รายงานวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์

THE CITY FABRIC AND PUBLIC SPACE:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE AND HUMAN INTERACTION WITHIN THE CITY FROM THE 19TH CENTURY

โดย ผศ.ดร.ต้นข้าว ปาณินท์

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ABSTRACT

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PROJECT TITLE: **THE CITY FABRIC AND PUBLIC SPACE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE AND HUMAN INTERACTION WITHIN THE CITY FROM THE 19TH CENTURY**

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This research intends to explore the transformation of the spatial structure of cities, in both their theoretical and practical aspects. It aims to investigate the changes within the dynamic of city fabric and public spaces since the time of Industrial Revolution. Using the time frame from the late 18th century as a ground for investigation, this inquiry focuses on the visible and non-visible manifestations, i.e. upon the practical, functional, material, as well as representational and symbolic aspects of the city fabric. Studying the nature of the city fabric and public space also suggests the relationship between space and meaning, form and image, human occupation and interaction as well as location. Addressing different ways of thinking and ordering the cities, the subject includes not only the physical aspects of the city fabric, but also addresses the conceptual and theoretical grounds that underlie the transformation of cities after Industrial Revolution. This, in many ways, is the ground that gave birth to the discipline of city planning today.

The nature of this subject also involves an investigation into the very concept of city fabric; how do we understand and relate to the spatial structure of the city, what is the relationship between the nature of the city fabric and public life in the city, what are the pretexts and criteria for the creation as well as transformation of the city fabric in different social and cultural contexts, whether symbolic or pragmatic. The subject also aims to establish an understanding of similarities and differences between the changes in European cities and the parallel transformation of the old city of Bangkok, in order to find out the different results that such transformation caused in different social and cultural situations. Only when we understand these issues, can we begin to understand the meaning of our own city fabric as well as the changes that have occurred within them. Thus we can begin to explore the possibilities to "design" an architectural construct embedded the city fabric that belongs to a specific culture.

KEYWORD City Fabric, Spatial Structure, Public Space, City Building, City Planning, Architecture and the City

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งานวิจัยนี้มุ่งศึกษาการเปลี่ยนแปลงในโครงสร้างของพื้นที่ของเมืองในยุคหลังการปฏิวัติอุตสาหกรรม ทั้งในเชิงทฤษฎีและผลลัพธ์ที่เกิดขึ้น โดยมุ่งเน้นการศึกษาความหมายของโครงข่ายพื้นที่หรือ City Fabric และระบบการเกิดพื้นที่สาธารณะหรือ Public Space ในเมือง เป็นการศึกษาเปรียบเทียบการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่เกิดขึ้นในโลกตะวันตกในช่วงศตวรรษที่สิบเก้าและการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่เกิดขึ้นในกรุงเทพบริเวณพื้นที่เกาะรัตนโกสินทร์ในช่วงเวลาใกล้เคียงกัน โดยเป็นการศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ของการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางกายภาพและลักษณะเฉพาะทางสังคมวัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจและการเมืองที่ผลต่อการแปรเปลี่ยนทางโครงสร้างของพื้นที่ในเมือง เพื่อสร้างความเข้าใจในความแตกต่างของวิธีการคิดเชิงทฤษฎีที่มีผลต่อวิธีการออกแบบและการวางผังเมืองที่แตกต่างกัน และเพื่อศึกษาแนวทางในการออกแบบพื้นที่สาธารณะที่สามารถตอบสนองต่อลักษณะเฉพาะทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมของแต่ละชุมชน โดยในขณะเดียวกันสามารถทำงานร่วม เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของความสัมพันธ์กับโครงข่ายพื้นที่ของเมืองโดยรวม

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

PROLOGUE

> "The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect *flâneur*, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world - such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is the *prince* who everywhere rejoices in his incognito."

Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life.*

The flâneur's activity of strolling and looking is a recurring motif in literature, sociology, cultural and urban studies. Originally, the figure of the flâneur was tied to a specific time and place; *Paris, the capital of the nineteenth century*. But the flâneur has wandered beyond the streets and arcades of nineteenth century Paris. The figure appears regularly in the essays of social and cultural commentators in an attempt to understand the nature and implications of the conditions of modernity in the nineteenth century metropolis.[1]

In 1863 Charles Baudelaire published his famous essay *The Painter of Modern Life*. The theme of his essay is the idea of modern life. The nineteenth century metropolis came to fulfill a promise of industrialization that had no parallel in history. Life in the great city, full of stark contrasts, between commercial excess and poverty, decorum and venality, possessed disorienting novelty and devilish glamour. The great city was electrifying, abounding with variation and picturesque irregularities in imagery and harboring secrets both sinister and sublime. The flâneur emerged as a spectator of the modern world.

But moving towards the new century, the great city became less seductive. As the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the flâneur, so the second half beheld the decline. By the time the Academie français gave its official approbation to the term in 1879, the flâneur had begun to lose his distinction. Georg Simmel's essay of 1902, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, presented a quite different picture from Baudelaire's. With increasing "intensification of nervous stimulation" resulting from the "swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli," the individual was forced to face the problem of preserving his humanity. The promise of a new life in a new world, once offered by industrialization with its speed of machine production and circulation, proved to be disruptive to the patterns of human existence. With city expansions and regulations taking place along with the increasing speed of circulation of the late nineteenth century, the flâneur began to disappear.

If the flâneur dies in the twentieth century, the question is what brought him to life in the nineteenth century? One factor is the quality manifested in the physiognomy of the city - its planning and its architecture. The city fabric, in terms of the street patterns and the forms and faces of buildings define the image of the city. In other words, as the relationship between the city dweller and the street was translated into three dimensional built form, the section of the street in both its spatial planning and the building facade became important. With picturesque irregularities that had survived in a relatively unspoiled state from the pre-industrial ages, the streets of the nineteenth century metropolis offered an esthetic pleasure of mystery and surprise that brought the flâneur to life. Such quality is also essential to the survival of the street as a locus of personal exchange and communication. Approaching the twentieth century, as the city fabric became more uniformed, the city ceased to be a place of mystery and excitement, losing its imaginal dimension. The street became a carrier of traffic with all functions of urban settlement subordinated to it. The city dweller was increasingly alienated from his physical environment. Flânerie entered its decline when the pedestrian lost his connection with the city.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1. RESEARCH GENESIS & PROBLEM STATEMENT

What is the meaning of the city fabric?

What is the relationship between the city fabric and the public space within the city and how does the city fabric take part in the shaping of our urban life and activity?

What constitute the radical transformation of many cities in the nineteenth century?

What are the similarities and differences between the transformation of the old city of Bangkok and those of the European models in the nineteenth century?

If the transformation of the old city of Bangkok was modeled after that of Europe, has the outcomes and results been different?

How can we utilize both the conceptual and the functional understanding of the city fabric in order to design spatial constructs that belongs to our socio-cultural specificities?

These interrelated questions are unavoidable in the creation and the transformation of the city fabric. As for its meaning, the city fabric refers not only to the systematic organization of thoroughfares or street network but also all the spatial entities in-between, whether such entities are spaces or architectural forms. In other words, it implies both the spatial and formal structures that constitute the readable characteristics of the city, in terms of its patterns, its organizations and its appearances. Thus the concept of the city fabric is not only a functional but also representational for it is capable of communicating the types of city life it holds.

Every community needs a symbol of its existence. Much of modern city frustration has come into being because a symbol of the visual reason for its life is missing. Because no symbol is found there is no center on which to focus life. Spatial structure and public space that harbors the city life is one of such symbol. In many ways, the creation of the city fabric and public space does not rest in the hand and the determination of urban designers. Space of the city is a vital aspect that is born along with the architecture, human lives and activities within a given place. The problem of designing the city's spatial structure and public space has been a major concern within architectural and urban disciplines since the nineteenth century. With industrial revolution, came the birth of modern city planning, whose aspirations have been marked by the rising functional, technical and economic demands. The definition of the public sphere was transformed; its symbolic and representational quality began to give ways to the new practical forces. The city fabric and public space was no longer born along with the place, but were designed and destined to be used in certain ways. Thus the task of designing spatial entities within the city becomes questionable. Many public spaces themselves became problematic.

What kind of live and activity that the city fabric is capable to harbor? Does the spatial structure of the city respond to its functional and practical demands? Does it also carry the task of representation, conveying the messages inherent in its historical-traditional characteristics?

These questions arose at the conclusion of a two-year research entitled *On architectural Surface: The Dialectic Between Representation and Operation* which was a part of The New Researchers Grant Program, 2004-2006. It was a research that explored the power of architectural façades in both aspects of its interior operation and exterior representation. It focused on the role of architectural façades to shape the identities of both architecture and the city. The result of that research included an alternative strategy that involve seeing the building's external surface or cladding as elements that structure both the building's skin and its spatial-temporal operations, which includes both its interior tasks towards its function and exterior tasks towards the city. After two years of architectural survey and theoretical analysis, the research's result affirms that surfaces of architecture and the spaces that are bounded by them are not two separate things. In other words, architectural façades cannot be

considered as an object independent of human activities, for it has a decisive role in laying down the framework for human occupation, both within the body of architecture and within the city. In many ways, studying architectural façades has revealed the nature of urban life and activities occurred within the spaces around them.

Although fundamental, it is undeniable that architectural façade is only a part of the various elements that constitute architecture and the city. As the research *On Architectural Surface* comes to an end, the findings has given birth to another set of interrelated questions. Different configurations of architectural surfaces in urban areas engender different types of space. In many ways, the nature of any urban space is dependent upon elements that bound them. It is undeniable that architectural façades functions as both the practical and representational boundary for the exterior space of the city, but what else constitute the nature, the use and the transformation of those urban spaces? How has the dynamic within these spaces been changed? Thus, with these underlying questions, this proposed research can be seen as an extension or continuation from a previous research *On Architectural Surface*. As a whole, these two continual researches will constitute a two-way dialogue, which can also be seen as a semantic reading and a practical understanding of the way we relate to our spatial construct in different dimensions.

Genesis 1: Space of the city: How does it come about?

Italo Calvino stated in *The Invisible Cities* that "…cities believe themselves to be the work either of the mind or of chance, but neither the first nor the second suffices to maintain their walls."[2]

The Greek work for city, *polis*, was also used to refer to a dice-and-board game that depends on an interplay of chance and rule.[3] Certainly a city can never be a unified work of art. There exist various factors that push and pull human intentions. The formation of cities and towns are never imposed on us by political or economic direction from above, nor are they determined from below by obscure forces we cannot identify. Rather they came about by the manifold of intentions from all directions. However much the way we live in the city is conditioned by our antecedents, it is always the same physical fabric to which

we respond. But they will not stay that way. Cities change constantly, so does the intricate fabric of paths and places within them.

Changes of cities means that the built environment, buildings, streets, squares, spaces, also change. While the birth or death of buildings is determined by architects, spatial fabric of the city is another matter. Space and spatial structure of the city cannot be deliberately shaped any more than the city's skyline. It is bounded and sheltered by society. Space of the city is meshed within the society that produces it and therefore cannot change or transform until society itself has altered in some ways. Public spaces shared by societies are embedded within the fabric of the city. They are neither individual nor independent spaces that can easily be shaped or formed by anyone's will. Yet throughout the history, attempts have been made to shape and reshape the space and spatial structure of the city. There attempts are productive and applicable in so far as they take into account the particular ways in which each society is related to the built environment, which are both practical and representational.

Only when architects and urban planners understand the way each society both perceive and conceive their spatial environment, can they begin to supply spaces and forms that operate within the social and cultural framework of that society.

Genesis 2: The Double Tasks of the Public Space: The conflict between practicality and representation

As much as our impression of the city is often shaped by its architecture, the city is also a network of exterior rooms enclosed and bounded by buildings and other spatial constructs. While some areas are intentionally destined to become glorified public spaces, a kind of beautiful display bounded by carefully designed elements, there also exist other kinds of spaces that are born along with the needs and lives surrounding them. While the first kind of spaces is often spectacular and well kept, the second is often dismal and haphazard.

Within the network of these dichotomous public spaces, one discovers the spatial patterns without which the city fabric would be crippled.

While the beautiful and carefully designed public spaces sustain the interests of the visitors and spectators, the hidden spaces of the areas in-between serve the interest of those who dwell within the city. It is undeniable that while fulfilling different tasks, they are an integral part of the city. Their continuity, differences, moments of transformation and disruption, all represent the way the city is being used and occupied. Without the differences between the representational and the practical public spaces, the city itself becomes inarticulate.

Yet, recent researches on the city have shown that while serving their particular demands, both types of city spaces can be equally problematic.[4] If these spaces are either practical or representational, their tasks become so one-sided that they can no longer maintain their roles within the fabric of the multifaceted modern city. The question, thus, concerns the alternatives to this division between practicality and representation. Can we design city spaces that respond to both the practical forces and the representational obligation towards the city?

In contemporary architectural practice, practicality and representation often stand in conflict to each other. Speaking of representation is to recognize the problems of architectural appearance. The question of images and appearance is not a new phenomena specific to contemporary architecture. The question of appearance had troubled architects since the nineteenth century. Yet the parameter of such discussion today is different. Representation cannot be limited to the communicability of the image. Thus, built environment's correlation between its modes of operation and its appearance has to be reconsidered.

In tracing the handling of the city fabric and public space, this research examines the radical transformation of the city fabric and public space in European cities after the Industrial Revolution and its parallel changes in Bangkok's Rattanakosin Ancient City. This research intends to explore ways in which the design and creation of the city fabric can take advantage of both

architectural representation and practical operation. The study will begin with the historical and theoretical understanding of the nineteenth century changes. The properties of the city fabric, in whatever material, formal and spatial configurations, construct the spatial effects by which architecture and built environment communicates. Through their material, formal and spatial configuration, the city fabric declares both its autonomy and its relationship with public life of the city.

Looking at the city fabric and their transformation, perhaps it is worth asking: what are the roles of the city fabric and public space in shaping and reshaping the public life within a city? The city fabric inevitably performs double tasks, responding to both its practical demands and representational obligation towards the public realm. These tasks are translated into the formal and spatial configuration of the city. Understanding the origins, the forces and the needs behind those spaces, the city fabric ceased to be only the void forms or systematic networks, but become a part of the manifold of our lived world.

1.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

1.2.1 This research intends to explore the transformation of the spatial structure of cities, in both their theoretical and practical aspects. It aims to investigate the changes within the dynamic of city fabric and public space since the time of Industrial Revolution. Using the time frame from the late 18th century as a ground for investigation, this inquiry focuses on the visible and non-visible manifestations, i.e. upon the practical, functional, material, as well as representational and symbolic aspects of the city fabric. Studying the nature of the city fabric and public life also suggests the relationship between space and meaning, form and image, human occupation and interaction as well as location. Addressing different ways of thinking and ordering the cities, the subject includes not only the physical aspects of the city fabric, but also addresses the conceptual and theoretical grounds that underlie the transformation of cities after Industrial Revolution.

1.2.2 The nature of this subject also involves an investigation into the very concept of city fabric; how do we understand and relate to the spatial structure of the city, what is the relationship between the nature of the city fabric and public life in the city, what are the pretexts and criteria for the creation as well as transformation of the city fabric in different social and cultural contexts, whether symbolic or pragmatic. Understanding these issues, we can begin to explore the possibilities to "design" an architectural construct embedded the city fabric that belong to a specific culture.

1.2.3 The subject also aims to establish an understanding of similarities and differences between the changes in European cities and the parallel transformation of the old city of Bangkok. Only when we understand these issues, can we begin to understand the meaning of our own city fabric as well as the changes that have occurred within them.

Endowed with historical, social and cultural significance, both the architecture and the spatial fabric of Rattanakosin Ancient City have inevitably been caught in the conflict of practical operation and symbolic representation, as well as the dichotomy between modernity and tradition, global forces and regional characteristic. Rattanakosin Ancient City has also been endowed with multiple architectural typologies, representing an ideal mixture of land-uses, functions, spaces, forms and appearances that have been transformed through time. It is supplied with sense of great diversities that could serve as typological examples of many "kinds" or "types" of public spaces and structures. Thus, this research, while focusing on the nature, the use and the transformation of the city fabric in major cities after Industrial Revolution, it will use the Rattanakosin Ancient City as a site for a theoretical discussion on the meaning, the implication and the various ways in which the city fabric of Rattanakosin Ancient City have been shaped and transformed through various criteria.

1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Built environment can be used to clarify the questions of this research, especially those from the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century to the present. The concern with the difficulties and opportunities in the transformation of nineteenth century city fabric begins with the theoretical and practical consideration of spatial structure of the city. One way of developing this question would be to pursue the reciprocity between the intentions behind the transformation of the city fabric and the imperatives of actual usage.

This research is a theoretical research through various case studies. Thus there exist two primary methods that will run in parallel and in accordance to each other. The first method deals with theoretical and philosophical inquiries related to notion of the city fabric, while the second method tackles the physical aspects of various case studies including those of European cities and the Rattanakosin Ancient City in order to establish an understanding of similarities and differences between the western notion of city fabric and that of the Thai culture.

1.3.1 Theoretical Research

The first and foremost method for this proposed research is a study of the architectural theory and philosophy concerning the subject of city fabric. In order to understand the concept, the primary sources are architectural theories from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when the notion of city fabric and city structure became primary architectural concern, which was also the period that witnessed the birth of modern urban city planning. The subject also entails an understanding of similarities and differences between the Thai concept of city fabric and that of the western traditions.

Recent theoretical writings related to the topic are studied. The theoretical sources used in this research consist of literary works written in German, English and Thai, including unpublished manuscripts of Camillo Sitte found at the Technishe Universität Wien which is a part of the formation of city planning as a discipline. (see bibliography in the literature review section) In many ways, the large number of unpublished and relatively unknown manuscripts of

Camillo Sitte has helped shaped and reshaped the topic of this research. It helps established a new understanding of the transformation of the city fabric in the nineteenth century that had influence the changes in many cities throughout the world. This part of research aims to build a philosophical and theoretical basis about the conception of the city fabric. An understanding of those theories and philosophies is used as a universal framework for further analysis of the transformation of city fabric, both in the western traditions and that of the Thai culture.

1.3.2 Initial Historical Research

The pretext for this research is be an initial and mandatory study of social, cultural, political as well as architectural history of the Rattanakosin Ancient City from necessary literatures and research documents. Parts of this topic have already been studied in the previous research *On Architectural Surface*. Thus the initial stage of this proposed research will focus on the creation of public spatial network and spatial configuration of various scales and types within the Rattanakosin Ancient City.

In addition to the initial historical study, the research is also conducted on the basis of architectural survey.

1.3.3 Architectural Survey Research

Following the initial historical study, the research employs the fundamental method of architectural survey, to investigate the city fabric and spatial network within Rattanakosin Ancient City. This part of research uses graphic documentation, i.e. the analytical diagrammatic and the mapping methods, as well as drawings, as primary tools. Diagrammatic and mapping methods are used to determine relationships between different elements within different spatial and formal configuration. Thus, spatial and formal syntax of each entity of public space can be derived. In addition, it also uses photographic documentation as an implementation.

1.3.4 Integration and Synthesis

As the two parallel methods serve as the basic framework for this research, the final outcome is a synthesis of the theoretical study and the case studies. The ultimate goal is to construct both the theoretical and philosophical understanding about the types, the natures, and the transformations of city fabric after Industrial Revolution. On the one hand, the theories concerning the subject of city fabric will act as a fundamental reference for our understanding of the transformation of spatial structures of cities from the time of Industrial Revolution. On the other hand, the nature of spatial structure within the Rattanakosin Ancient City will be used to elucidate our understanding of city fabric within the Thai tranditions.

The theoretical outcome of this research will generate a better understanding of conceptual and perceptual, pragmatic as well as symbolic natures of our city fabric. It is the kind of understanding that may bridge the four-way gap between the practices of urban designers, urban planners, architects as well as the lives of urban inhabitants.

1.4. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.4.1 On the concept of city fabric and spatial structure of the city

The issue of public space in the city became a major concern during the nineteenth century. It was the time that witnessed the birth of urban modernism. The issue was brought out as both theoretical and practical discussions in the west, not long before the theme reached the eastern hemisphere. Throughout the twentieth century, the debates on the nature of the city fabric and street network as well as the configuration of public space have been brought up in both the developed and developing countries.

With the birth of urban modernism, came the debate between many theorists and urban thinkers. Camillo Sitte, Otto Wagner, Reinhard Baumeister, Joseph Stübben, Charles Buls, Hermann Maertens are among such theorists and planners whose views became influential at the beginning of the twentieth century. Their views, although represent the western movement in modern city planning, have become wide-spread in the east especially in Japan, Korea and

China, resulting in treatises that took up the issues and applied to the particular eastern preoccupations.

Two extremes of reality were manifested in Nineteenth-century city planning. While one camp believed the city could be the work of mind, another camp wanted the city to be the work of chance. In some cases, space is objectified. In some other cases, it is left as an accidental void. But history have shown that neither side of the spectrum will suffice.

One of the most influential debates was between Otto Wagner and Camillo Sitte. It was a debate that became the foundation for urban modernism, which was picked up by many eastern countries not long after. During the late Nineteenth century, most authorities on the city, such as Wagner, laid claim to a scientific discourse. But their unsubstantiated incantations were limited to the affirmation of the scientific nature of the city in general and their own proposals in particular.[5] The result is that they produced only the linguistic indicators of scientific language. Many regulated plans for the development of cities remained a testament to this method. The space of the city is seen as an infinite extension to be subdivided, thus the art of building cities became the art of subdividing city blocks. Space meant what was left in-between after self-contained and highly articulated spatial bodies were inserted. The buildings and the space remained two separate entities independent from one another. Wagner created a large break between the city of his time and any other before it. His was the city that could be designed, regulated and created anew, using scientific language.

But there existed another way of thinking. Siite's view was different: the city was not just a commodity. Although he was well aware of the practical problems, the most urgent matter was to integrate life and pleasure into the city, which was to be manifested in the public space. In *The Art of Building Cities according to Artistic Principles*, Sitte set out to discover the laws for the construction of ideal public space. For him, this was a matter of defining the specific structures that confer on a three-dimensional built landscape its visual and kinesthetic qualities. It is in the creation of the city's space that these principles were based. Sitte believed that "subconscious artistic instincts"[6]

have structured the city's space from the beginning of history. They are determined both by the changing norms of historical cultures and by the stable psychic organization of man.[7] Sitte believed that the natural city was ideal. For him, ancient cities were natural cities that conformed to the exigencies of human nature. Thus, the Roman Forum was seen as the original structure on which he based the model as well as the aesthetic rules of building. The choice is dictated by the quest for purity. The forum was privileged because it was seen as the most remote and would, therefore, evince the least change and corruption in relation to the original model provided by nature and human artistic impulse. It can be seen as both the practical artifact and a symbolic cultural form.

From the nineteenth century debate, we learn that streets and public space are an integral part of the city fabric. They can be seen as forms and lines of communication that marked the spatial pattern of the city. Both the street lines and the forms of public space were not just governed by artistic will, but also conditioned by impersonal forces. Despite the notion that the city is like some large house, and the house is like some small city, the city can hardly be a unified work of art. While architecture is consciously created as a self-contained spatial body, the city can hardly be similarly objectified. The space of the city is neither artistically composed, nor shaped solely by impersonal factors. Any attempt to compose the city's space is conditioned and pushed by many other factors. Rather than being a void, a left over area in-between or a mere receptacle into which buildings are to be inserted, the space of the city may also be built up in relation to lives and activities within. Thus the truly public space of the city can be born.

1.4.2 On Architecture and Urban Development of Bangkok and the Rattanakosin Ancient City

There exist a large number of historical studies, surveys and researches of the Rattanakosin Ancient City. (see Bilbiography) A number of studies and surveys deal with the history of the Rattanakosin period, which address its social, cultural, political, economic as well as architectural aspects. The researches concerning the architectural aspects of the Rattanakosin Ancient City mostly study the transformation and development of its planning, including

the past and current problems at the level of urban design. The detailed studies on the planning development and problems of each area have been conducted by many research teams. Yet the study on the types, the use and the transformation of public spaces is still lacking. It has often been included briefly as a part of the planning study.

Kamthorn Kunchon's research on the *Evolution of the East of the Rattanakosin: from the rural settlement period to the constitutional revolution period,* is a comprehensive study on the transformation of settlement pattern in Bangkok. (see Bibliography) It offers a framework for a better understanding of the relationship between Bangkok's built environment and socio-cultural forces underlying the changes within the city. Kunchon's recent research on *City Planning Theories* also offers an overview of the changing ideas and the development within the discipline of modern city planning. It outlines the points and preoccupations that are related to Thai city planning practice that could be a beneficial source for this proposed research.

As for the works on Thai architecture, while most researches concentrate on either the historical or the physical characteristis, Vimolsiddhi Horayangkura's comprehensive study on the development of architectural concepts and styles has offered an overview of the changes in architectural characteristics in Thailand.[8] The research entitled *The Development of Architectural Concepts and Styles: Past Present and Future* focuses on the transformation of architectural styles from the beginning of the Democracy period (the end of the reign of King Rama VII, 1932 AD to the present). It is a study that offers both the conceptual and the functional understanding that underlie the production of Thai built environment.

As a study concerning the architectural concepts and styles, Horayangkura's research does address the issue of the relationship between the production of architecture and the social, cultural as well as political factors within Thai society. These factors have affected not only the architectural appearance and style in Thailand but have also transformed the practical requirements and needs. The study has categorized different characteristics of various styles that have dominated the architectural culture of Thailand over the recent past. This question related to the aspects of architectural appearance and style

includes the notion of architectural space, form, façade as well as the relationship between the architecture and the public forces. The research has established an overall framework for an understanding between the shift in architectural styles and other involving factors generated by the public at large. When social, cultural, economic as well as political aspects of Thailand were taken into account, it implies that architecture is not an autonomous discipline. But rather, architecture is considered as a cultural product that belongs to the public sphere. The study has given case studies of both public and private architecture, in which the notion of architectural concepts and styles are either collective or uniquely specific.

1.5. RESEARCH SCOPE

1.5.1 Theoretical Research.

The theoretical research will include an in depth study and analysis of theories related to the subject of city fabric and spatial structure of the city. The primary sources for such theory will be philosophical and theoretical literatures especially architectural treatises written towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This was the time when *space* became an architectural concern, and was also the period that modern city planning took shape. Thus it was the time when the issues concerning urban fabric, street network and public space became primary. The research will also include contemporary architectural writings, but only those that contain critical study on the topics relating to the theme of public space, both architectural and urban. The theoretical sources used in this research consist of literary works written in German, English and Thai. (see bibliography in the literature review section) Studies that offer historical accounts of the transformation of urban space in various cities will also be considered.

1.5.2 Historical Research

As a continuation from the previous research *On Architectural Surface*, the study on the history of the Rattanakosin Ancient City which includes its social, cultural, political and architectural history from the reign of King Rama 1st to the reign of King Rama 9th (1782 AD to the present) has already been completed. Information about architectures in Rattanakosin Ancient City especially from

the beginning of the Democracy period (the end of the reign of King Rama 7th, after the political revolution, from 1932 AD to the present) has been analyzed.

Thus, for this research, the historical study of Rattanakosin Ancient City will focus on the development and transformation of its city fabric, spatial structure and street network. The changes within the dynamic of the city structure will be taken into account. The study will begin from 1782 AD, with special focus on the period of King Rama V to the present. In other words, this period of Rattanakosin Ancient City's architectural and urban history coincides with the period that witnessed the birth of modern city planning.

1.5.3 Physical Survey of the Built Environment

The survey will cover the area of the Rattanakosin Ancient City, both the inner and outer parts. The perimeter of the inner part is encircled by the inner moat, while the outer part of the Rattanakosin Ancient City is marked by Klong Ong-Ang Bang-Lum-Poo. The survey will focus on the city structure of Rattanakosin Ancient City's public spaces.

1.6. EXPECTED BENEFITS

The subject of this research The City Fabric and Public Space: The Transformation of Spatial Structure and Human Interaction within the City From the 19th Century is twofold – a concept and its meaning, and architectural culture and its preoccupation. The concept in question is the concept of city fabric, which became primary concern along with the birth of modern city planning during the second half of the nineteenth century. The architectural culture is that of Bangkok's Rattanakosin period, where its built work and environment represented the paradoxical nature of architecture and cities in respond to modern society.

1.6.1 As a theoretical investigation of the concept of city fabric, the research aims to establish an understanding on the roles and implications of spatial structure towards the public life of the city. It will generate a better apprehension on the relationship between two conflicting tasks of city fabric – the double obligation of public space towards its practical-functional demands

and its symbolic representation responsive to social, cultural, political aspects. The theoretical ground for an understanding of various factors that determine the physical characteristics and transformation of spatial structure of the city must be made. The research will also build a framework for a better understanding of the relationship between city fabric and activities of inhabitants as well as other socio-cultural factors underlying the changes of those spaces. The research findings, while being theoretical, will be beneficial for the future designs of spatial entities in urban areas.

1.6.2 In continuation from the previous research *On Architectural Surface* which focused on the types and transformation of Bangkok's architectural façades, this research is be a study of city fabric within the boundary of Rattanakosin Ancient City. The research will elucidate the transformation of the city's spaces over the past two hundred years, which includes squares, plazas, gardens and parks, spaces along the street and passage networks. With a focus on the changes within the dynamic of Rattanakosin Ancient City's fabric, the research will help establish the relationship between social, cultural, political as well as practical demands and the representational obligations of Thai public spaces. Without such understanding, our built environment will continue to carry the discordance between the aspects of practical operation versus symbolic representation, modernity versus tradition, as well as global forces and regional characteristic. Through an in-depth theoretical study, the research will build an innovative framework for an understanding of various factors revolving the transformation of Rattanakosin Ancient City's spatial structure. With such understanding, we can begin to utilize both the conceptual and the functional understanding of the public in order to design urban public space that belongs to Thai socio-cultural specificities.

1.6.3 Research Outputs

Papers

1. Panin, Tonkao, "The Meaning of Patterns: Camillo Sitte and the Evolution of Ancient Towns," in Na Jua, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, 2008.

2. Panin, Tonkao, "Know How or Know-Why: Between Theory and Practice," The Journal of South East Asian Studies, no.9., Singapore, 2008.

International Conference

3. Panin, Tonkao, "World Class Journey: From the Nineteenth Century *Flâneur* to the Twenty-first century Urban Tourist," UPE 7th International Conference, World Class Cities, Kasetsart University, Bangkok, January 2007.

References

1 Keith Tester. Ed. *The Flâneur.* New York: Routledge, 1994, p1.

2 Italo Calvino, *La Città Invisibili*, Turin, 1972, p. 50.

3 Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: The City in the Twenty-First Century*, New York, 2000, p. 5.

4 Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: The City in the Twenty-First Century*, New York, 2000.

5 See the discussion of the nineteenth century city planning in Françoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model*, Cambridge, MA, 1997, pp. 255-267.

6 Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau*, Wien, 1972, p. 23. Collins and Craesmann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York, 1986, p. 159. See also the discussion in François Choay, *The Rule and the Model*, pp. 255-267.

7 See Choay, *The Rule and the Model*, pp. 255-259

8 Vimolsiddhi Horayangkura, et al, *The Development of Architectural Concepts and Styles: Past Present and Future*, Bangkok: Assoication of Siamese Architects, 1993.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY METROPOLIS

2.1 THE NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPEAN METROPOLIS

The period after industrial revolution had been a time of disorienting upheaval. Industrialization, and with it the speed of machine production and circulation, once gave a promise of a new life in a new world also disrupted the patterns of human existence. Most major cities in Europe reached the state of industrialization during the nineteenth century. It was during the last third of the century the outer suburbs of many cities were being covered by various industries. The rise of industry forced new forms of life and understanding on the inhabitants of the rapidly expanding city. Within such change, the radical effects of the overturning, the clash between the emerging forces of production and the rising political aspirations of those who would share or were prevented from sharing, in its material benefits were displayed with particular intensity in the city streets.[1]

The scenes of social life may be depicted in the form of streets. The streets comprised of the environments of the public realms within which the dramas of city and country life were to be acted out. The public realms of the street took on the functions of the theaters of everyday life, the city was a stage for the social action within its wall.[2] City dwellers and architects addressed the problems in ways according to the interests they served. Either dreamed of anti urban utopias or put forward practical schemes for the renewal and extension of the city, the change towards the new world inspired different aspects in architectural theory. While some saw a future of architecture in a new century to come and demanded a complete change, others saw change as disruptive, and recognizing a loss, called for a returned to the patterns of the past. As for the populace, they reacted as best they could, according to their needs, to the extent of their provocation, and to the immediate circumstances of their everyday life. Between submission to change and outraged against it, they somehow defined a human existence within their city and along the passages of their streets.

The turn of the century in Europe was also the time of remarkable ferment in the arts. Change was occurring at a rapid tempo, the natural result of the relentless progress of human knowledge. Yet the energies released in a period of rapid change often stimulate extraordinary creativity. So they did with the degree of extraordinary cultural achievement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With the new century looming, mankind stood not only on the brink of something totally different, but of something terrifyingly complex too. Faced with the imminence of the new and unknown, old certainly faded fast. Progress was trumpeted everywhere, but the very technology which was the engine of progress seemed constantly to bring into question basic presuppositions and procedures within the arts. To many, the world no longer appeared as a unity which could be grasped and portrayed, instead it loomed as a series of images, sometimes fragmented and chaotic.[3]

One grasps the immediacy of city life through its imagery. Sometimes thrilled by the imposed vision and power of the sovereign spectacle, one is as well mesmerized by the visual facts of everyday sights. The pleasure that spectators find in representational images and architectural expressions was a vital part of the public life in the city. It was made possible by the physiognomy of the city that contained both conceptual and material strategies engendering imaginary and real effects. Throughout the nineteenth century, the *European metropolis* offered pleasurable streets and phantasmagorical views, beckoning the stroller to explore.

To read across and through different layers and strata of the city requires that spectators established a constant play between surface and deep structural forms, between purely visible and intuitive or evocative allusions. Architecture in the city is not only a spectacle shaped by the representational order of planners and architects; it involves the public as well.[4] Composed city scenes are designed to be looked at and the spectator's amazement and memory evoked by the figural images. As spectator, one travels through the city observing its architecture and constructed space, transforming contemporary scenes into a personalized vision. The spectator's city experience is inseparable from these representational images, for they either help or fail to produce a personal perception and view of the city. This study of city imagery and architectural pleasures will explore the manner in which such

representational images and architectural expressions in the city are structured and modified, how they repress or reveal one's perceptions and memories of the city, and how they influence one's view of the city.

The nineteenth century view of *the city as a work of art* was an attempt to fulfill cultural and aesthetic needs shaken by the turmoil of progress, political evolution and pestilence that the period unleashed. A desire arose for pleasure and fantasy in the realm of aesthetics stands alongside yet apart from the realm of labor, work, and politics. The spectacle of public spaces had begun to recompose certain parts of the city into scenic arrangement. But as the nineteenth century closed, the new experience of moving through the city tended to erase the traditional sense of pictorial enclosure as the cityscape was transformed.

In 1863 Charles Baudelaire published the essay *The Painter of Modern Life*. The theme of his essay, a perception unique to the metropolitan Paris at the time, was the idea of modern life. "And so away he goes, hurrying, searching," Baudelaire wrote of his poet, the observer of modernity.

> *He is looking for that quality that you must allow me to call "modernity"; for I know no better word to express the idea I have in mind……. By "modernity" I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable. Every old master has had his own modernity, the great majority of fine portraits that have come down to us from former generations are clothed in the costume of their own period.*[5]

Baudelaire's subjects are the contemporary themes drawn from the bustle of metropolitan life. Constantin Guys, or the poet as he described, possesses a particular talent to capture the "modern" in everyday affairs, to extract the poetic from the fashionable, to arrest the eternal in the transitory and to present the "presentness" of the metropolis. He is the flâneur, a spectator in the great city.

The great city itself was not a creation of the nineteenth century, but with its accelerating pace of life, its streets, shops, arcades and its tense standoff between bourgeois and proletariat values, the nineteenth century metropolis came to fulfill a promise if industrialization that had no parallel in history. For Baudelaire, life in the great city, full of stark contrasts between commercial

excess and poverty, decorum and venality, possessed disorienting novelty and devilish glamour. The great city was electrifying and abounding in imagery, harboring secrets both sinister and sublime.

2.2 THE FLÂNEUR AND PUBLIC SPACE OF THE METROPOLIS

Flânerie, the activity of strolling and looking which is carried out by the flâneur, is a recurring motif in literature, sociology and art of urban, and especially of the metropolitan, existence.[6] Originally the figure of the flâneur was tied to a specific time and place that is Paris: the capital of the nineteenth century. But the flâneur has been allowed outside the streets and arcades of the nineteenth century Paris. The figure appears regularly in the attempts of social and cultural commentators to understand the nature and implications of the conditions of modernity in the nineteenth century.[7] The flâneur enters history along with capitalism. For him, the nineteenth century city was a scene that embodied the spirit of modernity where he appeared, observing the life of metropolis from a view of a spectator. With Capitalism, the city, further transformed by the railroad, was metamorphosed into an exotic unknown. Dioramas accustomed the bourgeoisie to look at the city as a total, distance scene. By 1841, along with Louis Huart's *Physiologie du Flâneur*, it became a recognized type.

The word flâneur is derived from the Indo-European *flana* : to run back and forth, and relates to the Greek *planos* : wandering. But flânerie is more specific than strolling. It is a spatial practice of specific sites : the interior and exterior public space of the city. While flânerie is an individual practice, it is a part of a social process of inhabiting and appropriating urban space. Flânerie is based in anonymity, observation and the poetic vision of the public places and spaces. It implies the connection between material factors and the realm of ideas. Associated primarily with public, pedestrian space, flânerie consists of strolling at an overtly leisurely pace, allowing oneself to be drawn by interesting sights and places. It can be understood as the activity of the sovereign spectator going about the city in order to find the things which will occupy his gaze. But the flâneur as observer cannot be reduced to the idler . Rather, the activity of acute observation in the modern metropolis is a multifaceted method for apprehending and reading the complex and myriad signifier of modernity.

Flânerie can be associated with a form of looking, observing, a form of reading the city and its population, its spatial images, its architecture, and its human configurations. Thus, the flâneur is located in relation to the streets, to journalism and especially the feuilleton and physiology of the mid nineteenth century and the urban crowd.

The flâneur is interested in the social space of the metropolis. Thus, the sensational phenomenon of space is the fundamental experience of the flâneur. During the nineteenth century, the streets and their architecture, the ostentatious architecture of mass transit, mass of spectator and mass consumers, to which the flâneur is drawn, remain to be read and deciphered. But as the 19th century ends, the existence of the flâneur is challenged. In other words, the flâneur dies in the 20th century modern city. It is challenged by the traffic and the transformation of the streets from a public space of human contact to a carrier of traffic. Flânerie is rendered less and less likely by the increasing domination of rationality and of an order which is imposed on the city as if by necessity.

It is in the prose and poetry of Baudelaire that the flâneur receives his most famous eulogy. Flânerie is one of the main narrative devices of *The Painter of Modern Life* and the *Paris Spleen,* where Baudelaire gave an insight into what the flâneur does. By calling forth a poetic vision of the public spaces, Baudelaire depicted his poet to be the man for whom metropolitan spaces are the landscape of art and existence.[8] His poet is a man who is driven out of the private and into the public by his own search for meaning. It reveals the tense and fluctuating relationship between the poet and his participation in the public life of the city. The poet knows that he is a face in the crowd but by virtue of that knowing, he is a man apart though he might appear to be a man like any other.

In the period between the decline of aristocracy and the rise of democracy, the flâneur was the inhabitant of the modern city, who merged unnoticeably with the crowd, yet held himself apart to observe it.

The figure and the activity of the flâneur are fundamentally about freedom, the meaning of existence, and *being with others* in the modern city.[9] For these reasons, the flâneur and the activity could leave the streets of Paris and be connected to something more by way of a genre of urban existence. But closer to the twentieth century, the flâneur begins to disappear. The considered strolling and observing that is the essence of flânerie has become doubtful.

2.3 THE TRANSFORMATION TOWARDS THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1902, Georg Simmel wrote an essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life* that presents a quite different picture from Baudelaire's. The great city had become less seductive. With increasing "intensification of nervous stimulation" resulting from the "swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli," the individual was forced to face the difficult problem of preserving his humanity.[10] Personal involvement was inhibited; every activity was reduced to an anonymous transaction. Calculability and exactness became the dominant behavioral attributes of the urban individual. Approaching the twentieth century, the electrifying *modern life* was gradually reduced to impersonal matter of fact.

This process of alienation in the metropolis was surveyed by Walter Benjamin in his *Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century.* Baudelaire's flâneur strolls the streets and arcades both aware of his modernity and deferential to his reification, humbly taking his part in a vast, surreal comedy.[11] As the century progressed, things were permanently altered. Benjamin's argument is that the rationality of capitalism and, especially, commodification and the circulation of commodities, itself defined the meaning of existence in the city so that there remained no spaces of mystery for the flâneur to observe.[12] Capital imposed its own order on the metropolis. Benjamin proposed that the hollowness of the commodity form and the hollowness of the egoistic individuals of capitalism was reflected in the flâneur. In other words, flânerie is a desperate attempt to fill this emptiness even though it is actually a final resignation to it.

The flâneur becomes a seeker after mystery from banality. Benjamin identified challenges to flânerie revolving around the rationalization of the spaces in the city. With rationalization, all mystery is removed from the city. Flânerie is

predicated on the possibility that there might be secrets to be imputed to things. Administrative rationality destroys that possibility. They remove the mystery of what might lurk behind the doors of the houses by giving each house a matter-of-fact and a defining number. the transformation of the flâneur's social place and social space in the arcade and street, with the development of the department store and Haussmann's grand boulevards, marked the decline of flânerie.[13] When the streets became the grand boulevards more oriented towards the circulation of traffic rather than the pedestrians, the flâneur lost his city location, he moved indoors. The department store became the last hangout for the flâneur. Benjamin wrote:

> If the arcade is the essential form of the *intérieur*, which is how the flâneur sees the street, the department store is the form the *intérieur's* decay. The bazaar is the last hangout of the flâneur. If in the beginning the street had become an *intérieur* for him, now his *intrieur* turned into a street, and he roamed through the labyrinth of merchandise as he had once roamed through the labyrinth of the city.[14]

The space of commodification created by the department store radically modifies the individual's relationship to the city and to society, a space that abolishes the lines of demarcation distinguishing observer from observed and allowing the flâneur his distinctive status.

Benjamin saw house-numbering as a measure intended to pin down every face in the city to a single place and meaning. Such pinning down establishes the meaning and the order of things in advance and makes flânerie less possible. He wrote: "Since the French Revolution an extensive network of controls had brought bourgeois life ever more tightly into its meshes. The numbering of houses in the big cities may be used to document the progressive standardization."[15] But these orders and numbers also destroyed the poetry of the city which means that the city ceases to be a place of free wandering, of free coming and going.

As the first half of the nineteenth century witnesses the rise of flâneur, so the second half beholds the decline. By the time the Académie française gave its official approbation to the term in 1879, the flâneur started to lose his distinction. Flânerie represents one desperate response to the increasing speed of circulation in the nineteenth century. For this reason, Paris before

Haussmann, and Vienna before the monumentalization of its streets were important. They represent public space for human contact and communication; they were public space protected from the circulation of the city. Without the arcades and the labyrinth of small streets, the flâneur was thrown into the way of circulation. Flânerie is existence at a pace that is out of step with the rapid circulation of modern metropolis.[16] In other words, with rationalization of space in the city, all mystery is removed. The meaning and the order of things were established in advance which makes flânerie less possible.

2.4 THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GREAT CITY

THE MODELS OF PARIS AND VIENNA

During the course of the Nineteenth century, three periods of revolution changed the face of Europe. Of these revolutions in 1830, 1848 and 1870, the ones that most affected the future development of the cities were the bourgeois and anti-aristocratic revolutions of 1848. The development of cities partly resulted from the concern to prevent any upset to the newly-dominant power of the bourgeoisie. In particular, the complex medieval structures which Baroque city planning had framed were perceived to provide a hiding place for the unruly oppositional forces of the working classes. If the bourgeoisie were to be able to exercise its forces of suppression, the old urban areas had to be regulated. The most famous city restructuring was that of Paris undertaken by the French emperor Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon III, and Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann between 1850 and 1870. Another such restructuring, that of the Vienna under Emperor Franz Josef, was equally dramatic and influential.[17]

PARIS

During the nineteenth century, Paris was affected by industrial revolution as well as cultural changes; it became an overcrowded city with spreading disease. The city was also troubled by the many political revolutions and upheavals that occurred throughout the eighteenth century especially that of 1789. With Industrial Revolution and migration of people from rural areas, along with the political clashes between the bourgeois, the aristocrats and the working classes that gave rise to many uprisings, the concept of city began to change. The city was no longer a place to live, work and socializes; it became

a means for political as well as economic activities. Thus is must perform both functional and representational tasks responding to the new aspirations of the nineteenth century.

The City of Paris, like many in Europe, had been relatively untouched since the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it still contained the form and the concept of a medieval town within its wall. From 1784, the city wall was replaced by the wall of the Farmers-General, the corporation of tax farmers, permitting the taxation of products entering the city. The wall was 24 kilometers long, but unlike the previous wall, the Farmers-General wall was not aim at defending Paris but was built to ensure the tax payment of all goods entering the city, with the architect Claude Nicolas Ledoux designed the 62 toll barriers in neo-classical style. The toll on goods entering the city was moved on May 1, 1791, at the beginning of the French Revolution, but was restored again in 1798 and was perfected by Napoleon I. The toll barriers however, were mostly destroyed during the revolutions leaving a few remains of the wall until today. [18] (fig 2.1-2.5)

In socio-economic terms, Industrial Revolution caused in Paris, as elsewhere, the migratory movement of an unprecedented size. The new working class arrivals settled and aggregated in low rent housings across the city, bringing with it an impoverishment of the whole areas of the city. As for political aspects, from 1791, Paris was troubled by multiple uprisings and Revolution. At the times of uprisings, because barricades were often built nested within the narrow road networks, in many ways, the tight confines was seen as hindrance to the both the growth and the development of the city. Thus Luis Napoleon III, who became emperor in 1852, set out a plan to reorder as well as restructure the city. It was a scheme that rested not only in socio-economic goal, but also with a strong political one. The city would be transformed and incorporate its suburbs to create a systematic network of organized urban area. It was the beginning of the concept of urbanism and urbanization meant to organize all or part of a city by public authority. This urbanization movement, which began as a practical endeavors such as that of Paris was to encompassed theories of the planning of urban space which were also developed at the same time and gave birth to modern city planning discipline.[19]

In Paris, as a result of socio-economic as well as political problems, Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann, an architect chosen by Napoleon III, undertook to lead the grand project, creating new road networks, public parks, monuments, improving the city's utility network as well as re-fabricating the façade of the city. It became one of the largest urban transformations in Europe.

The scheme, although began in 1852, began to take root with Napoleon's coming to power. Napoleon (1799-1815) had wanted to make Paris the symbolic capital of Europe, although many of his plans were aborted, he assumed the destruction of ancient city and began to re-structure the traffic circulation. The urban landscape of Paris was to be marked with the sense of Monumentality with many projects that finally culminated in the building of Arc de Triomphe. In many ways, the Napoleonic transformation of Paris of this period marked the transition from prestige monumental urbanism to modern city planning.[20]

After the fall of Napoleonic Empire, the monarchy was re-established and lasted from 1815 to1848. During this period, activities occurred that would prepare for the grand transformation afterwards. A survey of the city was made, a municipal commission was charged with examining the city center, which concluded that the medieval center of Paris within its wall was no longer capable to operate as healthy town. This was also a period when Paris realized suffered from the coherent pattern of urban thoroughfares. Thus between 1815 and 1835, 175 streets were opened in Paris, with rue Rambuteau to be the first to cut through the densely interwoven city center, which involve many compulsory purchases and demolitions. In order for new streets to be opened, a new system of mass expropriation took place, allowing the city to create new roads in rapid speed. Yet, the transformation of Paris was impeded by many factors. Apart from financial problem, there was not sufficient political will to transform the city as the existing monarchy was never strong enough to stand the pressures from all sides.[21]

In 1848, Louis-Phillipe was overthrown. The second republic however, lasted only four years until 1851 when the future Napoleon III, the nephew of the Emperor, ended it with a coup d'état in 1851. The second Empire of Napoleon

III marked the beginning of the grand transformation of Paris known as the Haussmann era.

Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann's plan was to give Paris a coherent plan with entry points, service and traffic network that was to be adopted in most French cities such as Marseille, Lyon, Lille, Bordeaux, Toulon, Toulouse, Rouen. And in many ways, the compelling quality of his complete program gained him international admiration that his plans were later applied to many metropolises such as Rome, Milan, Brussels, Dresden, Barcelona and Vienna.

Despite the cliché often used to summed up the work Haussmann that he chose to open wide streets in order to allow the circulation of military troops as well as the prevent the erection of barricades, Haussmann's scheme had a much wider implications concerning both the functional and representation aspects of the city. The method that Haussmann employed was to organize the city into geometric grid. Medieval Paris was thus divided into new sections, with streets running east-west and north-south. The city thus obtained a symmetrical structure it never before had. The size of streets and roads were dramatically enhanced, giving birth to wide tree-lined boulevards and avenues cutting through many parts of the city. [22]

Grand boulevards and avenues were planned, while some were transformed from existing thoroughfares, some were to be newly created. As a part of the network, squares were also created as connective means for the newly planned boulevards. All together the avenues and squares created many prominent axes through the heart of Paris. The wide boulevards, being wide and straight were to facilitate travel and speed as well as to allow vistas, creating a sense of monumentality and totality that would stand for power and reassurance. Along with new boulevards, a network of large squares, crossroads and circles were constructed such as those of l'Etoile, la Bastille, la Nation, le Chatelet, as well as parks and gardens, along with new networks of drain and water supply. (fig. 2.6-2.8)

As a systematic order, Paris was also divided into what we now know as arrondissments or districts. Originally planned for 12 districts, the city eventually grew to 20 districts when it annexed surrounding suburbs. These

districts were to be numbered in an outward spiral, starting from and innermost district on the bank of the river Seine. (fig 2.9)

The grand scheme also reached beyond the planning aspect to the refurbishment of the old and the building of new architecture. New buildings were created to accompany new streets while old buildings were restructured to provide a sense of visual unity to the entire city. The unifying architectural façades of Paris today has been a result of such scheme; it has changed the heterogeneous character of Paris and turned it into a uniformed one. In addition to giving the city a unifying style, new buildings of grand scale such as L'Opera by Charles Garnier were also built. Other municipal architecture from train station to government offices was constructed. Monuments and landmarks of various scales were also constructed and placed within the public squares and crossroads. (fig 2.10-2.11)

While improving the city in many aspects, Haussmann was often criticized for the destruction of "old" Paris and deprived the city of its pre-industrialized charm. Heterogeneity signifying the once diverse socio-cultural aspects of the city had been removed and replaced with a unifying face. Yet, no matter how controversy the scheme was, it became a model for many cities to follow.

VIENNA

Old Vienna had not undergone any radical change in form from the Thirteenth century to the second half of the Nineteenth century when the ambitious project of the Ringstrasse was launched. From the time it had become a fortified capital of Babenbergs in 1135, and was under the first Habsburgs by the following century, the town had roughly the perimeter that it possessed in the mid nineteenth century. The city survived in a curiously fossilized form until a late date while becoming one of the major European capitals and commercial centers late in the Eighteenth century. Its medieval towers and walls had been replaced by a modern earthwork bastion and glacis while the city's suburbs lay out past the fortifications. By 1850, there were thirty-four suburbs lying out beyond the glacis, which now constituted a far greater area than the inner city itself.

After the revolution of 1848, the emerging commercial and mercantile classes sought control of the fortified area, which separated the medieval core of Vienna from the growing suburbs. The revolution of 1848 redefined politically the place of the glacis in the life of the city. After centuries of direct imperial rules, the liberal bourgeois could demand from the Emperor the right to municipal self-government. The new municipal Statue provided a political framework for advancing civilian claims to the glacis. Moreover, beyond the political pressure, this industrializing city's rapid economic growth of the 1850s increased its population, creating both a population influx and a severe housing shortage.[23] During the first half of the Nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of Vienna's population was comprised of Germans. However, from the mid-Nineteenth century onward, the movement of minority groups into the city transformed its composition and its politics. Vienna had become a multi-cultural center with ungovernable nationalities. The rapid growth of its population aggravated a long-standing problem of housing.[24] The use of land along the glacis seemed ideal.[25] (fig 2.12-2.13)

As political and economic pressure proved strong, Emperor Franz Joseph finally proclaimed his intention to open the space for civilian use and established a City Expansion Commission to plan and execute its development.[26] On December 20, 1857, the Emperor issued his famous memorandum ordering the demolition of the fortifications enclosing the old city of Vienna and their replacement by an ambitious town-expansion plan. The glacis was to be replaced by the 60 foot wide, tree-lined boulevard,[27] the celebrated Ringstrasse, with its vast complex of public buildings that would occupy a broad belt of land along it. Land around each of these new building would be sold to pay for the construction, creating an area for the development of apartment buildings.[28]

A competition was planned for the Ringstrasse layout for which Ludwig von Förster won first prize with his motto, "Der gerade Weg ist der beste (The Straight line is the best)!" Other awards went to Friedrich Stache and the team of van der Nüll and Siccardsburg, while the actual plan employed was produced by the new building department of the Ministry of Interior and approved by the Emperor in 1859.[29] From a baroque town squeezed into the physical structure of a medieval town, Vienna was to transform itself into a

metropolitan Großstadt. It was the beginning of the Ringstrasse era. (fig 2.14-2.16)

As Carl Schorske noted in his extensive study of the Ringstrasse, although its scale and grandeur suggest the persistent power of the Baroque, the spatial conception which inspired its design was rather new. The Ringstrasse, polyhedral in shape, became an element in the vast complex with an independent life unsubordinated to any other spatial entity. It became a focus of design stressing the circular flow of traffic, thus cutting off the old center from the new suburbs. The streets, coming from either the inner city or the suburbs, were swallowed by the circular flow.[30] The military insulation belt of fortifications and glacis were now replaced by an isolation belt of traffic more difficult to cross.

In the vast, continuous circular space of the Ringstrasse, public services like hospitals, parks and clean water were matched by overtly ideological public buildings that were installed as symbols of the new political power. Viennese masters were summoned to contribute to the Ringstrasse development. A series of public building along the Ringstrasse included the Votive Church (1856-1879) and the University (1873-84) by Heinrich von Ferstel, the Rathaus by Friedrich Schmidt (1872-83), the Opera House by Eduard van der Nüll and August von Siccardburg (1861-1869), the Parliament by Theophil Hansen (1874-83), the Hofburgtheater (1874-88) and the Art and Natural History Museums (1872-1881) by Gottfried Semper and Carl von Hasenauer. Each building's purpose – municipal autonomy, national government, higher learning, liberal culture and so on – contributed to a vision of a new democratic power. The creation of the Ringstrasse and the development of its neighboring residential areas helped give physical form and identity to the new city life.[31] (fig 2.17-2.18)

During the course of the Nineteenth century, the association of architectural theories with industrial modernity had become crucial. The mass urban market-place and its corresponding cosmopolitan society made architecture a more demanding and a less harmonious profession. With rapid changes to the practice of building, the norms of the discipline were less agreed upon than

ever before. The theoretical debates in the Nineteenth century German speaking countries were aspired to reconstruct a common set of values for an architectural culture in the midst of uncertainty. The Ringstrasse program appeared after the dramatic episodes of the Nineteenth-century debates on style.[32] In 1828, Heinrich Hübsch published an essay titled “In What Styles Should We Build?” (Im welchem Style sollen wir Bauen?) which would become a catalyst for a long-standing debate throughout the next few decades. Hübsch’s question of style was first conceived as a practical matter concerning the styles that were appropriate for the building materials, methods and needs of his time. His discussion of style was grounded in the attainment of a new style representing the present, which signified more than the application of an ornamental mask atop modern phenomena.

The Nineteenth century historical styles in general and on the Ringstrasse in particular, embodied in some ways more than an attentiveness to finished form. The historical styles of the architecture may be considered as links among different cultural relationships, representing powerful religious, nationalistic, and symbolic demands. Crucial to the choice of historical model was the belief that the particular era possessed an order and cultural unity transcending the fragmentation of the modern age. Each historical style was viewed as a mechanism to mediate modern uncertainty with ideas of social cohesion located alternatively in classical antiquity, feudal Christianity and mercantile humanism. Hence the styles were an expression of a desire to affiliate with the greater meaning and unity of a cultural order.[33]

In this way, the Ringstrasse embodied in stone and space a cluster of social values and so cannot be addressed purely architecturally. Its critics inevitably addressed themselves to more than architectural questions.[34] Critics of the Ringstrasse architecture raised questions based on the dissonance in the relationship between style and function. But with them, a wider question was raised, a question about the relationship between cultural aspiration and social content in a liberal bourgeois society. Disproportion between a society’s social arrangements and its creative power led to an awareness of the gap between promise and performance, potential and realization. The Ringstrasse Vienna has become a concept, a way of summoning to mind the characteristics of an era. It was a visual expression of the values of a social class.[35]

After the development plan for both Paris and Vienna, the nineteenth century metropolis of Baudelaire had disappeared. The plan to improve the physical structure of the city had also transformed the socio-cultural characters of the cities. The public life of the street is at risk when all functions of urban settlement are subordinate to the street, especially to the street as a carrier of traffic. Moving towards the new century, the critical question for the survival of the public life in the city was what to retain from both the old configuration of the city and the new structural development.

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CHAPTER 3

CONTRASTING THEORETICAL POSITIONS AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN CITY PLANNING

3.1 BACKGROUND

Before the grand restructuring of major cities in Europe in the late nineteenth century, city planning had not yet been established as a filed of study. Activities concerning the planning of the city were entrusted to architects, engineers as well as municipal officers involved in each schemes. Some were knowledgeable about this specific endeavor, some were not. But after many European restructure schemes were accomplished, new awareness has been raised, and concerns have been unleashed. Efforts to lay the ground rules or framework to city planning activities had been attempted, yielding various outcomes. Some have been systematically worked, being able to established city planning as a respectable professional field.

At any rate, city planning established and perfected itself in Germany through the combined activity of many individuals working on particular problems in a variety of fields.[1] This German profession can be said to owe its early pre-eminence to the respective efforts of three men: Reinhard Baumeister, Joseph Stubben and Camillo Sitte. The triad efforts to establish an understanding of city planning as a discipline was culminated in an innovative work that would continue to be of influential relevance until today, Camillo Sitte's *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grunsätzen*. It provide a new ground for thinking and planning the city, which stirred both agreeable and opposed views. One of Sitte's opponents, Otto Wagner, laid a diametrically opposed ground for city planning, putting the two views on opposite end of the theoretical spectrum. These two views, however contrast, were to become influential and continue to generate two opposite methods concerning the planning of cities until today. Thus in many ways, the relationship between the two differing views can be seen as the framework for modern city planning.

Before examining the differing views of Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner, it would be helpful to acknowledge the efforts of both Baumeister and Stübben. Reinhard Baumeister (1833-1917) was generally credited with having laid the basis of city planning as a scientific field (Wissenschaft.)[2] He was responsible for the guidance of professional associations, municipalities, principalities as well as the German Empire itself through the formative years of the new discipline of city planning. In addition to lectures, Baumeister provided authoritative handbooks on technical and legal branches of city planning. Among the many accomplishments, he was the pioneer of the zoning idea and its legal framework. Yet, despite the scientific point of view, Baumeister criticized the universal use of rectangular systems and had instead suggested that one look back at he the character of ancient squares and the picturesque medieval streets, an idea that would resonated later in Siite's work. Published widely, Baumeister 1914 summary of the accomplishments of German planning is exemplary and gives credits to both Joseph Stübben and Camillo Sitte.[3]

Trained as an architect in Berlin, Joseph Stübben (1845-1936) was also a figure of great influence and productive activities. During his lifetime, the Germanic city planning movement became international in scope, rendering his contributions more influential.[4] His publication, including the extensive Handbuch des Städtebau, was encyclopedic in scope. The first edition of 1890 incorporated everything he had published beforehand. Many of Stübben's ideas, especially those concerning the aesthetic theory of city planning shares similarities to Sitte's belief. But being informative, hardly anyone would read through the 6 parts, 30 chapters, 23 appendices, 900 illustrations and 690 marginal divisions of the Handbuch. Many of the ideas were to be known through the works of Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner.

3.2 CONTRASTING IDEOLOGIES:
CAMILLO SITTE AND OTTO WAGER

While the face of Europe was being transformed in terms of its planning, there were theorists who sought to make sense of the changing social and cultural landscape and attempted to find some way to reconcile the past with the new conditions of living. Among such theorists were Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. Although differ, their views played a radical role and helped shape the

beginning of modern city planning. The following section will investigate the differences in their views that in many ways have been translated into diverse urban planning ideologies relating to the question of public space and the fabric of the city.

It was against Hausmann Grand Boulevard and the Ringstrasse ideology that both Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner posited their ideas of urban life and form.[5] Using the both urban developments as negative models, Sitte set forth a basic critique of the modern city from the point of view of the ancients, criticizing its inhumane configuration. Wagner launched his attack from the opposite direction, denouncing the masking of modernity and its functions behind the stylistic screens of history.[6] Sitte and Wagner divided between them the unreconciled components of the Ringstrasse legacy. While one placed his hope in contained space, in the human and socializing confines of the square, the other subjected the city to the ordinance of time, and saw the street as the artery of men in motion.[7]

3.3 BIOGRAPHIES

Camillo Sitte was born on April 17, 1843, five years before the revolution that would change the face of Vienna. His father, Franz Sitte, was an artist and architect born in Northern Bohemia who came to Vienna in 1838 to study at the Academy of Fine Arts under the Swiss Classicist Peter von Nobile. Franz eventually rebelled against the repressive Academy and left for Munich before he returned to Vienna again in 1842, where he would spend a greater part of his career. Franz Sitte was part of the generation that would become much involved in the revolution and the transformation of Vienna afterwards. The Sitte family lived in the Landstrasse District of Vienna, beyond the fortification and glacis that separated the old city center from its surroundings.

At the wake of the Ringstrasse development, Camillo Sitte had entered the atelier of the architect Heinrich von Ferstel, in the Technische Hochschule. It was his critical view towards von Ferstel's practice that would later provide a platform for Sitte's theory. At the University, Sitte also pursued art-historical and archeological studies under Rudolf Eitelberger between 1863-1868. He undertook research on the physiology of vision and space perception of which would eventually lead to his studies of Piero della Francesca as well as his

dissertation on perspective (Beobachtungen über bildende Kunst, besonders über Architectur, vom Standpuncte der Perspektive, 1868). Sitte's career as an independent architect began in 1873 when, a few years after finishing University, he took over the design of the Mechitarists Church in the Neubau district adjacent to the Ringstrasse, from his father. (fig. 11) Having established himself as an architect, Sitte continued to travel extensively, including a one-year-long trip in 1882-1883 to Italy, where he was deeply impressed by many of its picturesque towns. Upon returning to Vienna in 1883, Sitte was called to organize the new State School of Applied Arts, whose new building was under way on the Schwarzenburggasse at the edge of the Ringstrasse. His first book, Der Städtebau nach seinen kunstlerischen Gründsatzen, 1889,[8] was formulated during his years at the School as a critique of the monotonous planning of the Ringstrasse and a call for attention to aesthetic treatment of space, street patterns and vistas. Despite his criticism for the Ringstrasse, Sitte did not believe in the possibility of recovering or recreating the beauty and conviviality of preindustrial city's space, but rather had realistically assessed the scope of the spatial and social disruption wrought by the industrial revolution. The stage of the Ringstrasse program, from 1858-1890, became the subject of Sitte's first book that was later to be received with much enthusiasm from the public.[9]

Sitte's senior by two years, Otto Wagner was born on July 13, 1841, in the Viennese suburb of Penzing, at the time still a country village.[10] His father Rudolf Wagner was the son of a master smith and was himself a notary to the Royal Hungarian court. When Otto was five, Rudolf Wagner died, leaving his wife and sons three houses which were then modernized and converted into a single residence, a project planned by Theophil von Hansen. Wagner's boyhood friendship with the architect Hansen would later influence his decision to study architecture. After finishing the Akademisches Gymnasium in Vienna, Wagner studied at the Polytechnic Institute and proceeded to the Königliche Bauakademie in Berlin, a step advocated by Hansen. In 1861, Wagner returned to Vienna where he attended the Academy of Fine Arts under the guidance of August von Siccardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll. Wagner held a lifelong admiration for the "utilitarian principle" in Siccardsburg's "artistic soul" and for van der Nüll's abilities as an "incomparable draughtsman," qualities which he later strove to emulate.

After working briefly in the studio of the Ringstrasse architect Ludwig von Föster, Wagner won the competition for the casino in the Wiener Stadtpark. This competition was the first of many that Wagner was to win during his lifetime, accelerating his career with subsequent commissions and helping to establish himself as the architect of Vienna. His artistic reputation culminated with an appointment to the chair of the Academy in 1894, after the death of Karl von Hasenauer. Wagner also inherited Hasenauer's assistant and his student, Joseph Olbrich and Josef Hoffmann. By that time, Wagner had established himself as one of the most influential architects in Austria.[11]

Having joined the foremost art school in the Empire, Wagner felt obliged to define, establish and defend the practice of his art as well as to further his task as a teacher. In 1895, he published his Moderne Architektur (Modern Architecture), which was reprinted in 1899, 1902 and 1914, the last reprint in his lifetime appearing under the title Baukunst unserer Zeit (Building-Art of Our Time).

Wagner began his chairmanship at the Academy while the second phase of the Viennese planning was underway. In 1893, an international competition was held for various works. Wagner won the competition for the overall plan for Greater Vienna, and was subsequently given the responsibility of designing the entire metropolitan railway system. Its stations, tunnels and overpasses became the perfect illustration of his ideas, which were later summed up in a 1911 book on the metropolis, Die Großstadt. By the time Wagner's idea for the Viennese plan was clearly formulated, its deviance from Sitte's view became evident.

3.4 THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

Camillo Sitte first presented his ideas in May of 1889, in a small volume of essays entitled *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grunsätzen* appeared in Vienna. Sitte analyzed the civic and artistic character of old European towns that had survived in relatively unspoiled state from the preindustrial age. With the intent to discover the principles that might be learned from them, Sitte had turned to unplanned and incrementally developed towns ranging chronologically from Roman times to his own day. The

continuity of space and time which caused a perpetual evolution of the urban fabric were for Sitte the fundamental aspects of older towns. Focusing on public spaces, plazas, streets and their choreographic sequence, he searched for an inner structure, a hidden pattern that allowed for unending change.[12] In contrast to the open expanse of the Ringstrasse, this sense of enclosed aggregation of form and space became the center of the Raumkunst (Space-art) concept, a notion later to be attributed to Sitte. Der Städtebau was followed with a large number of weekly writings in the Neuer Wiener Tagblatt, where Sitte tirelessly launched his program before public indifference could freeze the urban future of Vienna into seeming drabness and sprawl. Parts of Sitte's study focused on the spatial configuration of the incrementally developed towns that seemed to be the product of chance rather than the product of will. Yet, this notion that the city grows organically is the problematic paradox of Sitte's ideas. On the one hand, Sitte adhered to the nature of the enclosed squares and their aggregated surroundings, which he believed were the natural product of incremental growth. On the other hand, he set ground rules that aimed at reconstructing the accidental assembly of the spatial and formal configuration of the city. Raumkunst was a way of composing the natural. The city was to be the product of will, modeled after the natural product of human instinct. (fig. 3.1-3.4)

Der Städtebau appeared at the time when the picture of the great city was radically different from Baudelaire's famous essay of 1863 *The Painter of Modern Life*. The physiognomy of the nineteenth century metropolis made great contribution to the vitality of its public life. With the labyrinth of its small streets and picturesque irregularities that had survived in a relatively unspoiled state from the pre-industrial ages, the streets of the inner city of Vienna offered an esthetic pleasure of mystery and surprise. Both the spatial planning and the treatment at the face of the building became important. Such quality is also essential to the survival of the street as a locus of personal exchange and communication. But with urban development plans such as those of Paris and Vienna, when streets become a means of traffic, the old qualities simply disappeared. Close to the new century, the familiar patterns of experience once offered by pleasurable streets and representational images were in decline.

However, even with the radical transformation of many cities underway, Camillo Sitte did not present an anti urban point of view, but rather accepted the city as a vital part of cultural development. Many of his unpublished manuscripts, now kept at the Technishe Universtät Wien, confirmed this belief. Nowhere in his writings do we find a rejection of urban development in favor of ancient towns. Rather, Sitte firmly believed that if properly guided the modern city was capable of fulfilling civic, cultural, and human needs.[13] Looking for possibilities of such guidance, Sitte turned to towns of the past believing in the free form of ancient and medieval city space organization which arose not on the drawing board but "in natura."[14] Analogous to working the members of living organism, a town also has a pattern of its working members inherent in nature and functions of daily life. Forms of towns continually changed or developed though time. Identifiable members of towns or descriptions such as rectilinear, radial, triangular or uniform grid alone do not suggest the towns function and relationship of each working member. Sitte did not reject the uniform grid on the basis of its being modern rather on the ground that any pattern originated on the drawing board may crudely disrupt the spatial-temporal continuum of an evolution of urban fabric.

Sitte's patterning principles show his idea on the relationship of nature, original models or types and man's creative work of art. Artistic principles are considered according to the universal principles closest to the intentions of nature or the original type which only the study of the creator can reveal. Using examples ranging from Roman time to his own days, it represents an attempt to explain the plurality of origins and the diversity of forms. His principles did not aim toward an imitation of concrete material models, rather to universality and flexibility of elements and at the same time toward an opening to new possibilities.

Sitte made clear that the original forms of towns arose from human's need and human's response to nature. As time progress, everything including our environment changes but the fundamental principles of town and its operative system did not change. Sitte's notion of "type" or patterning principles certainly allows an opening to changes and transformations. The act of referring itself to the original type, function, or purpose of such pattern would make all changes rational, be it a change into uniform grid or other systems. At a time of great

change, Sitte was in search for pattern in ancient towns, once and for all, not for a return to the pattern of the past but for a link between the city of the past and the city of the future. He found such link in the patterns of towns that can be used as a parameter to satisfy ever-present, universal needs of communal living - social and aesthetic as well as functional.

Sitte's diagrams of plazas and streets have to be considered within a context of place as well as in terms of their ability to endure within a process of urban change. His analysis of patterns of compositional elements analogous to those in tiles and textiles derives meaning from the relationship and contiguity of such elements. His work can be considered in terms of pattern and the semiotic analysis of ornament and of individual elements within the whole. His patterning principles is a way toward an evolving unity and universality in planning.[15] For Sitte, no pattern is an isolated entity. Each pattern can exist only to the extent that it is supported by other patterns that are the larger patterns in which it is embedded, the pattern of the same size around it, and the smaller patterns which are embedded in it. (fig 3.1-3.4)

At any rate, Sitte's theory was critical to the pleasure that spectators find in the representational images and architectural expressions in the city. It can be seen as a guide in which such representational forms and architectural expressions of the city are structured and modified. It constituted *the art of building the city*.

In 1893, four years after Der Städtebau was published, Wagner won a competition for a new development plan for Vienna and secured his place as the new guardian of the city. Wagner's ideas were based on a very different premise than Sitte's. His program was focused on the non-aesthetic factors of the city such as traffic, land-use differentiation and sanitary control.[16] In accordance with new concerns of the city council, Wagner submitted a design dominated by the idea of transportation. In addition to the Ringstrasse, he proposed a series of three other circumferential roads and rail belts, all of which would be intersected by radial arteries running toward the heart of the city. Wagner launched his project with the motto Artis sola domina necessitas. Necessity for Wagner meant the demands of efficiency, economy, and the facilitation of business, which were manifested in his design centered on

transportation. It was a tool to unite a widespread Großstadt into a total unit, whatever its constituents might be. The city itself was to be subdivided into parts, which would be linked and united by the lines of traffic. Transportation belts and arteries were conceived as a grid at once dividing and uniting each area of the city. By the architect's hand, the city was to become the product of Gesamtkunstwerk, whose sense of totality was not to bear upon the old artistic means but was rather a new aesthetic, representing new economy, efficiency, utility and modern technology. (fig. 3.5-3.7)

Necessity carried a different meaning for Sitte. For him, it was based on artistic principles, as he felt the city must not be "a merely mechanical bureaucratic product but a significant spiritual work of art, a piece of great genius folk art, especially in our time, when a popular volkstümlich synthesis of all visual arts in the service of a national Gesamtkunstwerk is lacking."[17] While an expansive circulation network was Wagner's tool for building the city, Sitte considered the enclosed city squares as representing the Gesamtkunstwerk that he felt his era lacked. This was perhaps the closest the architect could get to building the city. As the architect could neither build nor control the whole city, the square would at least provide him a platform from which to work. The square was a place that allowed the architect to unify several arts into a visual totality, and a tool to break the linearity of the infinite spatial pattern of the modern city. Instead of being unified by linear circulation lines, the city would be assembled by a network of interlocking squares.

It is worth noting that Sitte never proposed a total scheme for the planning of Vienna, but instead, addressed each particular section of the city. His city seemed to be composed of fragmented units of spatial volume rather than by an extensive network, as Wagner's city was. The fact that Sitte was at times fixated on the lengthy discussions of the merits of crooked over straight streets can also mislead one to interpret his idea of street networks as a mere connections of lines, whose configuration could be drawn on a drawing board. Straight streets are not just lacking in picturesque quality, but imply a homogenous volume and a form of space lacking in hierarchy and order.

The difference between Wagner and Sitte's drawings is illuminating. Comparing Wagner's proposal for a general plan published in Die Großstadt in 1910 to Sitte's fragmented plans in Der Städtebau, the space of the city carries fundamentally different connotations. For Wagner, plan-making is a manifestation of proportionate and coherent unity. Space, in this sense, is measured as the regulated field that can be repeated or divided. For Sitte, on the other hand, plan-making is more of an assembly of both masses and spaces that is built up at the same time. The city is an assembly of rooms aggregated and unified by the relations between each particular setting. While Wagner's space is being expanded, Sitte's is being delimited. Despite their differences, both shared certain attitudes toward the city, believing it was to be the product of will rather than the product of chance. These two points of view, however contrast, continued to represent different ends of the spectrum in city planning. While it may be true that neither the first nor the second will suffice, they offer different methodologies that can be worked and reworked together to find an equilibrium that is capable to respond to different socio-cultural situations in different places. (**fig 3.1-3.7)**

References

1 George Collins, *Camillo Sitte: the birth of modern city planning*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), p. 26

2 Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, p. 26

3 Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, p. 27

4 Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, p. 28

5 See Sitte's introductory chapter of *Der Städtebau*, and Otto Wagner, "The Development of the Great City," in *Architectural Record*, 1911, pp. 485-500. See also Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, pp. 24-115.

6 Otto Wagner, "The Development of the Great City," pp. 485-500.

7 Otto Wagner, "The Practice of Art," in *Modern Architecture*, pp. 101-123. See also Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna, Polities and Culture*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), pp. 24-80.

8 Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nack seined Kunstlerrischen Gründsatzen*, Wien, 1889. For various translations, see the bibliography.

[9] For the full biography of Camillo Sitte see Heinrich Sitte, "Camillo Sitte," in *Neue Österreichische Biographie*, Part I, vol. VI, 1929, pp. 132-149. A complete biography, by his son.

See also Ferdinand von Feldegg, "Camillo Sitte: Gedenkrede zum 80. Geburtstage, in *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur – und Architeckten Vereins, LXXV, 1923, pp. 125-127.* Feldegg was a close friend of Sitte, with whom Sitte discussed the future plan for his theoretical projects. Towards the later part of Sitte's life, he worked on a project of eight volumes intended for publication. In a letter of July 6, 1899, to Ferdinand von Feldegg, he described how he had reached a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of culture on the basis of his research on Darwin, art-history and cultural history. With the letter, Sitte attached a detailed description of this work. His eight volumes were to organized as the following:

Vol. 1. *Über die Entstehung der Grundformen der alt-griechischen Baukunst und Ornamentik* (The development of the basic forms of ancient Greek architecture and ornament)

Vol. 2. *Die Wurzeln der etruscisch-römischen Baukunst* (The origins of Etruscan and Roman Archtiecture)

Vol. 3. *Geschichte des perspectivischen Zeichnens* (History of Perspective Drawing)

Vol. 4. *Die Figurendarstellungen in der grossen Kunst* (The representation of figures in the art)

Vol. 5. *Beiträge zur Erkenntnis des Völkerwanderns und Völkerwerden*

Vol. 6. *Die Physiologischen und psychologischen Ursachen von Weltanschauungen* (Physiological and psychological basis of the world view)

Vol. 7. *Das deutsche Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (The German work of art of the future)

Vol. 8. *Gesamtelte Pädagogische Aufsätze* (Collected pedagogical writings)

See also *Camillo Sitte: Archive Catalogue*, by Rudolf Wurzer, Technische Universität Wien. The majority of Sitte's biographical data from the *Archive Catalogue* is also collected in George Collins and Christian Collins*, Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York, 1965, pp. 5-55.

[10] See Heinz Geretsegger and Max Peintner, *Otto Wagner 1841-1918: The Expanding City, the Beginning of Modern Architecture*, New York, 1979, pp.9-18.

[11] For Wagner's biography see Otto Graf, *Otto Wagner*, Wien, 1985. See also Harry Mallgrave's introduction of *Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture*, translated by Harry Mallgrave, Santa Monica, CA, 1988, pp. 61-73.

[12] George Collins, *Camillo Sitte: the birth of modern city planning*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1986): 15.

[13] Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna,* p. 63.

[14] Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna,* p. 63.

[15] Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna,* p. 16.

[16] The competition called for the designs for a general plan for regulating the whole municipal area of Vienna. See *Die Wiener Ringstrasse, Bild Einer Epoch*. See also Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, p. 73.

[17] See Camillo Sitte, *Grossstadt Grün*, an appendix which was added to the third and all subsequent editions of *Der Städtebau.*

CHAPTER 4

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RATTANAKOSIN ANCIENT CITY

4.1 BACKGROUND

The urban development schemes of Paris and Vienna, while criticized for its destruction of existing order and establishing a new systematic fabric within the city devoid of real human activities and scale, have been replicated and followed by many cities in Europe, South American as well as Asia. Bangkok is one of such cities to employ the nineteenth century European redevelopment scheme.

During the late Nineteenth century, most authorities on the city laid claim to a scientific discourse. But their unsubstantiated incantations were limited to the affirmation of the scientific nature of the city in general and their own proposals in particular.[1] The result is that architects and planners produced only the linguistic indicators of scientific language. Most of the nineteenth century regulated city plan for urban development remained a testament to this method. The system of grids, uniformed building blocks, linear or radial extensions were employed, often emphasized by main thoroughfares in differing forms of circumferential ring streets or arterial boulevards.

The space of the city is seen as an infinite extension to be subdivided, thus the art of building cities became the art of subdividing city blocks. Space meant what was left in-between after self-contained and highly articulated spatial bodies were inserted. The buildings and the space remained two separate entities independent from one another. The nineteenth century cities thus created a large break between their time and any other before it. They were the cities that could be designed, regulated and created anew, using formal language. London, Paris, Vienna and many other European cities exemplified such radical transformation. And the face of the nineteenth century Bangkok was not exempted from such changes.

4.2 HISTORY

Back in pre-historic age, the area of Rattanakosin Ancient City was a part of the gulf of Thailand. Only at the beginning of historic age that land started to form, becoming the basin of Chao Praya River. During Ayutthaya period, the area called Bangkok included both sides of Chao Praya River, the Pra Nakorn area as well as Thonburi areas of Bangkok-Noi and Bangkok-yai. Originally the areas were not divided by the river but were bounded together, with Chao Praya River circumventing it. Between 1534-1547, a canal was cut through the make a short cut for boats, causing the river stream to shift. This canal later became the main water path of Chao Praya River. With the river and intricate networks of connecting canals, settlements had been formed in the area since Ayutthaya period. The types of early settlements were those of small agricultural communities along the waterways. Because most travel and communications were done by boats, via the networks of canals, houses were either built on the banks of canals and rivers, or on rafting platforms creating floating communities along the water paths.[2]

DURING THE REIGN OF KING RAMA I-III (1782-1806)

After Ayutthaya lost to Burma in the war of 1767, it became completely destroyed beyond the point of any transformation. The capital city of Siam, was thus moved to Thonburi in the reign of King Taksin. Later in 1872, Chakri dynasty was established and the Rattanakosin period began. With the new dynasty, the capital was moved from the west side of Chao Praya River to the East side, giving birth to Rattanakosin Ancient City and its subsequent extensions known as Bangkok today.[3] (fig 4.1-4.9)

Along with new palaces and buildings, a new ring canal was constructed circumventing the old one in order to extend the perimeter of the city. New city walls and 14 fornications were built. A new canal name Klong-Lod was constructed in order to join the new ring canal with the old one. In addition to the canal network, new roads were built, 9 within the perimeter of the old ring canal, 3 reaching out beyond towards the north, the south and the east. These three roads are now known as Chakrapongs, Bamrungmueng and Banmor road. During the reign of King Rama III, additional canals were constructed, further extending the canal network. Settlements during this period were similar to that of Thonburi, congregated along waterways. Later

extension of the city to the east began with the building of new royal and aristocratic palaces, residences as well as temples, creating various communities with different social and cultural specificities.[4] (fig 4.10)

THE REIGN OF KING RAMA IV

During the reign of King Rama IV, Siam began establishing commercial exchanges with foreign countries especially those in Europe. After the Bawring Treaty, commercial exchanges between Siam and foreign countries began to expand widely. And with such expansion, the city itself began to transform. With socio-economic as well as domestic changes, the physicality of the city including its structure and its appearance had to change. Western models of urban development were consulted, resulting in a more systematic restructure of the city. During the reign of King Rama IV, three main roads of Chareonkrung, Bamrungmuang and Fuengnakorn were built, becoming commercial centers for both Chinese and European traders. Shop houses for commercial purposes were extensively built along the new roads. Gradually the old canal or water-based communities began to make ways for new land-and-road-based communities, while the architectural styles became the mixture of Thai, Chinese and European.[5] (fig 4.11)

FROM THE REIGN OF KING RAMA V

During the reign of King Rama V, Siam and its neighboring countries were deeply affected by Western colonization. With political, economic as well as socio-cultural pressure, the face of the country needed to transform to represent both the ruling power and the concept modernity. The city became a means of representation, communicating both the advancement of the country and the cultural specificities that belonged to no one else. In order to improve both the functional and the representational aspect of the place, King Rama V devised a scheme to both expand the road networks and enlarge the existing ones. It was a plan influenced by the many European models he experienced while traveling in Europe. New roads were built, while existing ones were widen. The new Dusit palace was built in the north of Rattanakosin, away from the old grand palace, thus needing new thoroughfares to connect them.[6] Rachadamnoen-Nai, Rachadamnoen-Klang and Rachadamnoen-Nok were built linking the two palaces together, creating

continuous and grand boulevards not unlike those in Paris of Vienna. Net mass transit networks of trains and tramways were constructed.

The settlements during this period had already changed from water-based communities to land-based communities along roads and streets. Residential architecture during this time ranged from traditional Thai to Chinese as well as Western styles, with additional building of low-income residents that were to become flats and apartments. In addition to residential buildings, shop houses continued to spring up over the city, causing increasing density in many areas. Eventually the inner part of Rattanakosin became dense, causing the expansion to take place outside the wall. During the reign of King Rama VI, new roads were built towards the north and the east of the city. Parts of city wall were demolished, giving ways to further expansion and connection between the old city and the new outlying areas.

From the reign of King Rama VII, and the advent of democracy, the area of Rattanakosin Ancient City was still densely populated, with more roads built as well as bridges connecting the east part of Chao Praya River to the west. New building activities inside the first ring canal were mostly governmental and municipal. Between the first and the second ring canals, shop houses were still being constructed. But within the first stage of democracy, the styles of buildings began to transform. Architecture became a means to represent the new ruling system as well as the government aspiration. (fig 4.12-4.13)

4.3 Analysis of Functional and Representational Implications

Like so many other places, from the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of a modern “city” had informed the transformation and extensions of Rattanakosin Ancient City, which had become the capital of Siam since the Reign of King Rama I in 1782. As the serpentine network of canals has gradually been replaced by roads and streets, uniformity gradually took hold, which was a phenomenon forced by increasing urge of systematic industrialization not unlike many other nineteenth century cities. The results of such forces, however, managed to lift the face of many cities. For Rattanakosin Ancient City since the reign of King Rama V, the symmetry, the regularity and the uniformity of the beautiful façades of the streets would

easily render satisfaction admirable to the eye. In addition to Temples, Palaces and grand civic buildings, most of the Rattanakosin Ancient City's streets were lined with shop-houses. Two or three storied hybrid of Chinese and Western influences, these shop-houses has formed the face of the city. The orderly city of Rattanakosin presented an image of streets and spaces for civilian, military and monarch ceremonies. It has set the urban value in which many areas of Bangkok have followed, with regularity of outline and the courtly uniform pattern of facades. Similar to Paris, this practice had created an ordered street line as well as building façades. Lining or enclosing the streets with uniformed façades has been a widely used method of the nineteenth century urban planning to create order and identity, and the case of Rattanakosin Ancient City was not different. (fig. 4.10-4.12)

Since it was founded as the capital of Siam, the social and economic organization of Rattankosin Ancient City was determined by the presence of the ruling monarch and its palaces. But as the nineteenth century progressed, such order was shifted. As Siam became Thailand and the ruling monarch has been replaced by democratic government in 1932 the structure of the city was shaped by official governments, military, artisans and growing commerce. The change from the royal capital to a governmental and commercial one entailed the adoption of what tended to be recurrent building typologies throughout the urban area once enclosed by fortifications. The common building types, besides existing temples and royal palaces, were new governmental quarters and commercial shop-houses.

Although the straight roads allowed for uniformed shop-houses to be built, the relationship between the form of the streets and the form of the buildings in this case are not one-sided. In many ways, the need to install or build new repetitive shop-houses for commercial purposes also called for the creation of a more uniformed and straight streets. Both, however, resulted in a more systematic grid after the Western model, never seen before in Siam. The city, with previous sense of heterogeneity, became more homogenous as a result of the uniformity of both building typologies and systematic grid road network. Each part of the city can be seen a module to be replicated, subdivided or extended. The structure hierarchically organized in its streets and architecture

can be seen as a tangible evidence of the ruling power, both monarchal and governmental.

The adoption of the Western city planning model to create a uniformed city was also convenient from the technical and economic point of view. New drainage and water system could be constructed and incorporated into a systematic network, allowing a healthier and convenient life. Although there have been no planning regulations during the reign of King Rama V, the scheme was clearly modeled after that of the West resulting in similar forms and systems. Axes, alignment, grid and symmetry became keywords to build the city anew.

During the early period of the twentieth century, when the royal monarch's rule was replaced by democratic government, the face of the city has slightly been transformed. The grand avenue, such as Rachadamneon Boulevard that was once used for royal precession has become a symbol for democracy. As the place for the people, buildings along the Rachadamneon Boulevard adopted a remarkably more somber face. Highly uniformed, almost fascistic, buildings lined the Rachadamneon Boulevard seemed gigantic compared to the miniscule commercial shop-houses around them. Compared to the façades of the earlier era, these buildings are considerably less expressive in terms of ornamental details and motifs, yet their blankness makes them noticeable and even severe. They stand out as prominent urban objects, lined the street, yet separated from it, refusing to blend with any other structures around it. Along with other governmental buildings of the era, they have created an ordered façade type throughout the Rattanakosin Ancient City that represented the imposing order and the new ruling class, the democratic government.

4.4 CONCLUSION

THE CREATION OF THE PRIVATE PUBLIC LIFE

In an analysis of Bangkok's spatial system by Apiradee Kasemsook done via Space Syntax computing program, it shows illuminating facts that confirms the semantic readings of the city's transformation. This syntactic study offers three different maps showing the configuration patterns of streets and roads which explains the connectivity as well as the integration values of those streets.[7]

With map A showing global integration of street networks between the inner part of Rattanakosin Ancient City and its surrounding areas, it shows major thoroughfares running north-south and east-west attempting to connect to streets in further afield. The darker the line, the more integrated the line is. Being the integrated means having other roads connected to it. In this map which shows street connection in a large scale, lines that run diagonally are only ones that are made to connect other major streets, in other words, north-south and east-west axes were made to work together to form a macro scale grid pattern of different hierarchical values. Most of the lines which both align to and locate along the three ring canals are globally integrated. The map thus shows that the streets dissecting through communities as well as the ones running along the ring canals are the most integrated, with the longest Dinsor Road cutting north-east through many local areas.[8] The longest east-west and the most integreate line is Chareonkrung Road, the first paved street of Bangkok and the heart of commercial area since the time of its construction till today. (fig. 4.14)

With map B of local integration, it shows the patterns of the grid system within Rattanakosin area and further afield. The grid patterns of Rattanakosin area are different in types. The grid of the central and east area has an orthogonal grid structure, meaning that the grid structure is formed by a number of roads connecting one another at right angle, forming. The grid of the west and the north has a more broken structure, meaning that the grid is formed by a number of roads that sequentially connect to a few more roads, creating open or broken grid rather than a closed or complete one.[9] Yet despite the differences, the two types of grid show similar systematic efforts to connect and align roads together into a coherent and uniformed pattern. (fig 4.15)

It is worth noting that most major or large scale grids within Rattanakosin area are orthogonally complete and uniformed, while the broken characteristic occurs within a micro scale of the interior of those grids. Each street, boulevard, intersection, square or plaza is enclosed with uniformly aligned buildings, giving the "exterior" public space complete and clear geometrical forms. Considering in a macro scale, the efforts to create a sense of uniformity and symmetry are revealed, giving the city a coherent characteristic planning system not unlike that of the West. (fig 4.16)

Yet, considering in a micro scale, a very different picture emerges. While the forms of the "exterior" public space generated by main thoroughfares are always geometrically pure, i.e. rectangular, square, triangular or circular, the forms of the "interior" public space hidden behind the façades of the main streets or within the nucleus of communities are highly organic. In contrast, the broken and seemingly incoherent characters are often hidden behind the main façades of buildings that lined the main streets. Organic, in this sense does not refer to a curve or fluid lines, but refers to a configuration that are variously configured and heterogeneous, allowing many different elements to be integrated into one ensemble of setting. Within or behind many uniformed street blocks, one finds a much more organic configuration of both spaces and architectural elements. These "interior" public spaces occur not only within communities but also to sacred compounds of temples as well as governmental and municipal compounds. The outlines of both buildings and spaces within the blocks are hardly in a complete geometrical shape, but ready to be broken at various ends, becoming interlocking spaces and forms. (fig 4.17-4.23)

This natural permutation of "interior" public spaces has a much wider implication than the hiding of something incoherence behind the uniformed façades. Before the systematic transformation of the city, Rattanakosin area consisted of various communities. Each community, though belonging to the city, formed the private nucleus of their public lives within the community, which was not much different from villages in rural areas. It is a place for social gathering as well as exchanges of goods in a micro scale of the community. It is a public space that only belongs to each private community, where each member of the community is considered more like a family rather

than stranger. One feels at home and private within such public arena. Once migrated into the city, this type of daily life and habits still held true, resulting in efforts to create similar spaces for those purposes. It is a way of life transported into and retained within the city. It was, in many ways, a symbol of existence for each and every community.

This private public space is both practical and symbolic. While it practical function serves as a social nexus, it is also a symbolic representation of a sense of belonging and affirmation of human existence. Within a community, one exists as an individual, yet being a part of an assuring social group, without which the city life becomes anonymous and empty. **(fig 4.17-4.23)**

As the city was transformed into something more uniformed and regulated, these practical and symbolic needs of community space are translated into the various types of private public spaces within the street blocks. A market, a playground, a multi-purpose lawn or plaza, are tucked behind the enclosing buildings and take whatever spaces and forms allowed by the existing configuration of the street blocks. It is retreat or retrieval of public space into the private arena. Public space in the sense of the Thais simply differs from that of the West.

While the Western model of the order and uniformity represent a statement of how each community should fit within the structure of the urban ensemble, it did not necessarily concern itself with the micro structure. This is precisely the problems that Camillo Sitte pointed out in his theory. When the macro structure is laid out to improve many practical demands, the micro structure must be taken into account in order to create public spaces that belong to each community. The reason Sitte turned to ancient towns was to find the hidden pattern or language that sustain each and every community. Although the sense of coherence is necessary in planning the city, but once the spatial pattern within a macro scale is conceived, it must accept alterations according to the needs of spatial structure in micro scale. Otherwise, the relationship between the large scale connectivity and small scale integration will be lacking.

The case of Bangkok confirms such needs. Behind the buildings with external uniformity, there exist seeming incoherent public spaces were choreographed to respond to both internal demands and external obligations, which represent an attempt to reconcile its inner configuration with the shifting axis of its urban setting. The sometimes-overlooked private public spaces of residential, commercial, or even religious and governmental quarters often reciprocate the interior pattern of inhabitation. Such spaces are a testament to the users' struggle to answer to both interior needs and exterior demands. **(fig 4.17-4.23)**

Small alleys and walkways have been added, altered, and carved out of existing structure. What has caused these alterations? As the blocks were originally designed with coherent and uniformed pattern, they have created a sense of urban order and given the city a tangible identity. The uniformed grids were designed to be viewed from the outside, to give the borderline to the space of the streets, or to be the demarcation between public and private life of the city. Yet, it is inevitable that behind the uniformed blocks, private communities also exist. Thus entries and exits to and from these communities are created while the spaces behind the blocks are transformed. Some have become seemingly haphazard, disordered, and even chaotic, when consider as a whole. These organic spaces within the large street blocks were not meant to represent the image of the city, yet they do form the identity of Rattanokosin City. Consider as a whole, they are seemingly un-composed and accidental, yet they all represent highly articulated public space, albeit more private thus radically different from the Western model. Each tries to communicate its own internal message, reflecting its internal usages. It is the kind of articulation that comes into being by the lives and activities behind the urban order.

References

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[2] *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin*, Thailand Cultural Environment Project with Danish International Development Assistance, Bangkok, 1994.

[3] *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin*, p. 2.

[4] *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin*, p. 3.

[5] *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin*, pp.4-5.

[6] *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin*, pp.4-5.

[7] Apiradee Kasemsook, The Configuration Map of Bangkok: The Road Network and its Relationship to the City's Evolution, *Na Jua*, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, 2008.

[8] Kasemsook, *The Configuration Map of Bangkok*.

[9] Kasemsook, *The Configuration Map of Bangkok*.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

During the Nineteenth century, many European metropolises were transformed, sending repercussions throughout the world. With it came the birth of modern city planning and many theoretical advocates. On one end of the spectrum the city is to be totally composed with coherent and systematic unity, allowing the development for all utilitarian factors. This gives the city a sense of uniformity capable of representing specific identities the city is aspired to communicate. Exemplified by Otto Wagner's theory, city planning is a manifestation of proportionate and coherent unity. Space, in this sense, is measured as the regulated field that can be repeated or divided.

On the other end of the spectrum, the city is thought of as fragmented units or spatial volumes rather than an extensive network. Exemplified by Camillo Sitte, city planning is more of an assembly of both masses and spaces that is built up at the same time. The city is an assembly of rooms aggregated and unified by the relations between each particular setting. While in the first way of thinking space is being expanded, in the second, space is being delimited. Despite their differences, both shared certain attitudes toward the city, believing it was to be the product of will rather than the product of chance.

As for Bangkok, the transformation of the city fabric brought about a very different outcome from that of the West. The transformation schemes in cities like Paris or Vienna, while being criticized for the destruction of old order, were nevertheless capable of bringing about and regenerating public life of the city through the creation of public spaces embedded within the street network. As those public spaces such as plazas, squares, parks and gardens are created as a part of an extensive and interconnected network; it means that each and every public space belongs to the city as a whole, rather than to each specific community. The way these spaces are designed, placed and configured in

relation to the street networks confirms such assumption. These spaces are brought out of the private realm, and placed onto the open expanses among the passing traffic, becoming the stopping points within the speedy network of vehicular movements. Rather than belonging to any specific types of community, they are anonymous, being endowed with more or less similar characters throughout the city. One can simply move through the network of public spaces without feeling like an intruder. In other words, they are intended to be universally public, welcoming anyone and everyone alike.

In Bangkok's Rattanakosin Ancient City, the situations are radically different. While the city is being ordered and structured in the Western model, the public life occurred within the city can hardly be brought out to the "public." Most communities have migrated to the city, yet the rural life styles still endured. It is the life centered on the social life of each private community. In other words, the concept of "public" for the Thais is fundamentally different from that of the West. Being a part of the public means being a part of a specific community, rather than being a part of a city as whole. Public space for the Thais is an extension of private domain, separate from it, yet closely linked and connected. It is the type of public that allows one to truly share and exchange personal contacts, rather than to observe and remain unseen as that of the West. This explains why public spaces design within Western typologies are not capable to serve as true sharing ground. When spaces of the city are ordered and structured into anonymous network, public lives are created and recreated within the nucleus of each community. In other words, the public is forced to retreat into the private, separated from the overall structure of the place it belongs.

Socio-cultural specificities are crucial for the design of public space within each and every city fabric. Either the theory of uniformity or fragmentation will not suffice. In order to for public spaces to truly serve the public lives of a city, there exist many pretexts for the design of physical structure. Only when one understand the implication of socio-cultural specificities of each place, can one begin to see the design not as the beginning, but a means and an end that is never fixed but can be transformed, shaped and reshaped by both individuals and communities living within the place.

EPILOGUE

THE FUTURE: NEW GLOBAL PHENOMENON OF URBAN TOURISM

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, with rationalization of space in the city, the sense of mystery was removed. The meaning and the order of things were established in advance which makes flânerie less possible.[1] When the streets became the grand boulevards more oriented towards the circulation of traffic rather than the pedestrians, the flâneur lost his city location. [2]

The flâneur had disappeared. Yet, after a century passed, the new type of city spectator emerged. During the late twentieth century, a new type of city touring became popular in many countries throughout the world, and the era saw the rise of packaged tours to cities for vacations that would entertain and edify. It was the beginnings of urban tourism, the set of tourist resources or activities located in towns and cities and offered to visitors from "elsewhere." Thus, unlike the flâneur who became an avid observer of public life in his hometown, the urban tourist is driven out of his or her own locale in search of excitement in other cities. Urban tourism is the type of tourism that focuses on the public, urban culture, and environments of the destination. Even though it resides within the broad range of tourism activities, it often encompasses experiences absorbed by the visitor to a place that is beyond their own living environment. Concerning the identification of the main tourist attractions in many cities, well-focused tourist urban routes are developed, some are integrated by historical sites, some by cultural sites. These routes are often designed to represent a total and unified image of the city. The local flâneur was now replaced by visitors from afar.

Urban tourism has increased in a significant way around the world during the late twentieth century. For economic reasons mainly, the governments and ministries of economy of many countries have considered tourism as an important source of income generation. In this context, the urban tourism promotion represents an opportunity to revitalize the city and regional economy, and at the same time, to dignify and preserve the architectonic and cultural richness of the cities considered as centers of tourist development. The urban tourist product has well been defined as historic buildings, urban

landscapes, museums and art galleries, theatres, sport and events.[3] The elements of urban tourism is classified as *primary elements* (cultural facilities, physical characteristics, sports and amusements facilities and socio-cultural features), *secondary elements* (hotel and catering facilities and markets) and *additional elements* (accessibility, parking, information offices, signposts guides, maps, etc.). [4]

With the rise of urban tourism, marketing of tourist destination became the major task of many cities. The strategy of urban tourism is based on the image that the visitors have in their mind concerning the attributes of the place. [5] Thus, every city, as a tourist destination, can be considered as an image, which is integrated by cultural attributes that the travellers shape from their perceptions and their symbolic interpretation of this global image. [6] Yet, the tourist destinations can convey images that are artificially created by a particular marketing strategy. Thus emerges the contrast between the created image and the perceived reality. And as the urban tourists concentrate on "sites" and "sights," their paces are rapid, restrained by the limited amount of time they have in each city, they may be able to observe the physical characters of the places, but they are unlikely to grasp the specific characteristics of local cultures in the same manner that the more idle flânerie allowed in the previous century.

THE TRANSFORMATION

The practice of flânerie is un-structured, aimless but purposive. It is an activity carried out at "home," driven by mysteries among the seemingly familiar. Flânerie is tied to the public space and spectacles of the urban environment. In the view of the flâneur, the city is defined in terms of its public space, movements and rituals. Flânerie discloses a field occupied by an observer within a city that is knowable only as the accumulation of multiple and diverse point of view. In other words, the flâneur experiences the city as an open field of images and fragments.

In contrast to flânerie, urban tourism is well-structured, organized, and pre-destined. It is an activity carried out far away from "home," in search of idealistic images unable to find at home. Urban tourism is tied to either

historic or cultural routes. It represents a synoptic and totalizing apprehension of the city. In other words, the urban tourist experiences a view of the city as a unified entity representing an act of enclosure in its form.

Within the past two centuries, the city spectators as well as their relationship with urban everyday lives have changed. Even though resurrection of the flâneur is impossible, the future of urban tourism can still be shaped. We, in the twenty-first century, who live in the age of rapid communication network, advanced information technology, are satisfied by the accumulative gathering of fluctuating information. Thus, we are no longer satisfied by the stable and rooted images the local flâneur experienced in the nineteenth century.

The most recent trends and forecasting studies by the World Trade Organization indicate that cities will continue to be in high demand by tourists of all sorts, and the problems associated with the handling of these tourists will have to be more systematically tackled.[7] As flânerie becomes urban tourism, local culture becomes global, cities face, therefore, a double challenge. First, they have to be able to respond to the expectations and needs of the growing number of tourists. Secondly, cities have to ensure that tourism is developed and managed in such a way that it benefits the resident population, does not contribute to the deterioration of the urban environment but rather to its enhancement. Both the physical and non-physical environment of the city should be taken into account. Sites, places, neighbourhoods are, clearly, important references to the history and culture of the places and their inhabitants. They should not be considered an architectural monument in itself, or even a physical entity to be preserved for the sole purpose of tourism. Perhaps through the balance between the concept of flânerie and urban tourism, urban neighbourhoods can become a living entity of networks, buildings, people, relationships, and a past, present and future.

References

[1] Keith Tester. Ed. *The Flâneur.* New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 1.

[2] Tester, *The Flâneur*, p. 1.

[3] Jansen-Verbeke, M. *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Inner Cities*. Amsterdam: Netherlands Geographical Studies, 1988.

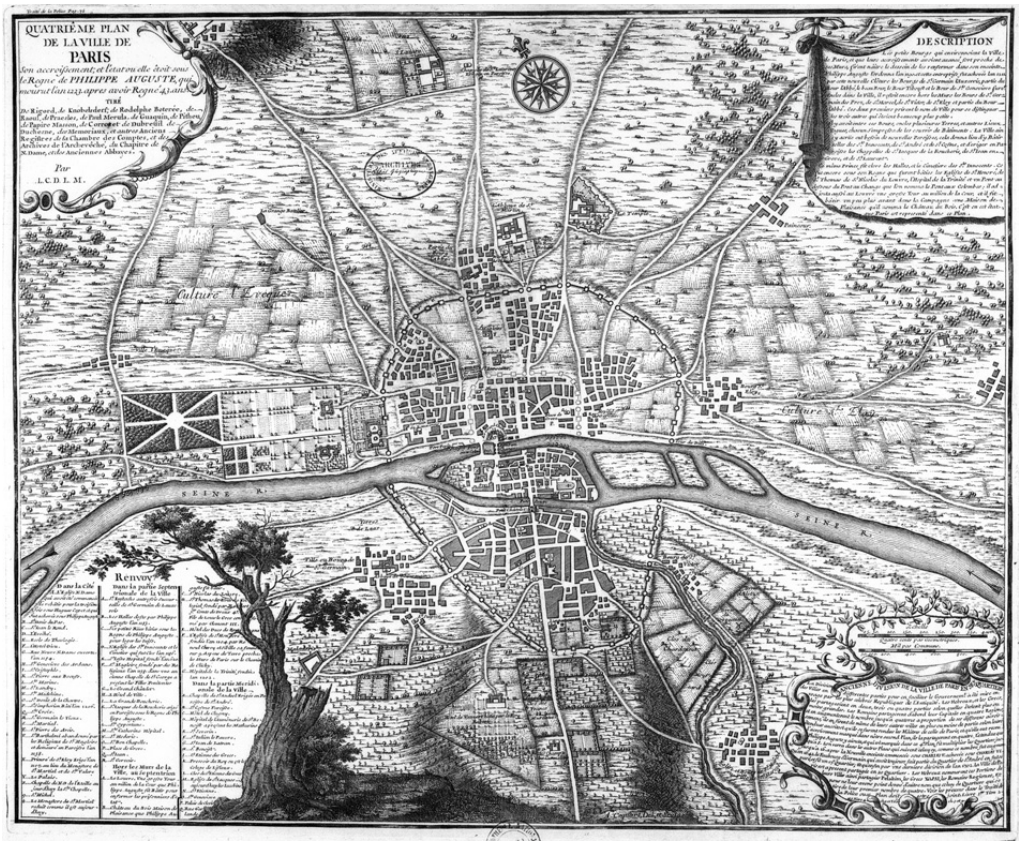
[4] Jansen-Verbeke, M. *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Inner Cities*.

[5] Jansen-Verbeke, M. *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Inner Cities*.

[6] Jansen-Verbeke, M. *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Inner Cities*.

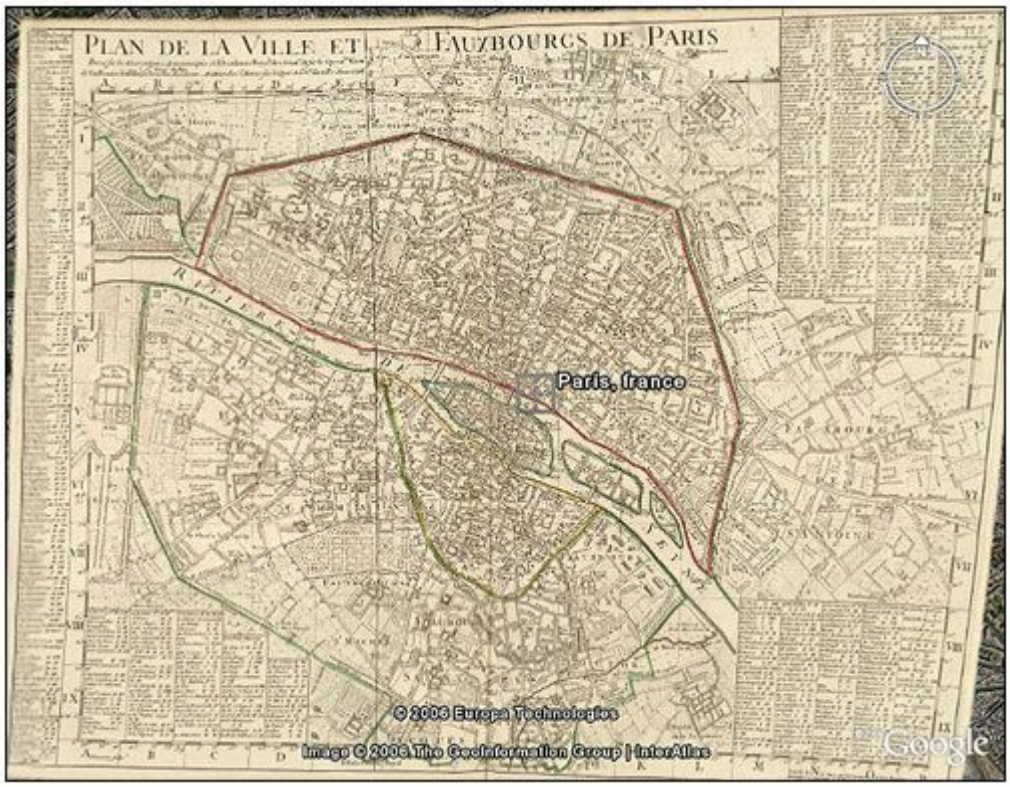
[7] Jansen-Verbeke, M. *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism in Inner Cities*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

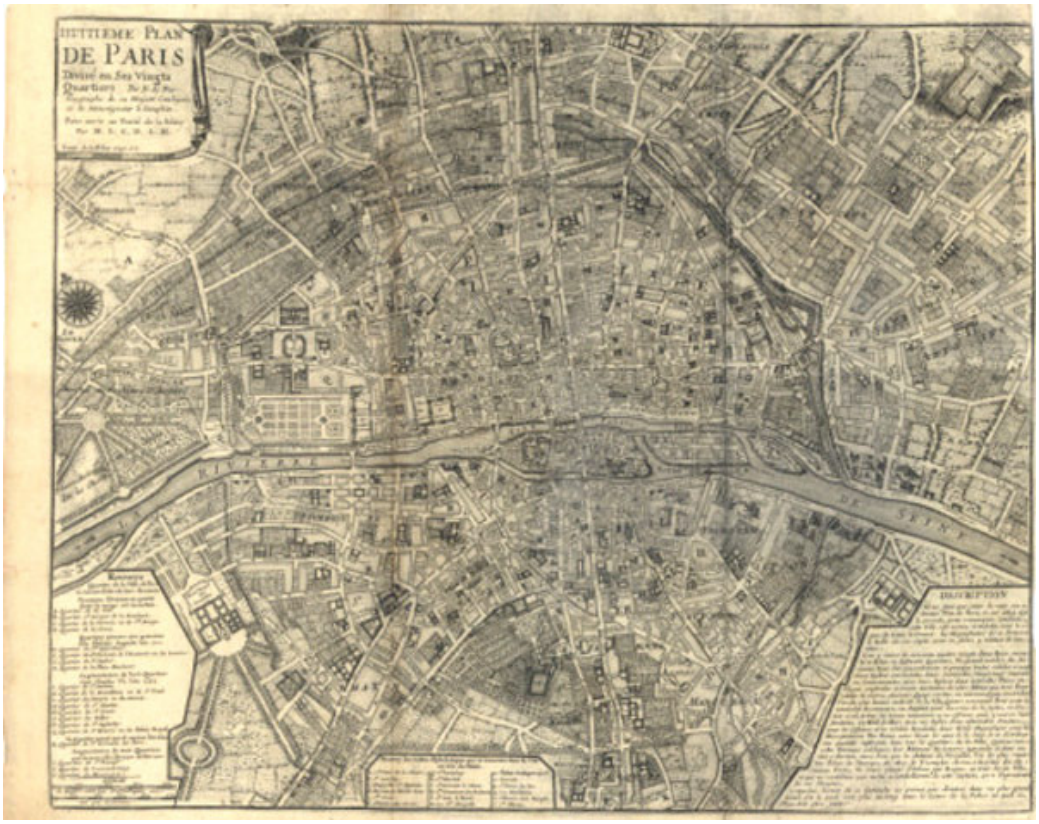


(Fig 2.1) Paris 1233

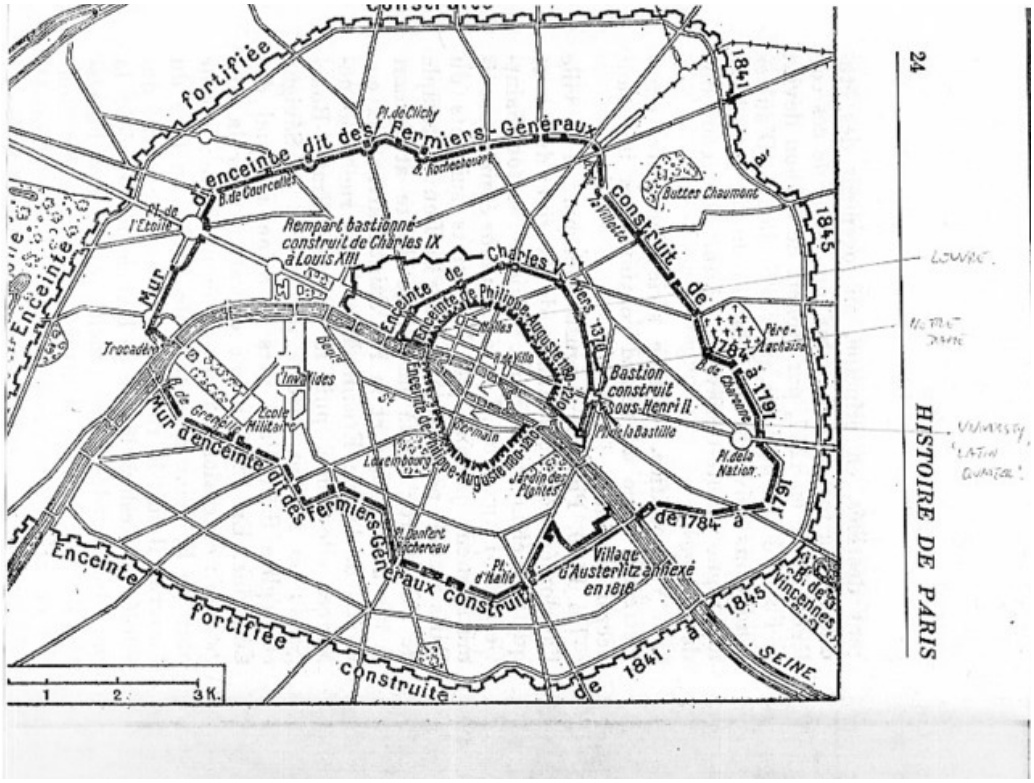
(Fig 2.2) Paris 1569



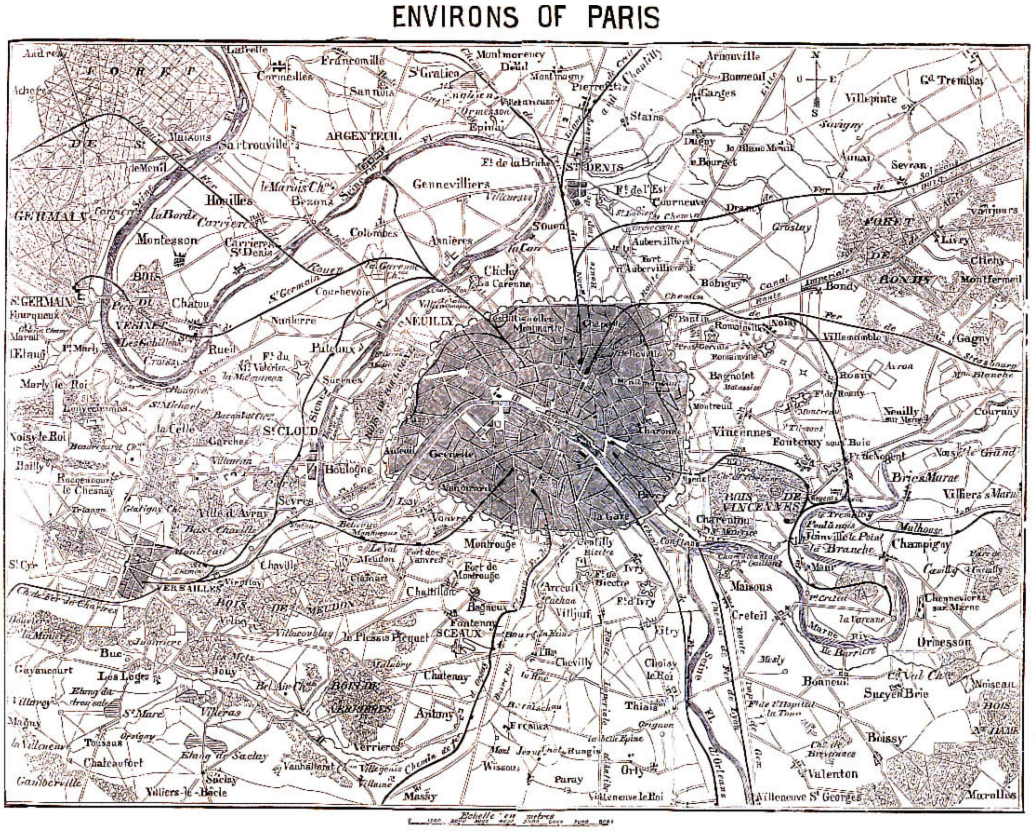
(Fig 2.3) Paris 1706



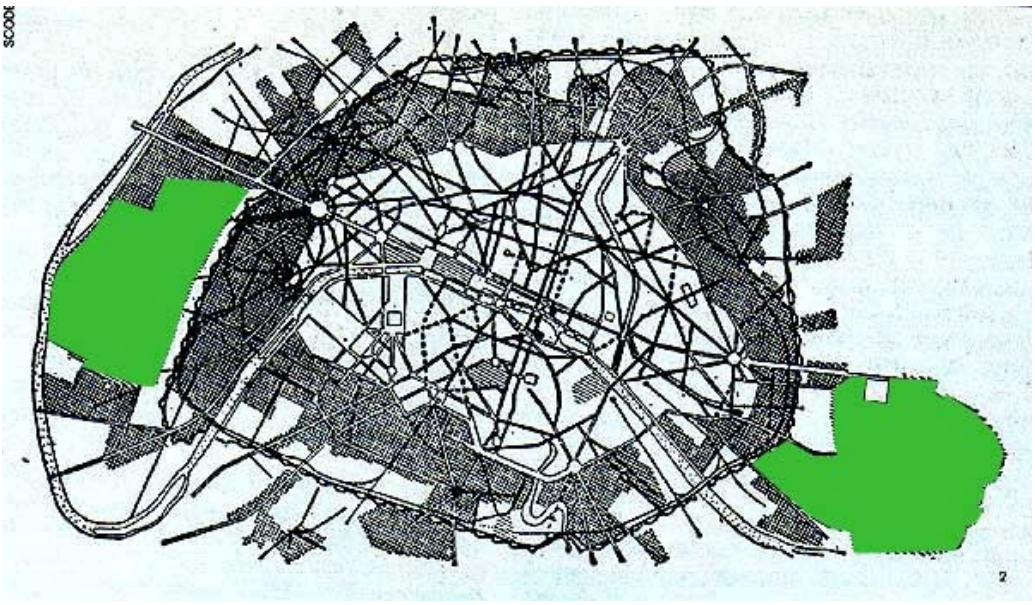
(Fig 2.4) Paris 1800



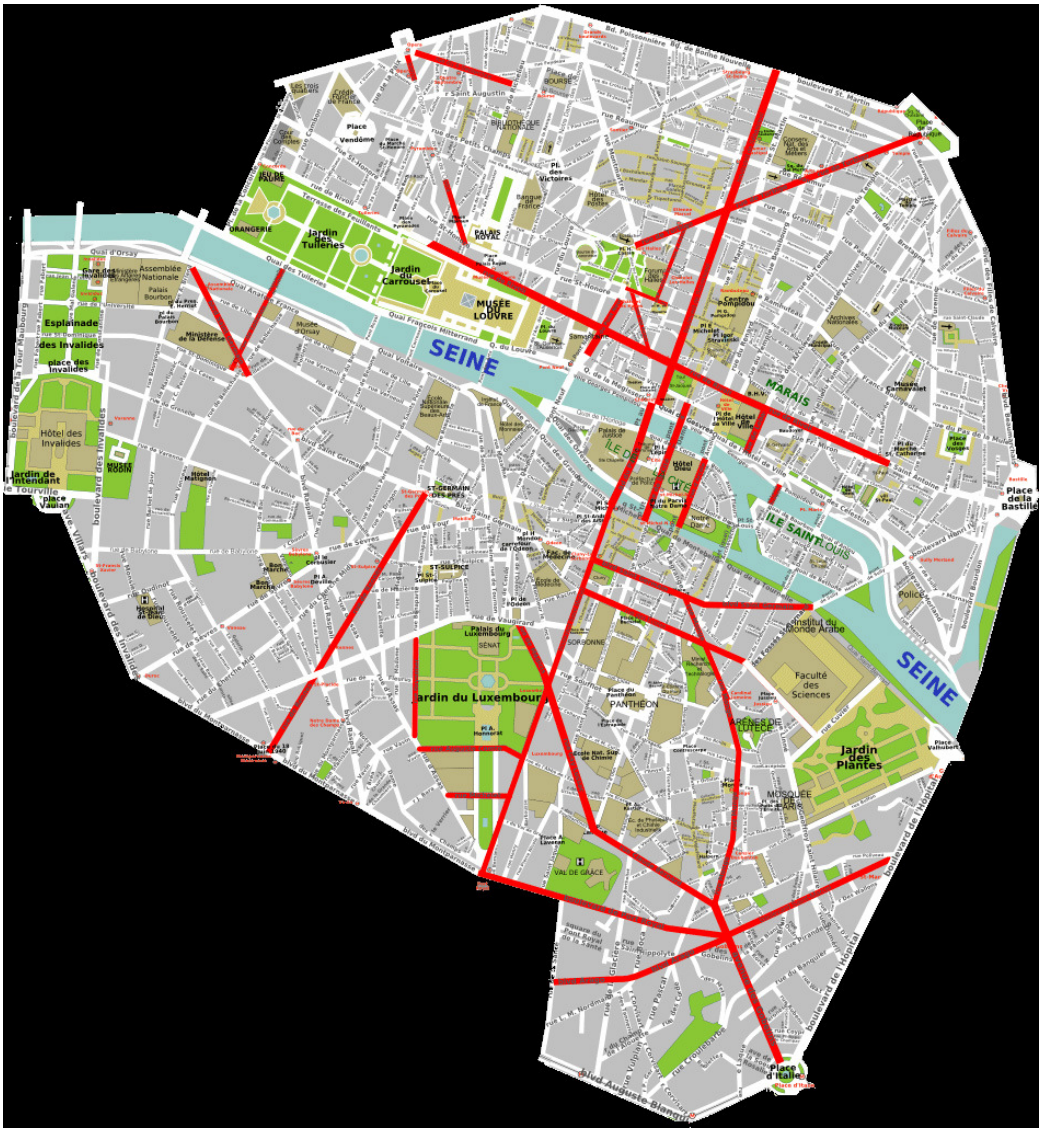
(Fig 2.5) Paris Farmers General Wall



(Fig 2.6) Paris 1866

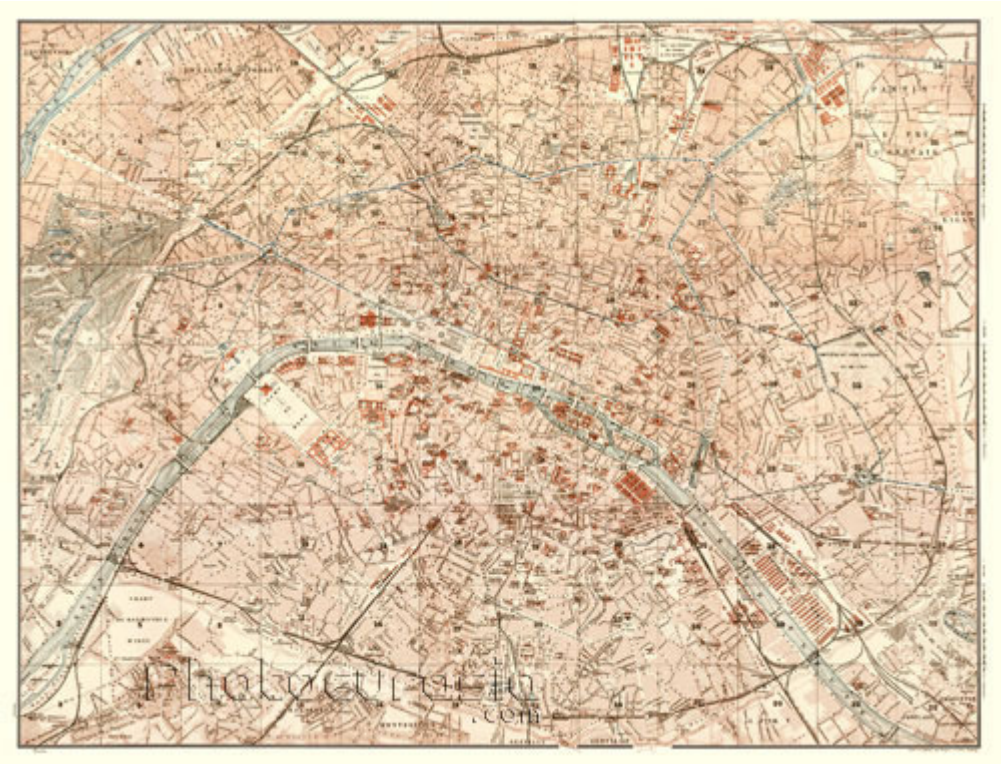


(Fig 2.7) Paris 1853-1870

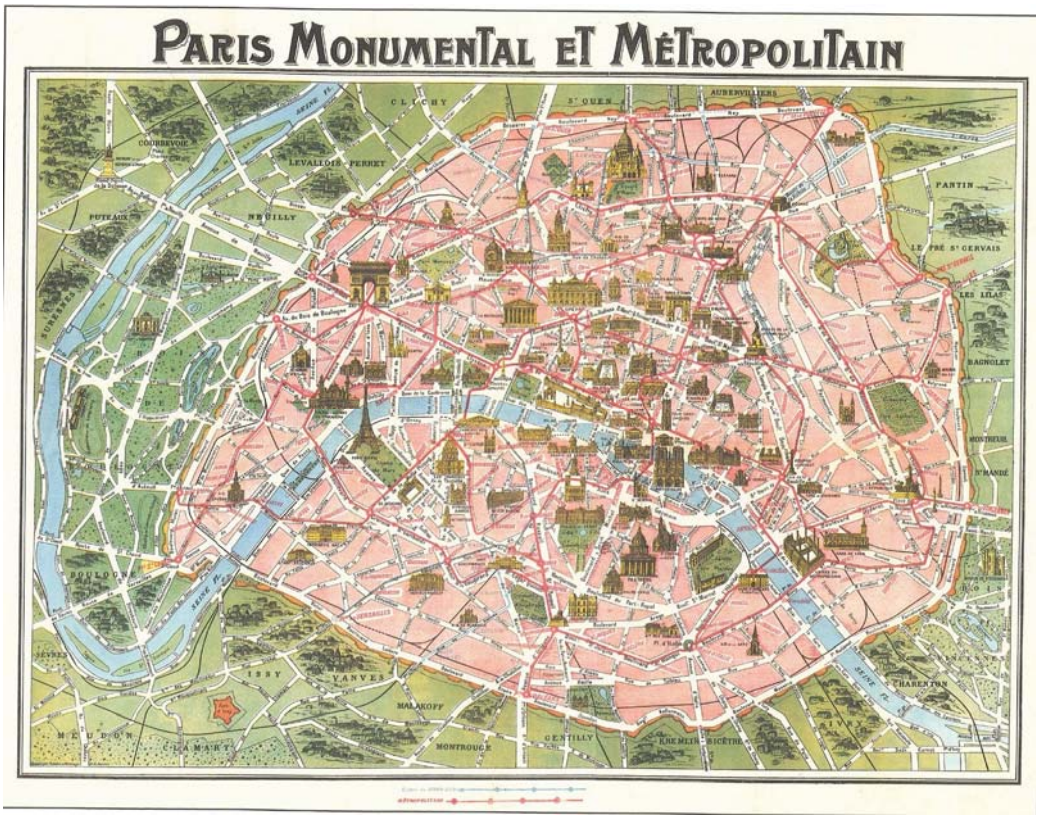


(Fig 2.8) Paris Haussmann Scheme

(Fig 2.9) Paris District Map

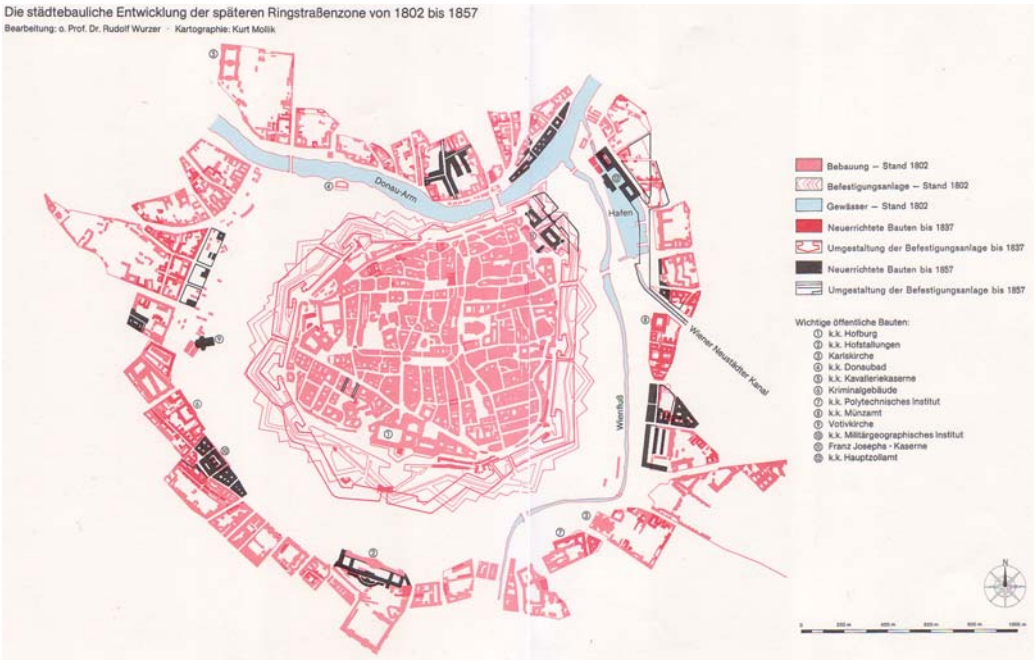


(Fig 2.10) Paris 1903

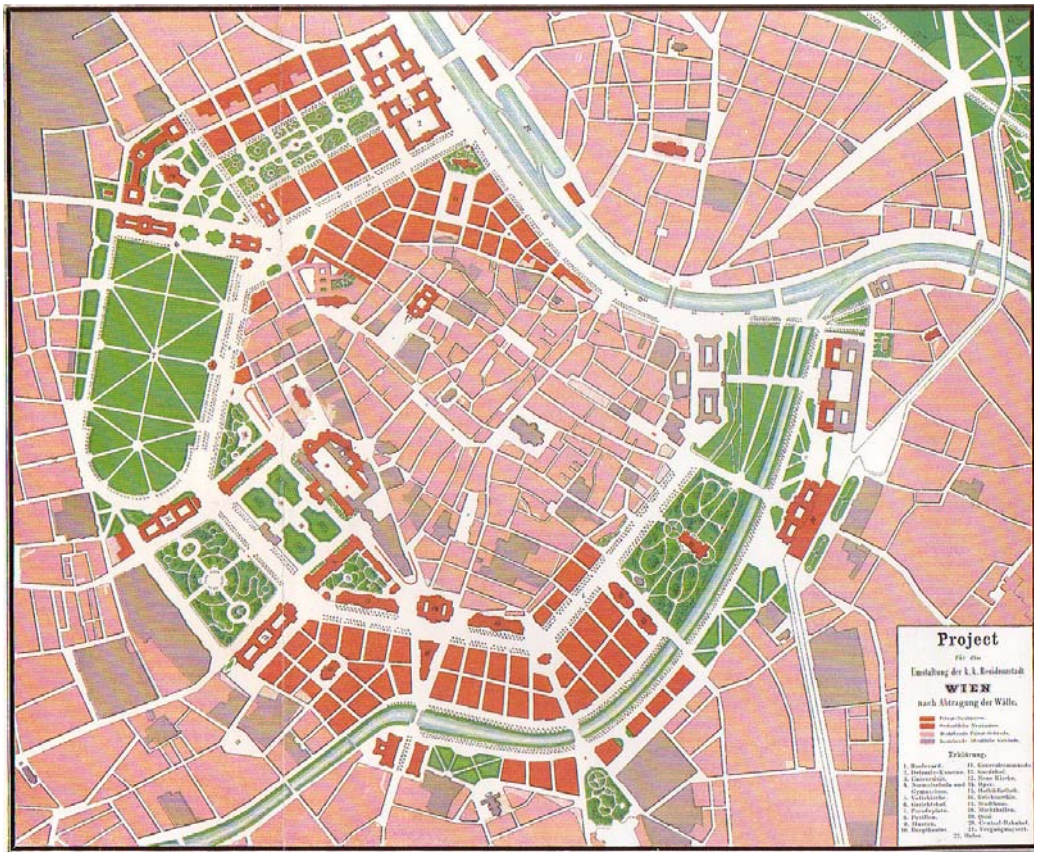


(Fig 2.11) The New Paris

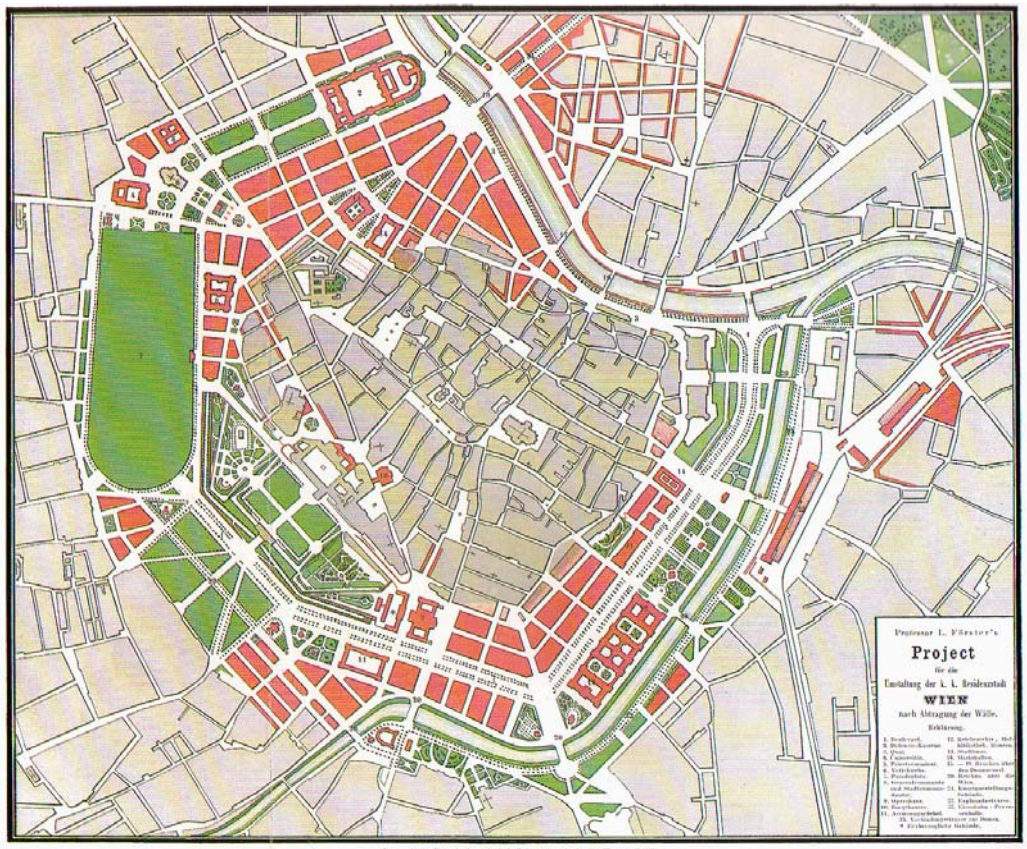
(Fig 2.12) Vienna 1857



(Fig 2.13) Vienna 1857 Showing the Glacis Perimeter



(Fig 2.14) Vienna Ringstrasse Plan by Eduard can der Null 1858



(Fig 2.15) Vienna Ringstrasse Plan by Ludwig von Forster 1858