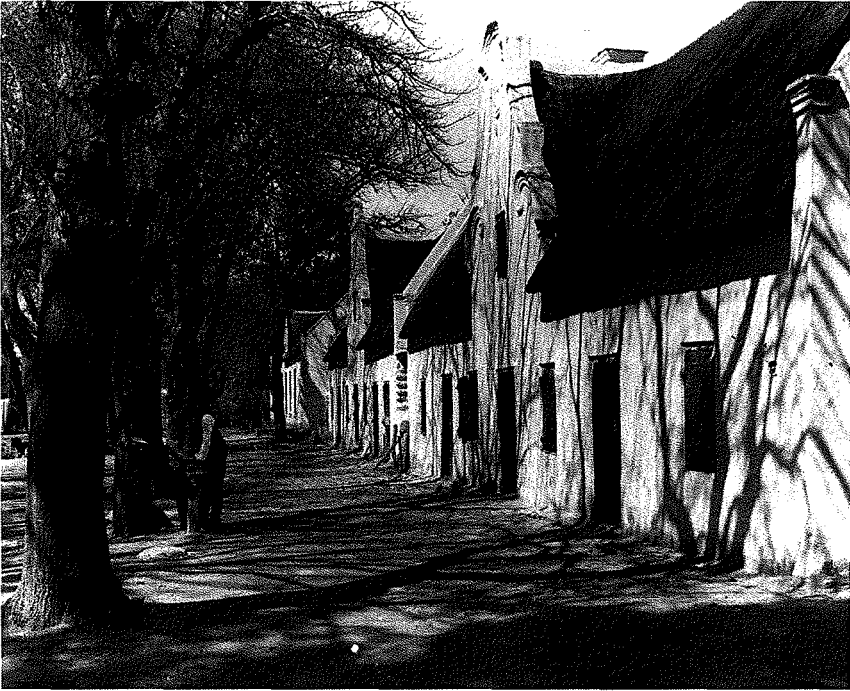
Fig. 10.1. Spier Outbuildings, nr. Stellenbosch, early 1900s (Arthur Elliot, Cape Archives #E491).

In January 1928, Professor Geoffrey Pearse, the head of Johannesburg's University of Witwatersrand architecture school, travelled with a group of students 900 miles to Cape Town, to survey surviving examples of colonial architecture.[1] Dating from the early nineteenth century, and situated in the mountain valleys of the Western Cape, many of these Cape Dutch buildings had been demolished or Victorianised by the 1920s, and had never been comprehensively documented.[2] For some students, the month-long project of measuring, drawing and photographing these old buildings was the highpoint of their studies, an enchanted journey through tranquil villages, sprawling vineyards, homesteads and wine cellars shaded by hundred-year-old oak trees.[3]

Interest in Cape Dutch architecture had first emerged in the 1890s, thanks in part to architectural revivalism in Europe, but also because the phylloxera epidemic had bankrupted many wine-farmers and brought their houses into the hands of an urban, educated English-speaking mercantile class with metropolitan connections. This drew these houses to the attention of various authors, artists and cultural activists, notably the young architect Herbert Baker, newly-arrived from England, and his patron, the mining magnate-politician, Cecil Rhodes, who shared an interest in vernacular buildings and material culture. This aesthetic appreciation spread after the Anglo-Boer War, when these houses became ideal vehicles for an invented tradition which posited a white settler 'narrative of descent' that reconciled English- and Dutch-speakers.[4] Dating as they did from a period when relations between the British colonial government and the older Dutch gentry at the Cape had been constructive, by the early twentieth century these houses and their associated landscapes were becoming important components of an imaginary geography linking people and territory.

By the time the Union of South Africa came into being in 1910, the landscape of the 'Old Cape' was increasingly being described as the 'cradle of the nation'.[5] Herbert Baker reinforced this idea when he proposed, both through lecturing and built work, that Cape Dutch architecture might provide the basis for a coherent, distinctly national style of architecture. The 'cult of the Cape Dutch' was further elaborated by photographer Arthur Elliot, who made his name largely through images of these buildings, their environs and their contents. His photographs, which appeared in travelling exhibitions, books, magazines and newspapers during in the 1910s and 1920s, helped popularise an awareness both of the buildings and of the landscapes in which they were situated. It is no surprise that Cape Dutch buildings were among the first designated national monuments in South Africa, or that they remain fixtures of tourist itineraries today.[6]

While Pearse's 1928 survey of these houses undoubtedly drew upon and reinforced a white settler 'narrative descent', I would argue that it was also an important episode in the modernisation of 'seeing South Africa'.[7] Only a few years later, several students who had assisted Pearse emerged as the country's most gifted architects, spearheading an irruption of international modernism into the geographically isolated mining centre of Johannesburg.[8] Particularly influential among this group was Rex Martienssen. A brilliant designer and polemicist, who combined practice, teaching and writing to overcome academic and professional conservatism and create an outpost of *avant-garde* modernism at Wits, Martienssen infused an entire generation of progressively minded architects and artists with a purist, intellectual vision of modernism.[9]

When South Africa followed Britain off the gold standard in 1932, the resulting boom in the mining-driven economy allowed him to elaborate his ideas through the construction of several residential and commercial buildings of startling purity and originality, only a few years after their prototypes had been completed in Europe (see fig. 10.2). Martienssen's partnerships with other young architects also helped disseminate his ideas, in modernist buildings throughout the newer parts of the city. The white sculptural forms of these buildings were decidedly 'Corbusian', unlike the machinic character of much avant-garde European architecture at this time. This is
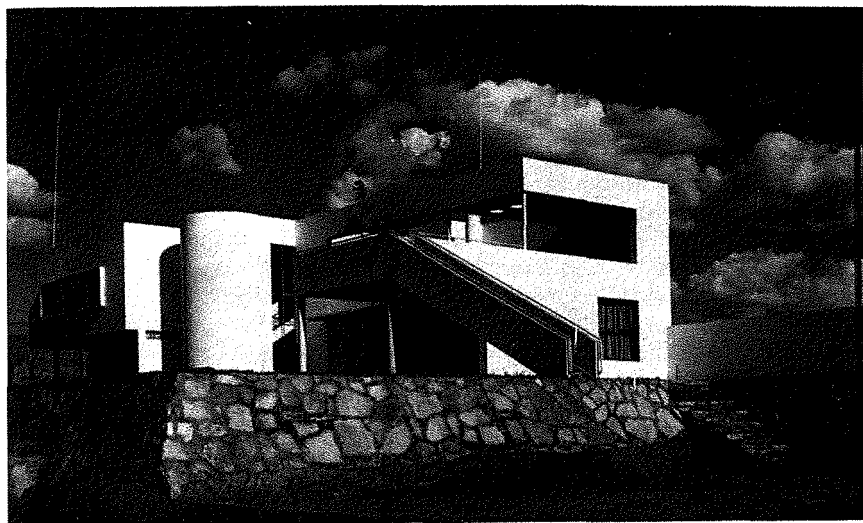
Fig.10.2. House Stern, Houghton, 1935 (Rex Distin Martienssen Archives, University of Witwatersrand).

no accident: Le Corbusier became a friend and mentor to Martienssen, and dedicated the first volume of his *Oeuvre Complète* to what he called *le Groupe Transvaal* in 1936.[10]

All these architects spent their formative years at the Wits school, which until the 1940s was one of the few architectural schools in the Anglophone world to embrace new ideas emanating from Europe. Their design vocabulary was shaped by the intellectual climate created first by Pearse, the school's director since its establishment in 1922, and then by A.S. Furner, who was appointed in 1925. Between them, these two men shaped a curriculum that combined a profound sense of history with a thorough grounding in the theory and practice contemporary arts — a variant of the Bauhaus' pedagogy of integrating sculpture, painting and design, and making them all subservient to architecture.

This coupling gave architecture a particular cultural valency in a city of Johannesburg's capitalist-entrepreneurial character. Unlike South Africa's other cities, Johannesburg had never been an outpost of the old world. Barely forty years old in 1930, it was a city where the accelerated time of a-historical thinking was physically encoded in its frequently rebuilt urban fabric, and reflected in its citizens' appetite for new, preferably imported, ideas and trends — especially in the realm of engineering, technology and popular culture.[11] Johannesburg's constantly expanding mining economy had also created a vibrant white bourgeois intelligentsia who embraced the new and experimental — unlike the rest of the country, which remained conservative and reactionary. Politically, this cosmopolitan intelligentsia (to which the Wits architects belonged) turned their backs on the sectarian past, and focussed on the benefits

of an unified future, in contrast to the less affluent, less-educated whites with rural roots and republican-nationalist sympathies. Anxious to participate in international discourse, they justified their existence as Europeans in Africa not through some mythical right-to-the-land, but through the belief that the application of rational, scientific knowledge would end the many of the continent's seemingly endemic problems.

Modernity, vision, landscape

The rapid assimilation of architectural modernism in Johannesburg did not go unnoticed and led to the speculation as to its possible causes. One English visitor suggested in 1940 that 'the natural virtues of the climate and surroundings have had much to do with this favourable reception', adding that the strong sunlight and starkness of the African interior were curiously sympathetic to 'the simple shapes and planes, the clear colours and the contrasting surface texture on which modern architecture depends for its effects'.[12] The optical facts referred here are verifiable; their unproblematic linkages to modernity are not. No less than other structures of seeing, those associated with modernity are always historically and socially constructed and situated. Conventionally understood as a break with preceding historical conditions, and associated with the notion that a time had come which was 'beyond history', modernism is usually oriented towards a utopian, often collective, future comprehensively structured by principles perceived to be universal and ideal, and therefore implicitly a-temporal.

Depending on whether these principles were found in human subjects, technical processes or aesthetic objects, the prescriptions deemed to stem from them differed.[13] However, these prescriptions are usually mediated through Western-capitalist vocabularies of seeing that bring the world into visibility as a separate something made to be looked at, grasped in terms of the relation between the material realisation of things themselves and their invisible, metaphysical structure.[14] Such a process cognitively constructs the world as an object or representation that appears to consist of individuals and their activities on the one hand, and on the other, an inner structure that somehow pre-exists them.[15] This subjectivity is characterised by a self-renewing tension between the desire to understand this constructed object-world and the desire to lose oneself in it phenomenologically. The intertwining of vision and modernisation is reinforced by the fact that instruments and practices used to visualise the world are *themselves* continually evolving.[16]

This intertwining between vision and cultural renewal has always been at the heart of what Denis Cosgrove called the 'landscape idea'.[17] Simultaneously world *describing* and world *shaping*, the idea of landscape maps cultural values onto a shifting material terrain and lends practical actions ideological and theoretical weight. Cosgrove emphasised that this way of thinking and seeing is latent in the inhabitation of most extensive territories, and that its unfolding can only be understood as part of a wider history of economy and society. Fundamentally *syncretic*, it is particular evident during periods of rapid social change. However landscape visions do not have to be backward-looking, exclusionary and rooted in 'what *has happened*'; they can also be inventive, optimistic, and oriented towards 'what *might* happen'.[18] More typically, though, landscape visions are fractured by ambivalence and resistance: in-

compatible interests may assert claims, the local may be at odds with the national, and values may be affirmed precisely because they are being called into question somewhere else.[19] Thus, much like the episodes of modernisation seeking to freeze time themselves become subject to passing time and end up using the past to establish credible foundations, landscape visions that seem to project the future often become inseparable from re-imagining the past. [20]

I have argued elsewhere that this was powerfully evident in the discursive appropriation of landscape as an agent of reconciliation by early twentieth-century South Africa's divided white population.[21] As was the case in other post colonies, the social, economic, and political complexities of transitioning to an autonomous nation both encoded and disavowed history. In 1930s South Africa, modernist discourse about the present drew on history in order to place it in the service of its own project: in other words, it constructed a narrative in which its own manifestos and prescriptions became the (inevitable) outcome.

In this light, I propose that the 1928 Wits expedition became a chiasmic moment in articulating historical memory and modern progress. The objectification of previously undocumented artefacts mobilised a new structure of seeing and naturalised otherwise hard-to-articulate cultural values in the material landscape. This structure of seeing inscribed an alternative 'underlying of things' in that landscape, and became entangled with the projection of its future. As always, this process was fractured by circumstances; the curatorial documentation of the new nation's oldest landscape mediated different connotations for the different generations involved in documenting it. Nevertheless the overriding fact here was that unlike previous representations of these buildings, those made by Pearse's students were *objective, comprehensive* and *measured* (in both senses of the word). To the degree that Pearse's survey refracted modern objective practices like the use of photographic documentation and the legislative ordering of space and people, it produced 'findings' capable of being put to use in other contexts and for other purposes than preservation and nostalgic memory.

By treating the 1928 expedition as an important moment in the transformation of ways of seeing, my intention is not to reify a small group's landscape subjectivity, but to show how this awareness participated in a broader cultural disposition that became projected in their work. In this I am interested not so much in questions of architectural 'style' and 'influence', but on the imaginaries used to, quite literally, *make sense* of the total material environment. Here I take up one of the more intriguing challenges posed by Cosgrove and Daniels in *The Iconography of Landscape*. I am interested in how Panofsky's notion of 'iconology' —which proposes that the meaning of cultural artefacts is linked to the subjectivity of a nation, a period, a class, or philosophical persuasion, often unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into a single work[22]—intersects with the tension between the object-world and the experiential-world introduced by the modernisation of seeing.

Timeless architecture, universal effects

Conventional teleological accounts tracing the spread of architectural modernism— seemingly confirmed by its eventual post-war global hegemony—obscure the fact that, until the 1930s, there was little consensus as to what a modern architecture

would look like. Historical precedent and emerging trends were ransacked to locate sources of inspiration; schemes developed along similar lines in different places without their instigators being aware of the fact, and ideas propounded by one architect were consciously adopted by another but applied in a different manner.[23] Also rarely acknowledged is the fact that early modernists used vernacular architecture's qualities—its utilitarian use of local materials, its pragmatic adaptation to climate and site, and its unselfconscious aesthetics perceived to derive from form and space rather than surface decoration—as a basis for a new architecture without reference to historical styles.[24] While most of this experimentation took place in Europe, this was not necessarily where answers were expected to be found.[25] Indeed, Paul Rabinow has suggested that the heterogeneity of early modernist practice was related to geographical and historical context. He associates one of his two alternatives to high European modernism—'techno-cosmopolitanism' sympathetic to sedimented vernacular practices of a particular culture—with the periphery rather than the centre, and with the inter- (rather than post-) war period.[26]

Expanding the historiography of architectural modernism in this way allows us to see that the 1928 documentation of the Cape Dutch houses invested these buildings with an authority that transcended their historical value. Here it is helpful to recall Herbert Baker's influence. Although Baker only returned once to South Africa after his departure in 1912, he remained South Africa's 'architect laureate', his ideas casting a shadow over architectural discoursë for several decades. Baker's practice not only produced some of the country's most important civic buildings and employed many who would later become leaders of the profession, but he had also explicitly linked the search for an intellectually grounded 'architecture that established a nation' to the pragmatic and aesthetic qualities of Cape Dutch architecture.[27]

Thus, although he is usually associated with historicism, and therefore has no place in conventional historiographies of international modernism, in South Africa at least, Baker can be seen to have promoted a kind of proto-modern 'techno-cosmopolitanism'. This is reflected in Pearse's survey, which for all its methodological objectivity, was not indifferent to the anthropological dimensions of the environment being surveyed. Pearse had his students engage with the Cape Dutch buildings as a complex *vernacular* system; they not only drew and photographed these buildings' forms, cabinetry, ironmongery and even furniture, they also analysed their construction and spatial relationships to the landscape, the sun, and each other. Still, given the unsettled nature of architectural discourse at the time, it is hard to believe that this documentation did not provoke other kinds of insights. If practices of visualisation heighten the relation between the things and their invisible, metaphysical structure, then for Pearse, this metaphysical structure would have been primarily *narrative* and *historical*. At the same time, there is little doubt that this documentation provoked other kinds of insights whose structure of seeing was more abstract and existential, oriented towards the 'universality' of phenomenal perception.

As it is generally recognised, in modernist aesthetics forms no longer had to convey ideas; whereas in traditional art an icon or figure represented an idea outside of itself, it was now possible for form *itself* to be content, severing any mimetic relations. Pure form, or *Gestaltung*, was seemingly autonomous, self-referential and self-generated. Landscape visualisation played a significant role in this hermeneutic

shift. It was through Impressionist and, especially, Post-impressionist landscape painting that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the traditional view of space as an inert matrix in which cultural objects existed gave way to the conception of it as 'active and full.'[28] This anticipated a similar transformation in the ontological space of architecture, from the narrational, corporeally-coded space of historicism to the isotropic, abstract space of modernism—an autonomous set of Cartesian co-ordinates. The concept of abstract space without reference to context or history became the predominant paradigm.[29] One unlikely source of this transformation of seeing is someone whose ideas underpinned most aesthetic production and discourse in early twentieth-century South Africa: John Ruskin. Ruskin's writings on landscape are complex and layered, combining a pre-modern sense of the numinous with proto-modern visuality. Indeed, as Alessandra Ponte observed, his persistent polarisation of the essence of being in *sight* helped introduce the possibility of abstraction: the 'innocent eye', before which the world of tangibles and meanings dissolved into pure form and colour, and the perception of solid forms were entirely a matter of experience as such, without consciousness of what they might signify, permeated all his writing.[30] The unspoken agent of this apparently 'innocent' seeing was *light*—a phenomenon always implicit in Ruskin's preoccupation with how landscapes displayed distinct geographical characters or atmospheres.[31]

Given Ruskin's widespread influence, it is no surprise that early twentieth-century South African artists found it difficult to see the subcontinent's terrain as 'landscape' except when depicted under autumnal or twilight conditions. By 1930, however, a small group of artists, some loosely affiliated with *le Groupe Transvaal*, sought to move beyond these earlier perceptions, seeing the central challenge as capturing, along with its monotony and size, this terrain's quality of *light*.[32] Light is, of course, *revealed* by form; phenomenologically, perceptions of an extensive landscape's monotony and size are contingent on an abundance of strong sunlight, as well as a clear, dry atmosphere. This relationship had already been hinted at in Baker's own Ruskinian reflections on architecture in South Africa. In 1909, he had argued that 'South Africa with its sunshine and limpid atmosphere must look to the South of Europe ... for its architectural model'; architects needed to strive for a *sparseness* and *directness of expression*, and materials that 'spoke for themselves'; in a landscape so bare in detail and so vast, 'the design and disposition of buildings must be conceived on a monumental scale to be in harmony with the work of Nature'.[33]

These kinds of arguments would have taken on entirely new dimensions at a time when South Africa's territory—especially its austere interior where Johannesburg was situated—was beginning to be comprehensively photographed for the first time. Elliot's work at the Cape might have, in Susan Sontag's formulation, inaugurated a sense of history in which the buildings 'became objects of fond regard'. However, these buildings also simultaneously revealed and constructed a *lightscape*, a patterning of shadows that creates a geographically distinctive relationship between objects, people and light (see fig. 10.1).[34] It is easy to see how, for those used to modernist art, appreciation of these historical-architectural objects might have become intertwined with an appreciation of the *modes and types of light* present. The *visibility* of the contrasting forms of whitewashed walls and weathered thatch in a dun coloured landscape was contingent on all these elements being *equally* exposed

to constant, abundant sunlight. Perception of this lightscape, then, was as much a consequence of the play between African sunlight and whitewashed walls as it was of black and white photography's affinity of for starkly lit (and shadowed) environments, which they rendered clean, uncluttered and graphic (in other words, qualities often associated with modernity).

Crucially, when 'universalised' across the nation's territory, this role of light as the agent (that is, *constructor*) of landscape heightened that territory's 'emptiness'. In this projection, the phenomenological and political were intertwined, especially in the high plains that surrounded Johannesburg.[35] Frequent interwar observations that the South African interior was a landscape in which 'there was so little there', and things were 'often either close up or very far away', need to be set against contemporaneous government policies that were systematically emptying rural South Africa of its African population, the better to make it available for white farmers using modern agricultural practices. Under these circumstances, the abundant, constant African sun was more than just an agent of visibility, it became a benign, all-encompassing force of nature in its own right, capable of conquering without force. For a modernist structure of seeing, the universal, 'timelessness' of African light brought into sight a landscape which looked as if nobody had ever been there, rendering it a kind of natural monument, a 'landscape of rock and stone', such as was also celebrated in modernist literature at the time.[36] Thus, documenting the vernacular buildings not only helped construct a national 'narrative of descent', it also helped project a resolutely a-temporal territory, naturalising the radically empirical 'innocent eye' of modernism as part of the spatial politics and rendering the landscape suitable for white settlement.

'Pure forms brought together in light': the recuperation of historical imagination

Just how complex this dialectic between history, light and modernity became is revealed by returning to the work of the young architect-practitioners who came into their own in 1930s Johannesburg. While the buildings they designed are often dismissed as straightforward copies of the purified, 'rational' architecture of *l'Esprit Nouveau*, the perceptual aspects of modernist light and space suggest that these cubic forms brought additional layers of meaning to Le Corbusier's formulation of architecture as the 'masterly, correct magnificent play of pure forms brought together in light'.[37]

Buildings like Martienssen's House Stern, sited on Johannesburg's frontier with the surrounding veld, manifested the 'all-sided development' and the elimination of continuous exterior edges (both horizontal and vertical) characteristic of *l'Esprit Nouveau*.[38] The building became something conceptually floating in the landscape, deflecting and shaping the intersection of theoretically infinite, Cartesian space. However, it also overlapped with a spatiality that projectively erased an African peasantry from the land, elided cultural differences amongst whites, and was using practices of measurement, documentation and control to restructure the national landscape.[39] A similar elision was mediated by blank-walled, lime-washed forms that were the result of local culture and regional construction. Unadorned white walls were not only integral to indigenous vernacular architecture, but reified by modernists who sought to subordinate the tectonic and topographical aspects of

architectural form to purportedly amoral and a-historical semiotic conditions.[40] Thus, the Cape Dutch house's whiteness not only heightened its presence in the dun-coloured landscape, it helped construct a lightscape that connoted neutrality and eschewed 'particularity' or narrative content.[41]

We can see, then, how the austere, unornamented forms of the Johannesburg modernist houses developed complex resonances in a national landscape perceived to be expansive and a-temporal because 'empty'. At the same time, because this modernisation of vision was inaugurated by twentieth-century documentation of nineteenth-century Cape Dutch houses, the seemingly antinomal elision of building and landscape it mediated never escaped the historical imagination. That a similar elision remained at work, in 'plain sight' as it were, in the design of the Transvaal houses tends to be underscored by Martienssen's lectures and writing in the 1930s. Although a passionate advocate of purist, *avant-garde* modernism and of the need to overcome a bourgeois use of nostalgia to compensate for human frailty, Martienssen was also, paradoxically, preoccupied with history. Like a good modernist, he was mostly interested in essential—that is, unchanging—continuities between different periods of architecture; earlier human settlements needed to be studied not as 'isolated and isolable fragments', but because their 'spatial arrangements' afforded synoptic links between the past and the present.[42] Martienssen visited numerous Mediterranean classical sites on his European trips, and from 1938 to 1941 worked on a doctorate that became one of the first theoretical studies on the spatial organisation of Greek temple precincts, a project that nevertheless deployed a thoroughly modern interpretation of space as constructed, 'active and full'.[43]

The origins of this scholarly fusion of history and modernity can be found in continuities and differences between the two architects who were, in close succession, Martienssen's mentors. Both Baker and Le Corbusier had a heightened sense of their profession's cultural agency, and both saw the Mediterranean not simply as an imaginary 'south' where elements of the everyday world were recombined in a sensually heightened way, but also as the ultimate source of Western civilisation. For Le Corbusier, this disposition was deepened by his 1911 'voyage d' orient', which transformed him into one of the most zealous modernist appropriators of the Mediterranean.[44]

Le Corbusier's faith in the possibility of transplanting ideas and forms from south to north became boundless; Adolf Vogt argues that the longing awakened by the radiant white house, disguised under the term 'geometry', became transposed into the cuboid white forms of his 1920s houses.[45] The signature memory trace of Le Corbusier's *philosophie de la lumière méditerranéenne,* however, was the Parthenon, to which he returned as a source of inspiration throughout his career. For Le Corbusier, the 'timeless and silent' form of this edifice embodied the fusion of human rationality along with a primal mythos he strove for in his architecture.[46] The Parthenon also evoked the ontology of light as a metaphor of clarity in the Western philosophical tradition, especially the Platonic light that can only be experienced as *eidos* (an idea or sight with form).[47] In this construction, light is both a metaphor for and an agent of timeless, or infinite, truth, revelation and knowledge.

In drawing together these various threads, we can do no better than juxtapose Le Corbusier's obsession with the standing, rising figure of the Greek temple, and Martienssen's statement that the quality he admired most in Baker's houses was a 'bleak simplicity which romanticises the avoidance of intrusion in an elemental setting'. Both positions can be traced back to the highly dialectic relationship of the Greek temple — for both architects, as for Baker, a foundation of Western architecture — with its environment.[48] While Baker, Le Corbusier and eventually Martienssen had their own version of this *philosophie de la lumière*, all of them used light to 'make sense' of — that is, naturalise — an empty landscape in which the idealism of Western artefacts was heightened.

The rediscovery of the Cape Dutch house's dialectical relationship with its landscape mobilised a broader revisioning of the national landscape that later made the *Groupe Transvaal* buildings much more than straightforward importations; instead, they helped distil proto-political ideas about (national) space and identity *through* the reification of particular material-environmental qualities. In these buildings, 'universal' but also historical visions of landscape were modernised and naturalised by the supposedly universal (and objective) play of 'pure forms brought together in light'. A renegotiated relationship between phenomenology of light and historiographic imagination constructed a new agent of this recuperation was the *sine qua non* of both the African landscape and of the 'innocent eye' of modernism, before which the material world dissolved into pure form and colour: light. The objective, neutral play of light across the forms of white settler modernity and unspoiled African nature alike not only highlighted the perceptual articulation of both within a single, a-temporal structure of seeing, it recuperated long-standing European cultural memory. In this metaphysics, the 'timeless' and 'universal' was paradoxically authenticated rather than negated by the African landscape.

Notes

[1] This work was published in Pearse's monumental *Eighteenth century architecture in South Africa* (Batsford, London, 1933, repr. A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1957).

[2] Pearse records that Gerard Moerdyk had a made an extensive survey of the most important Cape Dutch buildings in 1920, but that these drawings had been lost or accidentally destroyed in London. See Pearse, *Eighteenth century architecture*, p. vii.

[3] G. Herbert, *Martienssen and the International Style: the modern movement in South African architecture* (Cape Town/Rotterdam, A. A. Balkema, 1975), pp. 37-38.

[4] See J. Foster, *Washed with sun: landscape and making of white South Africa* (University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 2008): pp. 56-61, and N. Coetzer, 'The production of white space: representing and restructuring identity and architecture, Cape Town, 1892-1936', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 2005.

[5] This linkage was emphasised by Smuts' introduction to Dorothea Fairbridge's *Historic houses of South Africa* (London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922): 'those who have seen the awful destruction of the Great War and the absolute obliteration of … some beautiful districts of Europe will appreciate the necessity of recording by pen and pencil the works of (this) period in South Africa while they remain to us' (p. x).   As Coetzer has argued, this coinage also naturalised the quasi-manorial social relations and forms of land control originally associated with these houses.

[6] By the National Historical Monuments Commission, after its founding in 1934. The first Cape Dutch house listed was Groot Constantia, in 1936. See J. J. Oberholster, *The historical monuments of South Africa* (Cape Town, Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation/ C. Struik, 1972).

[7] On the concept of 'narrative of descent', see P. Duara, 'Historicising national identity, or who imagines what and when', in G. Eley and R. G. Suny eds., *Becoming national: a reader* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 168.

[8] In addition to Martienssen, this group included Gordon MacIntosh and Norman Hanson. Norman Eaton, another figure who would play a seminal role in the development of South Africa modernism, also contributed to Pearse's project. See C. Harrop-Allin, *Norman Eaton, architect: a study of the work of the South African architect Norman Eaton 1902-1966* (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1975).

[9] The definitive study of Martienssen's life and work is G. Herbert, *Martienssen and the International Style: the modern movement in South African architecture* (Cape Town/Rotterdam, A.A. Balkema, 1975).

[10] This introduction was a transcription of a 'letter of support' Le Corbusier sent to Martienssen, which also appeared in English translation in the *South African architectural record*, November 1936.

[11] For discussions of the cultural reception of modernism in 1930s Johannesburg, see J. Robinson, 'Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: interaction, segregation and modernity in a South African City', *Journal of Southern African Studies* **29**, (2003), pp. 759-789; and C. Chipkin, *Johannesburg style: architecture and society, 1880s–1960s* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1993), pp. 105-121.

[12] H. Casson, 'Modern architecture in South Africa', *Architectural Review* **8**, (1940), pp. 37-38.

[13] This is the underlying argument of P. Rabinow, 'France in Morocco: technocosmopolitanism and middling modernism', *Assemblage* 17, (1992), pp. 52-57.

[14] The most overt examples of this 'ocularcentrism' are exhibitions and spectacles, which Timothy Mitchell situates within a broader spectrum of practices, like the institutional specification of space and function, the coordination of these functions into hierarchical arrangements, and the marking out of time into schedules and programmes. See his *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991), pp. ix-xiv.

[15] Looking at something in a modern way heightens the awareness of the act of seeing, and therefore, the sense of subjectivity.

[16] As Susan Sontag argued, 'a society becomes modern when one of its chief activities is producing and consuming images, when images that have extraordinary powers to determine our demands on reality and are themselves coveted substitutes for first hand experience become indispensable to the health of the economy, the stability of the polity, and the pursuit of private happiness'. *On photography* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979), p. 153.

[17] 'The landscape idea represents a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world around them and their relationship with it, and through which they have commented on social relations'. See D. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. xiv.

[18] Thus, Doreen Massey argues that one of the characteristics of 'being modern' is, precisely, a form of geographical imagination that is progressive in both sense of the word — not only open to emerging potentialities, but also generated by physical and imaginative exchanges between several orders of 'place'. See D. Massey, 'Places and their pasts', *History Workshop Journal* 39, (1995), pp. 182-194 and 'A global sense of place', *Space, place and gender* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1994), pp. 146-156.

[19] See J. Barrell, 'Topography vs. landscape', *London Review of Books* 32, (2010), p. 12.

[20] This is reflected in Holston's distinction between modernism as a detached, critical, theoretical, strategic remaking of the world (i.e. positive modernism) and modernism as the lived experience of ceaseless change, innovation, and the fragmentation of meaning that provokes tactical, nostalgic responses (i.e. reactive modernism). See J. Holston, *The modernist city: an anthropological critique of Brasilia* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[21] See Foster, *Washed with sun*, pp. 238-246.

[22] See D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, *The iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design, and use of past environments* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 2.

[23] See J. R. Gold, *The experience of modernism: modern architects and the future city 1928-53* (London/New York, E & FN Spon, 1997).

[24] E. Pavlides, 'Four approaches to regionalism in architecture', in V. Canizaro ed., *Architectural regionalism: collected writings on place, identity, modernity and tradition* (New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), pp. 157-167. Pavlides quotes Loos' 1913 observation that the 'lessons to be learned from the architecture of peasants was not necessarily their form but the way form was direct response to function'.

[25] As Le Corbusier rhetorically wrote in his *Ouevre Complete* introduction of 1936: 'How are we to enrich our creative powers? Not by subscribing to architectural reviews, but by undertaking voyages of discovery … Let us have fresh proposals from all quarters of the globe'.

[26] Rabinow, 'France in Morocco', pp. 53-54. The socio-political agendas of these two forms of modernism were intertwined: 'technocosmopolitanism' was informed by the need to convince colonised populations of the benefits of European modernity, but also shaped by research agendas of architectural research. Conversely, the imagined subject/inhabitant of 'middling modernism' was the universal 'new man' implicitly without history, and therefore more likely to be found in the periphery than the metropolis.

[27] See Coetzer, 'Promotion and dissemination of the Cape Dutch as a national style', in *Production of white space*, and M. Keath, 'The Baker School', in R. Fisher, S. le Roux and E. Maré eds., *Architecture of the Transvaal* (Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2002).

[28] On this transition, see for instance C. Harrison, 'The effects of landscape', in W. J. T. Mitchell ed., *Landscape and power* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1994), pp. 203-239; ref. 216-217.

[29] D. Leatherbarrow, *The roots of architectural invention: site, enclosure, materials* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 9-13.

[30] 'It is only by a series of experiments that we find out that a stain of black or grey indicates the dark side of solid substance, or that a faint hue indicates that the objects in which it appears is far away. The whole technical power of painting depends on our recovery of what may be called the innocence of the eye, that is to say, or a sort of childish perception of these flat stains of colour'. See A. Ponte, 'The house of light and entropy', in J. Birksted ed., *Landscapes of memory and experience* (London, Spon, 2000), pp. 137-161, quote p. 145.

[31] Ruskin stressed the importance of empirical observation—which is, the 'careful observation of unique examples in nature'—in understanding any landscape's character. See D. Cosgrove, 'John Ruskin and the geographical imagination', *Geographical Review* **69**, (1979), pp. 43-62.

[32] See Foster, *Washed with sun*, pp. 54 and 67.

[33] H. Baker, 'The architectural needs of South Africa', *The State* (1909).

[34] See M. Bille and T. Flohr Sørensen, 'An anthropology of luminosity: the agency of light', *Journal of Material Culture* **12**, (2007), pp. 263-284; ref. 267.

[35] Foster, *Washed with sun*, pp. 225-237 and 243-246.

[36] On this literary trope, see for instance J. M. Coetzee *White writing: on the culture of letters in South Africa* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 166-173 and K. Wagner, *Rereading Nadine Gordimer* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 166-216. Concerning a similarly modernist interpretation of landscape as a natural monument in the United States at this time, Alessandra Ponte has argued that this kind of move has a long tradition in Western culture. See 'The house of light', p. 139.

[37] See for instance D. Herwitz, 'The genealogy of modern South African architecture', *Race and reconciliation: essays from the new South Africa* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 128-172.

38 Most of these houses were built in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, then still a landscape 'of windswept veld-grasses'. See Chipkin, *Johannesburg style*, pp. 166-169, and Herbert, *Martienssen*, pp. 218-222.

39 See for instance Foster, *Washed with sun*, pp. 71-72.

40 The modernist premise that the architectural surface should assume an a-moral role mirrored the new vision of the architects own role vis-a-vis society: individual talent and skills were to be subordinated to the social, economic and spiritual needs of the larger society, and the architects purpose was to strive for a 'clear organic architecture whose inner logic will be radiant and naked, unencumbered by lying facades and trickeries'. See D. Leatherbarrow and M. Mostafavi, *Surface architecture* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2002), pp. 10-12; also D. Leatherbarrow and M. Mostafavi, *On weathering: the life of buildings in time* (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1993), pp. 76-88.

41 Here it is useful to recall the differences between narrative and iconic communications. Narrativity is concerned with arguments, reflection, and critical thinking. Iconicity by contrast functions through easy recognition; it 'squashes meaning' into a temporally and spatial tight frame.

42 Martienssen, *Idea of space*, p. xiv.

43 Eventually published as R. D. Martienssen, *The idea of space in Greek architecture, with special reference to the Doric Temple and its Setting* (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand Press, 1956).

44 A. M. Vogt, 'Remarks on the reversed Grand Tour of le Corbusier and Auguste Klipstein', *Assemblage* 4, (October 1987), pp. 38-51.

45 A. M. Vogt, *Le Corbusier, the noble savage: toward an archaeology of modernism* (Cambridge MA, MIT University Press, 1998), p. 76.

46 See C. Jencks, *Le Corbusier and the tragic view of architecture* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 33-36.

47 Blumenberg, quoted in Brille and Sørenson, 'Anthropology of luminosity', p. 272.

48 This is captured by Scully's exegesis of the siting of Greek temples: 'Designs that stand in sharp contrast to their surroundings uncompromisingly declare what they are: products of human or cultural intention; such designs show that they are not natural, and as a result, may well disclose a deeper appreciation of both nature and design than do those designs that attempt to blend with or mimic their surroundings'. Thus temples and other buildings are only one part of what may be called the 'architecture' of any given site. See V. Scully, *The earth, the temple and the gods* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1962).

11

Iconographies Elsewhere
Reading Sri Lankan Landscape in Translation
Tariq Jazeel

Fig. 11.1. View over Cinnamon Hill at Lunuganga, taken from the main house (photograph by the author).

In a quiet spot on the banks of Lake Deduwa on Sri Lanka's south-west coast lies the sprawling estate of Lunuganga, the home and garden of the late Geoffrey Bawa, perhaps the most well-known of Sri Lanka's 'tropical modern' architects. Now owned and run as a boutique hotel by the Lunuganga Trust, this 25-acre assortment of stunning landscapes and eclectic architectural experiments was Bawa's country retreat from 1948 till his death in 2003. Of the landscapes and views that Bawa created here over the years, one stood out as the architect's favourite. Standing at the estate's main house, looking across the thick lawn and up the gentle slope of Cinnamon Hill, the eye is directed through a corridor of trees either side of a green field, and in the middle distance, on the crest of the hill, a lone tree looms over a large pot (fig. 11.1). The tree directs the gaze across the horizon toward the white dome of the Katakuliya temple, a Buddhist stupa nestled into the thick vegetation on a hill in the distance beyond the estate (fig. 11.2).

Fig. 11.2. View over Cinnamon Hill at Lunuganga, taken from the middle ground (photograph by the author).

Of this view, Bawa once remarked:

> Over the years moving through the garden as it grew, one saw the potential of various areas which had inherently different atmospheres. For instance, the long view to the south ended with the temple, but in the middle distance was a ridge with a splendid ancient moonamal tree and when I placed a large Chinese jar under it, the hand of man was established in this middle distance.[1]

Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels' agenda setting 1988 anthology *The iconography of landscape* offers a useful and politically enabling way of reading this kind of landscape, of understanding it as a 'cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolising surroundings'.[2] As a 'cultural image', Bawa's garden estate can be seen as a cultivated scenographic series of spaces, a retreat for a landed and wealthy colonialised gentleman, and as a *landscape* the view implies a classically modern separation of active viewing subject from passive field of objects gazed upon, toiled over and possessed. The landscape's smoothness, its uninterrupted lines of sight, conceal the considerable choreography — even complacency — that has gone into this composition. For example, Bawa took care to sink an access road in the middle ground within a ha-ha to create these smooth lines of sight. Though Geoffrey Bawa's portfolio of mid- to late- twentieth-century work was famously influenced by international modernism, his creative élan was also and clearly inspired by diverse historical influences such as European renaissance humanism and eighteenth century English landscape design.[3] And of course, in Bawa's own words that choreography and labour is explicitly coded male. As the feminist critique of early iconographical approaches to landscape notes, patriarchy structures this kind of bourgeois landscape composition from within.[4]

Cosgrove and Daniels' iconographic method has taught us to read these power relations and politics; to read a landscape aesthetics inalienably connected with European and colonial modernity. Whether that process of reading takes a fraction of a second, or a more considered critical analysis, as Daniels and Cosgrove suggest in their introductory essay to *The iconography of landscape*, this still involves 'reading "what we see", according to the manner in which objects and events are expressed by forms under varying historical conditions'.[5]

In this short essay, departing from this landscape, from this view that is, I want to take Cosgrove and Daniels' iconographic method seriously. In particular, I focus on the reading and textual metaphors that it offers as a way of teasing out the power relations and erasures woven into a landscape thought *as* text.[6] Methodologically, reading it is important to stress is an active process. It is something we do. In most cases we choose to do it, and as such it requires a degree of effort from us to engage a text. In this respect, our ability *to* read is dependent on the language and idiom of a text itself. Or to put this slightly differently, our ability to read is dependent on the kinds of literacies we can bring to a text in order to read its script, to engage its own meaning and idioms. And this is the broadly visual and broadly methodological point that I want to tease out in this chapter by taking the iconographic method

elsewhere, into another knowledge space so to speak. Because if landscapes are texts, that is if we can understand Geoffrey Bawa's favourite view by reading its representational and textual qualities as Cosgrove and Daniels suggest (and I think we can), then the simple point I want to make in this chapter is that like all other texts landscapes are written differently, in different kinds of languages that readers must work hard to read, sometimes in translation so to speak. In figures 11.1 and 11.2 there is, I want to suggest, another kind of textuality and thereby another kind of politics that reading this landscape in translation is positioned to tease out.

Reading landscape in translation is a methodological variation on Cosgrove and Daniels' iconographic method that draws some influence from the well-known efforts of the Subaltern Studies Collective's efforts to work against the grain of Eurocentric knowledge structures, pluralising the rationalities, knowledges and textualities that a properly postcolonial interpretive methodology is able to effectively bring into representation.[7] In this sense, what I am urging here is an interpretive landscape approach that, following Dipesh Chakrabarty's well-known efforts to provincialise Europe and proliferate modernity with its non-European habitations, attempts to 'learn from the subaltern'.[8] To be clear however, Geoffrey Bawa can hardly be regarded as in any sense 'subaltern' if 'subalternity' is to be viewed in narrowly classed terms. Rather, I employ the notion of subalternity theoretically here as metonym for domains of knowledge that an aggressively secular, post-Enlightenment, Eurocentric knowledge production cannot bring into representation through the rational categorisations it creates.[9] So, as useful as the reading I have just offered of Bawa's Lunuganga is, it is a reading that engages the textual properties of this landscape that are transparent to the Euro-American gaze. There are other elements of this view, let us call them a 'subaltern aesthetics', that reading this landscape in translation is positioned to bring out and in so doing make visible other political landscape formations that are not immediately accessible to the Eurocentric gaze. This kind of interpretive landscape work then, aims as Chakrabarty puts it:

> To go to the subaltern in order to learn to be radically fragmentary and episodic ... to move away from the certitudes that operate within the gesture that the knowing, judging, willing subject always already knows what is good for everybody, ahead of any investigation. The investigation, in turn, must be possessed of an openness so radical that I can express it only in Heideggarian terms: the capacity to hear that which one does not already understand.[10]

To signal this act of reading differently I use the metaphor of 'translation' quite deliberately in order to signpost detours through a set of debates elsewhere in disciplinary terms, notably the postcolonial variants of literary studies where translation as method has long been regarded as far more than a straightforward matching of equivalences. Translation instead is posed as a far more productively unsettling process wherein challenges are posed to the 'tolerance' of a language for assuming unaccustomed forms.[11] As Gayatri Spivak has written, good translation is the most intimate act of reading,[12] wherein the reader must work hard to understand the nuances and idioms of a text that are not available straight-forwardly to the Anglo-

phone social-sciences or humanities, or I would add, to the iconographic method. Reading in translation then is a process that methodologically surrenders to the 'special call of the text'; to as much as possible excavate and make visible the difference of a text in terms true to the singularity and rhetoric of those differences.[13]

So I return to *Lunuganga,* particularly to the architect Geoffrey Bawa's words. If we read them in translation as it were, I want to suggest another kind of worlding emerges. Bawa uses this as an example of an 'atmosphere' inherent to an area of the garden. This is more than just a 'view', and the view provides a more-than-visual aesthetic. Notice also how the Buddhist temple is integral to this composition, such that in a particular idiom it is key to the special atmosphere 'inherent' to the place. The temple, on this reading, signifies a somewhat naturalistic and harmonious reality in which the estate is set, so that if the 'hand of man' is established in the middle distance, then the stupa is in fact woven into the environment beyond. As we know, Bawa worked hard at naturalising this view, at producing this kind of naturalistic and harmonious reality, by sinking the estate's access road. As he went on to remark: 'In this view the vision of the lake was too slight to be effective and it became obvious that a part of the ridge needed to be lowered a few feet to make this whole composition establish itself with a total finality which has not changed and now looks as if it had been there since the beginning of time'.[14]

He clearly strives to produce a timeless, palpably sacred aesthetic, and by doing so we should note that this kind of effort is characteristic of a kind of complacent and self-conscious modernism. Importantly in this sense, the sacred for Geoffrey Bawa is no problematic counterpoint to modernity. Buddhism, or rather an ornamentalised Buddhist aesthetics, is made by Bawa to participate in its own conditions of becoming modern.[15] In Bawa's description of this landscape then, there is more than a faint outline of an alternative iteration of modernity: a Buddhist aesthetics that reading the landscape in translation is poised to tease out.

But Geoffrey Bawa was neither religiously nor ethnically Buddhist, nor was he a religious man at all in fact. However, across southern Sri Lanka a scriptural and textual Buddhist philosophy is thick, palpable.[16] Making a similar point in his writings on Tibetan Buddhism and the Western imagination, Peter Bishop has stressed how historically many Tibetans have not thought of themselves as 'Buddhists'. Rather, as people immersed in a society heavily textualised by Buddhist philosophy and scriptures their beliefs merged indefinably into their local territories and everyday practices.[17] Buddhism works in similar *thickly* aesthetic ways in southern and central Sri Lanka. And to stress this point is to remind that through the nineteenth century a range of intersecting colonial governmentalities, including the imperial science of comparative religion, were responsible for producing and normalising the emergence of Buddh*ism* as a 'world religion'; that is to say a demarcatable system of doctrines-scriptures-beliefs mapped onto Sri Lankan society.[18] The broader point here is that in the English language the word 'religious' continues to mark a rational, Enlightenment teleology that separates the regressive mire of the sacred from the civility of the secular.[19] But for many in southern Sri Lanka, in un-comparatively un-'religious' ways Buddhist philosophy and aesthetics textualise society and space as much as Enlightenment rationality does. To paraphrase Raymond Williams, at *Lunganga* an aesthetically Buddhist structure of feeling is residual as an effective element

of the environmental present.[20] It haunts Bawa's words.

It would be tempting to call this residual structure of feeling a 'Buddhist na-ture', but that again presents a weak translation tethered to the Eurocentrism this time of 'nature' as concept-metaphor. It is to seize upon another of the Enlighten-ment's founding binaries — that of nature/culture — to bring a non-dualistic Buddhist aesthetics into representation. To treat these aesthetics as 'Buddhist nature' evokes the omni-present prison house of global comparativism to which Eurocentric knowl-edge confines us. Any other 'nature', thought this way, cannot be anything but an-other Enlightenment Cartesian rendering of the rich fabric of a world that for many positioned outside the West refuses to metaphysically coagulate into discrete natural and cultural spheres.[21] Reading *Lunuganga's* landscape politics must take a different turn I want to suggest; a more creative and intimate translational turn in order to evoke the agency of the non-dualistic Buddhist textural properties that are written into this space, and more importantly to bring their racialised politics into view. In the last section of this chapter this is what I set out to do by recalling an encounter in Bawa's garden that clearly articulates this uneasy triangulation of the sacred, the aes-thetic and the political in and through space.

A few years ago I shadowed two architectural interns as they did renovations at *Lunuganga*. We stayed on the estate, in a pavilion house on Cinnamon Hill which is located somewhere between the main house and that 'atmosphere' Bawa described. Like much of Bawa's architecture, his Cinnamon Hill house opens out to the sur-rounding field and nearby jungle such that it is very difficult to distinguish between the house's outside and inside space. Historically and stylistically, Bawa was one of the first of Sri Lanka's architectural modernists to begin to routinely practice this kind of architectural 'opening out'. Indeed, it came to be narrativised by modernists like Geoffrey Bawa, and before him Minnette de Silva, as an explicitly 'post-colonial' architectural technique that drew upon Sri Lanka's 'indigenous' architectural tradi-tions, notably as some architects would stress from vernacular Sinhalese as well as monastic Sinhala architecture.[22] One evening we sat in this opened out living area and chatted about the estate. I asked my companion, who I will call Romesh, how he felt being in a place like this. He paused before turning to ask his friend a question in Sinhala. 'Infinity' he replied. He thought a little longer before saying, 'I feel like my mind keeps making these connections, one after another, to infinity. It's difficult to explain, words can't explain it. Actually in Buddhism there's a good explanation for this.' He then proceeded to tell me a story about the Lord Buddha, the monk Ananda and their conversations about the search for the sphere of the infinity of conscious-ness. Finally, he said he thought only in this type of place could this happen.

So what of Romesh's infinity? Well, the lines of connection between that space-time and Romesh's experience are clear; he tells us that a Buddhist textuality of sorts plays a central role in the way he is constituted there and then. Grasping these aes-thetics on Romesh's own terms necessitates that we more fully grasp the altogether different worldings that I have been teasing out of Bawa's description, and inscrip-tion, of this space. It is true that his formulation bares some similarities to another trope, European romanticism, and another figure is William Wordsworth, who in his

124

Preludes declares the scene before him as he stands at Mount Snowdon as the emblem of a mind that feeds upon infinity. But my point in this chapter is that to make such straightforward comparisons is again to place Europe as the silent referent, the comparator, in our readings because Romesh speaks his infinity very differently. His is an undoing, an exteriorisation of subjectivity, not a romantic mind that devours an infinity-as-object in ways that keep the romantic, and liberal, self in tact.

As Romesh himself says, Buddhism provides a good explanation for his becoming infinite. To understand his spatially contingent becoming infinite then means mobilising a Buddhist mode of dwelling. This is to stress the metaphysical presence of a Buddhist textualisation of reality that begins with a notion of dharma, something like energies or forces comprising the universe. The bifurcation of dharma into selves and worlds is the result of attachment to this world, therefore the ontological presence of dharma like this conceives of modernist knowledge of the nature-object, even the landscape object itself (as either view or materiality), as but a projection, an illusion. A universal Buddhist reality is unknowable through subjective knowledge of object-fields. Instead it is only graspable intuitively as the self unravels into the infinity of dharma.[23] And importantly, according to Romesh's testimony, only in a place like *Lunuganga* can this happen. Reading Bawa's textualisation of *Lunuganga* in translation, against the grain of terms like 'landscape', like 'nature', like 'religion', helps us to see why and how Buddhism provides a good explanation for Romesh's spatially contingent infinity; there and then so to speak. It is to join the dots between that space and his experience, to take seriously the agency of those aesthetics that are written into this landscape composition in texts and idioms that are perhaps at first invisible to a Eurocentric iconographical gaze that would insist on decoding the 'landscape' through categorizations such as 'sacred/secular', or 'nature/culture'. The point is that these categorisations provide only inadequate translations to convey the aesthetic conjunction of space and Romesh's experience there and then. That is why he struggles to find the English words to explain his experience to me. As Spivak has stressed in precisely this sense, language and idiom are key to making sense of things and selves as they are distributed through worlds conceived as simultaneously imaginative and real: 'In my view, language may be one of many elements that allow us to make sense of things, of ourselves. I am thinking, of course, of gestures, pauses, but also of chance, of the sub-individual force-fields of being which click into place in different situations, swerve from the straight or true line of language-in-thought. Making sense of ourselves is what produces identity'.[24]

The challenge then of iconographically reading the politics of Geoffrey Bawa's landscape is no simple task. It involves contextual effort to decipher the non-secular scripts used in its inscription as meaningful and agential space. But the important question of politics still remains. Specifically, what are the politics that this kind of reading landscape in translation actually makes visible? As I stress in concluding

Fig. 11.3. *Paradise* (2003), a temporary installation by Thamotharampillai Shanaathanan at Lunuganga (photography reproduced with permission from Anoli Perera and the Theertha Artist's Collective, Colombo).

this chapter, in the Sri Lankan context the political stakes of the reading methods I have attempted to work through are significant, stretching as they do beyond debates within landscape geography.

Fig. 11.3 is a photograph of a temporary installation called *Paradise* by the Sri Lankan Tamil artist, Thamotharampillai Shanaathanan, produced during an artists' retreat at *Lunuganga* as part of a workshop in 2003. The installation, comprises a large, comfortable, oversized bed placed right in the middle of Geoffrey Bawa's favourite view. I shall come back to Shanaathanan's *Paradise*.

Readers will be aware of Sri Lanka's twenty-six year civil war that formally ended in 2009, where a militant Tamil nationalist organisation, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the LTTE), had protested the Tamil people's social, cultural and political marginalisation at the hands of a government and state that conceives of itself as ethnically Sinhalese and religiously Buddhist. If the LTTE were crushed by the Government of Sri Lanka Army early in 2009 to usher in a new dawn of 'peace', many of Sri Lanka's ethnic minority populations continue to be marginalised by increasingly banal modes of Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony that persistently pervade the fabric of everyday life.[25] It is true that in the context of conflict, militarised manifestations of Sinhala-Buddhist and Tamil nationalism are common and easily identifiable, but this creeping and non-secular ethnicisation of everyday life is less readily ac-

knowledged as either process or problem. In this context, reading Geoffrey Bawa's landscapes *in translation* is poised to make visible a strain of spatially instantiated Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism that passes for the ordinary, for the unpolitical. It is precisely the connection between ethnicity and religion, specifically Buddhism and a majoritarian Sinhala ethnicity, that makes Romesh's infinity irreducibly political. For if his body is produced *as* Buddhist this is at once an ethnicised self-fashioning. So it is the connections between this built-space and an ethnicised (non)self-fashioning that this active mode of reading landscape *in translation* is poised to bring into the public sphere. This is not to single Geoffrey Bawa, the architect, out as a Sinhala Buddhist nationalist. He was not. Rather it is to stress the pervasive ways that nationalist thought and inscription works in and through Sri Lankan space and society. It is to stress, in landscape terms, the aesthetic constitution of the political.

Given the aesthetics I have read from this landscape, an aesthetics that I am arguing is only really allowed to come into view when the landscape is read *in translation*, Romesh's infinity is entirely normal. That is the point of this chapter. And in this sense, I want to suggest that Bawa's landscape composition participates in a kind of 'cosmopolitan Sinhala Buddhist nationalism',[26] where spatially and aesthetically the Sinhala-Buddhist host is placed as sovereign, and Tamil, Muslim or any other 'other' can only arrive as guest, named as 'other', to-be-tolerated. Indeed it is this same grammar of thought that Bawa articulates when he stresses that, '… the long view to the south ended with the temple', because he does not need to specify it is a Buddhist rather than a Hindu temple. In this cosmopolitan Sinhala Buddhist idiom 'temple' cannot be anything else but Buddhist. That is the ordinariness written into this landscape.

Finally, back to *Paradise*. The thing about this seductive installation is that it is made from rocks. It is rock hard, extremely uncomfortable in other words. For the purposes of this chapter, placed in the middle of the landscape it references it speaks perfectly to that visual, and aesthetic, seduction that in fact hides a much more uneasy discomfort in terms of the ethnicised politics embedded in the landscape's composition. Much of Shanaathanan's work addresses the politics of ethnicity in Sri Lanka, he is a Tamil artist who early in his career was himself ethnically excluded from Sri Lanka's art spaces. It is likely that *Paradise* was intended to address the more obvious politics of class for which Bawa's rather bourgeois portfolio is more often critically engaged. Even so, for me *Paradise* seems to crystallise the problematic challenge of getting to know a thing, of reading it responsibly. If landscape is a thing, then taking Cosgrove and Daniels' iconographic method elsewhere by attempting to read landscape in translation is another way of trying to know the politics of that thing.

Notes

[1] Geoffrey Bawa quoted in G. Bawa, C. Bon, and D. Sansoni, *Lunuganga* (Singapore, Times Editions, 1990), p. 13.

[2] S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, 'Introduction: iconography and landscape', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds., *The iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 1.

[3] See D. Robson, *Geoffrey Bawa: the complete works* (London, Thames Hudson, 2002); and D. Robson, *Beyond Bawa: modern masterworks of Monsoon Asia* (London, Thames Hudson, 2007).

[4] See G. Rose, *Feminism and geography: the limits of geographical knowledge* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[5] Daniels and Cosgrove, 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape', p. 3.

[6] For similar representational and textual approaches to landscape, also see D. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1984); J. Duncan, *The city as text: the politics of landscape interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990); S. Daniels, *Fields of vision: landscape imagery and national identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994).

[7] For example, see R. Guha, ed., *Subaltern studies I: writings on South Asian history and society* (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1982); R. Guha, *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1999 [1983]); V. Chaturvedi ed., *Mapping subaltern studies and the postcolonial* (London and New York, Verso, 2000).

[8] D. Chakrabarty, *Habitations of modernity: essays in the wake of subaltern studies* (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 33; also see D. Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2000).

[9] See A. Johnson, 'Everydayness and subalternity', *South Atlantic Quarterly* **106**, (2007), pp. 21-38.

[10] Chakrabarty, *Habitations of modernity*, p. 36.

[11] S. Buck-Morss, *Thinking past terror: Islamism and critical theory on the left* (London and New York, Verso, 2003), p. 7.

[12] G. C. Spivak, *Outside in the teaching machine* (London and New York, Routledge, 1993), p. 183.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Bawa quoted in Bawa, Bon and Sansoni, *Lunuganga*, p. 13.

[15] See P. Jeganathan, 'Disco-*very*: anthropology, nationalist thought, Thamotharampillai Shanaathanan, and an Uncertain Descent into the Ordinary', in N. Whitehead ed., *Violence* (Santa Fe and Oxford, School of American Research Press, 2004), p. 195.

[16] See T. Jazeel, ''Nature', nationhood and the poetics of meaning in Ruhuna (Yala) National Park, Sri Lanka', *Cultural Geographies* **12**, (2005), pp. 199-228.

[17] P. Bishop, *Dreams of power: Tibetan Buddhism and the western imagination* (London, The Athlone Press, 1993).

[18] D. Scott, *Refashioning futures: criticism after postcoloniality* (Princeton, Princeton Uni-

versity Press, 1999), pp. 53-69.

[19] Chakrabarty, *Habitation of modernity*, p. xx.

[20] R. Williams, *Marxism and literature* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 121-135.

[21] Also see B. Braun, *The intemperate rainforest: nature, culture and power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 1-29.

[22] D. Robson, *Geoffrey Bawa: the complete works*, pp. 49-108; A. Pieris, *Imagining modernity: the architecture of Valentine Gunasekara* (Colombo, Stamford Lake Pvt.) Ltd. and The Social Scientist's Association, 2007), pp. 1-16.

[23] See K. Klostermaier, 'The nature of Buddhism', *Asian Philosophy* **1**, (1991), pp. 29-38.

[24] Spivak, *Outside in the teaching machine*, p. 179.

[25] See T. Jazeel and K. Ruwanpura, 'Dissent: Sri Lanka's new minority?', *Political Geography* **28**, (2009), pp. 385-387; and C. Brun and T. Jazeel, eds., *Spatialising politics: culture and geography in postcolonial Sri Lanka* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Sage, 2009).

[26] See Jeganathan, 'Disco-*very*', p. 195; Q. Ismail, 'Anil's ghost: a flippant gesture', *Pravada* **6**, (2000), pp. 24-28.

Art, Architecture, Artifice and the Imagined Landscape
Reflections on Los Angeles and Denis Cosgrove
Glen M. MacDonald

Fig. 12.1. Unknown Architect, Medical Offices, 696 Hampshire Road, Thousand Oaks, California, 1972 (photograph by the author).

'Every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol'.[1]

A seminal force in the development of the field of landscape iconography, Denis Cosgrove initiated his scholarly reputation with a consideration of that most beautiful and celebrated of architectural landscapes, Palladian Italy.[2] The lessons learned and inspiration gleaned there remained at the heart of his work. He had a rich career of scholarship that spanned landscape history, architecture and art and wove them together so as to make clear how landscapes were both physical and symbolic creations. Yet, at the peak of his career in the late 1990's Cosgrove chose to move both

himself and his research program to Los Angeles—the seemingly distant antithesis of the tasteful and well-planned Palladian landscapes of old Europe. Los Angeles, the dysfunctional 'City of Quartz' on 'the bad edge of postmodernity'.[3] A placeless place that Dorothy Parker once described as '72 suburbs in search of a city.' To add to it all Los Angeles is also known as a place with a 'History of Forgetting', given to erasing its own past.[4] Landscape and architectural memories are deleted through a seemingly endless cycle of landscape bulldozing and landmark demolition followed by replacement with a representation of the current and often ersatz stylistic craze; Queen Anne, Craftsman, Mission Revival, Streamline Modern, Googie, Ranch Style, Mediterranean ...[5] Seemingly slim pickings for a Renaissance landscape historian indeed.

Take a look at the common iconographic architecture and urban landscapes of Los Angeles today. Here I do not mean the few select examples of the iconographic architecture of the scholar, artist or architect. I am not talking about the wondrous Mayan inspired residences designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in Hollywood and Los Feliz (1920's), or the modernist wonders of Richard Neutra and Rudolf Schindler in the Silver Lake district and elsewhere (from 1920's into the 1960's), nor the exuberant celebration of music that is made real in the Disney Concert Hall of Frank Geary (2003). I am talking about the Los Angeles that everyone sees and occupies daily. I mean here the common Los Angeles well known to residents and endlessly broadcast by the media to people throughout the world. This is the Los Angeles of street after suburban-street of faux Spanish and Mediterranean mansions or cookie-cutter ranch style bungalows, mission style fast food outlets and strip malls, grid after grid of squat cinder-block office and warehouse complexes. 'Tip the world over on its side and everything loose will land in Los Angeles', so said Frank Lloyd Wright. A jumble as seemingly ephemeral and artificial as the films and television sets of the entertainment industry for which the region is known. What was Cosgrove thinking?

Art, architecture and artifice

With this all in mind, cast your eye to a mundane medical office center (1972) in the bland and placeless suburb of Thousand Oaks (fig. 12.1). So anonymous is the building that you would travel past it and not even acknowledge it was there—as I have done for years on my way to and from work from my own mission style bungalow (circa 1975). How far removed from the magic of Palladio can you get? How vacant of artistry? How seemingly devoid of history? The trick though, as Denis Cosgrove showed through his teaching and writing, is to dig a bit deeper. Beneath the bland and ersatz veneer of the everyday Southern California streetscape lies a history rich in art and architectural artistry. Indeed, the faceless twentieth-century medical building in an unexceptional Los Angeles suburb represents a progressive development of style and construction that spans Pre- and Post-Columbian North America and has origins that predate Palladio by hundreds of years. It is also a story of art, architecture and artifice that would have amused Cosgrove.

Between approximately 400 B.C. and 250 A.D. a sophisticated, stratified and urbanised society arose in Southern Mexico and adjacent portions of Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. Monumental masonry architecture formed the cen-

tre of emerging cities. This was the time of the Pre-classic Mayan civilisation.[6] During the subsequent Classic Period between 250 and about 800 A.D. the Maya used thousands of stone blocks generally cut from soft limestone and often covered with plaster and various decorative elements to create huge and elaborate city centres.[7] The Mayan cities expanded and the monumental architecture of temples, palaces and administrative complexes reached considerable proportions. For example, the urban core and residential areas of Tikal in Guatemala had a population of over 300,000, covered some 60 square kilometres and included pyramidal temples that exceed 50 metres in height and an acropolis that covered some 8,000 square metres.[8] The monumental masonry architecture at Tikal and other Classical sites is massive, angular and generally precise in dimensions—giving it a very contemporary air. In the Post-classic Period between approximately 800 and 1000 A.D. the centre of Mayan urban development shifted to the northern Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico.[9] Here a series of cities such as Uxmal in the Puuc Hills arose with large central cores containing huge buildings with elaborate carved or plaster motifs repeated over and over on the masonry blocks. The so called Casa del Gobernador at Uxmal is a large rectangular structure with twenty-four chambers. It is 8 metres high, 12 metres tall and extends for almost 100 in length. The masonry block facades of the palace contain over 20,000 decorative elements such as the mask of the rain god Chac.[10] The Post-classic pyramid and temple at Chichen Itza to the East of Uxmal rises some 30 metres above the central plaza. The monumental architecture of Uxmal and Chichen Itza reflects both the influence of the classical Mayan world and elements of the massive stone architecture and symbolic elements of the Toltec Empire, centred in the Valley of Mexico.[11] Like Los Angeles, the Post-classic Mayan cities of the Yucatán were amalgams of local and distant symbolism, old and new architectural elements. Also, like Los Angeles there is much evidence that Mayan builders had little compunction to altering structures over time or building over and replacing older structures.[12]

Now, fast-forward some 1,000 years to Los Angeles of the 1920's and here you would find the twentieth century's most celebrated and influential architect hard at work—recreating the architectural and embellishment aesthetic of the ancient Maya in a series of amazing residences . In the late teens and 1920's Frank Lloyd Wright produced wonders such as Hollyhock House (1917-1920), Millard House (1923), Storer House (1923), Ennis House (1924), and Freeman House (1924).[13] He typically used massive angular lines, heavy architectural elements and densely embellished surfaces in natural light concrete to mimic and celebrate the indigenous American architectural genius of the Maya. Looking at the architectural elements of the lovely Storer House (fig. 12.2) and our nameless medical building one can see similarities in strictly rectilinear design, repeated rectangular columns, the heavy and dominant cornicing. It is hard not to see the influence of Wright through his effect upon the corpus of architectural education and upon generations of American architects when one takes the time to actually contemplate this medical building. There is more though.
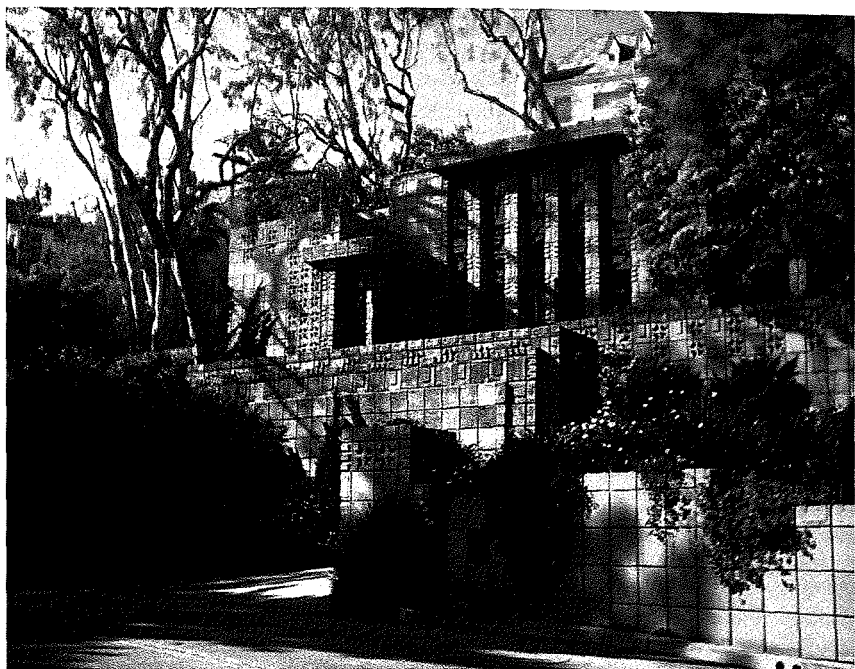
Fig. 12.2. Frank Lloyd Wright, Storer House, 8161 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, California, 1923 (photograph by the author).

The Mayan influenced homes designed by Wright were constructed in somewhat the same manner as the medical building, of pre-cast concrete blocks reinforced with metal bars. Wright typically embellished the blocks with textures or cast designs — mimicking the heavily embellished Mayan structures of the Puuc region. Thus he was able to mimic the massive solidness, angularity, texture and embellishment of the Mayan structures in a versatile and low-cost manner. In both the Storer House and the medical building there are pre-cast textured blocks used to embellish the buildings. Wright was the seminal figure in the development and employment of this type of pre-cast concrete block construction which he called textile concrete block. A millennium of architectural history combined with twentieth-century artifice — resulting in the use of steel reinforced pre-cast concrete block is ubiquitous throughout the thousands of light industrial and commercial developments that are spread across Southern California. A Classical Maya would have certainly seen something familiar in our example (fig. 12.1) — as would any student of Wright.

Wright did not visit the Mayan ruins of Mesoamerica prior to his arrival in Los Angeles in 1917. He was influenced by them through artifice and in the most unlikely setting of Chicago where he spent part of his early career working under Louis Sullivan. Sullivan was one of the architects who worked on the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. One of the notable features of the Exhibition was

large recreations of Mayan architectural features one of which was a corbel arch and façade of stacked sculptural elements from the Casa del Gobernador at Uxmal.[14] Although it is debated when and where the Mayan influences first emerge in Wright's work, these Mayan architectural reconstructions at the Exhibition, along with the Japanese and Turkish pavilions, appear to have had a clear influence on the subsequent work of Wright who visited the Columbian Exhibition and saw these works.[15] There is a clear symbolism in the use of the ancient indigenous style of the Maya to develop the new architecture of twentieth-century America and no denying that Mayan influence when one looks at Storer House for example (fig. 12.2). There is also no denying the irony of America's nascent twentieth century architectural style arising in part from an amalgam of the Mayan architectural copies and other assorted international curios built to amuse customers at a fair.

The recreations of Mayan buildings for a Chicago Exhibition may be classified as artifice of the same sort as the recreation of Bavaria's Neuschwanstein Castle at Disneyland in Southern California today. So where does art come into all this? One of the principal reasons that the Mayan ruins of southern Mexico and adjacent Guatemala were so noteworthy in the late nineteenth-century United States as to warrant recreation at the World's Columbia Exhibition has much to do with a gifted artist and his compelling work. In 1839 the English artist Frederick Catherwood travelled to southern Mexico and adjacent Central America with the American travel writer and diplomat, John Lloyd Stephens, with the express purpose of graphically recording and publishing travelogues of the Mayan ruins, some of which had recently been described by people such as Juan Galindo.[16] From these travels and explorations Stephens and Catherwood published in the 1840's two sets of volumes.

These volumes were immensely popular and went through numerous printings in the United States and Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century. They were fixtures in many drawing rooms and common in libraries. The volumes are *Incidents of Travel in the Central America, Chiapas and the Yucatan*[17] and *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan.*[18] Stevens' writing is certainly engaging, but the impact of the volumes also owe much to the meticulous and evocative illustrations by Catherwood. So, careful and precise was his work that he is often acknowledged as the founder of modern archaeological illustration. In addition to the black and white illustrations in the volumes, Catherwood published a coloured folio of twenty-five of his lithographs in 1844. In a consideration of early explorers of the Mayan ruins and their impact Dávila has stated that 'it is possible to affirm that John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood brought an extraordinary contribution to nineteenth-century Mayan studies. Their work represent a mixture of entertainment—a travel book containing rigorous scientific documentation. This literary narrative is accompanied by detailed illustrations'.[19]

Those evocative and detailed art works of Catherwood were fundamental to the widespread American interest in the Mayan world, the selection of the Mayan displays at the World's Columbian Exhibition and ultimately Wright's inspiration to pursue his pioneering and influential textile block architecture in Los Angeles. For example, one of the most impressive of the Mayan recreations at the Exhibition was a detail of a corbel arch and surrounding sculpture that is recorded both as a large foldout and in sketches of associated architectural details of the Casa del Gobernador

134

recorded by Catherwood in *Incidents of Travel In Yucatan,* vol. 1. The fidelity between the actual arch, which I have seen myself, Catherwood's depiction from 1843 and the 1893 Chicago reconstruction is amazing. All of this would have made Catherwood rather happy, because he was also an architect himself.[20] That background undoubtedly contributed to his appreciation of the structures and his precise but evocative artistic depictions of the Mayan buildings. To extend our story even further back in time and deeper into architecture as symbolism, it has been argued that the corbelled arch, which lacks a keystone and is not structurally efficient, may have been used by the ancient Maya as a representation of the simple Mayan hut.[21] Art, architecture, artifice, art — ad infinitum.

What Cosgrove found

Now, although there is an interesting historical progression laid out above, one may argue that it is a singular example. However, a similar story of art, architecture, artifice can be laid out for the history of the ubiquitous mission style buildings of twentieth-century Los Angeles. That is a story of no less interest, stretching from baroque Spain to its ecclesiastical copyists who built the missions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to romantic and nostalgic artists and playwrights of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries who created an imaginary Spanish California that never really existed in a historical sense. My mission style bungalow is an imitation of an earlier California that is mainly fictional — but represents a history of art, architecture artifice and symbolism that is none the less interesting and informative.

One may also argue that because of their derivative roots, the textile block buildings of Wright, like the ubiquitous mission-style subdivisions and strip malls, the faux Tudor low rise apartments, and ersatz belle époque mansions of Los Angeles are simply inauthentic mimicry and unworthy of serious consideration. Perhaps reflecting the powerful influence of the entertainment industry in creating a sense of anything goes fantasy and a set-design approach to design much of the built landscape of southern California is no more than an imaginary place dominated by imitation. Not much of interest there — certainly no match for Palladio. Yet, as Cosgrove pointed out in his own analysis of the Palladian landscape, the revival of classical architectural elements and inspiration provided by theatre and the masked illusions of the carnival were important components of the Palladian aesthetics. As Cosgrove himself noted — in a quote that also helps explain his interest in Los Angeles: 'The geographical imagination which first attracted me to the landscapes of Venice and Vicenza still lies at the root of the work'.[22] The Palladian, like the Angelino was an imagined landscape. It was also at its core, derived from earlier times — Palladio's inspiration and dimensions coming from classical Greek and Roman architecture. I think the following quote about the Palladian enterprise in Italy would sum up the futility of claiming one human imagined and modified landscape is in some way more authentic than another: 'For all this is of course illusion, a coup de theatre. There is no new world, only an old one endlessly re-presented'.[23] Because the made landscape embodies the history of the makers it will always be in some way derivative of an earlier time or different place. So all landscape is the product of both imagination and memory, as is the interpretation and symbolism we attach to it. Los Angeles, love or hate its present form, is no different.

135

Where ever and how ever people congregate, build and alter their landscape, there is a rich history that is both being expressed and being created. Like Reyner Banham, an Englishman who ventured here before him, Denis Cosgove found that such was the case in Los Angeles and it represented for good or for worse a defining example of the creation of urban form in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[24] A place well worth study by the landscape historian, and accorded sympathetic appreciation and understanding by Cosgrove. I leave it to Denis Cosgrove to sum this all up in a quote from the concluding paragraph of one of his final papers:

> Spread before me on my evening walk therefore, is more than a visual icon of twentieth-century hypermodernity. The Los Angeles metropolis represents one—albeit signal—stage in the complex and historically extended evolution of cultural transformation in which visions of social order and homeliness, and ideals of harmony between land and human life become instantiated in the material forms of landscape. Cultural dismissal of such spaces is conservative and reactionary. The task is to exploit the ambiguities embedded in landscape, as dwelling and picture, to discover ways of understanding and engaging with its varied and always rich meanings.[25]

Amen.

Notes

[1] S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, 'Introduction', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, *The iconography of landscape* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 8.

[2] D. Cosgrove, *The urban landscape of Vicenza*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Geography, University of Oxford, Oxford, 1976.

[3] M. Davis, *City of quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles* (London, Verso Press, 1990), p. 224.

[4] N. Klein, *The history of forgetting: Los Angeles and the erasure of memory* (London, Verso Press, 1997).

[5] S. H. Kaplan and J. Shulman, *L.A. Lost and found: an architectural history of Los Angeles* (Santa Monica, Hennessey and Ingalls, 2000).

[6] S. G. Morley, G.W. Brainerd and R.J. Sharer, *The ancient Maya* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1983); R.E.W. Adams, *Prehistoric Mesoamerica* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); J.S. Henderson, *The world of the ancient Maya* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1997).

[7] Morley et al., *Ancient Maya*; Henderson, *World of ancient Maya*.

[8] Morley et al., *Ancient Maya*; Adams, *Mesoamerica*.

[9] Morley et al., *Ancient Maya*; Adams, *Mesoamerica*; Henderson, *World of ancient Maya*.

[10] Morely et al., *Ancient Maya*.

[11] Morley et al., *Ancient Maya*; Adams, *Mesoamerica*; Henderson, *World of ancient Maya*.

[12] Moreley et al, *Ancient Maya*.

[13] D. Gebhard and R. Winter, *Los Angeles: an architectural guide* (Salt lake City, Gibbs-Smith, 1994).

[14] 'Glimpses of the World's Fair: a selection of gems of the white city seen through the Tribune's camera', *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Laird and Lee, 1893).

[15] D. Tselos, 'Exotic influences in the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright', *Magazine of Art* 47, (1953), pp. 160-169; D. Gebhard, 'A note on the Chicago Fair of 1893 and Frank Lloyd Wright', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18, (1959), pp. 63-65; A. Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright: the lost years, 1910-1922* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[16] R. Dávila, 'Los primeros pasos de la arqueología Maya: exploradores y viajeros en el siglo XIX', in J. P. Laporte, B. Arroyo and H. Mejía eds., *XX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2006* (Guatemala City, Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología, 2007), pp. 179-186.

[17] J. L. Stephens, *Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, 2 vols. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1841).

[18] J. L. Stephens, *Incidents of travel in Yucatan*, 2 vols. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1843).

[19] Dávila, *Los primeros pasos*, p. 184.

[20] V. W. von Hagen and F. Catherwood, *Architect-explorer of two worlds* (Barre, MT, Barre Publishers, 1968); F. Bourbon, *The lost cities of the Mayas: the life, art and discoveries of Frederick Catherwood* (Shrewsbury, Swan Hill, 1999).

[21] M. Lominy, 'Architectural variability in the Maya lowlands of the late classic period: a recent perspective on ancient Maya cultural diversity', in E. C. Robertson et

al. eds., *Space and spatial analysis in archaeology* (Calgary, University of Calgary, 2005), pp. 177-188.

[22] D. Cosgrove, *The Palladian landscape: geographical change and its cultural representations in sixteenth-century Italy* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1993); emphasis added.

[23] Ibid., p. 251.

[24] R. Banham, *Los Angeles: the architecture of four ecologies* (London, Allen Lane, 1971).

[25] D. Cosgrove, 'Modernity, community and the landscape idea', *Journal of Material Culture* **11**, (2006), p. 64.

Coda

Geography's Compass
Stephen Daniels

Fig. 13.1. David Allan, *The Geography Lesson*, 1785 (anonymous private collection, photograph reproduced by Sotheby's permission).

Prompted by the cover illustration of this volume, a photograph of a geography class in Oxford in the 1950s, this essay addresses an eighteenth-century painting which features a geography lesson. The essay's beginnings lie in a paper given at the 2001 meetings of the Association of American Geographers in New York. That paper was written as a prelude to a project on geographical education in Georgian England which took a different direction than I first envisaged, and the paper remains published.[1] This essay recasts that paper in the light of another event at that AAG meeting, the display of a pre-publication copy of Denis Cosgrove's book *Apollo's Eye* which was one of the topics of conversation over dinner with him during the AAG in a restaurant on 7th Avenue. I was familiar with some of the material in what Denis called 'the globe book', reminding him of the saucy picture-postcard he sent me from Venice of Pietro Longhi's eighteenth-century painting *The Geography Lesson*

139

(Museo Querini Stampalia, Venice). This shows a young woman doing a compass exercise at a globe surrounded by servants and male tutors. In the card's message Denis wrote that he had been to see the original painting during a gallery tour with a famous geographer, and that while he himself of course focussed in a serious scholarly way on the young woman's act of measurement, his companion pointed out the spectacle of the tutors who were ogling her. As it turned out both ways of seeing this picture, serious and satirical, were discussed in *Apollo's Eye*. This essay further explores the issues of picturing geographical knowledge through another painting of a geography lesson focussed on the figure of a young woman with a compass at the globe. It considers its implications for figuring the compass of geography as a subject and its scope as a form of knowledge and imagination.[2]

The picture I am discussing is a group portrait, a 'conversation piece', a genre so called because it portrays an informal circle of people, family or friends, in a domestic setting, engaged in some shared activity or form of social exchange. Along with the demeanour and dress of the figures, the interior or exterior settings of conversation pieces make a particular point about the property, wealth, genealogy or cultural accomplishments of those portrayed, as do the objects which surround the people or with which they interact. The pictures show various kinds of polite recreation and instruction, from music, science and literature to hunting, shooting and fishing, the figures posing with various instruments or equipment. A geographical sensibility is often evident in these pictures, through views of the family estate, landscape pictures on the wall, and maps, atlases and globes, which may represent specific properties or commercial interests and can also function, more high mindedly, as spheres of philosophical contemplation. This picture is one of enlightened civil education, aligned to the progressive pedagogy of John Locke in which geography held a central place.[3]

The picture was painted around 1785 by David Allan (1746-1796) a leading Scottish artist of the time, and shows the four children of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville.[4] The scene is a domestic schoolroom, or the corner of a library converted to a schoolroom, in one of the family houses, probably their townhouse in George Square Edinburgh. On the far left is the eldest daughter Elizabeth, aged 17, dressed like her sisters in fashionably neo-classical style, poised in silhouette, performing artwork, drawing a tree with a porte-crayon, copying from a print. At the centre 15-year-old Anne Dundas is poised with her compass on the globe. In approved Lockean principle, she instructs a younger sibling. She puts her other arm around her young sister Montagu, aged 11, who is holding a 'Map of Europe' and pointing to where Anne places the legs of the compass, marking the position of Britain on the globe. Anne looks to her left where 12-year-old Robert Dundas arrives through the door, clutching the exercise book marked with his name. It looks as if he has come home from school clutching his hat and satchel. We know Robert attended Edinburgh High School, while his sisters seem to have been educated at home, and shortly after this picture was painted he was taken on a tour of Europe, seeing places on the ground his sisters could only read about or plot on the map.[5]

The picture recalls those postal addresses of universal citizenship children write on their exercise books—'5 George Square, Edinburgh, Scotland, Britain, Europe, the World'—if this one is a serious social claim expressing the geographical

power of the Dundas family. Henry Dundas was Lord Advocate of Scotland at the time of this picture, the most powerful man in Scotland, and an increasingly influential one in Britain too, appointed Secretary to the Admiralty. Dundas played a key role in the remaking of Britain as a political state, not only cementing the union of Scotland with England and Wales, but re-unifying Scotland itself after the divisions of the Jacobite rebellion, pressing for reconciliation of highland and lowland politics and economics, and positioning Scottish interests at the centre of British imperial dominion, particularly its global commercial ambitions. Dundas was satirised by cartoonist James Gillray as a colossal figure astride the globe with one foot in the City of London and the other on the roof of India House in Bengal, part kilted Highlander part turbaned oriental despot, commanding the sun and moon.[6]

One of the points of conversation pieces was to stage happy family values, whatever the actual circumstances of the people portrayed. As an image of domestic virtue, the Dundas portrait is complicated by the fact that this was a publically broken nuclear family, their father divorcing their mother in 1778 on the grounds of her adultery, a scandalous event, rather more so in the court of polite opinion than Henry Dundas himself squandering his wife's fortune on reckless investments.[7] The picture is still a powerful, home-based, image of dynastic virtue, of the Dundas family's vaulting ambition. Not surprisingly the extended Dundas family, with their power base in Edinburgh and the surrounding country, were keenly interested in geography as a form of knowledge, patronising mapping projects in the region and nation, and wider projects of remaking space, including the neo-classical architecture of Robert and William Adam. We might also see this picture as promoting Edinburgh's self image as a centre of European Enlightenment, including the production of theoretical texts on global history which centre on north Europe as a favoured site of human development.[8]

In the picture a bust of Apollo stands on the table, a plaster cast for the children to copy, and also a wider motif in the picture. It invites us to recall classical images of Apollo and the female Muses, and also perhaps Henry Dundas as a global patriarch. As a male figure it is paired with that of young Robert across the room, the only son and heir to the family dynasty, flinging open the door as he breaks breathlessly into the room along the uncarpeted part of the floor. Apollo's look is echoed and brought to life in that of the central figure, Anne, his tunic and laurel echoed in her shawl and coiffure. Anne Dundas is shown not just doing geography but personifying Geography as a form of knowledge, in the emblematic figure of Geographia posed with her instruments at the globe.

A main source for the female figure of Geography is Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, first published in 1593. The text of 1709 English translation describes Geography as 'an old Dame, in a Earth-colour'd garment; a terrestrial Globe at her foot; the Compasses at her right hand … Old denotes the *Antiquity* of this art; the Compasses, the *measuring* and *describing* of the Earth, which is truly Geography'.[9] The visual image of Geography, drawn by English artist Isaac Fuller and engraved by Dutch émigré Jan Kip, makes Geography look rather younger, and if the classical urban background recalls Rome, it is a renovated form of antiquity. Scottish architectural draughtsman George Richardson's *Iconology* (1779) leaves out Ripa's textual entries for an extended and specialised gallery of female personification, 424 in all, drawn

by English painter and illustrator William Hamilton, in which Geography is portrayed more pastorally as a young woman, reclining by a tree at her globe, in a low cut gown which invites the spectator to focus on her figure, rather than the figure she is describing with her compass.[10] The prurient image of a geographical femininity seems to have enjoyed a long satirical life. A letter of 1804 to the editor of *The Elegancies of Fashion* recommends that given the extreme *décolleté* of women's dresses, ladies take to painting their breasts as celestial and terrestrial globes. In addition to educating gentlemen in geography, the terrestrial globe would appeal especially to military men for 'how delightful an amusement it would be to point out to the enamoured fair one, *upon her own globe,* the different fields of action where they underwent the toils of war'.[11]

The elder Dundas daughters are modestly presented with marriage and motherhood in mind. Elizabeth Dundas, portrayed absorbed in the act of drawing, is a figure of female 'accomplishment', meaning the possession of sufficient education to make young ladies attractive to gentlemen, particularly potential husbands, displaying a conversational skill which would make her a faithful, felicitous wife (unlike her actual mother). The demure figure of the female artist was conventionally contrasted with that of the female musician, particularly the harpist, a much more theatrical figure, whose 'look' is not focussed so much on what she is doing as on the vain desire to be seen, to wantonly display, a flirtatious figure not a faithful one.[12]

Geographical education was enlisted in eighteenth century texts as a rational form of female accomplishment, and a steadying influence on flighty, fantasy prone, young women. *The Young Lady's Geography* is dedicated to Queen Charlotte, a keen promoter of geography, as well as domestic virtue, as a discipline for both sexes. The book sought to rescue young ladies from 'the tyranny of custom and prejudice' and the love of 'appearance and novelty', being sufficiently attractive as a textbook to 'entice from the hands of the fair, obscene and ridiculous novels which only serve to vitiate their morals, inflame their passions and eradicate the seeds of virtue'.[13] *Exercises on the Globes and Maps* maintained that a young woman accomplished in geography could 'cultivate the same mental and social talents as enlightened men' to make her 'instructive, amiable and interesting' as a conversational partner, for a 'man of sense' wanted a wife to be a 'companion ... not merely a creature to can paint and play, and dress and dance'. The book advertised various instruments for such companionate exercises from Bardin's shop in Fleet Street, a 12 inch diameter globe for 3-6 guineas, 18 inches for 7-17 guineas.[14]

The most popular periodical for young women, *The Lady's Magazine,* ran regular features on geography, including topical news of adventurous journeys of exploration, notably the global voyages of Captain Cook. Geography might inspire the female imagination but it would regulate it too, revealing real wonders more marvellous than any fictional ones a novelist might invent. In ambitious women of independent mind and means, accomplishment might extend into citizen-like 'learning' or forms of 'practical education' which helped them manage their own affairs, and geography, as a broad discourse and practice, rather than a discipline, might offer a framework for such endeavour. Indeed much of the moral concern of *The Lady's Magazine,*

expressed in cautionary tales, was to protect women from the seductive advances of rakish suitors intent on seizing their money as well as their bodies and minds, a traditional staple of patriarchal conduct literature to be sure, but in the pages of this periodical assuming a modern, emancipatory meaning too. The magazine claimed that many of its contributions were submitted by women, including women living away from home at boarding schools, if much of its copy seems to be extracts from works by professional male writers. The magazine's illustrations of figures of female virtue, classical muses of various kinds, are appropriately serious. Some were drawn by the most famous female professional artist of the day, Angelica Kauffman, who refashioned Geographia as a more imaginative figure, giving her a winged helmet to personify Invention in her designs for the interior of the Royal Academy of Arts.[15]

By the end of the eighteenth century female accomplishment was increasingly subject to social exploration and criticism by a range of women writers, of different political persuasions. Jane Austen's novels, with marriageable young women as the centre of their plots, explore the scope of female education.[16] *Mansfield Park* is famous for its episode of the money-minded musical woman, the seductress Mary Crawford playing the harp and displaying her charms. She is a counterpoint to the heroine, Fanny Price, who arrives in the house a relatively impoverished girl, ridiculed for her lack of geographical knowledge, unable to assemble a dissected map of Europe, but whose process of learning, in local and global matters, proves to be a more searching, insightful kind, making for a prudent partnership with the man she marries.[17]

Anne Dundas as Geography is a domesticated figure, dignified and self-possessed, imperious even, recalling regal figures like the maternal Queen Charlotte and the virginal Elizabeth I as well as the figure of Britannia herself who adorned so many geographical images and texts of the time. In contrast to her Venetian cousin displayed in Longhi's *The Geography Lesson*, she does not invite the salacious spectatorship of her male tutors, but proudly gives the lesson herself. She personifies a strong northern constitutional monarchy then gaining a global empire, not—as contemporaries in Britain were keen observe by way of moral contrast—an effete Mediterranean republic which lost an empire through sensual luxury. The pictures are in different genres, one a louche satire, the other a serious conversation piece, but their messages are complementary. Geography lessons continued to be a subject of family portraiture, in photography as well as painting, with young females of the family posed at the globe, but usually with father figures taking command, giving instruction about the world.[18]

And finally, dear reader, you may wonder what became of the Dundas children as they stepped out of the picture into the real world. Elizabeth Dundas married her first cousin Robert Dundas, strengthening the Dundas dynasty and moving to Arniston House, an Adam designed Palladian style mansion, 11 miles from Edinburgh. Anne married Henry Drummond the prominent London banker, Montagu the second Lord Abercromby, from a family in one of her father's political circle. Robert Dundas married an heiress and when Henry Dundas retired from politics in 1801 stepped up as heir apparent to assume the political management of Scotland, stepping into, but not filling his father's shoes. As the 2nd Viscount Melville he made a more modest stride on the political stage, but sustained the family's geographical

enthusiasm, taking a particular interest in Arctic exploration — Melville Sound, a waterway in the Kitikmeot Region, Nunavut, Canada, is named after him.[19]

The phrase 'conversation piece' took on a wider meaning from the eighteenth-century, referring not just to a picture showing informal social exchanges between familiar figures, but to objects that were perceived to be interesting enough to spark conversation about them. I have approached this picture in both ways, attending to a pictorial conversation in which geography holds a primary place, and a conversation sparked by the picture, between the work of Denis Cosgrove and myself, part of a much longer and wider conversation, on the compass of geography, its scope as a subject, which includes the contributors to this volume.

Notes

[1] The publications from the project, co-authored with Paul Elliott, include 'The "School of True, Useful and Universal Science"? Freemasonry, natural philosophy and scientific culture in eighteenth-century England', *British Journal for the History of Science* **39**, (2006), pp. 207-230; '"No study so agreeable to the youthful mind": geographical education on the Georgian grammar school', *History of Education* **39**, (2010), pp. 15-33.

[2] D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's eye: a cartographic genealogy of the earth in the Western imagination* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 176-177.

[3] S. Sitwell, *Conversation pieces: a survey of English domestic portraits and the painters* (London, B.T. Batsford, 1936); M. Praz, *Conversation pieces: a survey of the informal group portrait in Europe and America* (London, Methuen, 1971); K. Retford, *The art of domestic life: family portraiture in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006); A. N. Walters, 'Conversation pieces: science and politeness in eighteenth-century England', *History of Science* **35**, (1997), pp. 121-154; G. Quilley, 'The sphere of contemplation: the imagery of global navigation in eighteenth-century England', in C. Smethurst ed., *Romantic Geographies* (Glasgow, University of Glasgow French and German Publications, 1996), pp. 55-64; D. Johnson, 'Picturing pedagogy: education and the child in paintings of Chardin', *Eighteenth Century Studies* **24** (1997), pp. 47-68; S. Daniels, *Joseph Wright* (London, Tate, 1999), pp. 32-37.

[4] I first came across the picture in C. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-century decoration: design and the domestic interior in England* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), p. 325. It is an illustration in C. W. J. Withers, *Geography, science and national identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 127. Some background information on the picture, largely biographical, is in the entries in Sotheby's sale catalogues, *British Paintings 1500-1850,* 16 November 1988, lot 47 and *British paintings 1500-1850,* 25 November 1998, lot 27.

[5] 'Robert Saunders Dundas (1771-1851)', *Dictionary of national biography,* on line edition, accessed 13 March 2006.

[6] M. Fry, *The Dundas despotism* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1992). The Gillray cartoon 'Dun-shaw' forms the frontispiece of this book.

[7] C. Matheson, *The life of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville* (London, Constable & Co Ltd, 1933); 'Henry Dundas (1742-1811)', *Dictionary of national biography,* on line edition accessed 3 March 2006.

[8] Withers, *Geography, science and national identity,* pp. 112-157; see also C. W. J. Withers *Placing the Enlightenment: thinking geographically in the Age of Reason* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2007); R. J. Mayhew, *Enlightenment geography: the political languages of British geography 1650-1850* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. 168-192.

[9] C. Ripa, *Iconologia, or moral emblems* (London, P. Tempest, 1709), p. 35.

[10] G. Richardson, *Iconology, or, a collection of emblematical figures,* 2 vols. (London, G. Scott, 1779). On some cultural geographical implications of the figure of Geographia see M. Ogborn, 'Geographia's pen: writing, geography and the art of commerce, 1660-1760' *Journal of Historical Geography* **30**, (2004), pp. 294-316.

[11] Quoted in A. Bermingham, 'The Picturesque and ready-to-wear femininity', in S. Copley and P. Garside eds, *The politics of the picturesque: literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 103. Ruth Perry identifies eighteenth-century breast fixation in the culture of connoisseurship as the locus of a shift in the subject position of femininity, to a more maternal role in a domestic domain, with enlightened medical texts of the time encouraging wealthy women to breast feed themselves, not hire poorer women for the purpose. R. Perry, 'Colonising the breast: sexuality and maternity in eighteenth-century England', in J. C. Fout ed., *Forbidden history: the state, society and the regulation of sexuality in modern Europe* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 106-137.

[12] A. Bermingham, 'The aesthetics of ignorance: the accomplished woman in the culture of connoisseurship', *The Oxford Art Journal* 16, (1993), pp. 3-20.

[13] *The young lady's geography* (London, R. Baldwin, 1765), Dedication.

[14] W. Butler, *Exercises on the globes and maps* (London, W. Butler, 1798), p. 8.

[15] For an example of Kauffman's allegorical designs, with a globe, lyre and portfolio, see the frontispiece to vol. 24 of *The Lady's Magazine or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (London, G & J Robertson, 1793). Her design of Invention is illustrated in W. Wassyng Boworth ed. *Angelika Kauffman: a continental artist in Georgian Britain* (London, Reaktion, 1992), fig. 56. For a preliminary discussion of *The Lady's Magazine* see S. Daniels, '"Gothic gallantry": Humphry Repton, Lord Byron and the sexual politics of landscape gardening', in M. Conan ed., *Bourgeois and aristocratic cultural encounters in garden art, 1550-1850* (Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 311-336.

[16] B. J. Horwitz, *Jane Austen and the question of women's education* (New York, P. Lang, 1991).

[17] D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, 'Spectacle and text: landscape metaphors in cultural geography', in J. Duncan and D. Ley ed., *Place/culture/representation* (London, Routledge, 1993), pp. 57-78.

[18] J. Schwartz, '*The Geography Lesson*: photographs and the construction of imaginative geographies', *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, (1996), pp. 16-46.

[19] 'Henry Dundas (1742-1811)' ; 'Robert Saunders Dundas (1771-1851)', *Dictionary of national biography* on line edition, accessed 13 March 2006.

The Role of Geography in the Twenty-First Century
Interview with Denis Cosgrove
Helen Sooväli-Sepping

Helen Sooväli-Sepping: What is the task of geography as a discipline in the global-ised world of the twenty-first century? Geography for ordinary people is about the heights of mountains and names of cities. What do geographers study today when all continents have been discovered?

Denis Cosgrove: I would start off exactly where ordinary people are—from heights of mountains and capitals. I think it was Immanuel Kant who said that geographical knowledge was propaedeutic. By that he meant that it was foundational for cos-mopolitanism, or for citizenship. We have to go back to why people would want to know the heights of mountains, lengths of rivers and capital cities. And it is about the factual basis, it is about being familiar with the world beyond—and that reflects the curiosity everybody, every child, every person has. It is a curiosity that for them can harness certain ideals: of education, of citizenship, ideals of dealing with other-ness and difference. For me geography first and foremost is about education and it is caged in the best tradition of humanist tradition of knowing yourself. You can then use that knowledge, to make it more sophisticated, and begin to make theoretical statements about why the world is different in different ways, why cities have or-ganised in certain ways, why economies have organised as they have. And then you can start making use of that knowledge, whether it is a map or a theoretical concept to help to mediate, to make the world a better place through planning, interventions, mappings, shared knowledge, and also through political and social actions to make the world better, whatever ways that might be. But geographical knowledge remains conventional and I do not think geographers obviously want to become sophisti-cated professionals. People tend to come rather looking down on the notion of knowing the world and covering it with maps. But I would not be dismissive of it. The idea of being informed about the world is important. It changes according to technology and obviously it is these days, unlike fifty years ago when I was growing up, any child comes—my own four-year-old son—and gets into that. He can crawl up to that basic geographical knowledge. But it has to be organised. Information makes no sense unless it is organised in some way. And that is of course when geog-raphy becomes a discourse that is open to interpretation and therefore disputes.

HS: What about the physical side of geography?

DC: The physical side of geography is knowing the world, as for human geography, a lived place—but we know processes that shape the world are as much physical as they are human. Understanding the processes that shape and continue to shape the world is important. And of course one of the great traditions in geography is to study the ways those two sets of forces—social forces and natural forces—interact in geographical competencies. Geography deals with the world in which we live day by day. A good example here is global warming. Tens of millions are blown by the

winds of fashion. When I was growing up as teenager, there was a lot of discussion about soil erosion—the world was going to be completely eroded of soil by whatever the forecast was. In the 1960's it was population, when we were all going to run out of resources. Each time we are heading for Armageddon.

HS: Yes, and then there was the Cold War in the '80s... Who do you think is shaping these thoughts or fashions?

DC: I do not think any individual; these fashions are shaped in very complex ways. Clearly if you mentioned Cold War, there were geopolitical interests guiding and there still are. There are always drums over resources. Today one might argue—I am not denying the truth or reality of climate changes or global warming, although I do think that it can always be interpreted in the bleakest possible way—we should not forget that big science and big research in itself is a globalised corporation. We sit in the universities and we make grand critiques of supranational corporations of big global political systems or China or whatever. But ... look at the numbers of people and mountain of resources behind research. I am not being cynical about this. I am not saying that most scientists are anything other than honest and truthful, I think they are—just as I think most people working in business are honest and truthful and doing the best by their lights—but nevertheless, there are enormous forces of inertia in that we cannot control.

HS: The notion of global corporation leads actually to the next question: does geography as a discipline have anything to offer society today? What is our task and what can we give to our society?

DC: I think we have lots of tasks. Fundamentally I would still [say] the basic thing is those teachings of students, of kids, of undergraduates, of fellow citizens. But then there are specialised things, for example mapping skills and techniques and geoinformation systems; things like the work that some of my colleagues do in the UCLA Geography department on studying the impacts of climate change on Siberian peat, bogs and so on; how places are retreating, what implications they make. Forecasting the sea level changes on coastal communities is very practical research. They are doing that in share with geologists and biologists and everyone else. That is the one thing we know of the sciences today, probably less recognised twenty or thirty years ago: how no one of the sciences can really work alone.

HS: We can say that geography has been overlooked during the past decade. It is not as an important discipline as it once was. In Estonia, for example, geography classes have been reduced in high school curricula, whereas Germany and England are closing geography units at universities and the discipline is being merged within other departments. Why is that happening?

DC: I think there are a number of reasons. One is exactly what I just said—this is not simply the case for geography, but for other disciplines too. The recognition that sciences do not work individually means that when Geography departments go merge

148

with departments of Earth Science or Social/Cultural Studies. It is not only they that are merging: it is also the former English or Estonian Literature department, it is also the Anthropology department or the former Geology department. So what we see is a radical reformation of the structure of science, the structure of knowledge, and the structure of university. You can still go into my old home in Oxford and go into the main library and you can see the School of Natural Philosophy, or School of Theology. These are no longer the big Schools. The universities have changed many times. You could argue that geography is a self-standing, standalone discipline; it was the creation of the German universities first in the mid nineteenth century. Geography reached its peak probably in the 1920-1930s, at the time when certain Europeans and Latin-Americans, or most importantly, most of the world was competing on imperial realms, for which geography paid a very important role in terms of educating imperial administration and informing about Empire. Or at time of very high nationalism, when geography played the role – if you like – legitimating, justifying, explaining the nation to itself in all of various ways different maps have information. We shift into a different kind of world, into the world of information. Estonia is very young in this game, but at the same time within a decade from coming independent as a nation, it joins a transnational project at the EU. We would see it as uniquely a geographical issue and I do not think we should see it as a problem either. Geography remains – actually, geographers remain – clearly distinct in many ways. People have come to geography or at least to geographers and read their work in the past ten or fifteen years from other disciplines in ways that have not happened before. Not just in human geography, where the geographical interrogation of the ideas of space and place and landscape have been so productive elsewhere, but also in physical geography: some really important works on climate change and environmental change. We do not find geographers on some of the projects maybe, but the project members have been brought up by geographers. No work is read elsewhere. Obviously from our point of view as professionals in geography, we are always worried about that. But then I suspect that our colleagues in literature or economy are also. It is an unsettling time in the university.

HS: Now that disciplines are merging with each other, is geography challenged in any way in the twenty-first century?

DC: It is always challenged. I have come up to realise that at UCLA, where it is much more conservative than in European universities. European universities are much more radical than American universities. Had the Geography department at UCLA as an institution been in England or Germany, I think geography might as well have been under pressure to make certain connections. If you look at Edinburgh, where they have established departments of Environment, geographers have been actually the leading discipline. It does not necessarily mean that geography is the weak one. It is challenged, or rather, the perception of geography and the idea of geography as a self-standing discipline with its own department clearly bounded from others is challenged – and rightly challenged. There is a particular contribution that comes from geography that you cannot get simply by merging whole lots of other disciplines. Geography in one form or another as a discipline has been around

since ancient Greece. It is almost the first foundation on Natural Philosophy. It pictures the physical and social world around us and our place where we live in the universe. So in that sense geography is foundational.

HS: What is the undergraduate students' motivation for studying geography?

DC: Unlike in Europe and Latin-America, or even Canada, geography does not have presence in the American public schools. Very few students want to study geography. That is the first point. The second point is that American university is very different from certain British universities where students choose to do a single honour degree and choose a discipline. Here, many of the students will not know what their discipline is. Even if they have a major, then it is only going to occupy maybe for 30-40% of their time; they will have a large number of general education and other courses. This is the particular thing of American universities. The third thing to say about students at UCLA — like students everywhere in the world — given that we now have mass higher education for 40-60%, very few are going to the university for the love of learning in itself. They see university as a real ticket here, as a qualification they need for a job. They have an instrumental view of the university. Many students are thinking of going to the university to specialise in a profession. In all those ways — one because geography is not taught in the schools; two because students do not come with a particular idea of the major; and three because they come out of the idea of professional skills — they are not thinking about geography. We are not one of the big disciplines. The way that our students come to us is largely through having to take some of these general education courses and geography is one of them. If we have in our lower division courses and interesting-looking titles, or by word of mouth we say that 'oh, that one is a really good course!', or 'go and take physical geography, because it is really cool stuff: they are talking about global warming and stuff', students come and they take those courses and we convince them that this is interesting. That is how we get our students. We get students that return to us half-way through their courses and then decide that they major in geography. And in another ways it is the best way to get them because they are interested, and not because they see some particular job over here. Of course, they can ask what kind of jobs they can get in geography. We suggest some technical courses: GIS and others that give a good chance of getting jobs. I sometimes respond to the question by treating geography in the way as learning liberal arts: it is not really a profession, it is a journey. Unlike a degree in history or in literature, you will have actually some certain technical skills, because they come with geography (like mathematical skills).

HS: Let us move on to the question of geography and humanities. What is the relationship between geography and the humanities in Anglo-American geography?

DC: I would say it is a complex one. The most obvious and longstanding connection has been through the connection of history. For long time geography and history were seen as two similar disciplines. Both of them are synthetic. One synthesised our knowledge of the world, the physical world, in terms of time, the other one in terms

of space. There is an old Latin phrase 'geography is the second eye of history' — the eye being chronology and historical geography. The study of geographical change, study of places and landscapes and regions as they have been in the past has always been a part of geography, if not a very strong part. I would draw even broader connections. I would go along with Carl Sauer who said that all geography in the end is historical. One cannot understand a place if one cannot understand it in its time and context. But in a broader sense, because European humanism has been under a very severe attack for the last twenty years from constructionism, feminism, and different political positions that have pointed out its weaknesses in terms of universalising a kind of subject that actually comes down to white male. There is no universal man that can be the subject of humanistic studies, but I think the idea of the humanities — once we get rid of that idea of the universal subject — in the old sense of the proper study of ourselves of our species and our constant dialogue with each other. Then out of that dialogue — the fact that we are always social — comes a commonly created world, an architectural world, a world of fields and farms and factories. Where it would be a world of literature and art, it seems to me that we can better come to understand ourselves, which I take it to be principal task of a human life: make sense in ourselves. The landscapes that we see around us can serve in the same way as a piece of literature, in the same way as a film, in the same way as a work of art — as expressive aspects of humanity. In all that variety geography can share with the other humanities those skills of interpretation and critical reflection. For me, the object of study is the visible landscape. I am not suggesting that geography should be restricted to that, but it happens to be the role, the goal, the method.

HS: Can we argue that geography can learn something from humanities and the humanities can learn something from geography?

DC: I think the humanities can learn from geography openness for ideas of meaning and for interpretations. Geography can contribute with the importance of places and space showing that where things happen matters. Even the Iliad or Hamlet are a-spatial things — sure they can be claimed as such — but the places of translation is a spatial process. These pieces were written in a particular place. When you take these pieces to another place and perform them, then the meaning changes. So geographers can contribute by showing the difference that space makes.

HS: You were talking about landscape as a method to enter humanities. To contextualise it, what do you mean by landscape?

DC: For me landscape always remains something that is seen and that is there and in relation to which we are positioned. Let me try to explain it more precisely. Firstly it can be the representation of a place — for example a novel, or a painting. In the end, these always refer back to somewhere in the world. So landscape is somewhere in the world. It has a material existence or at least there is a reference — a possibility of existence. And it is something that you can see, something that has some degree of form, arrangement, structure. So landscape is not just something haphazard, it is something that has a form, an order, a structure — even if that order or structure is

only given by our eye. We own it. That means there is always an aesthetic dimension to it—formal composition of selectivity. And when I say composition, it is something we can walk into and enjoy and be part of. When we think of it as landscape, we tend to separate from it, and see it as something laid down in front us—an object, something we can make sense of, enjoy, and study. At least in theory we can separate ourselves from landscape. It is a particular kind of geographical set a bit different from place, different from region, different from territory. But I do not want to say it is simply a pretty scene because that is to narrow it much too far. That is the kind of popular or everyday meaning—the picturesque. But there are elements of form, composition all of which are conveyed meaning. Certain processes—whether natural or human, like soil erosion, or formal architecture—all of these have lied behind what we actually see.

HS: Do you see any weaknesses in the concept of landscape and when we study landscape?

DC: No concept is fully containing everything, or fully encompasses all of the questions that interest us. Of course there are weaknesses. The reason why other geographical concepts like region or place exist is because they capture aspects of space in the world which landscape does not. Landscape tends to aestheticise things. Likewise, landscape tends to obscure, to hide, to naturalise conflict and tension and certain social processes. It is like when I walk around or drive around LA: all I see is beautifully managed lawns. I think about all the different regions where these plants and trees are from, and only if I get up really early in the morning, or observe very closely every day, I see the Mexican truck driver with the lawn mower and a gang of fairly ill-paid (probably illegal) immigrant labourers come and manicure this. The landscape hides the labour, the processes that give rise to it. There are other concepts that focus much more on that—spatial divisions and labour—which geographers study.

HS: When we compare space, place and landscape, is any of these three concepts more in fashion right now in terms of scientific writing? Landscape was an issue in the 1990s. You do not find too many articles about landscape these days in geographical journals. Why is that?

DC: It is hard to know. This is speculative but there are always fashions. People are exhausted of talking about landscapes in Anglo-American geography. In Estonian or parts of Eastern European it is not so. In fact there have been several debates in the last ten years around the European Landscape Convention. One could say that one reason why landscape became important in 1980s in Britain was a strong revival of nationalism during last days of the Cold War. With the emergence of the new independent states in the post war period, the idea of the various ways that the nation displayed itself—or symbols of nationhood—became important in the objects of study and we know that landscape, particularly iconic landscapes of the nation, are always important dimensions. So you might expect landscapes became of issue in the years of revived nationalism. There is no question that in Britain the break

around landscapes in the 1980s corresponds to the years of Thatcherism which saw a very strong revival of English nationalism. There was a strong stress to the unitary nation of Britain and strong national revivals in Scotland and Wales which was a re-action to English nationalism, which went back to symbols of Englishness and to landscapes. I think there are always political reasons behind scientific inquiry.

HS: My last question would be why do we have to study landscapes today in the globalised world?

DC: Although the world maybe globalised in all sorts of ways, it is not wholly glob-alised, nor is it going to be. As it becomes globalised — and this is one of the great geographical themes — it is also increasingly localised. As globalisation intensifies, the sense of the importance of the local intensifies. In that sense it is a concern among a very wide range of people that they do not lose their traditions, their inheritance, their culture. And one of the aspects is landscape, and that particularly in long-settled parts of the world that have undergone agriculture. In Europe, for example, where the impact of globalised agriculture is huge and basically large areas of Europe have not made it, the natural results would be considerable changes in the appearance of the land. We know that has happened many times in most parts of Europe. Keeping so much identity is now carried on with particular ways that land-scapes look and largely dates from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Particularly as the land is increasingly seen as a consumption resource, we do not want to preserve landscapes necessarily, because we want to preserve some kind of authentic peasantry in the way that was the case in the nineteenth century. We want to preserve it because we enjoy being tourists in it, we enjoy walking and hiking in it. That is why Europeans want to preserve landscape — it is an object of consump-tion. Now, that is not to say that I think there are no other processes going on that localise. It is very interesting how many students in the past couple of years have been interested in studying local food production and the notion of eating locally and organic food. A lot of it is actually tied up with a particular vision of how land should be and how it should look with a particular view of our relationship with animals. It is not necessarily corresponding with what the world once was, but which is very much about the local, about criticism of modern culture. That is going to produce very different landscapes. I think landscape is always a reflection — not simply changing economic forces — of desires, of certain ideologies.

The relationship between geography and the art of making and interpreting images is a longstanding and intrinsic one. *Visual and Historical Geographies* is a collection of essays in honour of Denis Cosgrove, a leading figure in contemporary cultural and historical geography and one of the foremost interpreters of geographical images. The essays explore a variety of 'visual histories' connected to main themes of Cosgrove's writing, focussing on a range of case studies, from paintings, maps and stereographs to memorial forests and urban landscapes. Spanning an arc from classical antiquity to twentieth-century modernity, the essays travel through and beyond some of the iconic landscapes that served as the settings and inspiration for much of Cosgrove's work and life: from the Greco-Roman Mediterranean to Palladio's Veneto, from Imperial Britain to America's forests and contemporary megalopolises. Taken together they survey creative meeting points of historical and cultural geography, and contribute to the atlas of the geographical imagination which Cosgrove's work enlarged and enriched.

"A wide-ranging volume that stands as a fitting tribute to one of the most innovative and influential cultural geographers of our generation."

James S. Duncan, Reader in Cultural Geography, University of Cambridge

"When Denis Cosgrove died in 2008, the discipline of geography lost one of its most powerful and original voices. These outstanding essays, carefully crafted by some of Cosgrove's friends, colleagues and students, reveal the enduring legacy of his distinctive vision of geography as an enriching cultural and intellectual project."

Mike Heffernan, Professor of Historical Geography, University of Nottingham