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Athens Journal of Architecture

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The current issue is the second of the tenth volume of the *Athens Journal of Architecture* (AJA), **published by the [Architecture Unit](#) of ATINER**

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



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- Submission of Paper: **10 June 2024**

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Signs of Memory: Le Corbusier's Drawings at Villa E.1027

By Daniela Pittaluga*

Design, beauty, the ethical question, aesthetics: all these terms are present in the story of Le Corbusier's drawings on the walls of Eileen Gray's villa E1027. Seven drawings were painted by Le Corbusier on the interior and exterior walls without her knowledge. They are drawings of considerable size and in very vivid colours and the author is undoubtedly one of the people who changed the culture of the 20th century. On the other hand, Gray's villa is also considered today one of the masterpieces of modern architecture: it is essential in its lines and colours and every detail has been carefully thought out and designed. The situation that arose with the inclusion of Le Corbusier's wall paintings poses many questions for those involved in Restoration. According to some lines of thought every intervention is a trace and as such it has its own meaning it tells a piece of history and as such it deserves to be preserved. In this specific case, however, Le Corbusier's brightly coloured drawings completely change the perception of the villa's spaces. In this case the preservation of a trace, no matter how significant it may be, has the power to change and cause the loss of the basic idea of this villa: preservation causes loss. This story therefore brings an important reflection on the role of conservation, on the ethics of restoration and also on the power that a drawing on a wall can have.

Introduction

The paper deals with the results of a scientific research carried out at the Department of Architecture and Design, University of Genoa (Italy), by the author, relating to the tools and methods of Knowledge and Conservation of Modern and Contemporary Architecture (University Research Projects with the Department of Geography, Prehistoria y Arqueologia, Facultad de Letras del Pais Vasco, for which the writer is scientific responsible: PRA 2014-'16 Archaeology of Architecture and the Restoration Site, PRA 2018-'19 Conservation and Restoration: methods of analysis and strategies – monitoring/conservation of tangible and intangible heritage, PRA 2022-'23 The Archaeology of Architecture for 20th and 21st Century Structures, knowledge for restoration).¹ In particular, the various researches undertaken since 2014 have the aim of investigating the most

*Associate Professor, University of Genoa, Italy.

1. D. Pittaluga, "L'analisi archeologica per la conoscenza e la conservazione delle strutture del XX secolo", in Tiziano Mannoni. *Attualità e sviluppi di metodi e di idee* (Eds.), ISCUM, 436-443. Firenze: All' Insegna del Giglio, 2021; D. Pittaluga, "The archaeology of architecture for the knowledge and preservation of the 'modern'", *RA-Restauero Archeologico*, no. special issue "1972-2022 World Heritage in transition. About management" (2022): 378-383, D.Pittaluga, J.A. Quiros Castillo, (2024), *Surfaces of 20th Century facades: reflections on their archaeological awareness*. In *TEMA*, DOI (in press) 10.30682/tema 100001, pp. 1-11.

recent architecture with the tools of the archaeology of architecture,² in a deeper way than has been done so far, and of grasping its various distinctive signs. In fact, in many contemporary structures there are interventions after the construction, even if the latter took place in recent times.³ These modifications are often due to changes in ownership, changes in taste, plant adaptations and, very often, repairs following deterioration of materials and/or structure.⁴ Understanding the meaning of the different layered signs and understanding their importance allows one to intervene on them more consciously and preserve their memory.⁵ The 'Restoration of the Modern and Contemporary' is in fact a need that is already manifesting itself now, but in the near future will become an urgent issue to which we should give targeted answers. This research includes the case study described in this paper: the signs of memory of Le Corbusier's drawings in villa E.1027.

In this article there are: 1- an introduction relating to the broader research in which this case study is placed, 2- a brief explanation of the methodology used to analyze villa E.1027, 3 -a concise description of villa E1027 and its particularities and the affair relating to le Corbusier's drawings on the walls of the villa (literature review), - the issues raised by le Corbusier's graffiti in the light of some theories of Restoration (discussion), 4-Conclusions with broader considerations.

2. The archeology of architecture is a discipline developed in the 1970s by Tiziano Mannoni and his collaborators. It has the purpose of analyzing the built visible in elevation with archaeological tools (in part deduced from the archeology of excavation, adapting them to the elevation, in part creating new ones). It aims to identify homogeneous phases of construction, destruction and transformation directly from the observation of the walls, painted surfaces and architectural elements; he also uses absolute and relative dating tools (T. Mannoni, *Caratteri costruttivi degli edifici storici*, Genova: ed. Escum, 1994; A.Boato, *L'archeologia in architettura. Misurazioni, stratigrafie, datazioni, restauro*. Venezia: Marsilio, 2008; A.Boato, D.Pittaluga, "Building archeology: a non-destructive archaeology" in *Proceedings 15th world conference on nondestructive testing*, Roma 2000, <https://www.ndt.net/article/wcndt00/papers/idn365/idn365.htm> (l.a. 10/3/2024), open access; A. Casarino, D. Pittaluga, "An analysis of building methods: chemical-physical and archaeological analyses of microlayer coatings on medieval façades in the centre of Genoa", *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, Elsevier, Paris, no.4,(2001): 259-275; D. Pittaluga, *Questioni di archeologia dell'architettura e restauro* (Genova: ECIG, 2009).

3. P.Jerome, N.Weiss, H.Ephron, "Fallingwater Part2: Materials-Conservation Efforts at Frank Lloyd Wright's Masterpieces", *APT Bulletin*, no.37 (2006), 2/3:3-11.

4. D.Pittaluga,"The archaeology of architecture for the knowledge and preservation of the 'modern'", *RA-Restauro Archeologico*, 2022, no. special issue "1972-2022 World Heritage in transition. About management" (2022): 378-383.

5. D. Pittaluga, *Questioni di archeologia dell'architettura e restauro* (Genova: ECIG, 2009); D. Pittaluga, L. Nanni, *Dalla calce della Fornace Bianchi ai dipinti di Gino Grimaldi. Conservazione integrata, sostenibile e partecipata a Cogoleto dal 2007 al 2016* (Genova: ECIG, 2016).

Methodology Followed in the Case Study Research: Villa E.1027 – The Villa and its Transformations

The research aims to identify tools and methods of reading in order to have an in-depth knowledge of the built environment, even the most recent one, and, on the basis of this knowledge, to establish the most suitable methods for a conservative restoration of the existing building. The methodology followed in the study on villa E.1027 is an extension of the entire research on contemporary archaeology and knowledge/conservation tools (PRA 2014-2023): it starts from iconic architectures of the modern period, architectures on which there is a lot of data available, in order to be able to reason about the various important elements; we also tried to understand whether the tools currently available for the study of the built environment (in particular the archaeology of architecture) are sufficient or need to be modified. There was therefore a first phase of investigation of indirect sources (bibliographical, published and unpublished sources, archive documents, graphic representations, videos and interviews...) and a second phase of data collection from direct sources (architecture archaeology tools)⁶ and a third phase of critical reflection both in relation to the tools of knowledge and analysis and in relation to the impact of knowledge as a concrete aid for a more conscious conservation.

Villa E1027, Icon of the Modern: Analysis between Direct Sources and Indirect Sources

A true icon of modern architecture, Villa E-1027⁷, it is Eileen Gray's first architectural creation⁸ (1926-1929) and testifies his attention in the design of every detail, even the smallest. The name: E.1027, is a code closely connected to the name of the designers-owners of the villa itself, Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici: E

6. D. Pittaluga, *Questioni di archeologia dell'architettura e restauro* (Genova: ECIG, 2009).

7. In 1930 villa E.1027 was published on the front page of the first issue of the magazine *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*.

8. Eileen Gray (1878-1976) was born into an aristocratic family in Ireland in 1878. After attending art school in England (Fine Art School in London), she moved to Paris in 1902 to continue her education as a painter and designer. Particular and much appreciated is his use (and adaptation) of traditional Asian lacquering techniques to the design of contemporary furniture. In 1912-13 his fame grew for his luxurious screens, tables and door panels. In 1919 he created the interiors for the Parisian apartment of Madame Mathieu Lèvy. This work consecrates her as an interior designer icon and allows her to design and create some furnishing accessories. It also becomes part of the De Stijl movement. She is one of the most important lacquerers of the last century, thanks to her studies under the guidance of a Japanese craftsman. His lacquered panels, such as the Screen screen (1922-25), have become a symbol of Art Dèco furniture first and then Modernist. Some of his creations are true design icons: the E.1027 table (1927), the Lota sofa, the Transat armchair (1925-26) and the Bibendum armchair (1925) are iconic pieces that have made the history of design. The meeting with Jean Badovici, Romanian architect and editor of the influential magazine *L'architecture Vivante*, brought her closer to the world of architecture. In 1972 she was named Royal Designer for Industry by the British Society of Arts. See J-P. Rayon (1979), *Eileen Gray, architetto, 1879-1976 in Casabella*, XLVI, (480): 38-45.

stands for Eileen, the 10 is Jean's J (the tenth letter of the alphabet), the 2 is Badovici's B and the 7 is Gray's G.

The entire villa has a manifesto value, both for the architectural envelope, for the fixed and movable furnishings, for the lighting and ventilation and the relationship between the internal and external environment (Figure 1).⁹ “On an exhibition placard associated with E.1027, Gray articulated her objectives: -House envisaged from a social point of view: **minimum of space, maximum of comfort**. Toward this end she initiated certain ordering principles that she later developed in her own houses in Castellar and Saint-Tropez: orientation of the main living space to southern exposure and view and of the bedrooms to the rising sun; segregation of private areas from public zones of the house; and isolation of service spaces. The spatial hierarchy of E.1027 reflects Badovici's penchant for entertaining: an open living/dining room capable of accommodating extra guests and a discrete zone for sleeping and work on the main level; an independent kitchen adjoining an outdoor cooking space near the main entry; a guest room and minimal maid's quarters on the lower”.¹⁰

E.1027 was built in an isolated stretch of the Côte d'Azur, on the western side of Cap Martin overlooking the Gulf of Monaco. Gray had chosen this spot for the beauty of its view. The villa follows the level curve, emphasizing the relationship with the west side, towards the sea and the sunset, with a large glass surface that interrupts the white masonry. Wanting to build a house that interacts with the natural elements that surround it, Gray has carefully studied the wind and the angles of the sun at different times of the day and of the year and in this way has managed to build a structure with a constant and evolving relationship with the sun, the wind and the sea. She designed the house so that the inside and outside were well integrated together (e.g., see in paragraph 3.1 vernacular window). Its interior spaces are loosely composed and its overhangs supported by slender solid iron pilotis.

9. Gray was entirely responsible for the design and construction supervision of villa E.1027. Badovici mainly assisted in technical matters when needed. Some magazines have mentioned the villa and how Le Corbusier brought prestige to the house with his art. Many publications revolve around the great name of the French architect and painter Eileen Gray as a satellite of Le Corbusier and Badovici: the news reports appear to be a woman who is shy and respectful of the two architects, who would have contributed a lot to the design of the villa. However, some studies by Joseph Rykwert, a well-known architecture historian, have questioned this version of events, helping to rehabilitate the figure of Gray as the true architect and architect of this construction (J. Rykwert, “Un omaggio a Eileen Gray. Pioniera del Design”, *Domus* no. 469 (1968): 21-34).

10. C. Constant, “The Nonheroic Modernism of Eileen Gray”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Published by: University of California, PRESS ON BE Half of the Society of Architectural Historians, Sep. 1994, vol. 53, no.3(1994): 269. See also J.-P. Rayon (2021), *Une (autre) villa moderne, in E1027 Maison en bord du mer. L'architecture vivante*, Marseille: Editions Imbernon, 7-12.



Figure 1. Villa E.1027. “...was built in an isolated stretch of the Côte d’Azur, on the western side of Cap Martin overlooking the Gulf of Monaco...”

Source: Pittaluga 2023.

The “*fenêtres en longueur*” allow an excellent relationship with the light and the surrounding landscape and the articulated roof can be used as a solarium (Figures 2, 3). To compensate for the uneven ground, an artificial terrace forms the basis of what is articulated as a volume on two levels, for a total area of 120 square metres: the first full-height block rests on concrete pillars and is intended to house the sleeping area, with two bedrooms and bathrooms, plus direct access to the garden. The whole living area faces south. The glazed upper floor is the true fulcrum of the Villa, with the entrance, the living area-belvedere, a study and the master bedroom, as well as a covered outdoor kitchen. A spiral staircase inside the villa connects the lower floor, the guest bedroom and the staff area. A covered space of 55m² is available under the stilts. To crown it all, the panoramic terrace, which opens onto the sea. The plan of the entire building is an L-shaped plan, in order to have different views and take advantage of different light and ventilation conditions. The villa has the clean and squared profiles of a typical modern building and it shows the five principles of the five principles of Le Corbusier architecture theory: the stilts, the free plan, the roof garden, the ribbon windows, the free façade.



Figure 2. Villa E.1027, *fenêtres en longueur*. “...Not only does each room have its own balcony with access to the outside, but the fixtures, shutters, windows are all removable...”

Source: Pittaluga 2023.

However, Eileen Gray's geniality appears in all its strength and originality even more in the interiors. “Everyone must be able to feel free and independent” and “even in the smallest house one must be able to feel alone, completely alone”: these are the principles that guide the project, and to which the Irish designer strictly adheres. The internal composition of the house starts from the need for each of its inhabitants/guests to carve out spaces of privacy and comfort even in a small house.¹¹ Consequently, the space is organized according to this need for isolation and freedom: everything is calculated: the paths, the gestures, the habits, the perfect exposure for each room, the ideal view, the suspense that is created in the passage from one environment to another. Not only does each room have its own balcony with access to the outside, but the fixtures, shutters, windows are all removable,¹² so that each guest is allowed to modulate and customize the space according to their own changing needs. Every complement and piece of furniture in the house is functional, indeed multifunctional. The interior design tries to adapt to the human body and its needs. The creation of tables, chairs, armchairs, screens, rugs, sofas, lamps, mirrors are designed only for the space that accommodates them. In this sense, the E.1027 can be considered as a “*total work of art*” where container and content live in absolute symbiosis. Gray custom-made all the

11. C. Pitiot, *Eileen Gray. Une architecture de l'intime*. (Paris Cap Moderne: Editions HXX, Edition du Centre Pompidu, 2017).

12. The “*accordion*” structure of the bay windows opening onto the terrace is reminiscent of the screens Gray designed in his youth during her Art Deco period.

furnishings, including the famous Adjustable table E.1027 (height-adjustable by a metal chain) in tubular steel, a material she made extensive use of, anticipating in a certain sense the paradigms of the Bauhaus. As a pioneer of design, she uses the metal tube which will then give shape to the Bibendum armchair. To recreate the desk that was in the alcove of his office, nickel-plated steel tubes from Vienna were used and the wooden top was built by a craftsman from Menton. However, the attention to materials was also associated with comfort: for example, the support surface of the table in the living area was covered in cork to dampen noise.

In the large room on the ground floor, he installed the Transat armchair, inspired by those of ocean liners, he also created a black leather bench with a chromed steel tube structure and floating tables. Other pieces of furniture are integrated, such as the headboard of the small sofa in the large room, with its pillow cabinet, its night light with blue light and its electrical outlets. Next to it, a book lectern is supported by a folding metal arm. In the guest bedroom, a similar device carries the tray inserted into the flap-and-shelf secretaire that hugs the wall. In Eileen Gray's bedroom, the tall, narrow bathroom cabinet acts as a screen between the sink and the work studio. Revolving drawers are stacked in one corner. In the guest bedroom, the famous Satellite circular wall mirror with an articulated arm supporting a small round mirror was the subject of a patent filed by Jean Badovici. The carpets, which Eileen began exhibiting from early twentieth century, deserve a separate discussion: they are all woven and knotted by hand, strictly in natural fibers. For the villa she designed four including the "Centimeter", round in shape with circular motifs or the "Marine d'abord" carpet. In general, the style in the villa follows the principles of French rationalism, with a preference for pure forms and white or light tones, interrupted by some metal and leather elements. Gray therefore combines the compositional research of the Dutch group De Stijl in the interiors with the Weissenhofs for the exterior.¹³ The attention to all the details, from those on the scale of the landscape to those of the furnishing complement, demonstrates that for Eileen the villa is much more than a house, its value went far beyond the material value. It was a manifesto, a way of living and thinking about the home. In the article in the *Architecture Vivante* magazine, she wrote: "Je crois que la plupart des gens se trompent sur le sens qu'il convient de donner à ce mot "type" est synonyme de création simplifiée à l'extrême et destinée à être reproduite en série. Mais je comprends autrement. Une maison type n'est pour moi qu'une maison dont la construction a été réalisée selon les procédés techniques les meilleurs et les moins coûteux, et dont l'architecture réalise pour une situation donnée, le maximum de perfection ; c'est-à-dire qu'elle est comme un modèle qu'on devra, non pas reproduire à l'infini, mais dont on s'inspirera pour construire dans le même esprit d'autres maisons".¹⁴

Villa E.1027 was abandoned for many years, was heavily bombed during the war and passed through many owners; it was also ruined by vandals. In the 1990s it was purchased by the government agency Conservatoire du Littoral. Restoration

13. Which Gray probably inspired after a trip to Utrecht (1925) to visit the Schröder House, designed by Rietveld, and Stuttgart (1927).

14. E. Gray, J. Badovici, "E1027 Maison en bord de mer", *L'Architecture Vivante*, no.special issue *Maison en bord du mer* (1929) : 9.

work began after 2000¹⁵ with “emergency restorations” completed by 2006. Further restorations took place between 2006 and 2010 under the auspices of the Architecte en Chef et Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques, Pierre-Antoine Gatier,¹⁶ who restored many important elements, including the facade, windows and murals by Corbusier. Between 2013 and 2015, the Cap Moderne organization, a non-profit organization, carried out the last restorations (about 1 million euros). In 2016 The film *Price of Desire*, by Irish director Mary McGuckian set in E-1027, was released in theaters, in which the Irish director tells in detail the theme of the rivalry between Le Corbusier and Gray.¹⁷

The Conception of the Villa and the Contrast with Le Corbusier's Theories

If it is true that villa E.1027 is a perfect realization of the five points theorized by Le Corbusier for modern architecture, it is also true that there are strong differences with the Swiss master and a different concept of design.

Caroline Constant captures some of these differences: “In contrast to the urban preoccupations that informed Corbusier's early purist villas, Gray generated her domestic architecture from within the private domain of dwelling. She conceived the house from inside out, from reconsideration of the modern individual's need for an interior life and a place of retreat, a direction seemingly at odds with modern movement predilections for transparency and spatial continuity”. The interior plan should not be the incidental result of the façade, “she argued in reaction to certain of Le Corbusier's built works; it should live a complete, harmonious, and logical life”. She sought a more integrated conception, an interior that “as in Gothic times [was] a homogeneous whole built for man, to the human scale, and balanced in all its”.¹⁸

The house was designed as a “la maison minimum”: simple and efficient, with areas of built-in furniture and no wasted space. Gray took issue with Le Corbusier who famously thought that “the house is a machine to live in”. Rather, Gray described the house as a living organism, an extension of the human

15. L. Ceriolo, “Villa E.1027, capolavoro ritrovato”, *Il giornale dell'architettura*, no. dec. 2021, <https://ilgiornaledellarchitettura.com/2021/12/21/villa-e-1027/> [l.a. 7/7/2023].

16. P-A. Gatier, “La restauration de la villa E. 1027 et la redécouverte d'un chantier”, *L'Architecture Vivante*, no.special issue Maison en bord du mer (1929): 9-36.

17. The latest restoration began in 2019 and was completed with the reopening of the villa to the public. An important part of the intervention concerned, in addition to the contents, the container, the *béton* architecture, and the restoration of the reinforced concrete structure, which was heavily damaged by the aggressive saline environment. After having carried out non-destructive tests to assess the state of corrosion of the reinforcements, which were found to be variously compromised, and having evaluated the composition, mechanical performance (rather weak), carbonation and durability of the concrete, the restoration team opted for an intervention with mixed techniques, one traditional with local restoration of the damaged concrete and one with protection of the reinforcement against corrosion by imposed current. Parallel to the restoration of the structure, the interior fittings were redone replicating the original materials and methods, based on photographs and documents from the National Museum in Dublin.

18. C. Constant, “The Nonheroic Modernism of Eileen Gray”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Published by: University of California, PRESS ON BE Half of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 53, no. 3 (1994): 269.

experience, stating that “it's not just about building beautiful sets of lines, but above all housing for people” and “Formulas nothing, life is everything. And life is simultaneously mind heart”. Gray created a villa with an open and flexible design that allowed the user to experience the living space as an organic whole comprising the self, the home and the external environment. At the same time, her designs allowed the user to maintain a feeling of intimacy and privacy, both values she greatly valued.¹⁹



Figure 3. *Villa E.1027, details. “...a vernacular Niçoise shutter adapted to the strip window enabled the occupant to manipulate outward views and penetration of the sun's rays, admitting natural ventilation while protecting internal privacy...”*
Source: Pittaluga 2023.

In the Introduction present in the magazine “Architecture vivante” where all the details of the villa are published, through the dialogue with Badovici, Gray brings out another difference with Le Corbusier's way of designing. Jean-Lucien Bonillo puts it this way “On peut penser dès lors que le dialogue qui introduit le numéro de l'Architecture Vivante sur E.1027 doit beaucoup aux idées d'Eileen Gray. Sensible aux productions du Stijl elle l'était moins au dogme de la ‘dénaturalisation’. Et elle parvient ici à exprimer sa posture spécifique sur la question de l'intérieur moderne, en marquant également sa différence avec Le Corbusier. La position de ce dernier [Le Corbusier] était de distinguer clairement, dans les intérieurs, les oeuvres d'art du mobilier utile (équipement). L'enjeu étant de laisser tout leur pouvoir d'expressivité et leur capacité de présence aux oeuvres d'art, et peut-être surtout toute sa force d'expression au déploiement de l'espace lui-même [and perhaps it is no coincidence that he later decides to express himself

19. Ibidem.

through the art form of murals to change the space itself]. Rien n'est plus étranger à ce moment à la pensée d'Eileen Gray comme le prouve sa charge, dans ce texte, contre les 'casiers normalisés' (LC) et la tyrannie de l'idée de production en série industrielle."²⁰ This difference in approach can also be seen in the construction details of some elements: for example in the windows where a vernacular Niçoise shutter adapted to the strip window enabled the occupant to manipulate outward views and penetration of the sun's rays, admitting natural ventilation while protecting internal privacy. The strip windows was a primary element in Le Corbusier's domestic ensemble, "...a tool in a four-reaching strategy aimed at putting the traditional habitation in a critical position, not only with regard to its form but also to its use and significance". In contrast to Le Corbusier's sharp delineation of the strip window, Gray articulated hers as a layered membrane. In outer zone of sliding shutters with horizontally pivoting louvers contribute to the privacy of the interior while controlling outward views, penetration of the sun's rays and ventilation. At the same time, its vertical panes of glass are analogous to the human body, suggesting the possibility of embracing moderne movement principles without suffering the loss of anthropomorphic reference inherent to traditional windows. These panes and the doors opening onto the terrace pivot and slide, much like draperies, to facilitate an interrupted expanse, the interior can thus open directly to garden as sea.²¹

Le Corbusier's Relationship with Villa E.1027

When he crosses the threshold of Villa E.1027 for the first time, Le Corbusier is struck by lightning: that work presents all the five principles of modern architecture that he theorized; Eileen learns that the master appreciated her work, and is happy about it. However, some dates are significant for understanding the particular relationship that Le Corbusier could have had with this villa. "In 1929 E.1027 was already inhabited by Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici in all its architectural splendor and in all the beauty of its interior spaces studded with "floating" furniture designed by the eclectic Irish artist and with carpets designed by herself. When Le Corbusier began work on Villa Savoye in Poissy in February 1929, a manifesto of the five points of architecture, the E.1027 was already a real tangible architectural body... something to make the veins and wrists tremble in the

20. "We can therefore think that the dialogue that introduces the issue of "Architecture Vivante" on E.1027 owes a lot to the ideas of Eileen Gray. Sensitive to the productions of the Stijl, she was less sensitive to the dogma of "denaturalization". (J-L. Bonillo, "E.1027, La poésie raffinée du quotidien", *E1027 Maison en bord du mer. L'Architecture Vivante*, no. special issue (2021) Marseille, Editions Imbernon: 13-28). And here she manages to express her specific position on the question of the modern interior, also marking her difference with Le Corbusier. The position of the latter was to clearly distinguish, in interiors, works of art from useful furniture (equipment). The challenge is to leave all their power of expressiveness and their capacity for presence to the works of art, and perhaps above all all their force of expression to the deployment of the space itself. Nothing is more foreign at this time to the thought of Eileen Gray as evidenced by her charge, in this text, against "standard lockers" (LC) and the tyranny of the idea of industrial mass production.

21. C. Constant, "The Nonheroic Modernism of Eileen Gray", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Published by: University of California, PRESS ON BE Half of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 53, no. 3 (1994): 274.

watchmaker's son! The house, an architecture without theory and with designs poor in content, stood in the rocks of Roquebrune and, overlooking the sea, showed with its extraordinary beauty what would become the five points of the language of the Modern Movement. It is very probable that Charles-Edouard Jeanneret-Gris considered the designer a heretic and that house a heresy to the point of desecrating it with his murals whose current value has certainly been attributed to their signature rather than to the content".²² In 1938 Badovici, now left alone after breaking up with Gray, invited his friend Le Corbusier to his home, and the great architect-artist did not hold back from having to express his art and decided to give a "touch of colour" to all that white, painting eight gaudy irreverent murals.²³ The graffiti (Figures 4, 5, 6) are in different parts of the house: some are in areas in contact with the outside, such as the graffiti near the entrance on the upper floor and the one in the open space of the lower floor, in the pilotis area. Others are in the internal rooms, near the corner bar, in the living room, in the guest bedroom. Le Corbusier never apologized, nor did he consider having the murals removed. Indeed, he was very proud of them: in 1948 when he returned to photograph them he apparently said that "*they exploded from sad and opaque walls, where nothing else was happening*".²⁴

22. T. Benton, M. Bougot, *Le Corbusier, peintre à Cap Martin* (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 2021).

23. Le Corbusier stayed there for a few days in 1937, 1938 and 1939. In April 1938, encouraged by Jean Badovici, he painted two murals there, returning the next year to add five. He declared: "I also have a furious desire to dirty the walls: ten compositions are ready, enough to smear everything". It must be said that the mural is in complete contradiction with the definition that Le Corbusier himself gave of architecture as a "pure play of light and volume". According to Eileen Gray's biographers, Gray did not appreciate these paintings. Damaged during the war, several paintings were restored by Le Corbusier himself in 1949 and again in 1963. Three paintings, however, have disappeared. The four surviving paintings have been restored. a quiet appreciation of the genius of Eileen Gray, was hidden behind a panel during the last restoration.

24. According to Peter Adam, Eileen Gray never returned to E-1027 after 1931 and it is probable that she only found out about the paintings in 1946 or 1948, when Le Corbusier published them in the fourth volume of his *Oeuvre Complète*, *The New World of Space* and several other publications. It is understandable that Gray might have been disconcerted by the captions to the illustrations of his paintings, in which he claims that the walls he painted on were «dull, sad wall where nothing was happening»³⁶. This led to an angry exchange of letters between Le Corbusier and Badovici between 1949 and 1950 and a temporary interruption in their friendship (S.Von Moos, "Le Corbusier as Painter", *Oppositions*, no.19-20 (1980)).

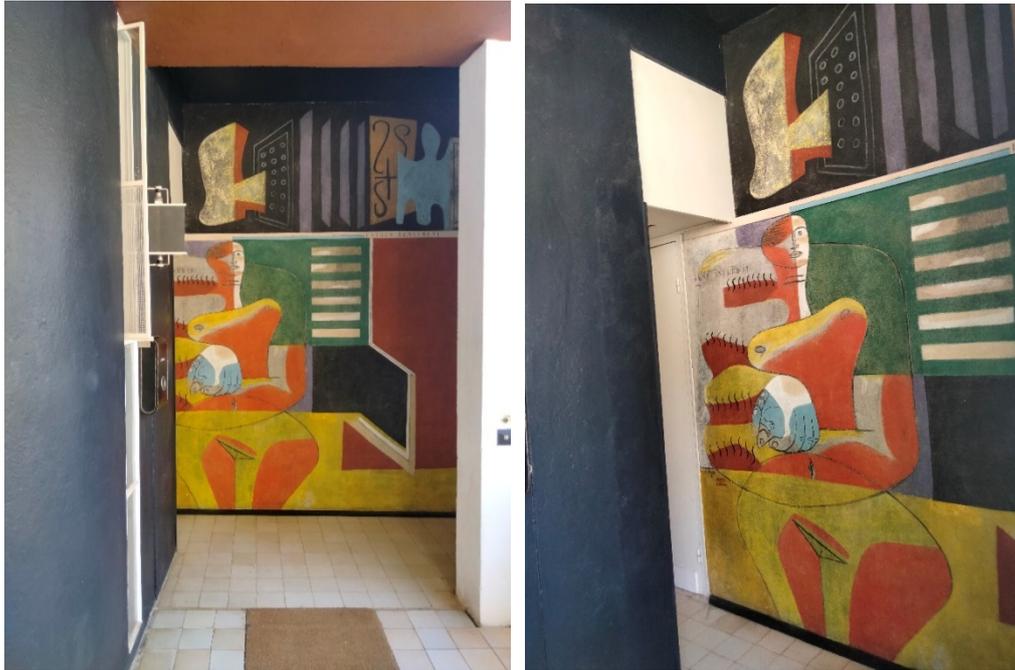


Figure 4. Villa E.1027, Le Corbusier's Graffiti
Source: Pittaluga 2023.



Figure 5. Villa E.1027, Le Corbusier's Graffiti
Source: Pittaluga 2023.



Figure 6. Villa E.1027, Le Corbusier's Graffiti; Mural Painting by Le Corbusier on the Wall of the Covered Terrace Bounded by the "Pilotis" 1975 (?)

Source: Rayon Bonillo 2021.

Several Comments on Le Corbusier's Graffiti²⁵

On Le Corbusier's murals the debate raised is particularly heated among those who think that Le Corbusier has brought prestige to the house with his art, those who see in the murals the expression of a more humane, Mediterranean Le Corbusier, a passionate and passionate lover of these places and those who strongly criticize his work. A cultural debate has arisen: there is no doubt. It is particularly lively, lit and lasts over time. Even today, many years later, there are comments and reflections from art and architecture historians, restoration and sign analysis experts, from all over the world that have expressed themselves in various capacities on this matter.²⁶

Below, for the sake of brevity, we report some of the most significant comments: "Beginning in 1938, Le Corbusier painted a series of murals that modified the clean pristine quality of Gray's spaces. This is particularly evident in the living room: the original layout was designed with gathering places (divan, music and dining areas) that created tensions from one side of the room to the other. When Le Corbusier's mural was painted on the wall at the far end of the room, it prevented the use of that area as a backdrop for the conversation corner around the divan, and the furniture tended to be arranged in a conventional layout at the center of the room"²⁷. Beatriz Colomina, an architectural historian, interprets it almost as a psychiatric case: it seems that "Le Corbusier wants to mark his

25. Although Le Corbusier sometimes referred to this mural as a "sgraffite", he did not incise the lines into the plaster but painted directly onto the wall surface (T. Benton, "E-1027 and the Drôle De Guerre", in Weaver, Thomas ed. *AA Files*, Vol. 74 (2017): 123-143.

26. In particular we refer to the writings of Adam, Colomina, Rykwer, reported in the bibliography.

27. D. Espegel Alonso C., Movilla Vega, "E.1027 Maison en bord de mer: theoretical Restoration", in *Criterios de intervencion en el Patrimonio Arquitectonico*, Nov. 2021, p. 304.

territory, like a dog peeing on street corners, he wants to make his figure prevail by erasing hers, filling a white living room with coloured drawings, putting his signature in a space that does not belong to him". And again: "By drawing he enters the photograph that is itself a stranger's house, occupying and re-territorialising the space, the city, and the sexualities of the other by reworking the image. Drawing on and in photography is the instrument of colonisation. The entry to the house of a stranger is always a breaking and entering - there being no entry without force no matter how many invitations. Le Corbusier's architecture depends in some way on specific techniques of occupying and yet gradually effacing the domestic space of the other. Like all colonists, Le Corbusier does not think of it as an invasion but as a gift".²⁸ For Colomina, the Drawing is used here by Le Corbusier as a colonization tool, the drawing is therefore seen by the Master as a specific technique of erasing the domestic space of the other.

Peter Adam, describes it in terms of sexual assault: "It was a rape".²⁹ The article by Beatriz Colomina variously entitled "War on Architecture" or "Battle Lines" has come to be accepted as an authoritative statement of Le Corbusier's violation of Eileen Gray's house E1027. In part her article was based on a curious article written by an Egyptian painter Samir Rafi. While accepting the aesthetic violence caused by the addition of Le Corbusier's paintings in the house, I challenge the argument that they represented an attack on Eileen Gray, whom Le Corbusier barely knew. I also challenge the veracity and credibility of Rafi's article, which is supported by no evidence except some drawings which are clearly fakes".³⁰ This article deals with the relationship between Le Corbusier and lesser known modern designer and architect Eileen Gray as it plays itself out in Le Corbusier's fixation on and eventual occupation of Eileen Gray's first house, E.1027. In 1938 and 1939, Le Corbusier painted eight massive murals in E.1027. Gray was horrified. What lines of inquiry are opened if one begins to think of Le Corbusier's proximity, his eventual intimacy with Gray's house and interiors as enactments of sexual violence? Why this compulsion to see, to mark, and eventually to be inside? The authors argues that Gray develops, in her design and architecture, an aesthetic of desire that radically challenges the particular modern movement that Le Corbusier championed and epitomized. One can begin to read the violence toward Gray and E.1027 as covert, perhaps even unconscious, disciplinary responses to the aesthetic, philosophical, and sexual threat that her work represented.

We should also take into account Le Corbusier's obsessive relationship to this house as manifest - and this is only one example of a complex pathology - in his quasi-occupation of the site after World War II, when he built a small wooden shack (the "Cabanon") for himself and the Unité de Camping (Figure 7) at the very limits of the adjacent property, right behind Eileen Gray's house. He

28. B. Colomina, "Battle lines: E.1027" in *The sex of architecture*, (eds.) D. Agrest, P. Conway, & L. K. Weisman. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 167-190.

29. P. Adam, *Eileen Gray, Architect Designer*. (London: Thames&Hudson, 2000).

30. S. Rafi, "Le Corbusier et « Les femmes d'Alger", *Revue d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*, Algiers, no.january 1968 ; T. Benton, M .Bougot, *Le Corbusier, peintre à Cap Martin*, (Paris : Editions du Patrimoine, 2021) p.53.

occupied and controlled the site by overlooking it, the cabin being little more than an observation platform, a sort of watchdog house. The imposition of this appropriating gaze is even more brutal if we remember that Eileen Gray had chosen the site because it was, in Peter Adam's words, "*inaccessible and not overlooked from anywhere.*" But the violence of this occupation had already been established when Le Corbusier painted the murals in this house without the permission of Eileen Gray who had already moved out.³¹



Figure 7. The “Unité de Camping” Designed by Le Corbusier Can be Seen in the Background from Inside Villa E.1027

Source: Pittaluga 2023.

“A special consideration must be given to Le Corbusier’s mural paintings, however. They transformed the perception of space as conceived by Eileen Gray, and in all rigor they should be eliminated. Yet they deserve to be preserved for their intrinsic value”.³²

Benton and Bougot in their book state that the mural, as a typology of painting, is in complete contradiction with Le Corbusier's definition of architecture “architecture is a pure play of light and volume”, but underline how paradoxically Le Corbusier creates in Cap Martin various murals, both in Eileen Gray's mansion and on the walls of The Starfish and on the walls of his Cabanon. Benton and Bougot analyze the various factors that led to this conversion and place this evolution of the architect in the more general context of the mural painting of this

31. J. Rault, “Occupying E.1027. Reconsidering Le Corbusier “Gift” to Eileen Gray”, *Space and culture*; vol.8, no. 2 (2005): 162.

32. D. Espelga Alonso C., Movilla Vega, “E.1027 Maison en bord de mer: theoretical Restoration, E.1027 House by the sea: theoretical Restoration”, *Criterios de intervencion en el Patrimonio Arquitectónico*, no. Nov. 2021: 308.

period. Basically, through their research, on Le Corbusier's pictorial and drawn work, they also show a freer Le Corbusier and a true lover of the Mediterranean.³³



Figure 8. Villa E.1027, Interior of the Main Hall, After the 2015 Restoration
Source: Pittaluga 2023.



Figure 9. Villa E.1027, Interior of the Main Hall with Le Corbusier's Graffiti
Source: Rayon 2021.

33. T. Benton, M. Bougot, *Le Corbusier, peintre à Cap Martin*, (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 2021).

Conclusion

Concluding Reflections: The Power of a Drawing in a Villa Built Without Drawings

In the story of Villa E.1027 the design somehow dominates: from the “missed” construction drawings of the villa to the all too obvious drawings on the walls by Le Corbusier.

Much has been discussed about the design drawings of the villa. According to some authors³⁴ few and “apparently heretics” are the basis of one of the most iconic buildings of the Modern movement (Figures 8-9). “Peter Adam, who can be considered Eileen Gray's biographer³⁵ to all intents and purposes, states that Eileen stayed in Roquebrune for two years, from 1927 to 1929, and that together with a master builder and a young laborer, she built the house with her own hands. A masterpiece of modern architecture without contemporary designs; a real heresy in evident contrast with the graphic production of the architects of the time. Eileen Gray never drew well... The representations are enigmatic and sometimes even incomprehensible, it is difficult to find in his drawings the difference in thickness between a projection line and that of a section, testifying to a reluctance towards the scientific basis of representation”.³⁶

As regards the aspects relating to Eileen the designer, “good design” was replaced by sketches, sometimes even quoted ones, and by manual, visual and inventive skills assisted by the craftsmen who built the prototypes with her of the furniture that would become true design icons.

So with the drawing (Le Corbusier's drawings on the walls of the villa) an icon of modern architecture is annulled, which was moreover created, according to the research carried out so far, without architectural drawing. It almost seems like a paradoxical situation which, from different angles, leads us to reflect on the importance of drawing in architecture and for architecture.

Francesco Maggio, in his essay on villa E.1027 with the already very significant title of “Apparent heretic drawings”, asks a question about the missing drawings of the villa. One of the aspects of architecture, probably the most comforting one, is the design understood in the double meaning of intention and representation of something real or imagined; the sketches in their essential features communicate a thought, an intention, a desire, an idea and the desire for form very often resulting in refined drawings that are functional not only to a more precise transmission of the idea but also to the construction of the ‘thing’. In fact, one of the main aspects of drawing is, as Vittorio Gregotti states, that of “technical communication, of the objective or conventional representation of the elements that make up the parts of

34. F.Maggio, “Apparenti disegni eretici”. *AND Rivista di Architetture, Città E Architetti*, no.41(1) (2022) <https://www.and-architettura.it/index.php/and/article/view/429> [l. a. 7/7/2023].

35. P. Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987); P. Adam, *Eileen Gray and Le Corbusier*: 9H, X, no.(8) (1989) : 150-153.

36. F. Maggio, “Apparenti disegni eretici”. *AND Rivista di Architetture, Città E Architetti*, no.41(1) (2022): 81 <https://www.and-architettura.it/index.php/and/article/view/429> [l. a. 7/7/2023].

the whole of an object to be built".³⁷ Precisely in relation to villa E.1027 Maggioris rises these questions: "But in the 20th century, has the construction of architecture always been entrusted to the execution of what has been represented on the sheet according to conventions? Is it possible to build by overcoming methodical representations through the imaginative process alone? Finally, is it possible to delegate a building procedure to uncertain spellings?" And this answer is given: When in 1925 Eileen Gray bought a small plot of land located in an isolated area between Menton and Nice, under the ancient Saracen fortification of Roquebrune, to build a house for her holidays, she didn't care she did not know how to correctly draw an orthogonal projection or an axonometry, because she was convinced of her much higher abilities. The E.1027, completed in 1929, is one of the masterpieces of the Modern Movement. All the drawings relating to the house, starting from the very first ones, those published in the special issue of *Architecture Vivante* in 1926, are the result of others' elaborations. Only the not very detailed horizontal sections and the drawings of the profiles, probably from 1926, preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London can be attributed to Eileen Gray by analogy with other drawings by the Irish architect kept in the archives of the prestigious institution.

Drawings to Take Possession of a Space-Drawings to Destroy a Space

In this whole affair there are elements that appear to be in contrast:

- 1) Drawing has always been Le Corbusier's favorite tool for appropriating a space
- 2) "By working with our hands, by drawing, we enter the house of a stranger, we are enriched by the experience, we learn"³⁸ and "When one travels and works with visual things – architecture, painting or sculpture – one uses one's eyes and draws, so as to fix deep down in one's experience what is seen. Once the impression has been recorded by the pencil, it stays for good – entered, registered, inscribed. The camera is a tool for idlers, who use a machine to do their seeing for them".³⁹
- 3) The Murals technique (or as it is defined by Le Corbusier himself "The graffiti") was considered by the master a technique to dematerialize the wall, to destroy its consistency "Le Corbusier had repeatedly stated that the role of the mural in architecture is to "destroy" the wall, to dematerialize it. In a letter to Vladimir Nekrassov in 1932 he wrote: "I admit the mural not to enhance a wall, but on the contrary, as a means to violently destroy the wall, to remove from it all sense of stability, of weight, etc."⁴⁰ and "The mural for Le Corbusier was a weapon against architecture, a bomb".⁴¹

37. V. Gregotti, *Il disegno come strumento del progetto*. (Milano: Christian Marinotti Edizioni, 2014).

38. Le Corbusier, *Creation is a Patient Search*. (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1960), 203.

39. Ivi, 37.

40. B. Colomina, *Battle lines: E.1027 in The sex of architecture* (eds.) D. Agrest, P. Conway, & L. K. Weisman. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 5.

41. Ibidem.

With respect to the first point, the depictions on the walls of villa E.1027 could be interpreted as an attempt to re-appropriate a space through the medium most suited to Le Corbusier: drawing? But the definition, in general, of the Murals given by Le Corbusier himself raises some questions. Colomina, in his article, publishes an answer that Le Corbusier himself writes in a letter to a friend of his. To the question “Why then to paint on the walls, at the risk of killing architecture?” he replies “It is when one is pursuing another task that of telling stories”.⁴²

The 8 murals must therefore be interpreted as the will to tell a story. The murals are therefore an expression of an intangible heritage that lies behind them. At the same time, however, these murals have a specific function and that is the same function that Le Corbusier attributes to them in some writings: the function of destroying the wall, of destroying the architecture. And the impact that these murals have in E.1027 is exactly this: they destroy the conception of these spaces, they destroy the idea, the manifesto of Eileen Gray's house. Thus the material heritage becomes the bearer of a specific intangible heritage but at the same time destroys another intangible heritage (linked to the canceled material heritage). Matter, traces, tangible elements but also ideas, ways of living these spaces, stories behind them: this is villa E. 1027.

Le Corbusier's Graffiti: Considerations in the Light of Some Theories of Restoration

In this whole story there are different elements, different concepts: beauty, design, ethical question. The ethical question: what to keep in the restoration work? Only material assets? Or Also the intangible heritage associated with it? What elements should a restoration that claims to be “conservative” preserve? Only the material elements or also the immaterial ones connected to them? The answer to this question would seem obvious but it is not quite so. In the case study addressed, for example, the question is particularly complex. If in fact some theories of restoration lead to the conservation of all the material traces that come down to us, others, albeit with total respect, make some distinctions.⁴³ For Torsello, for example, restoration must have as its first purpose the protection of all the questions that the architecture (or what is to be restored) is capable of raising.⁴⁴ From what has been said, it would therefore seem that the main objective of a

42. Ibidem.

43. A. Bellini, G. Carbonara, S. Casiello, R. Cecchi, M. Dezzi Bardeschi, P. Fancelli, P. Marconi, G. Spagnesi Cimbolli, B.P. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro? Nove studiosi a confronto. Da un'idea di B. Paolo Torsello* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005).

44. “Perciò, il restauro non può essere reificazione di risposte irrevocabili desunte dall'interpretazione, ma piuttosto difesa degli interrogativi che l'opera-testo è in grado di suscitare. E il termine conservare, così diffusamente invocato, va riferito nel senso del custodire, intatto e disponibile, uno spazio ermeneutico ove sia praticabile la perfettibilità e la stessa revocabilità del giudizio, e dove nessun “valore” storico, costruttivo, formale o materiale può essere privilegiato o ricondotto a una presunta “unità” figurale” (P. B. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro?*, in Bellini et al., op. cit. 2005: 53, P.B.Torsello, *Restauro architettonico. Padri, teorie, immagini*, (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1997).

restoration, according to this particular vision, is to leave intact the artifact's ability to raise questions. In this sense, therefore, in the specific case, there is no doubt that the material presence of Le Corbusier's paintings poses many questions to those who visit these spaces. In this sense, therefore, they should be preserved in full. The restored work must remain a source of culture.⁴⁵ However, Torsello himself, in support of his theory on restoration methods, poses some corollaries; these, in some way, impose certain conditions on conservation/restoration activities and stimulate intense research activity at the basis of every action on the existing. In fact he says: "1. Restoration should prolong the life of the work in its physical consistency, by all technical means at our disposal, so that work itself is as solid, protected and healthy as possible, provided that this action does not contradict the second criterion. 2. Restoration must ensure the permanence of the signs that connote the architecture in its general configuration and in its even minimal parts, regardless of any judgment, or preference of a historical and aesthetic nature, provided that such action does not contradict the first and third criteria. 3. Restoration must ensure the usability of the architecture in all cases where it can take on with properties, forms and functions related to living, provided that this does not contradict the first and second criteria".⁴⁶ And in explaining the second corollary this is how Paolo Torsello expresses himself "The second corollary has its core in the hermeneutic and analytic work that underlies it. It assumes that the task of restoration is a Re-Veiling, that is, a bringing to light an enigma"⁴⁷. But there is still a problem, when: "...the circumstantial framework with which the historic building is shown does not admit of total preservation...",⁴⁸ we are obliged, "to develop increasingly refined methods of analysis and, at the same time, systems of documentation and recording that can compensate for any forced loss of traces and clues useful for interpretation".⁴⁹ This implies a creative commitment that invests our analytical and documentation means, urging research and scientific advancement.

The Archeology of Architecture: An Instrument of Knowledge, of Memory for a Tale of Different Stories

The concepts that this case study highlights are the following:

- Villa E.1027 is a house made for man, for his needs.
- Archeology and in this case the archeology of architecture has as its aim the research and study of material traces with the aim, however, of grasping the man behind these signs, understanding their choices, decisions, skills, aspirations. In particular, the whole story of graffiti cannot be

45. "Perciò, il restauro è il sistema dei saperi e delle tecniche che ha per fine la tutela delle possibilità d'interpretare l'opera in quanto fonte di cultura, in modo che sia conservata e attualizzata come origine permanente d'interrogazione e di trasformazione dei linguaggi che da essa apprendiamo" (P.B.Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro?*, in Bellini et al., op. cit.2005: 55).

46. P. B. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro?*, in Bellini et al., op. cit.2005 : 55.

47. Ibidem.

48. P. B.Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro?*, in Bellini et al., op. cit.2005 : 56.

49. Ibidem.

understood if we do not take into account the human events behind it. In analyzing the contemporary, in a certain sense, we are facilitated in finding and in the availability of this data too.⁵⁰

- Looking at architecture (and also at contemporary architecture) with an archaeological approach⁵¹ means giving meaning to the different signs that can be read on it.
- Once again, the archaeological study of a contemporary architecture leads to a reflection on the necessary analysis tools and which can sometimes be partially different from the archaeological study of more ancient eras. The reconstruction of an intangible heritage closely connected to the material one must be taken into consideration and adequately evaluated.⁵²

For a restoration intervention that takes into account an archaeological reading of the artifact, it would make sense to maintain and preserve all signs and transformations, or at least to keep intact the future possibilities of reading and understanding.⁵³

In the context of villa E.1027 the subsequent transformations and in particular Le Corbusier's murals have a devastating impact. They completely nullify the spatiality of the villa, break a balance intended and sought after by E. Gray, profoundly change the perceptions of spaces that had been thought out studied in every detail, change spaces in which every element had been carefully studied in every aspect.

If we think back to the three criteria on Restoration expressed by Torsello in some ways you may have help to settle this question. Every trace, every element has its own value and should be preserved as long as it does not conflict with the other principles set forth. Restoration must therefore ensure the permanence of the signs that connote the "architecture both in its general configuration and in even the smallest parts "regardless of any judgment or preference of a historical and aesthetic nature ...".⁵⁴ This assumes that in some particular situations, one may not even preserve everything. But still says that precisely because of this "we are obliged, then, to develop increasingly refined methods of analysis and, at the same time, systems of documentation and recording capable of compensating for the possible forced loss of traces and clues useful for interpretation".⁵⁵ This implies,

50. G. De Felice, *Archeologie del contemporaneo. Paesaggi* (Roma: Carocci, 2022); A. Gonzalez-Ruibal, *An archaeology of the Contemporary era* (London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

51. A. Boato, *L'archeologia in architettura. Misurazioni, stratigrafie, datazioni, restauro* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008); D. Pittaluga, *Questioni di archeologia dell'architettura e restauro* (Genova: ECIG, 2009).

52. See the writings of De Felice, Gonzalez-Ruibal and Pittaluga reported in the bibliography.

53. D. Pittaluga, *Questioni di archeologia dell'architettura e restauro* (Genova: ECIG, 2009); A. Bellini, G. Carbonara, S. Casiello, R. Cecchi, M. Dezzi Bardschi, P. Fancelli, P. Marconi, G. Spagnesi Cimbolli, B.P. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro? Nove studiosi a confronto. Da un'idea di B. Paolo Torsello* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005).

54. P. B. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro?*, in Bellini et al., op. cit. 2005: 56.

55. Ibidem.

for us, a creative endeavor that invests our analytical and documentation means, urging research and scientific advancement.⁵⁶

Specifically, preserving the paintings cancels a substantial part of the villa, cancels its deeper meaning, cancels the particular spatiality of the rooms. In this case, then, the issue might seem simple: when the conservation of the one element strongly undermines the conservation of the others, its removal is permissible. On the other hand, the more recent debate on the notion of heritage and what heritage should be protected and conserved also pays specific attention to intangible heritage.⁵⁷

The history of the villa is also the history of those who lived there, it is the history of the use that has been made of it over time: these considerations would also lead to preservation and conservation of Le Corbusier's murals. The question would seem difficult to solve: the conservation of one aspect cancels the other and vice versa.

Currently, with the latest restoration, a partial solution has been tested: the graffiti in the living room are preserved but placed behind a white panel which in any case recovers the sense of spatiality that this room must have originally had.

Similar solutions, possibly combined with sliding panels or sophisticated technologies and augmented reality, could in the future provide other answers to the problem of conserving signs and maintaining the intangible heritage connected to them.

The case study of villa E.10 27 therefore made more explicit an element that may be of crucial importance in research for the knowledge and conservation of contemporary and modern architecture: the complex relationship between tangible and intangible heritage.

In contemporary architecture the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage is particularly close. We have seen how actions strictly connected to tangible assets have had an impact on intangible assets and vice versa. This calls into question both the discipline governing knowledge and the discipline of restoration. The former, in particular through the archeology of architecture, is called upon to find tools that not only record, describe and understand the subject matter but seek the appropriate ways to also capture all those data that pertain to the sphere of intangible heritage. Some studies in this sense have already begun in

56. A.Bellini, G.Carbonara, S.Casiello, R.Cecchi, M.Dezzi Bardeschi, P.Fancelli, P.Marconi, G.Spagnesi Cimbolli, B.P. Torsello, *Che cos'è il restauro? Nove studiosi a confronto. Da un'idea di B.Paolo Torsello* (Venezia:Marsilio, 2005): 56; Torsello, P., *Restauro architettonico. Padri, teorie, immagini*. [Architectural restoration. Fathers, theories, images] (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1997).

57. The debate on tangible and intangible heritage is very broad and current. In this regard, see among other publications on the subject D.Fiorani, "Materiale/Immateriale : frontiere del restauro", *Materiali e strutture : problemi di conservazione*, nn. 5/6, 1,2 (2014): 9-23; A. Lancellotti, "Borghi abbandonati come luoghi della memoria. La salvaguardia del patrimonio intangibile attraverso il cinema", *Archistor* no.7 (2020): 374-393. S.F.Musso, "Conservazione, Restauro e patrimonio Mondiale dell'Umanità", *Materiali e strutture: problemi di conservazione*, n.7, 1 (2015): 95-110; C. Bertolotto, "Patrimonio immateriale e autenticità: una relazione indissolubile", *La Ricerca Folklorica, Unesco e il folklore*, oct (2011): 7-17; B. Marino, "Autenticità e percezione dei valori immateriali", in *Della bellezza ne è piena la vista! Restauro e conservazione alle latitudini del mondo nell'era della globalizzazione*, (ed.) S. Valtieri, (Roma: Nuova Argos Edizioni, 2004), 380-393.

the field of archeology in general⁵⁸ and in the field of archeology of architecture⁵⁹ but there is still much to be done. And the study on villa E.1027 proves it.

A final consideration on the whole story of villa E.10127 concerns the power of drawing: as mentioned above, a drawing, or rather several drawings on different walls, in this case nullify a spatiality and a precise conception of the house. A house, by the way, built without drawings.

However, beyond the case in question, it also poses a more general question to us that also concerns urban spaces, the facades of our cities: let's think of the murals on contemporary designer neighborhoods (e.g., the case of Serra Venerdi (1953-'56) of Piccinato, La Bussola district of Cosenza...). All this makes us understand what the disruptive force of even a trace on the wall or a change of color can be: elements not to be treated lightly, to be known, evaluated both in case you want to keep them and in case you want to eliminate them.

The implications, albeit on a different scale that were brought to light in villa E.1027, the ethical question regarding the conservation of tangible and intangible heritage, can and must also be addressed in these cases. And it will be good to remember that a drawing on a wall is not just a drawing on a wall.

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58. A. Gonzalez-Ruibal, *An archaeology of the Contemporary era* (London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2019); G. De Felice, *Archeologie del contemporaneo. Paesaggi*, (Roma: Carocci, 2022).

59. G. Pertot, "Analisi stratigrafica per il Moderno. Casa Malaparte a Capri: i rivestimenti", *ANANKE*, no. 1 (1993): 75-81; G.P. Treccani, (2007), "Archeologie del presente, Tradizione e modernità", *Antico e nuovo. Architetture e Architettura*, (eds.) A. Ferlenga, E. Vassallo, F. Schellino, (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2007), 93-105; D. Pittaluga, "L'analisi archeologica per la conoscenza e la conservazione delle strutture del XX secolo", in *Tiziano Mannoni. Attualità e sviluppi di metodi e di idee* (eds.) ISCUM (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2021), 436-443.

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A New Element in Interior Decoration in 18th and 19th Century Ottoman Mansions: Istanbul Panoramas of *Kalemişi* as Wall Paintings

*By Alev Erarlan**

With the start of the Period of Westernization in Ottoman architecture at the beginning of the 18th century, not only palaces and shoreside residences of the sultans, but also kiosks (köşk), mansions (konak), summer pavilions (kasır), and other civil structures such as waterfront residences (yalı) came under the influence of European styles in interior decoration. A significant movement in civil architecture began in this period and it was first the Baroque, Rocaille and Empire styles that made their imprint on Ottoman structures, followed subsequently by other Western trends. A new element that appeared in the program of westernization in architecture that was applied to palaces, shoreside residences of the sultan, kiosks, pavilions and yalı's was kalemişi wall paintings. The subjects of this decorative artwork, most of which was created by foreign architects, were landscapes and urban panoramas rather than geometric or floral decorations. The city panoramas mostly depicted Istanbul, the capital of both Anatolia and the Balkans. The aim of this article is to introduce examples of structures of Ottoman residential architecture that began, as from the second half of the 18th century, to boast of kalemişi wall paintings and to demonstrate how those depicting urban panoramas were primarily devoted to Istanbul and embodied a reflection of the influence these paintings had on the westernization movement.

Introduction

The first changes in interior decoration in Ottoman architecture were seen at the beginning of the 18th century, in the first stage of the “Period of Ottoman Westernization” that was known as the Tulip Era (1718-1730). Opening out into the West was a movement that drew from western influences and the interest in European culture, and the first examples of this began to be observed during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730).¹

A program of architecture known as the Kağıthane and Sadabat building activities initiated a construction movement in which the element of water was predominant and which was influenced by the architecture of the French palaces. Many palaces and shoreside royal residences as well as two hundred wooden kiosks were built in this period.² These kiosks, dedicated to the use of state

*Professor, Istanbul Aydın University, Türkiye.

1. A. Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılaşma Süreci*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975, 40.

2. H. Arslan, “Boğaziçi’nde 18.Yüzyıldan Kalma Bir İstanbul Evinin Durumu Hakkında Sanat Tarihi Bağlamında Yeni Değerlendirmeler.” *METU JFA* 31: 1, (2014): 97-117; S. Eyice, “XVII.

officials, were known as the “Sadabat Kiosks” and their program of interior decoration exhibited not only geometrical patterns and floral ornamentation which were traditionally Turkish and Islamic decorative motifs, but also Rococo and Baroque elements.³

The Sadabat Kiosks, considered to be the most significant examples of the Ottoman civil architecture of the times, as well as the rooms and salons of Topkapı Palace, commissioned by the sultan and his sons, together were a reflection of the atmosphere of art and entertainment in the Tulip Era. The interiors of these spaces were in general decorated by foreign designers who made use of the decorative elements of the Tulip Era as well as Baroque and Rocaille ornamentation.⁴ Foreign artists from the West were invited to the Empire in this period to design the interiors of the shoreside residences that the sultans had newly constructed around the vicinity of the palace. These western designers employed Baroque-Rococo and Empires styles in their creative work. James Dallaway, an 18th century traveler to Istanbul, speaks with amazement of the Louis XV style of decorations he saw in the palaces of the city.⁵

The Empire style followed Baroque and Rococo in making an impact on Ottoman architecture as from the second half of the 18th century. Sultan Mahmud II aspired to make the Empire style the official style of the empire, and subsequently, the Empire construction program began to be widely used in the public buildings and civil structures of the period.⁶ The architect Antoine Melling, who came to Istanbul at the invitation of Sultan Selim III, built a waterfront residence in the Empire style along the Defterdarburnu and Eyüp shores for each of the sultan’s sisters Hatice Sultan and Beyhan Sultan.⁷ The interior decor of the large domed hall in Topkapı known as *Hünkar Sofası* (Sultan’s Hall) in Topkapı Palace was refurbished in the Empire style in the 18th century. The walls of the *Harem* section of the Palace have rounded arches with keystones between surfaces separated by pilasters with Corinthian column capitals. Beneath this section are *kalemişi* decorations revealing cup motifs under folds of fabric (curtains) twisted on two ends, clearly reflecting the Empire style.⁸ At the beginning of the 19th century, during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842-1918), the number of foreign architectural movements increased and Ottoman architecture began to reflect the influences of the Neo-Classic, Neo-Gothic, Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Baroque, Orientalist, Eclectic and Art Nouveau styles in architectural ornamentation, both on facades and in interior design.⁹ With the advent of the Period of

Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslubu.” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9-10, (1981): 163-190.

3. S. Eyice, Yok Olan İstanbul Sarayları ve Sarayların Yaşatılması İçin Bazı Düşünceler, *TBMM Milli Saraylar Sempozyumu, 15-17 Kasım 1984 Yıldız Sarayı/Şale*, İstanbul, 69-78, 1985, 72.

4. D. Kuban, “Barok Mimari.” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2, (1994): 61-65.

5. Ibid, 65.

6. S. Eyice, “XVII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslubu.” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9-10, (1981): 163-190.

7. A. Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılaşma Süreci*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975, 89.

8. Ibid, 170.

9. D. Kuban, “Barok Mimari.” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2, (1994): 61-65.

Westernization, another element that entered the realm of Ottoman interior design was the *kalemişi* technique that produced wall paintings of scenery and urban panoramas that lacked human depictions. There are architectural elements included in the paintings of the scenery. Mecca and Medina take their place as subjects of the depictions of city scenes. Another subject of wide popularity in these paintings is the capital of Istanbul.

The aim of this article is to introduce examples of structures of Ottoman residential architecture that began, as from the second half of the 18th century, to boast of *kalemişi* wall paintings and to demonstrate how those depicting urban panoramas were primarily devoted to Istanbul and embodied a reflection of the influence these paintings had on the Westernization movement.

Method

As part of our investigation, we will study the new element of *kalemişi* wall paintings that entered the interior decoration plan of Ottoman buildings with the Period of Westernization, focusing on the Istanbul panoramas that were the subject of these paintings in mansions (*konak*), pavilions (*kasırs*) and shoreside residences (*yalı*). The paintings represented the sociocultural change brought about by the Period of Westernization, and therefore they will be evaluated and examined in this article in terms of the treatment of their subject matter and the techniques used in their production in selected examples of civil architecture. At the same time, as symbols of the outward-looking lifestyle that started to be adopted during the westernization process, the paintings will be assessed in terms of their place in the modernization of the society of the times.

Kalemişi Decorative Art in Turkish Architecture

The decorative art of *kalemişi* was abundantly used in Turkish ornamental art in both religious and civil structures as from the 14th century.¹⁰ *Kalemişi* borders of lobed *rumi* motifs wrapping around curled twigs were the most popular decorations of the early period.¹¹ Sun rosettes, *hatayi* motifs and palmettes are some other motifs that could be seen among the curved branches of *kalemişi*. Vegetal decorations feature tulips, hyacinths, carnations, roses, asters, trumpet flowers as well as stylized leaves in naturalist expression.¹² Up until the end of the 17th century, these vegetal motifs were also accompanied by geometrical compositions.¹³

10. C. Nemlioğlu, *15 16 ve 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kalem İşleri, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989, 35; Y. Demiriz, "Osmanlı Kalem İşleri." *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi* 11, (1999): 297-304.

11. S. Bağcı, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Boyalı Nakışlar." *Osmanlı Uygarlığı* II, (2004): 736-759.

12. C.E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1973, 115.

13. C. Nemlioğlu, *15 16 ve 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kalem İşleri, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989, 78.

With the dawn of the period of Westernization in the 18th century, the *kalemişi* wall painting repertory began to display changes. The influence of the west in this century was visible in the tradition of *kalemişi* too, displaying a manner of decorative art that clearly reflected western trends. In the first stage of the period, the Tulip Era, the most popular motifs to be seen were flowers in voluminous vases and still-lives composed of bowls of fruits.¹⁴ The structure that best demonstrates the concept of decorative art in this period is the Chamber of Fruits and Berries of Ahmet III in Topkapı Palace.¹⁵ This Chamber of Fruits and Berries is one of the first examples of westernized decorative art, and the *kalemişi* decorations on its walls represent the conceptualization of the ornamentation of the Tulip Era, accompanied as they are by oil-painted and decoratively embroidered wooden panels.¹⁶ Bouquets of flowers are arranged in vases or stand by themselves on the wooden panel, reflecting the tastes and inclinations of the period with their show of floral motifs and bowls full to the brim with fruits (Figure 1).¹⁷



Figure 1. *The Chamber of Fruits and Berries of Ahmet III (Yemiş Odası) at Topkapı Palace (National Palaces Archives)*

Another novelty in the *kalemişi* wall paintings that was introduced in the Period of Westernization was the trend to depict landscapes and urban scenes that

14. P.Ş. Tekinalp, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Duvar Resmi." *Türkler 15*, (2002): 440-448.

15. R. Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988, 23; G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1,850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1974, 77.

16. A. Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975, 56.

17. P.Ş. Tekinalp, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Duvar Resmi." *Türkler 15*, (2002): 440-448.

included architecture, ships, trains, and symbolic imagery.¹⁸ The earliest examples of scenery and urban panoramas were again seen in Topkapı Palace. These early examples of historical scenery-based wall paintings in the palace appeared during the reign of Abdülhamid I (1774-1789).¹⁹ Shoreside scenes of Istanbul can be seen on the walls of the section of the Palace Concubines' Courtyard connected to the *harem* (Figure 2: Right).²⁰ In the same way, we can see that the walls of the Chamber of the Sultan's Mother in the *Harem* as well as the upper floor *sofa* are decorated with paintings of urban scenes and landscape panoramas.²¹ Numerous rooms in the harem were in fact decorated with scenic paintings during the era of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) (Figure 2: Left).²² It was in this era that the walls of the Chamber of Mihrişah, the mother of Sultan Selim III, were adorned with paintings of scenery and depictions of gardens with fountains and floral arrangements in line with the tastes of the period (Figure 2: Middle).²³ Similarly, the Dining Room in the *Harem* has scenic paintings with no architectural features depicted in the *kalemişi* technique on the east and west walls. Themes that evoke scenes from the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, shoreside palaces that open out into pools with fountains and manicured floral gardens are features that are frequently seen.²⁴

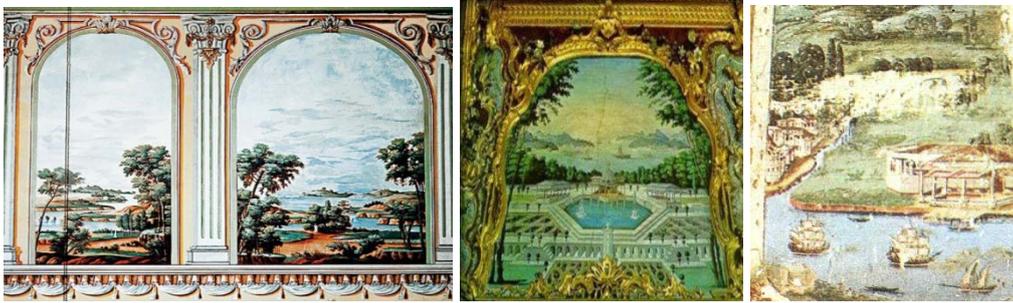


Figure 2. Right: *Topkapı Palace Concubines' Court Wall Paintings* (Arık 1988). Left: *Topkapı Palace Harem Walls* (Demirarslan 2016, Figure 4). Middle: *Pool and garden painting in the Chamber of Mihrişah, the Sultan's Mother, at Topkapı Palace* (Renda, Erol 1981, Figure 78)

The tradition of decoration using paintings of scenic views and urban landscapes that was first initiated in the Topkapı Palace *harem* soon found their

18. G. Renda, "Yenileşme Döneminde Kültür ve Sanat." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 265-283.

19. Ibid, 268.

20. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 88.

21. D. Demirarslan, "19.Yüzyıl Türk Sivil Mimarisinde Duvar Resmi Estetiği ve İstanbul Teması." *Mimarlık ve Yaşam Dergisi* 1/1, (2016): 105-125.

22. G. Renda, Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses, G. Fehér (Ed.) *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 23-28 September 1975, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 711-735, 1978, 713.*

23. G. Renda and T. Erol, *Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı*, İstanbul: Tıglat Yayınları, 1981, 78.

24. G. Renda, "Yenileşme Döneminde Kültür ve Sanat." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 265-283.

way to the palace environs as well as to Anatolia and the Balkans.²⁵ It became the fashion for homes to display wall paintings and panels that featured landscapes, scenic views, and panoramas of the city and the Bosphorus. The westernized trends adopted in the Palace started to appear in houses, giving way to a rich interpretation of interior design.²⁶ Kiosks or pavilions revealed a new tradition that included *kalemişi* decorations and murals. Such paintings became popular and predominantly featured landscapes and scenes of urban panoramas—especially of Istanbul and the Bosphorus—as well as architectural works of art that did not include people.²⁷ The scenic compositions depicted works of architecture as well as representations of picnics, hunting scenes, a variety of animals, including birds.²⁸ It was only towards the end of the 19th century that small-scale human figures began to be displayed.²⁹ In the Period of Reforms (*Tanzimat*, 1839), articles that pointed to technical novelties originating in the west began to be included in the scenes. Among these were horse-drawn carriages, cabs and trams, trains, broughams, steamships, railroads, armchairs, and clocks.³⁰ These objects that represented the Europeanism embraced during the Period of Reforms found their way into all the Anatolian cities by way of Istanbul and Izmir.³¹

The main room (*başoda*), *divanhane* and bride's rooms were the spaces of the mansions (*konak*) that were most abundantly decorated with scenic views and urban themes. Besides the walls and ceilings of these rooms, other areas where decorative work could be seen were shelves, closets, hearth walls, pantry shelves, points where walls met ceilings, ceiling corners and edges of ceiling frames, fencing, window ledges, closet walls, sideboards on top of cabinets (*yüklük*), lampstands and sherbet containers (vases), the insides of niches, doors, windows and closet doors, as well as platform (*seki*) posts and arches and ceilings standing over these platforms.³² The decorative paintings were sometimes bordered by S&C curves in the Baroque style or with acanthus leaves contained in oval or rectangular cartouches.

Different techniques are used in the production of *kalemişi* wall paintings. The most widely utilized among these is the technique of using water-based paints of weather-resistant white lead (isfidac) on a wooden base.³³ The decorative art of *kalemişi* executed in the form of a secco painting was a lesser used technique because of the way the plaster could crumble. A new technique was added in the

25. M. Karaaslan, "Ankara'da Resimli Bir Ev: Dede Bayrak Evi". *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1), (2016): 13-22.

26. D. Kuban, "Ev Mimarisi." *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3, (1994a): 227-234.

27. I. Kuyulu, "Anatolian Wall Paintings and Cultural Traditions". *Electronical Journal of Oriental Studies* III, (2000): 1-27.

28. G. Renda, Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses, G. Fehér (Ed.) *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 23-28 September 1975, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest*, 711-735, 1978, 714.

29. Ibid, 714.

30. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 44-45.

31. Ibid, 44.

32. C.E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1973, 115; P.Ş. Tekinalp, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Duvar Resmi." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 440-448.

33. R. Arık, Osmanlı Sanatında Duvar resimleri, *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi* 1, (1999): 423-436; G. Renda, "Yenileşme Döneminde Kültür ve Sanat." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 265-283.

19th century, producing examples in which *kalemişi* decorations appeared on the platings of wooden ceilings or walls over which leather, canvas or other materials had been stretched.³⁴ The second half of the 19th century was witness to yet another new oil painting technique.³⁵

As far as style was concerned, the more widespread concept of painting drew inspiration from naturalism, a typically western source of art. The *tromp l'oeil* technique that emerged in the Baroque period is one of the techniques used in these depictions that originated from the West.³⁶ Complying with the rules of perspective, focusing on the quality of light, shadow and color are important elements of paintings executed in the light of western art. Qualities of the art of miniature are also employed. In some paintings, the miniature technique is blended with the western concept of art.³⁷ The colors used in the motifs were first obtained from natural madder root followed by the use of oil paints in later periods.³⁸ Color compositions were created predominantly from earth colors and also included blues, dark greens, reds, greens and brownish-reds.³⁹ There are also examples of black and gray tones set upon a background of white.

Among the sources that can be traced in the wall paintings are the works of foreign artists, particularly their engravings.⁴⁰ The elements of light/shadow and perspective in these depictions carry naturalist tones, evidence that these paintings were produced by western artists and the Ottoman masters whom they had trained.⁴¹ At the same time, it is known that there were foreign artists who had ateliers in the Pera Region during this era.⁴²

Istanbul Panoramas

An important theme in the *kalemişi* wall paintings during the Ottoman Period of Westernization was the urban panorama. Urban depictions featured the iconic structures of the city as well as elements of nature. Natural scenes and landscapes were essential parts of these urban portrayals. Places of settlement close to the city

34. P.Ş. Tekinalp, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Duvar Resmi." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 440-448.

35. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 195.

36. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 25.

37. H. Inalcık and G. Renda, *Osmanlı Uygarlığı 1-2*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayını, 2009, 67.

38. M. Karaaslan, "Ankara'da Resimli Bir Ev: Dedebayrak Evi". *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1), (2016): 13-22.

39. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1,850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 89.

40. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 25.

41. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 63-64.

42. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 123; P.Ş. Tekinalp, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Duvar Resmi." *Türkler* 15, (2002): 440-448.

could also be made a part of the representation. Cities are generally depicted as a crowd of structures set against a backdrop of natural scenery. The elements constituting the city were kiosks (*köşk*), pavilions (*kasır*), shoreside residences (*yalı*), mosques, meşjids, tombs (*türbe*), fountains and bridges.⁴³ Besides depicting urban panoramas through iconic structures symbolizing a particular city with all their characteristics, the concept of producing fanciful urban scenes also became a popular trend.⁴⁴

The cities that were predominantly seen in panoramic urban views were Mecca with its scenes of the Kaaba, Medina, and Istanbul. Istanbul has always drawn attention as the capital (*payitaht*) of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ Because the westernization movement starting in Istanbul soon rapidly advanced toward Anatolia, scenes of Istanbul were among the primary depictions to be profusely seen in affluent mansions in all the Anatolian regions as well as in the Balkans. The reason for this was because the owners of these mansions wished to live the life of the capital in their own local environment.⁴⁶

The portrayals of Istanbul have been considered in two groups in this article—depictions of topographical Istanbul and representations of buildings. In the depictions of topographical Istanbul, the topographic features of the city were represented and mapped out in terms of three districts—the Historical Peninsula, Pera/Galata and Üsküdar.⁴⁷ These three islands were accompanied on the maps by views of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus.⁴⁸ The district of Pera/Galata, with its western aura, was frequently chosen both to depict the Golden Horn, lying between two pieces of land, and to present the silhouette of Istanbul accentuated with the Galata Tower.⁴⁹ The Sea of Marmara was depicted with a plethora of maritime traffic, complete with galleons, sailboats, imperial caiques and other small seagoing vessels.⁵⁰ The color of the sea on the maps was generally indigo-blue.

The most iconic structures symbolizing Istanbul in depictions of panoramic Istanbul were the Galata Tower, Leander's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*), the Tower of Beyazıt, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Sarayburnu, Topkapı Palace, and the city walls.⁵¹ The religious building that was most frequently depicted in urban scenes of Istanbul was Sultanahmet Mosque. This mosque, with its six minarets, is one of the most distinctive structures of the city. Another urban element commonly

43. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 27.

44. Ibid, 27.

45. I. Kuyulu, "Anatolian Wall Paintings and Cultural Traditions". *Electronical Journal of Oriental Studies* III, (2000): 1-27.

46. G. Renda and T. Erol, *Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı*, İstanbul: Tıglat Yayınları, 1981, 64-65.

47. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 159.

48. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 25.

49. Ibid, 113.

50. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 159.

51. Ibid, 27, 159.

depicted in scenes of Istanbul is the Galata Bridge. Usually shown in the center of the picture, the bridge is flanked by Galata on the right and the shores of Sarayburnu and the Historical Peninsula on the left and is situated exactly opposite the district of Üsküdar.⁵² Another symbol commonly seen in panoramic Istanbul scenes is Leander's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*), which has always attracted the interest of artists from a visual aspect. The perspective angle on Üsküdar depicts this district as reaching all the way to the shores of Kadıköy.⁵³ Some Istanbul scenes also include symbols of fire in reference to the many fires that had become synonymous with the city. The depictions do not contain human figures in accordance with Islamic traditional mores.⁵⁴

Topographical Istanbul Representations

The most popular way of depicting Istanbul panoramas was in the form of a topographical display. As described above, representations in this group divided the city into three masses of land—the Historical Peninsula, Pera/Galata and Üsküdar—and displayed these regions in map-like fashion together with their topographical characteristics.⁵⁵

The first structure that will be described here as part of this category will be the still-standing harem quarters of Sadullah Paşa Yalı in Çengelköy. The yalı is a significant example of 18th century Ottoman civil architecture; it is a two-story building, that runs parallel to the sea along its length and has a *beyzi*, or oval central *sofa* (hall).⁵⁶ Each floor contains eight rooms situated at the corners of the *sofas*. The rooms of the *yalı* boast of numerous *kalemişi* wall decorations that depict landscapes and urban panoramas. Arranged around the domed central oval sofa on the upper floor of the *yalı* are storage closets called *yüklük* and immediately next to these are large niches referred to as *çiçeklik*, *şerbetlik*, or flower tub, which contain a display of panoramic Istanbul with its scenes of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn and the rows of kiosks (*köşk*), pavilions (*kasır*) and shoreside palaces scattered over their shores.⁵⁷

The Pink Room on the southeast side of the upper floor has a *çiçeklik* (*şerbetlik*) niche that depicts Topkapı Sahilsarayı, which had been completely lost to a fire in 1862 (Figure 3: Right).⁵⁸ Behind the shoreside palace is a

52. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 25.

53. Ibid, 114.

54. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1,850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 99.

55. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 159.

56. T. Artan, T. "Sadullah Paşa Yalısı." *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6, (1994): 396-397.

57. T. Okçuoğlu, "Sadullah Paşa Yalısı." *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 35, (2008): 433-434.

58. E. Esin, Sadullah Paşa Yalısı, *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı. Bir Yapı Bir Yaşam*, Deniz Mazlum (Ed), İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2008, 44; T. Okçuoğlu, "Sadullah Paşa Yalısı." *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 35, (2008): 433-434.

representation of Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia and Sultanahmet Mosque, caught in a commemorative scene of the ceremonies taking place during the yearly Nevruz or whenever the navy sailed off or returned from a campaign.⁵⁹ In the depiction can be seen sailboats and other sailing vessels profusely decorated with flags. In the foreground of the representation of the fleet are ship docks which were called “göz”.⁶⁰

At the northeast side of the upper floor of the *yalı*, inside the *çiçeklik* (*şerbetlik*) niche is a *yalı* of white masonry with a fountain in front. The niche at the back shows a scene of the Bosphorus depicting caiques with their oars in the air (Figure 3: Left).⁶¹ The scenes in both niches have been produced with the *trompe l’oeil* technique and can be seen behind the arch in the foreground.⁶²



Figure 3. Sadullah Paşa Yalısı, Scenes of Istanbul. Right: Topkapı Sahilsarayı (Shoreside Palace) at Sarayburnu (Esin 2008, Figure 25). Left: Yalı of White Masonry against the Backdrop of the Bosphorus (Esin 2008, Figure 25)

The southwest room on the upper floor of the *yalı* has a *çiçeklik* (*şerbetlik*) niche flanked by doors on the right and left that have two more panoramas of Istanbul. The background in both depictions is almost the same. On the right and left of the representations can be seen a promontory and a coastline that obscures

59. E. Esin, Sadullah Paşa Yalısı, *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı. Bir Yapı Bir Yaşam*, Deniz Mazlum (Ed), İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2008, 44.

60. Ibid, 46.

61. Ibid, 43.

62. E. Esin, Sadullah Paşa Yalısı, *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı. Bir Yapı Bir Yaşam*, Deniz Mazlum (Ed), İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2008, 44.

the horizon, as well as Yuşa Hill in the distance (Figure 4: Right).⁶³ The decorative painting in the central cell displays a white pavilion in the foreground while on the other side stands a *cihartak* (*çardak*), an open-air kiosk (*divanhane* tent) (Figure 4: Left).⁶⁴



Figure 4. Right: *The White Pavilion in the Foreground with Yuşa Hill in the Back* (Esin 2008, Image 29d). Left: *An Open-Air Kiosk (Cihartak/Çardak) in the Front and Yuşa Hill in the Background* (Esin 2008, Figure 29c)

Another structure that has *kalemişi* wall art with a topographical view of Istanbul is the Yenişehir Şemaki Residence in Bursa, which is dated to the beginning of the 18th century. This two-story house has been constructed along the lines of one of the typical layouts of the Turkish house, the plan with *exterior sofa*.⁶⁵ The *kalemişi* decorative art displays the characteristics popular in the nineteenth century.

There is a large panorama of Istanbul on the storage closet in the main room (*başoda*) of the building (Fig. 5: Right). The panorama is divided into two by the sea, three land masses where houses are situated appearing above and a scene of Leander's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*) situated as an island in the middle.⁶⁶ The land masses above the Bosphorus are the Historical Peninsula, Galata, and Üsküdar. Besides *Kız Kulesi*, which is close to the Üsküdar shore, the absence of other symbolic structures of Istanbul—particularly of the mosques—give the impression that the representation is imaginary rather than the product of observation. The sea is full of boats at full sail, rowboats and caiques of all sizes.⁶⁷ In the same way, another room in the house also contains a panorama of Istanbul with *Kız Kulesi* in the middle.⁶⁸ The composition is an imaginary one but *Kız Kulesi* stands out in both depictions.

63. Ibid, 5.

64. Ibid, 53.

65. S.H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1954, 45.

66. R. Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988, 96-97.

67. T. Okçuoğlu, Sadullah Paşa Yalısı'nın Bezemelerine İlişkin Gözlemler, *Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı. Bir Yapı Bir Yaşam*, Deniz Mazlum (Ed), İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2008, 145.

68. D. Demirarslan, "19.Yüzyıl Türk Sivil Mimarisinde Duvar Resmi Estetiği ve İstanbul Teması." *Mimarlık ve Yaşam Dergisi* 1/1, (2016): 105-125.



Figure 5. Right: Depiction of Istanbul on the Storage Closet in the Main Room (Başoda) of Yenişehir Şemaki House in Bursa (Demirarslan 2016, Figure 10). Left: Birgi Çakırağa Mansion (Konak) (Kuban 2,007 479)

One more structure built in the *exterior sofa* type of the traditional Turkish house is Birgi Çakırağa Konağı, a building that is in the Ödemiş district of Izmir. There are *kalemîşi* wall decorations of topographical Istanbul. Built by Çakıroğlu Mehmet Bey in 1761-1764, the house was added to UNESCO's Provisional List of World Heritage Sites in 2012. The structure consists of a U-shaped *hayat* (sofa), which is actually a balcony with wooden posts, and two corner rooms opening out into the sofa with an *iwan* in-between.⁶⁹ The ornamentation of the konak is from the 19th century.

In one of the rooms on the upper floor (the winter room), there is a panorama of Istanbul, dedicated by the *konak* owner to his Istanbulian wife. The summer room has a panorama of Izmir, dedicated to the homeowner's wife from Izmir. The sofa (*hayat*) walls display a panel that represents a panorama of a coastal town complete with a tower.⁷⁰ A wall-to-wall panoramic depiction of Istanbul can be found on one of the walls of the room. Here, Istanbul has been portrayed in a composition that shows the sea spread out in-between three land masses.⁷¹ The coastline on the right represents Üsküdar, and on the left is Sarayburnu, opposite from which are the Galata shores (Figure 5: Left). The picture features a view of the Bosphorus, the Burnt Column, the Egyptian Obelisque, *Kız Kulesi* (Leander's Tower) and some of the city's major mosques.⁷² The domes of the mosques in the representation, however, have been painted as double-domes, indicating that the depiction is an imaginary portrayal of the Istanbul panorama.⁷³ At the same time, the typically Aegean houses with gabled roofs and the Izmir-type of two- or three-

69. D. Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 2007, 478.

70. Ibid, 478.

71. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 134.

72. I. Kuyulu, "Anatolian Wall Paintings and Cultural Traditions". *Electronical Journal of Oriental Studies III*, (2000): 1-27.

73. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 115.

story *konaks* show that although the artist was familiar with the topography of Istanbul, he chose to include architectural elements from Izmir in the composition.⁷⁴

Datça Reşadiye Mehmet Ali Ağa Konak, known by the townsfolk as “Kocaev” is dated back to 1791-1801. This structure is another one that contains a topographical Istanbul panorama set out in *kalemişi* art.⁷⁵ The *kalemişi* decorations completely surround the upper parts of the walls and windows. On the top floor of the two-story *konak*, characterizing the L-shaped type of plan with an *exterior sofa*, the central panel in the group of three panels above the cabinet (*yüklük*) on the platform, or *sekiüstü* of the main room (*başoda*) depicts a panoramic view of Istanbul (Figure 6: Right).



Figure 6. Right: Istanbul Panorama on the Wall Above the Storage Cabinet (*Yüklük*) in the Main Room (*Başoda*) of Mehmet Ali Ağa Konak in Datça-Reşadiye (Renda 1978, Figure 16). Left: Abdülkadir Kimya House, Gaziantep (Uğurlu 2020, 67)

Here we have the classic three land masses used in the topographical representations of Istanbul scenery—the districts of Üsküdar, the Historical Peninsula-Sarayburnu, and Galata. All the pieces of land are represented in dark shades of red and contain houses with hipped roofs and groups of trees.⁷⁶ On the left of the representation is the large land mass of the Historical Peninsula, which displays an unidentifiable mosque that appears to be a *selatin* mosque with its four minarets containing two balconies each and a grandiose latecomer’s portico.⁷⁷ On the right is a land mass that is thought to represent Üsküdar. On the right lower corner is a small section that represents the district of Galata and the Galata Tower. The Bosphorus is pictured as streaming between these pieces of land and on the waters are sultanate caiques, sailboats, ducks, fish, and other sea creatures, depicting a complex flow of sea traffic, with Leander’s Tower (*Kız Kulesi*) rising

74. R. Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988, 88; Renda 1977, 146.

75. G. Renda, Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses, G. Fehér (Ed.) *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 23-28 September 1975, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest*, 711-735, 1978, 714.

76. G. Renda, “Datça’da Eski Bir Türk Evi.” *Sanat Dünyamız* 2, (1974): 25-29.

77. *Ibid.*, 21.

up in a show of stone masonry.⁷⁸ The artist has taken liberties with the interpretation of the scene.⁷⁹

The Gaziantep Abdülkadir Kimya House offers a different panoramic view of Istanbul. This konak was built in 1856 by the Armenian goldsmith Karanazar Nezaretyan. The south wall of its eastward room presents inside an oval frame, a depiction of the Historical Peninsula, a work of art that is wrought with many characteristics of western paintings on canvas.⁸⁰ A night view is depicted here for the first time (Figure 6: Left). The moonlight, the flickering candles and their reflections on the water offer an Impressionist flavor.⁸¹ The Historical Peninsula appears only in silhouette amid a stream of fog. Sailboats and caiques catch the eye on the Sea of Marmara.⁸²

The *konaks* of the Ürgüp/Neveşehir region are rich with *kalemişi* wall paintings representing Istanbul. One of the most prominent of these is Neveşehir Ürgüp Sucuoğlu Konağı, where the main room contains depictions of both Istanbul and Edirne on two opposing walls. Built in 1904 by a cloth merchant from Ürgüp, the konak's main room (*başoda*) has scenes from Istanbul and Edirne on its east and west walls, each measuring 1.75x3.75 m. This Istanbul panorama is encased in a brown border and displays in detail the Galata Bank of the Golden Horn, Eminönü, Sultanahmet and the shores of Üsküdar, also including a representation of *Kız Kulesi* (Leander's Tower) (Figure 7: Right). The district of Galata has been depicted with its monumental tower, embassy buildings, Levantine residences and churches. Along the shores can be seen a mosque with its minaret and dome and some civil structures displaying their triangular pediments.⁸³



Figure 7. Right: Depiction of Neveşehir Ürgüp Sucuoğlu Konak, Istanbul (Özbek 2014, Figure 5). Left: Neveşehir Göreme Tillioğlu Konak (Özbek 2014, Figure 2)

78. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 55.

79. G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700- 1850* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, 24.

80. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 63.

81. Ibid, 117.

82. S. Çayan, Geleneksel Antep Evlerinde Duvar ve Tavan Resimleri, *The Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Archaeology of Hatay and Its Vicinity through the Ages, 21-24 May 2013, Antakya*, (Eds). A. Özfırat, Ç.Uygun, 377-395, 2014, 379.

83. Y. Özbek, "Kapadokya'da Osmanlı Dönemi Duvar Resimlerinde Kent Tasvirleri." *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities IV/I*, (2014): 215-230.

The picture shows Galata Bridge, connecting Galata and Eminönü, with ships docked in front, their chimneys spurting smoke. Unkapanı Bridge has been depicted in a more schematic manner.⁸⁴ Along the shores of Sarayburnu looking toward the Golden Horn, there are a few buildings but some of the sections of Topkapı Palace take priority in the picture. The Fountain of Ahmet III strikes the eye here in particular. The slopes of Topkapı Palace overlooking the Bosphorus have been portrayed as flush with trees, whereas the shores of Sarayburnu facing the Golden Horn have been pictured with a scarcity of buildings.⁸⁵ In the Eminönü section of the painting can be seen Yeni Valide Mosque and Sultanahmet Mosque as well as Hagia Sophia and Beyazıt Tower. Behind the tower is Beyazıt Mosque with its two minarets. Painted in melancholic pastel tones, the depiction reveals Zeppelins, balloons, airplanes and other aircraft in the sky above Sarayburnu.⁸⁶ The scene does not display the foggy shores of Kadıköy and closer examples of structures in the foreground, but rather is portrayed in smaller dimensions, indicating an adherence to the rules of perspective art.⁸⁷ Üsküdar can be identified in the scene with Mihrimah Sultan Mosque by the shore and Atik Valide Mosque immediately adjacent. As a later work of art, Istanbul has been depicted in all its details here, which suggests that the artist was personally familiar with the city.⁸⁸

Another *konak* that has a topographical Istanbul scene is located in Göreme, Nevşehir, and is known as Mehmet Pasha Konak, also named Tillioğlu Konağı. Tillioğlu Mehmet Agha had this konak built in 1825 after leaving his position at the palace in Istanbul. One of the wall paintings in the *papuçluk* (shoe shelf underneath the *seki*, or platform) section of the main room (*başoda*) facing the front of the building depicts a panorama of Istanbul (Figure 7: Left).⁸⁹ This is a representation of a building in the district of Tophane.⁹⁰ In the right lower corner of the artwork appears the land mass of Üsküdar, displaying a three-minaret, single-dome mosque set inside a thicket of trees. An Ottoman galleon with its fluttering sails, rowboats and Imperial caiques can be seen in the waters of the Bosphorus. The sky is made up of a cluster of gray clouds and birds.⁹¹

84. Ibid, 222.

85. Ibid, 220.

86. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 108.

87. Ibid, 108.

88. G. Renda, G. "Datça'da Eski Bir Türk Evi." *Sanat Dünyamız* 2, (1974): 25-29.

89. Y. Özbek, "Kapadokya'da Osmanlı Dönemi Duvar Resimlerinde Kent Tasvirleri." *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities* IV/I, (2014): 215-230.

90. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 63.

91. Y. Özbek, "Kapadokya'da Osmanlı Dönemi Duvar Resimlerinde Kent Tasvirleri." *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities* IV/I, (2014): 215-230.

Images of Istanbul Consisting of a Single Symbolic Structure

In some of the Istanbul panoramas, rather than displaying a topographical image, a choice has been made to feature a single building or several symbolic structures in the work of decorative art. In this group of paintings, the city is represented not by a scenic view but by a mosque or a palace that evokes a symbolic association.⁹²

One of the most beautiful of this style can be seen in the famous konak in Tokat named Madımağın Celal House. The building was built on an *interior sofa* plan. A *papuçluk* is located at the entrance to the main room (*başoda*) and two of the four urban panoramas that take their place on the wall in rectangular panels are on the subject of Istanbul. One of these features one of Istanbul's essential structures, Sultan Ahmet Mosque; the other depicts Topkapı Palace (Figure 8).

Four of the three-balconied minarets of Sultan Ahmet Mosque adjoin the mosque, while the two double-balconied minarets are situated at the corners of the courtyard—a total of six minarets (Figure 8; Right). To make the work easily identifiable, the artist has placed the Obelisk of the Hippodrome and the Walled Obelisk (Column of Constantine) at the right side of the composition.⁹³ There is a fountain (*shadirvan*) in front of the mosque and a tomb (*türbe*) behind. The courtyard surrounds the structure like an enveloping wall independent of the main mass.⁹⁴ The artist's version of the building is a realistic interpretation.

Another structure that carries a work of decorative art in its main room (*başoda*) is Topkapı Palace. Here, the artist has included various different structural elements.⁹⁵ The building boasts of onion domes, lantern domes as well as towers of different sizes; it is surrounded by walls and there are dense copses of cypress trees in the courtyards (Figure 8: Left). In the background are bare hills and stylized clusters of clouds.⁹⁶ In the foreground is the Sea of Marmara with its many caiques.

92. Ibid, 221.

93. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 92.

94. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 150.

95. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 93.

96. T. Okçuoğlu, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Duvar Resimlerinde Betimleme Anlayışı*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000, 151.



Figure 8. Right: Tokat Madımağın House, Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Akın, Hanoğlu 2014, Figure 15-61). Left: Topkapı Palace (Akın, Hanoğlu 2014, Figure 15-61)

Besides the topographical scenes of Istanbul in Sadullah Pasha Yalı in Çengelköy, the structure also exhibits various singular examples of Istanbul's symbolic buildings. One of these is Şerefabad Kasrı (Pavilion) on the banks of Üsküdar Salacak, an image that is presented in the *çiçeklik* (*şerbetlik*) niche in the southwest room on the top floor of the *yalı* (Figure 9: Right).



Figure 9. Right: Sadullah Pasha Yalı, Şerefabad Kasrı (Esin 2008, Figure 29b). Left: Kayseri Hacı Özbek Konak Shoreside Palace (Özbek 2014, Figure 1)

Examples of other residences where Istanbul images contain only a single element are Tokat Latifoğlu Konağı, Yağcıoğlu Konağı and Kayseri Hacı Özbek Konağı. At Kayseri Hacı Özbek Konağı, the scene of Istanbul that is thought to have been produced in the first quarter of the 19th century displays a two-story *sahilsaray* (shoreside palace) along the water (Figure 9: Left). The waters that are depicted with the sailing boats and the small rowboats are in the Golden Horn.⁹⁷ Another example is the Tokat Yağcıoğlu Konak, where the *selamlık* room displays a panorama of three panels above the *yüklük*, or storage cabinet. In the middle is the image of a mosque with its fountain. The mosque has four minarets with three balconies (*şerefe*) and there is an imperial caique in front. This is believed to be a

97. D. Demirarslan, "19.Yüzyıl Türk Sivil Mimarisinde Duvar Resmi Estetiği ve İstanbul Teması." *Mimarlık ve Yaşam Dergisi* 1/1, (2016): 105-125.

depiction of Sultanahmet Mosque (Figure 10: Right).⁹⁸ The muralist (*nakkaş*) had painted the mosque as a product of his imagination.⁹⁹ Latifoğlu Konağı in Tokat is of the L-shaped *plan with exterior sofa* and the *kalemişi* wall paintings in the *başoda*, or main room, of the konak is thought to depict, among others, one of the selatin mosques in Istanbul, as pictured with its two minarets with two balconies (*şerefe*) each (Figure 10: Left).¹⁰⁰



Figure 10. Right: Tokat Yağcıoğlu Konak Sultanahmet Mosque (Akın, Hanoğlu, 2013, Figure 33). Left: Tokat Latifoğlu Konağı (Ecesoy 2011, 82)

Evaluation and Conclusion

Kalemişi wall decorations are a reflection of the sociocultural change taking place during the Westernization movement starting with the Tulip Era of the 18th century Ottoman history. The artwork became a symbol of the new outward-looking lifestyle that emerged in this period and is considered to be an expression of societal modernization. Especially with the Period of Reforms (*Tanzimat*), many innovations of western origin entered Ottoman soils, influencing Ottoman culture and lifestyles.

It was in this era that interior decoration trends among the Ottoman intelligentsia featured flower-filled vases and bowls of fruits in still-life representations as well as ornamental motifs in the Baroque, Rococo and Empire styles. Scenic images and panoramic urban representations constitute the most striking decorative programs pursued in the Period of Westernization. Istanbul panoramas were the most frequently displayed of urban views, representing the most well-known concept of decorative art in the new period.

These paintings in the homes of Muslim Ottomans hold a significant place in the modernization of Ottoman society, the Ottoman state, and in the evolution of art. Scenes of Istanbul were widely exhibited in this period both in the capital of Istanbul and in the small towns, decorating the most ostentatious of monumental

98. G. Renda, "19. Yüzyılda Kalemişi Nakış-Duvar Resmi." *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6, (1985): 1530-1534.

99. Y. Ecesoy, *Osmanlı Dönemi Anadolu Duvar Resimlerinde İstanbul Tasvirleri*, Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2011, 76.

100. Ibid, 82.

mansions of the elite in both city and town. Thus, as a result of the firm desire of the Ottoman elite and the palace denizens to adapt to western ways, a new residential and lifestyle culture that included elements of architecture and social habits was born.

Sometimes produced as true-to-life and sometimes contrived from the imagination, the fact that this decorative form of art was admired and accepted in Ottoman society is an indication of the changes brought about by the Period of Westernization. The artwork reflects the passion and admiration felt towards the capital of Istanbul, while also responding to the desire of society to draw nearer to European culture. Produced by foreign painters, palace artists and folk illustrators, these pieces of art depict the topography of the urban fabric, the symbolic and significant structures of the city, the houses, hills and mountains behind the hills, together with their expanse of plant life, all rendered in accordance with the rules of artistic perspective. Besides using the miniature painting technique, this form of decorative art applies the principles of the third dimension, the technique of *tromp l'oeil* and the elements of naturalist art in line with the conceptualization of western art. The human figure is not displayed in the depictions of Istanbul for religious reasons.

These artworks are not only elements of interior decoration but also represent society's readiness to make a definitive sociocultural change. The paintings are thus a product of the desire to adopt the social and cultural aspects of the European lifestyle.

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Museums of Landscape. A Project for the Tuscia’s Archaeological Heritage

By Francesca Coppolino & Bruna Di Palma[‡]*

In recent decades, numerous initiatives have seen the aims of Italian architects and archaeologists converge on the necessity to found the country’s future on the basis of a renewal of cultural heritage that represents it. “Patrimonio al futuro” (Volpe, 2015), “Il nuovo dell’Italia è nel passato” (Carandini, 2012), “Architettura e patrimonio: progettare in un paese antico” (Franciosini and Casadei, 2015) are just some of the most recent publications that testify to this orientation. The contribution presents a proposal, winner of the first prize in an idea’s competition, focused on the valorisation of the Tuscia territory, that is an internal landscape of middle Italy, in which the archaeology-landscape dualism is the main structuring character. In this framework, the idea of “Museums of landscape” was born: going beyond the canonical concept that identifies the museum as a monumental building closed in itself, to give rise to a sort of an “exploded museum” in the territory. It is an accessible network where the archaeological areas are conceived as open-air exhibition rooms spread throughout the territory, in which archaeology and landscape intertwine to form a unified narrative, both physical and virtual, able to host different events in the new inclusive archaeological “rooms”.

Keywords: *architectural design, archaeological heritage, architecture for archaeology, museums of landscape, cultural landscape.*

Introduction

“The identity of the Italian landscape is closely linked to the special nature of a cultural heritage that is extensive, widespread, dense, stratified and inscribed in the environment like few others in the world. This is what makes Italy a great ‘open-air museum’, a ‘diffuse museum’ as large as the entire national territory, made up of the thousands and thousands of heritage sites located everywhere”. With this definition, the charter of Siena¹ proposed by ICOM in 2016 describes the relationships that exist between landscape and cultural heritage in the Italian context and suggests the possibility of recognizing, among the bangs of the territory, those contexts that are not yet sufficiently accessible and recognizable in order to specify a strategy of integrated interventions that renew the value inherent in these areas.

Archaeological landscapes, in particular, are the focus of reflections that cover very large areas of the stratified territories. In recent decades, numerous

*Researcher, University of Naples Federico II, Italy.

[‡]Researcher, University of Naples Federico II, Italy.

1. <https://www.icom-italia.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/ICOMItalia.MuseiePaesaggiculturari.artadiSiena2.0.Cagliari2016.pdf>.

initiatives have seen the aims of Italian architects and archaeologists converge on the necessity to found the country's future on the basis of a renewal of cultural heritage that represents it. *Patrimonio al future*,² *Il nuovo dell'Italia è nel passato*,³ *Architettura e patrimonio: progettare in un paese antico*⁴ are just some of the most recent publications that testify to this orientation according to the interpretation and planning of archaeological landscapes which are present in the Italian territory. Less widespread are the experimentations that manage to be completed and implemented and which therefore, in addition to allowing their conservation, reestablish the value of a "common good" to the archaeological heritage in relation to the community's cultural growth.

The contribution presents a proposal, winner of the first prize in an idea's competition⁵ and focused on the valorisation of the Tuscia territory, that is an internal landscape of middle Italy inhabited without interruption up to the present day, in which the archaeology-landscape dualism is the main structuring character. Starting from this complementarity, the most appropriate, compatible and innovative intervention methodologies have been traced, with the aim of defining a strategy for the valorisation, reuse and redevelopment of intermittent ruins⁶ scattered in rural landscapes, that are isolated from each other and from the neighboring urban centers and which have lost any link with the context, becoming a unicum with the surrounding landscape. In these archaeological areas, "non-places" in a partial state of abandonment, one of the main goals, identified to avoid the definitive loss of memory of these places, was to interrupt the isolation of the ruins, restoring their role of spread centrality, in order to make the archaeological areas not only places to visit as tourist destinations, but also as spaces of a daily landscape for local communities.

Researching ways to implement this intent was crucial: how can an archaeological heritage be awakened from the sleep of history if not with the force of the context?⁷ How can these "inanimate goods" can become recognizable and be narrated not only to an audience of specialists? How to renew the link between landscape and archaeological ruins, passing the conventional way where to exhibit findings it is necessary to fence and isolate it to guarantee protection and safety?

It is from these questions that the idea of "Museums of landscape" was born: going beyond the canonical concept that identifies the museum as a monumental

2. See: Giuliano Volpe, *Patrimonio al futuro. Un manifesto per i beni culturali e il paesaggio* (Milan: Electa, 2016; first ed. 2015).

3. See: Paolo Conti (ed.), *Andrea Carandini. Il nuovo dell'Italia è nel passato* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2012).

4. See: Luigi Franciosini and Cristina Casadei (eds.), *Architettura e patrimonio: progettare in un paese antico* (Rome: Mancosu editore, 2015).

5. The Idea's Competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia" was announced by the Archeotuscia Association in 2022. The working group that developed the first-prize winning proposal "Museums of landscape" consisted of: arch. Francesca Coppolino (group leader), prof. arch. Bruna Di Palma (scientific consultant), arch. Marianna Sergio, Erika Scotto di Covella, arch. Giancarlo Stellabotte, dr. Gervasio Illiano, arch. Barbara Ansaldi, arch. Martina Bosone.

6. See: Bruna Di Palma, *L'intermittenza dell'architettura. Teoria e progetti sui luoghi dell'archeologia* (Gubbio: ANCSA, 2019).

7. See: Andrea Carandini, *La forza del contesto* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2017).

building closed in itself, in which the exhibited remains automatically lose their dimension of fragments of life and landscapes relocated from their original contexts, to instead give rise to a sort of an “exploded museum” in the territory. It is an accessible network where the archaeological areas are conceived as open-air exhibition rooms spread throughout the territory, in which archaeology and landscape intertwine to form a unified narrative, both physical and virtual, also able to be enriched by all events that can be hosted in the new inclusive archaeological “rooms”.

The Design Project for Archaeological Landscapes

The presence in European cities of multiple archaeological sites and large quantities of ruins scattered and stratified into the landscape, which often are in conditions of abandonment or isolation, resulting mostly unknown or not adequately valued, makes it necessary to rethink these ancient places in which the relationship between archaeology, urban space and natural landscape is inseparable. If the past does not constitute an extinct heritage, but on the contrary, is understood as a precious source of new possible contemporary meanings, then ruined architecture can represent the foundation, the material space of new possible “relationships”.⁸

Therefore, the strengthening of archaeological areas in Europe and, in particular, in the Mediterranean region arises as a matter of great urgency and topicality. Their enhancement requires an extremely complex and delicate design work, the collaboration between multiple and complementary disciplines and professional figures and the knowledge of specific tools for intervention in contexts of such remarkable historical-artistic value. The guidelines outlined by UNESCO on the *Historic Urban Landscape*⁹ aim to protect the heritage vulnerability from the risks and from the excessive growth of cities, to control conflicts between the dynamics of development and conservation and to facilitate the citizens involvement in the implementation of the enhancement interventions.

However, in the most common practices, the design comparison with archaeological areas often seems to live, especially in the Italian context, in a condition of immobility, since it is hinged on logics of rigid conservatism and on obsolete bureaucratic systems, through which a process of “crystallization” is activated, which often proclaims preservation action as the only possible way, giving life to what Salvatore Settis defines as “the dance of the absurd”¹⁰ and making these places real “non-places”, as stated by Andrea Carandini,¹¹ or even

8. See: Pasquale Miano, “Indagine archeologica e programma architettonico,” in *Paesaggi di rovine. Paesaggi rovinati*, Alessandra Capuano (ed.) (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2014), 252-261.

9. <https://www.unesco.it/it/TemiInEvidenza/Detail/29>.

10. See: Salvatore Settis, *Paesaggio, Costituzione, Cemento. La battaglia per l'ambiente contro il degrado civile* (Torino: Einaudi, 2010).

11. See: Daniele Manacorda, *Posgarù. Dialoghi diagonali sul patrimonio culturale e dintorni* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2022).

“fake places”, as Marc Augè points out.¹² If it is not possible to avoid the “risk” of the design project, it is still necessary to build new paradigms of observation and contemporary re-interpretation of these particular contexts (see Figure 1).

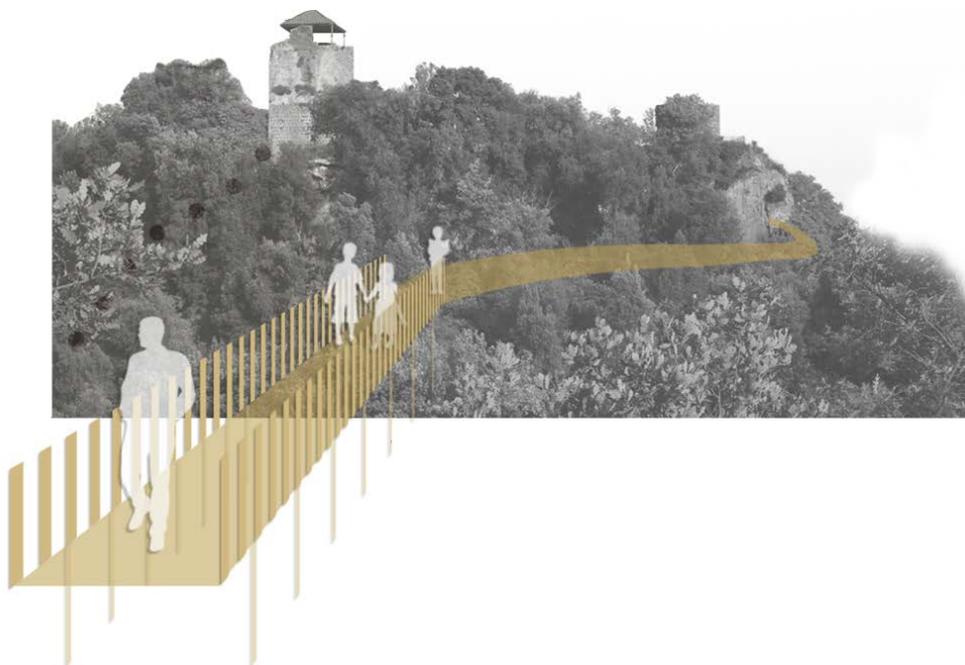


Figure 1. *New Visions for Ruins, Drawing done by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for “The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscina”, 2022.

In this direction, a particular aspect on which various recent research and design experiences have focused, is the relation with the dimension of “open, incomplete, unfinished text” of the ruins in the city and in the landscape and their inclination to absorb new readings and reveal hidden memories. The ruin, in fact, as the German philosopher Georg Simmel already pointed out at the beginning of the twentieth century, shows how “in the disappearance and destruction of the work of art, other forces and other forms have grown, those of nature, and thus, from what in ruin still lives from art and from what already lives in it from nature, a new whole has arisen, a characteristic unity”.¹³ It is inevitable to consider the ruin as a new aesthetic unity, open and in constant evolution, whose main characteristic lies in making the contrasts converge and merge within itself, becoming a “medium” between present, past and future, between artifice and nature, construction and destruction, structure and metamorphosis and becoming a “place of change” for the future perspectives that it is able to stimulate and activate.

In this view, three main approaches can be identified in the contemporary architectural scene: the approach of the archaeological site's “active” musealisation,

12. See: Fabio Mangaro, “Il passato messo in scena. Intervista con Marc Augè,” *R2 Diario di Repubblica* (10 novembre 2010): 45.

13. Georg Simmel, “La rovina,” in *Rivista di Estetica*, n. 8, G. Carchia (ed.) (1981): 121–127.

through actions linked to the conservation and protection of the remains, but also to the urban accessibility to the site, internal usability of the areas and social inclusion in the process of revealing the ruins; the approach linked to the recomposition of the “ruins’ body”, through the insertion of new architectural grafts aimed at guaranteeing the reuse, completion or reconstruction in a sort of anatomical *montage* and the approach linked to the definition of new interactions between archaeology and context, through actions focused on the reconfiguration of open space intended as a “filter space” and on the reintegration of remains into the urban space with the aim of inhabiting them in everyday life. These positions show how the contemporary debate has moved towards reflections concerning the potential of ruins as elements to be reinserted into new urban dynamics. This need derives from the fact that the best way to preserve the remains of an ancient building or entire ancient sites is to continue their life, in terms of use, meaning and form, rather than “freeze” them by relegating them to a single moment in their history.

In relation to the complexity that the archaeological topic underlines, since it is related to the presence of the ancient within the urban landscape, musealization alone cannot be considered a satisfactory answer: the ruins, withdrawn from their original aim, risk losing the meanings for which they were built - the life of men - and thus be destined for a disappearance which, if not physical, however concerns to the formal and meaningful relationships of things and between things.¹⁴ In many cases, the ancient structures were superimposed, intertwined, brought closer to successive settlements of various eras, determining very articulated urban and landscape situations¹⁵. The multiple coexistence of different architectures on the same site confirms the need, for the discipline of archaeology, not to presumed a scientific nature with respect to reality, assuming a rigid position, but to open up to other contributions and disciplines, able to introduce different points of view and readings. Among these, the new settings that are not configured only as reconstructions of the ancient, but as knowledge and interpretation of urban territories and landscapes marked by the archaeological presence, up to the highlighting of hidden storylines, assume particular importance.¹⁶

Already the theories of André Corboz, about thirty years ago, through the metaphor of the “palimpsest”, had focused attention on the point that affirming a careful consideration of the traces and mutations of ancient does not lead to a fetishistic attitude towards them.¹⁷ Corboz saw the territory as a living body which is certainly possible to analyze in statistical terms, but which can never be reduced to its quantitative elements, since there is “a collective relationship experienced between a topographical surface and the population settled in its folds [which] allows us to conclude that there is no territory without the imagery of the

14. Alberto Ferlenga, “Il dialogo interrotto delle rovine di ogni tempo”, *IUAV. Giornale dell'Università. Archeologia e Contemporaneo* (18 September 2010).

15. See: Luigi Franciosini, *Archeologia e progetto. Paesaggi antichi lungo la via Clodia* (Rome: Gangemi editore, 2014).

16. Andreina Ricci, “Progetto archeologico e racconto: sequenze, traiettorie e narrazioni,” *Archeologie e paesaggi del quotidiano*, no. 29, (2013): 27.

17. Alessandra Capuano and Fabrizio Toppetti, *Roma e l'Appia. Rovine, utopia, progetto* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017), 17.

territory”.¹⁸ Furthermore, for Corboz: “the dynamism of the phenomena of formation and production continues in the idea of a continuous improvement of results, in which everything is correlated [...] As a result, the territory is a project”.¹⁹ Starting from these considerations, the ruin-city-landscape relationship changes and is no longer defined by clear outlines, belonging to well-defined categories, but it is configured with a “diffused” and “diachronic” relationship. No longer distant bodies but spaces of interaction.

In fact, in recent researches, ruins have less and less been looked at as “crystallized scenes” and, instead, the need to identify new relationships between ruins and urban space has increasingly come to be clarified, as shown by the “Historic Urban Landscape Approach”,²⁰ which in turn develops the well-known studies carried out in the ‘80s on “urban archaeology”, or the definition of “public archaeology”, on which the recent reflection by Giuliano Volpe²¹ is of great importance in Italy, with the aim of making these elements “alive” again and to be inhabited, until they become occasions for wider landscape transformations. In these cases, it is possible to see the transition from looking at the ruin as an “object”, as a “relic”, to looking at the ruin as a “landscape”, as a “space”.

According to this vision, ruins are transformed from isolated bodies into spaces of landscape metamorphosis, which can now be experienced in everyday life and which, at the same time, help to read and understand the places in which they are inserted. The transformation of archaeological areas into new inclusive spaces is configured as a significant direction, as it is capable, on the one hand, of giving back spaces to the city and of encouraging the citizens involvement, assigning an active social role to the ruins, on the other, starting from the interventions on them, to accelerate or determine further design processes on larger scales. Interesting, in this sense, is the concept highlighted by Patricia A. Morton who, taking up Walter Benjamin’s theories, speaks of the “afterlife”²² of buildings, meaning with this term the “back to the future” of the ruins. A return to the future is possible only if the ruin, from a space of the “exception” returns to being a space for life.

In this general framework, in a territory like that of Tuscia where the archaeology-landscape dualism presents itself as the main structuring character of the place, it is precisely starting from this complementarity that the most appropriate, compatible and innovative methodologies and intervention strategies have to be traced. These archaeological areas appear as non-places in a partial state of abandonment and degradation that are scattered in a cultural landscape at risk (see Figure 2). The main goals to be pursued to avoid the definitive loss of memory is to stop the ruins isolation, returning them the role of representative centrality in the historical-landscape, in order to make the archaeological areas not

18. André Corboz, “Il territorio come palinsesto”, *Casabella*, no. 516 (1985): 22-27.

19. *Ibid.*

20. See: Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers (Eds.), *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage* (United Kingdom: Wiley Blackwell, 2014).

21. See: Giuliano Volpe, *Archeologia Pubblica* (Rome: Carocci Editore, 2021).

22. Patricia A. Morgon, “The Afterlife of Buildings: Architecture and Walter Benjamin’s Theory of History,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. D. Arnold, (London: Routledge, 2006), 359-363.

only places to visit as tourist destinations, but also spaces of an everyday and familiar landscape for local communities: from abandoned places they can become new centralities distinguished by their particular archaeological value.

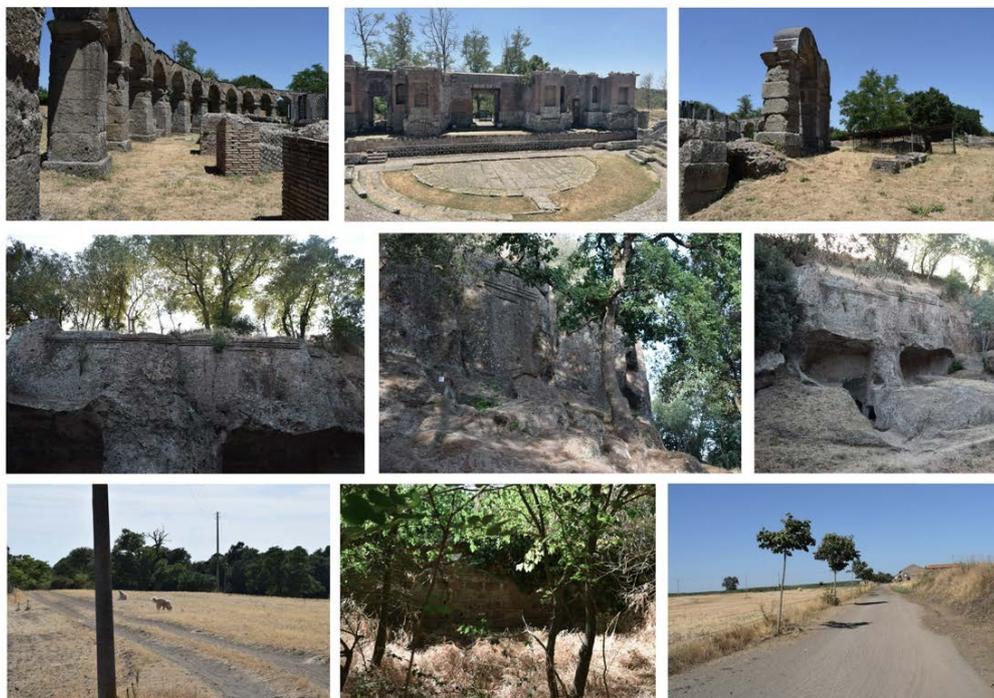


Figure 2. Ruins of Tuscia's Landscape, Photos by the Working Group, 2022

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

In these cases, two issues emerge clearly, which have been at the basis of the strategic and design work and of the concept of landscape museum described in the following paragraphs of this contribution: the value of the ruin as a narrative trace between memory and amnesia and the role of the archaeological landscape as an infrastructural net of narrative, spatial and perceptive sequences.

The first issue highlights the relationship between ruin and narration that corresponds to the fact that "the system of archaeological elements can evidently provide the designer with the priority reference plot within which to identify nodes and significant structures, which can be used as focal elements of the spatial, perceptive and semantic composition, through which to build a story".²³ In this case, as Tessa Matteini remembers, the project would be implemented through the organization of a network of places precisely identified in the landscape: "through a *writing* of the places, which in a certain sense becomes an ordering element, it is possible, in fact, to read the traces of stories perceptible in the landscape. In this narrative-project, we will have a wide margin of freedom: in the choice of subjects, itineraries, ways of explaining and justifying the stages; but it will still be

23. Tessa Matteini, *Paesaggi del tempo. Documenti archeologici e rovine artificiali nel disegno di giardini e paesaggi* (Florence: Alinea, 2009), 129.

a matter of *writing*, of an interpretation, never disconnected from the material sources which, moreover, will remain there, always ready to confirm and unmask our *translation*, allowing others also to propose different, new, best ones”.²⁴ An example is the project by Toni Gironés Saderra for the archaeological site of Can Tacò in Barcelona (2008-2012) which defined a “re-reading”, with clear narrative intentions, of the ancient Roman villa surviving traces. The intervention goal was to re-interpret the existing structures, found in fragments state, creating a new design through new additions that alluded to the geometric arrangement of ancient Roman architecture and evoked it, but according to contemporary language. The new configuration allows to perceive the unity that fragments had in the past, but it is a new unity that intersects with the previous configuration and re-interprets it in the present, defining a sort of “movement” towards new meanings.

The second issue concerns the idea that the archaeological landscape, intended as the stage on which ruins are narrated, can also become an infrastructural net able of linking different elements, but also spatial and perceptive sequences. An example is the Solutré Archaeological Park project (2012) by Catherine Mosbach,²⁵ located at the foot of Solutré Rock in Bourbon. The Park, built on the land of the excavations still in progress, was characterized by a path along which not only the archaeological objects were described, but also the vegetation and the landscape of the prehistoric age. According to a concatenation device, the Solutré Archaeological Park introduces a dialectic between a natural site and a sensitive transcription of the different times of formations and appropriations. Visitors are led through the memory of the place which is revealed by progressive sliding, through a “ground-monument”. The project links different “dimensions” in a dialectical relationship: the natural one, with the spur of rock resulting from ancient tectonic movements, and the historical one, which overlaps the long periods of geological formations of which fossil traces remain.

Tuscia’s Archaeological Heritage: Knowledge and Thematic Interpretation

The design area is the so called “Tuscia viterbese”, in upper Latium, a place rich in history and culture whose origins date back to the Etruscan period and which preserves numerous evidences of its origin and evolution. In particular, the extent of so-called Roman Tuscia currently coincides with the Province of Viterbo, located north of Rome, between the Tiber River and the Tyrrhenian Sea.

From a morphological point of view, the territory is distinguished by its volcanic origin given by the explosive activity of three volcanic complexes: the Vulsino, the Vicano and the Cimino, which, in the course of their activity, have given rise to a territory with strong orographic contrasts. The volcanic origin of the territory is also suggested by the shape of the typical volcanic lakes found in this region. In addition, rivers and streams draw a landscape consisting of valley furrows eroded by the action of water, known as “gorges”, deep valleys that cut

24. Tessa Matteini, *Paesaggi del tempo*, cit., 129-132.

25. Catherine Mosbach, “Paesaggio e trame archeologiche”, *Archeologie e paesaggi del quotidiano*, no. 29 (2013): 60-61.

through the tuffaceous Viterbo plain, with a predominantly rural character. This feature is of considerable importance since the areas covered by the project proposals are located in this particular landscape, between Viterbo and Tuscania.



Figure 3. *Territorial Reading. Drawings by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

The landscape of the Tuscia viterbese has remained almost unaltered, preserving a naturalistic character from the rich vegetation, with poorly connected urban cores, such as Viterbo and Tuscania, interspersed with extensive countryside devoted to agro-pastoral activities and archaeological ruins scattered throughout the area (see Figure 3).

There are many historical-archaeological areas present, both in the form of actual archaeological complexes and parks and as autonomous historical sites:²⁶ Etruscan settlements, Roman ruins, medieval villages, castles and *necropolis*. However, despite the many different types of ruins in the area, not all of them are easy to visit.

Starting from these premises, with a view to defining a strategy aimed at the valorization of the less investigated areas of Tuscia, we have chosen to work on those areas that are in a partial state of abandonment and less accessible than others, but that stand out for their particular structuring architectural character, clear settlement principles and deep connection with the morphology of the surrounding landscape.

26. See: Luca Pulcinelli, "Etruria ellenistica: l'architettura militare e l'urbanistica," *Bollettino di archeologia online della Direzione Generale per le Antichità*, Volume speciale F/F8/4 (2010): 27-43.

In particular, three macro-families of archaeological ruins have been identified, referring to the typology and condition of the material: “invisible ruin”, “recognizable ruin”, “excavated ruin”.

“Invisible ruin” refers to that particular archaeological ruin that is essentially not visible, with structures present mainly underground for conservation reasons, or with traces that cannot be easily interpreted.

By “recognizable ruin” we refer to all those archaeological structures that, although they have some gaps, are in a state of degradation, and are altered from their original form, maintain a unified character making it precisely recognizable even today what must have been their original function and configuration.

Finally, by “excavated ruins” we refer specifically to Etruscan *necropolis* that have been carved out of the tufa of ravines through excavation works.

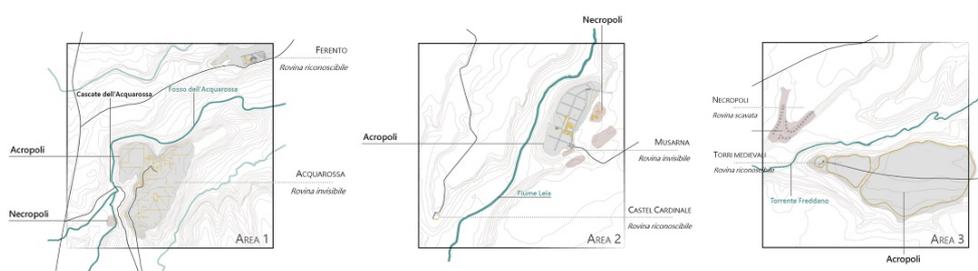


Figure 4. Selected Areas for Design. Drawings by the Working Group, 2022

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea’s competition for “The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscany”, 2022.

This categorization does not claim to be absolutely stringent and does not refer solely and exclusively to the areas selected and specified later but takes into account aspects common to the ruins identified at the scale of the whole of Tuscany. However, the selection of three specific areas allowed for the development of replicable proposals, intended as pilot projects (see Figure 4).

The first area is located north of Viterbo, and consists of the Roman city of Ferento and the Etruscan village of Acquarossa; the second is located east of Tuscania, and includes the sites of Musarna, an Etruscan-Roman settlement, and the remains of Castel Cardinale; and the last area is located southwest of Viterbo and includes the stratification of the settlement of Castel d'Asso, from Etruscan to medieval times.

These three areas are not connected to each other, are difficult to reach safely, and are not adequately connected to the two main urban infrastructures; Ferento and Acquarossa, in fact, are separated by the Acquarossa ditch with its namesake waterfalls; between Musarna and Castel Cardinale flows the Leia River; and, finally, in the locality of Castel d'Asso are the namesake waterfall and the Freddano River. This aspect is an indicator of the orographic peculiarities of a landscape composed mainly of archaeology, agriculture and water (see Figure 5).

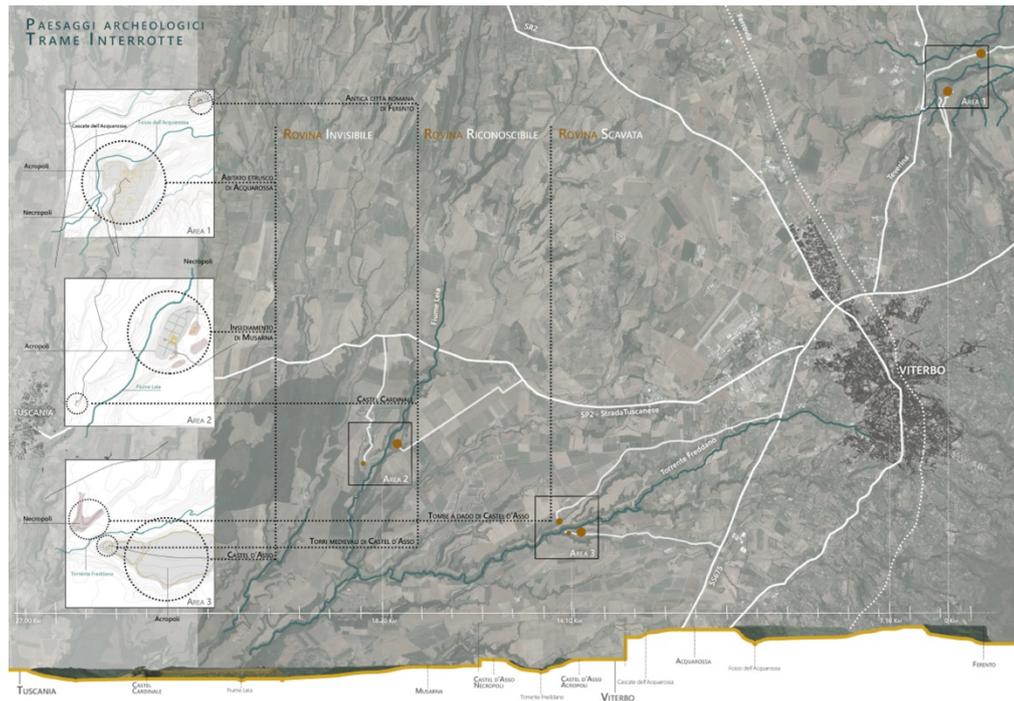


Figure 5. *Archaeological Landscape Interpretation. Drawings by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

The first area concerns the two settlements of Ferento and Acquarossa. These settlements are historically related to each other since the former, of Roman times, arose after the fall of the latter, of Etruscan times. They, moreover, are located on two plateaus placed opposite each other, separated by the Acquarossa ditch in which the stream of the same name flows, connected to the waterfalls, and this stands as a potential for making a visual connection between the two sites. What distinguishes this system is the opposing character of the two archaeological areas: while Ferento presents, in fact, a visible and recognizable layout, the structures of Acquarossa are mainly located underground.

The founding of Ferento on the plateau of Pianicaria dates from around the fourth century B.C., following the fall of Acquarossa, and it became a wealthy Roman *municipium* in the first century B.C.

In the area there have been several excavation and restoration campaigns that have uncovered and preserved part of the city, including the theater, *thermae*, several *domus* and cisterns, and the *decumanus maximus*, remains that can be seen and largely visited.

The original layout of the theater dates back to the first century AD, is oriented on the north-south axis, with the *cavea* opening facing south, and it is assumed that in antiquity it could accommodate about 3,000 spectators.

The *thermae*, located east of the theater near the *decumanus maximus*, must have consisted of a large building with a height development of about nine meters.

Over the centuries, the *thermae* were repeatedly remodeled until they were completely covered, during the early Middle Ages, by private dwellings.

The *decumanus maximus* of Ferento coincided with a section of the via Publica Ferentensis, a section of which remains today with the original paving, which, intersecting with the *cardo maximus*, determined the orthogonal arrangement of the urban street grid.

A further area consists of the *domus* and cisterns. The *domus* were found adjacent to the *decumanus* and most probably arose during the imperial age.

Among the six archaeological sites selected for the development of the proposal, Ferento, which can be reached from the Ferento road, a branch of the Tiberina, is the only one managed by a local association, however, the visitor is free to walk around the site in total freedom. This is a site of great fascination, both for the quantity of ruins present and for the relationship with the landscape with which connections are established from every point in the area. In addition, it is interesting to note that from the southern edge where there are remains of the ancient fortifications, there is a panoramic view of the entire Acquarossa plateau.

On the whole, the site is visitable, the theater appears to be in a good state of preservation and some of the ruins are protected by covers; however, some areas such as those of the *domus* and cisterns appear abandoned among the vegetation.

Because of the features described so far, the site is classified as a “recognizable ruin”, due to the large number of finds and volumes unearthed that make the original urban layout clear and legible.

The Etruscan village of Acquarossa has been fundamental for the knowledge of the entire Etruscan town planning since it is configured as the main center of the Viterbo area, built on the hill of San Francesco.²⁷

Today the site can be reached through a branch of the Teverina, which leads to the top of the plateau, but nevertheless it is closed to the public. Given the impossibility of having a direct observation of these ruins, the site falls into the category of the “invisible ruin”, since it is only thanks to documentary sources and the few remains that have emerged that we definitely know that a settlement once stood there.

The village is supposed to date back to ages much older than Etruscan times thanks to findings of furnishings attributable to the Neolithic period. During excavation operations (1966-1978), foundation walls, *domus* and public buildings were unearthed. Unfortunately, of all these findings only the remains of a few *domus* protected by a cover are visible today, while all other structures have been completely covered by soil.

The sites of Musarna and Castel Cardinale, which make up the second project area, are also linked by both historical and scenic reasons; in fact, after the fall of Musarna the inhabitants migrated to other areas, including the valley of Castel Cardinale, which was considered safer than the main settlement. Both sites stand on two elevations roughly opposite each other, separated by the Leia River. The common character that distinguishes them lies in the fragmentation of the remains

27. See: Luciano Proietti, “L’abitato di Acquarossa,” in Luciano Proietti, and Mario Sanna (ed.), *Tra Caeree e Volsini*, (Viterbo: Archeotuscia, 2013); Romolo A. Staccioli, *Considerazioni sui complessi monumentali di Murlo e di Acquarossa* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1976).

spread across the rural landscape, in the absence of links establishing physical connections between the two areas; although they are relevant archaeological sites, visitation is hindered by the impossibility of access to the private farmland in which they fall.

The settlement of Musarna stands on an elongated plateau covering about five hectares, in an intermediate position between the Leia River and the defensive moat, elevated above the agricultural landscape. The history of this ancient site begins in the second half of the fourth century B.C.²⁸

As a result of some studies (1984-2003), it emerged that the original urban layout consisted of a castrum, the *decumanus maximus*, and divided from each other by six *cardi*; in the center was a main square near which was located a market, the temple of Hercules, *thermae* and *domus*. Outside, to the east, was the defensive moat with Etruscan fortifications²⁹ separating the *acropolis* from the *necropolis*, which has various types of tombs belonging to different periods.

Most of the ancient structures unearthed have been covered again for conservation reasons, such as the marketplace, the temple of Hercules, and part of the *domus*. Although in a precarious state of preservation, some remains related to the *domus* and baths, currently protected by a cover, and the two northern and southern gates, partially covered and overgrown by vegetation, can be visited instead.

For this reason, Musarna falls into the category of “invisible ruins”: the few remains brought to light do not give an account of the complexity of the ancient urban settlement.

At present, the site can be reached via Macchia del Conte Street from the Tuscanese, but it is difficult to visit because of the agropastoral activities taking place on and around the plateau. Ultimately, therefore, the archaeological excavations are currently in an unsafe area, difficult if not impossible to access, with obstacles that make any attempt to visit the ruin difficult.

Castel Cardinale is situated on a hillside fronting the plateau on which Musarna stands; caves on the site trace its origin to an earlier settlement in Etruscan times. The castle towers over the valley of the Leia in which flows the stream of the same name that also bathes the plateau of Musarna.

The building is one of several fortress ruins scattered across the Viterbo plain, testifying to the strong garrison character that characterized the countryside during the Middle Ages. Very little is known about the castle: it is widely believed that it was built in the early Middle Ages with the function of a Lombard castrum, falling within the network of forts, a use that was later lost after its transformation into a noble residence. It is, in fact, also known by the local population as “Marquis' Castle”. These different historical phases emerge clearly from a reading of the layout and physical texture of the building.

28. See: Vincent Jolivet, “Civita Musarna tra passato, presente e futuro”, *The Journal of Fasti Online*, (2013); Giuseppina E. Cinque, Henri Broise, Vincent Jolivet, “Civita Musarna (VT), il suo territorio e la chora di Tarquinia in età ellenistica: uno spazio ritualmente suddiviso?”, in *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 28, no. 2 (2017): 223-232.

29. Paul Fontaine, “Le Fortificazioni Etrusche. Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche (1997-2001),” *Journal Etruscan Studies*, 9 (2002): article 8.

The land on which the castle stands is private and visits to the ruin are not facilitated. In addition, the absence of road signs and any element aimed at communicating the site place the emphasis on a critical situation from the point of view of conservation prospects.

The ruin falls into the category of “recognizable ruins” because, although heavily altered, abandoned and in a state of decay, it appears clear not only of its original function as a fortress, but also of its later conversion into a residence, thanks to the still legible layout of the structures that remain.

The third project area concerns the settlement of Castel d'Asso; it is located south of the Tuscanese and is crossed by the Freddano torrent that with its erosive action, over the centuries, has originated the gorges that make recognizable the plateaus on which the entire archaeological area arose. The particularities of this site lie in the presence of the Etruscan rock *necropolis*, the first to be discovered in the area, and some remains of two medieval towers placed exactly on the plateau in front of the *necropolis*. Unfortunately, there are no traces of the *acropolis*, but through the study of various documentary sources it is possible to identify the area where it once stood.

As for the *necropolis*, it is an extraordinary and rare case of a burial site excavated in the tufa, on the side of the gorge, with dado tombs arranged in a comb-like arrangement that look toward the landscape and consist of two or even three overlapping orders.³⁰ It is precisely the typology of the tombs, dating back to the 4th century B.C. and discovered in 1817 by Viterbo archaeologist Francesco Orioli that helps give the *necropolis* this unique character, given the rarity of Etruscan “dado” tombs.

The *necropolis* is accessed from a branch of the SS675, which leads to a parking lot on the plateau, from which the descent to the *necropolis* begins. Looking at the plan layout of the tombs, it can be said that it consists of three sectors: the first extends from the parking lot down to the Freddano River valley, a sector in which the tombs Orioli, Tetnie and that of the Urinates Salvies are located; the second sector extends to the right of the central square, on the ridge of the hill also facing the river valley; finally, the third sector extends to the left of the central square, on the ridge of the other hill in front of the remains of the Castle; here is the Tomba Grande, one of the most important funerary monuments of Etruscan rock architecture.

Given the particular construction technique, this *necropolis* has been classified as an “excavated ruin”, since although it is clearly recognizable thanks to the fair state of preservation in which it is found, the character that distinguishes it is inherent in the excavation action through which it originated. A final emphasis should be placed on the state of preservation of the tombs since, although they are mostly intact, due to neglect and progressive abandonment they are slowly undergoing a gradual deterioration of the material that is also manifested in the loss of important parts of the structure, indicative of an urgent need for securing.

30. Stephan Steingraber, “L’inizio dell’architettura funeraria rupestre in Etruria: il contributo delle tombe di Tuscania,” in F. Ceci (ed.), *Tuscania tra antichità e valorizzazione. Un patrimonio da riscoprire. Atti del IV Convegno sulla storia di Tuscania* (Viterbo: Edizioni ArcheoAres, 2014).

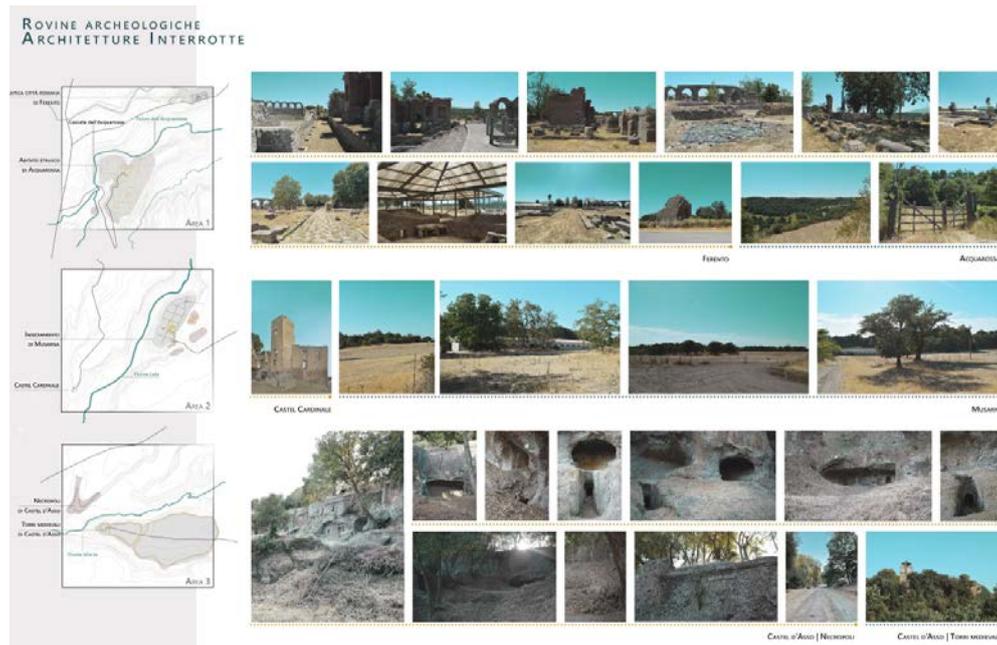


Figure 6. *Tuscia's Archaeological Ruins in the Landscape. Drawing and Pictures by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

As for the *acropolis*, it well falls into the category of "invisible ruin", since only the perimeter of the area of what must have been the original extent of the settlement is known.

The *necropolis* and the medieval ruins of Castel d'Asso are separated from the valley of the Freddano stream; to obviate this and make the connection more direct, a bridge was built, which at present, unfortunately, appears impassable and extremely dangerous due to the high state of decay and neglect in which it is located. The remains of the medieval castle, of which part of the fortification walls, numerous caves, the ancient gate and tower remain, are not marked, there is no educational signage and no road signs. Moreover, although this site has undergone restoration works, they appear to have been completely thwarted due to the state of abandonment in which the area is in, as is apparent from the staircase inserted in the tower from the top of which one could have a view of the entire rocky landscape.

Unfortunately, the history of this Castle is unknown, but it could probably be part, like Castel Cardinale, of the series of military fortresses built in the early Middle Ages by the Lombards; this similarity between the two ruins, led to the classification of the site as a "recognizable ruin", since, exactly like the first Castle, although much of the fortress has been lost, its overall structure and original function continues to be quite clear (see Figure 6).

Museum of Landscape

The Museums of Landscape proposal stems from an attempt to explore an idea of an exhibition area different from the established one, which goes beyond the concept according to which a museum experience should take place exclusively within a closed architectural building in which artifacts of different types are stored and displayed. The proposal aims to build a new diffuse exhibition structure in the landscape, offering visitors a unique exploratory-perceptual experience of the entire Tuscia area and having as a starting point the Rocca Albornoz, from which the new museum branches propagate.

Already the Charter of Siena proposed by ICOM in 2016 suggested interpreting the museum as the cornerstone of a new form of landscape protection: as a territorial garrison it can prompt the development of active heritage protection. Managing and caring for the cultural landscape through museums means developing their natural vocation, extending their responsibility from collections to heritage and territory.

The idea of a Museums of Landscape for the territory of Tuscia, starts from these concepts in order to broaden their repercussions, and is aimed at the construction of a network of interconnected archaeological ruins, with the main objective of stitching together, the interrupted network of the existing historical-archaeological and naturalistic landscape. With this intent, the proposal tries to confirm that inherent character of the ruins to be an integral part of the rural landscape, respecting that unicum formed over the centuries between landscape and archaeological sites, rejecting the isolated condition of the ruins. From the investigations conducted and illustrated in the previous chapters, it was found that the areas bordered by fences, are still in a state of total or partial abandonment and degradation. This lies in the fact that, without an overall and uniquely conceived spatial strategy that succeeds in connecting and holding together the different archaeological sites in an accessible network of museum itineraries, the isolated and fenced ruins will be destined to a phase of slow and inexorable loss.

Unhinging the idea of the Museum, as we are accustomed to intend it, is the key that allows one to travel the road toward determining a new, innovative and original spatial configuration of the more canonical exhibition building. In this sense, it is necessary to rethink a new organizational structure of the places that constitute the exhibition areas, spatially deconstructing the building and imagining that its essential parts are “exploded” in the landscape: the atrium, the path, the exhibition hall.

“Exploding” these places from the architectural to the landscape dimension means first of all to build, through both physical and digital elements,³¹ the new connection network between the existing museum and the various archaeological areas that have been identified. According to this view, first of all, the idea of the atrium changes, which, instead of being identified with the museum space from which the various rooms can be accessed, becomes the starting point from which

31. Ross Parry (Ed.), *Museums in a digital age* (London: Routledge 2010); Lily Diaz, *Digital Archeology: Design Research and Education. Connecting Historical Narratives and Digital Environments* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).

the decomposition and branching out into the territory of the exploded museum begins. Consequently, it also changes the idea of itinerary, which from “museum-like” becomes a real “exploratory-perceptual experience” in the archaeological landscapes, articulated through new paths, itineraries and use of digital apps that allows to establish these innovative connections that go beyond physical distances and the actual state of preservation of the ruin. Finally, it changes the concept of the exhibition room, which is made to correspond with the archaeological area, open to the context, from a closed, internal and delimited sphere, exposing itself and its being a trace of a past history inserted in a landscape with which it constitutes a unique system: a new room that should not be understood as an island in the territory, but as an area interconnected to the others through the different types of routes previously described, both by emphasizing the ancient traces and historical relations and by reusing the already existing physical connections. It is necessary, however, to reiterate that these new areas are not only connected to each other, but are also related to the pre-existing museum articulated through the thematic rooms dedicated to each of the areas, constituting a kind of extension of them in the landscape, in the manner of archaeological gardens: it is as if the new and the ancient materials are referring to each other, in a continuous alternation between a traditional room and an “archaeological room”, defining new itineraries and new experiences (see Figure 7).

In this way, archaeological sites, originally intended as isolated “non-places” in the territory, characterized by widespread abandonment and almost nonexistent accessibility, are reinterpreted as new archaeological spaces that are accessible, usable, walkable, traversable. These places lead to the rediscovery not only of an almost lost common past, but also of the rural landscape in which they are embedded, building an original archaeological narrative that has its strong point in the contemporary architectural design and that, in turn, holds together and reunites naturalistic, anthropological, historical and architectural aspects.

The network of new “real and digital” itineraries connecting the different archaeological sites responds to the more general need to upgrade the accessibility, both physical and semantic, to the whole Tuscia’s territory. In relation to these objectives, it was decided to field three main strategic actions: the addition of new routes; the expansion of pre-existing routes; and the recovery and reuse of ancient roads.

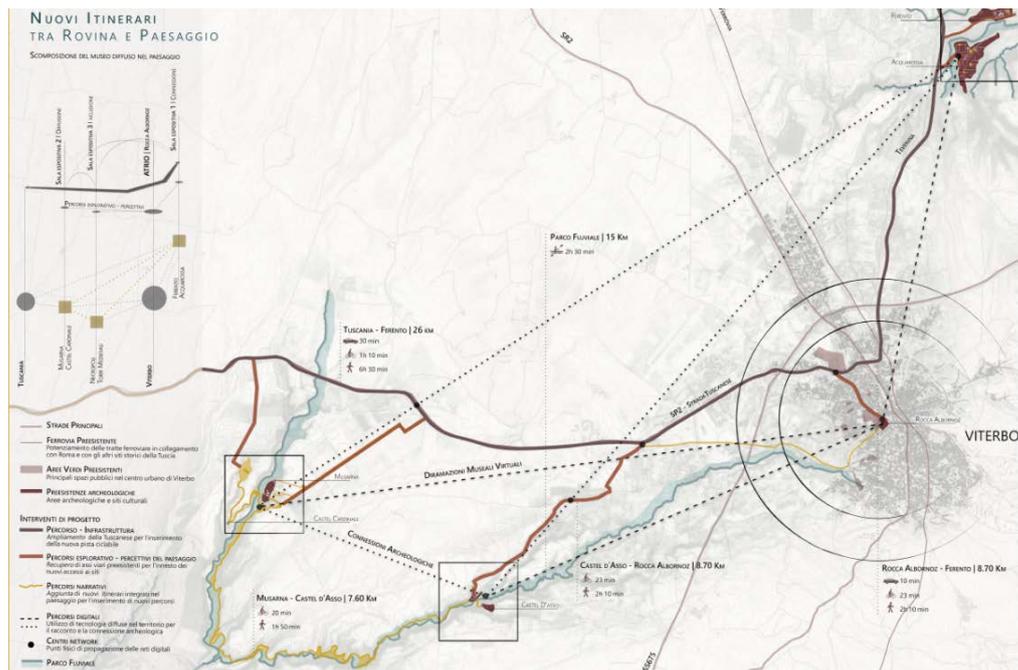


Figure 7. *Tuscia's Museum of Landscape: General Design Strategy. Drawing and Pictures by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

At the same time, alongside these three main actions, four different types of paths have been identified, covering both the larger scale of the area under consideration as a whole and the single archaeological site: the path-infrastructure, the bicycle path included in the extension of the Tuscanese road and leading from Tuscania to Ferento; the exploratory-perceptual landscape paths, new landscape connections resulting from the reuse and recovery of pre-existing road; the narrative paths, referring to the individual ruin, which take on a didactic-communicative character to tell tourists and the community itself about the features of the archaeological site; the digital paths, equipped with specific innovative devices, which, together with the narrative routes, enrich and multiply the story telling of the ruin.

In the construction of the path-infrastructure for the enhancement of soft mobility, the already existing bike path in Viterbo is taken up, enriching it with new sections, especially along the route of the Tuscanese road, imagining to widen it to allow the insertion of this first main thread between the various exhibition "rooms" scattered throughout the territory, offering the visitor a museum experience on the move, between archaeology and nature, which can be traveled through different means of transport, from bicycle, to car, to buses, with a view to increasing tourist activities.

The path-infrastructure branches between the existing but hardly safe dirt roads leading to the various sites, proposing their recovery and reconfiguration to include new environmentally sustainable routes that help build the narrative-itinerating narrative between the ruins and the naturalistic environment. The grafted road segments recompose and reconnect the interrupted plots and traces of

the territory that, at present, do not allow adequate accessibility to the ruins, weaving area after area a veritable network of new exploratory-perceptive routes grafted into the peculiar landscape that is composed of ravines, hills, plains and archaeological heritage.

A particular type of exploratory-perceptive route is the one that provides access to the river park and can be used either in the form of a path or a navigable route. Investigations have shown that the various areas are interconnected by water systems, so since the landscape is not intended as a mere archaeological setting, but is itself a subject to be exhibited, new routes have been designed to enable people to visit, experience, learn about and be in close contact with it, this particular naturalistic environment with its extraordinary variety of vegetation. Walking along the creeks carved out over the centuries by the activity of the thermal streams, one has in fact the opportunity to enjoy the view of the entire Viterbo landscape from special rest areas identified within the proposed strategy. The new routes, mainly intended for trekking, and whose distances and travel times have been calculated, have been identified and inserted close to the streams, on the sides of the valleys, following the morphology of the ravines, as if they were real museum galleries from which to admire the work on display, the landscape, which changes as the route progresses.

Water, a particularly relevant element for the territory, constitutes today a physical but not viable link between the various archaeological areas; therefore, in the reconstruction of the interrupted plots, water has also been given a planning role, defining a new way of visiting this part of landscape. As a result, the river becomes an element inserted in a more extensive system, a real new traversable and livable water park that, on the way between one itinerary and another, leads to the rediscovery of the main naturalistic attractions of Tuscia, seen not from above, from the plateaus on which all the areas rise, but from below, from the streams, providing a different point of view of the territory.

Finally, digital routes have been defined, new ways to tell and describe the ruins through innovative narrative systems, but also to establish new invisible connections between sites, enriching the articulated archaeological-naturalistic network with new itineraries. These routes can be organized through precise smartphone apps or scans of QR codes that at certain points along the route, such as at various bike shares or near digital devices scattered throughout the territory, provide indications regarding the type of routes, their location, the location of the various stopping points, and signal the presence of sites of archaeological interest. However, the use of digital devices is not limited only to providing these indications, as in the various archaeological sites, near the new entrances and under the new covers, there are exhibition panels, interactive media and touchscreens that, in telling and describing the ruin of the site where one is, also refer to the other sites, recomposing the lost historical links. They contribute, therefore, to digitally stitching together the broken textures, interconnecting the various archaeological areas and improving the enjoyment and usability of the archaeological landscape (see Figure 8).

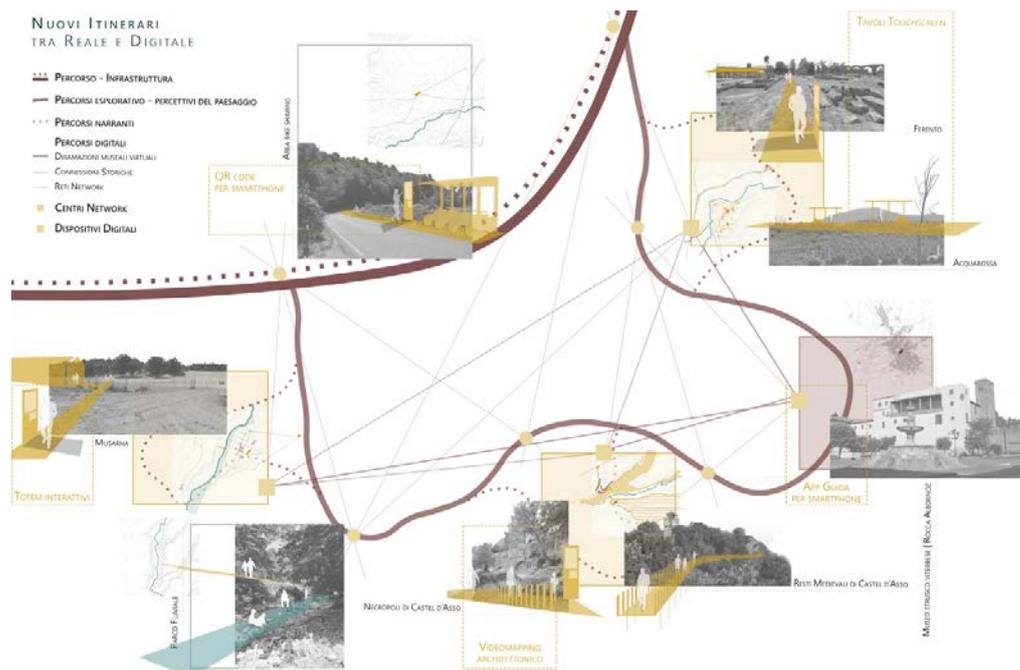


Figure 8. *Tuscia's Museum of Landscape: Design Strategy for the Physical and Virtual Layout of Itineraries and "Rooms". Drawing and Pictures by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022

The Archaeological "Rooms"

In the construction of the common thread that holds together the different elements and parts of the proposed design strategy, which tries to give shape to the concept of landscape museum, a particular role is played by new archaeological "rooms", represented by the three project areas identified and so called since metaphorically compared to the explosion and extension into the landscape of the traditional exhibition rooms found in the real museum.

The identification of the architectural actions to be developed in operative terms in each of the three project areas was determined by a careful and scrupulous process of interpretation and design, which generally concerned the following themes: knowledge of the sites and unveiling-narration of the ruins; insertion of new and targeted architectural additions, such as paths, roofs, small architectural pavilions, conceived in close dialogue with the ruins and made with same specific materials to provide a unified intervention; redevelopment and reuse of pre-existing elements and, finally, definition of urban and landscape connections between the individual areas and within each of them.

The configuration of the selected areas, each made up of two main archaeological sites, suggested the strength of the design strategy lay above all in the definition of a general unity. Starting from the systemic character of the archaeological areas spread across the landscape, the design actions aim at a reunification between the sites, at a constant reference between archaeological

morphology and landscape topography and at a greater readability of the ruins architectural characteristics deriving from settlement choices linked to the specific context.

Therefore, for each of the areas, it has been identified the main feature that linked the two sites and it has been interpreted in design terms: in the first area, the one which includes the Ferento and Acquarossa sites, the topic of the connection between visible and invisible was explored; in the second area, which includes Musarna and Castel Cardinale, that of diffusion in the landscape; finally, the topic of inclusion between borders characterized the interventions planned in the third area, that of Castel d'Asso (see Figure 9).

The area of Ferento and Acquarossa is characterized by the connection between visible and invisible that portrays the two sites, in a continuous cross-reference between what remains, even if it changed, and what has been lost, but to which what remains refers. The key to understanding this area is identified in the reciprocal relationships between the sites: on one side Acquarossa seen from Ferento appears as a silent area, visually indicated only by a thick vegetation; Ferento, on the contrary, seen from the opposite site, appears as an almost intact testimony of the Roman city it was, thanks to the extremely recognizable remains.

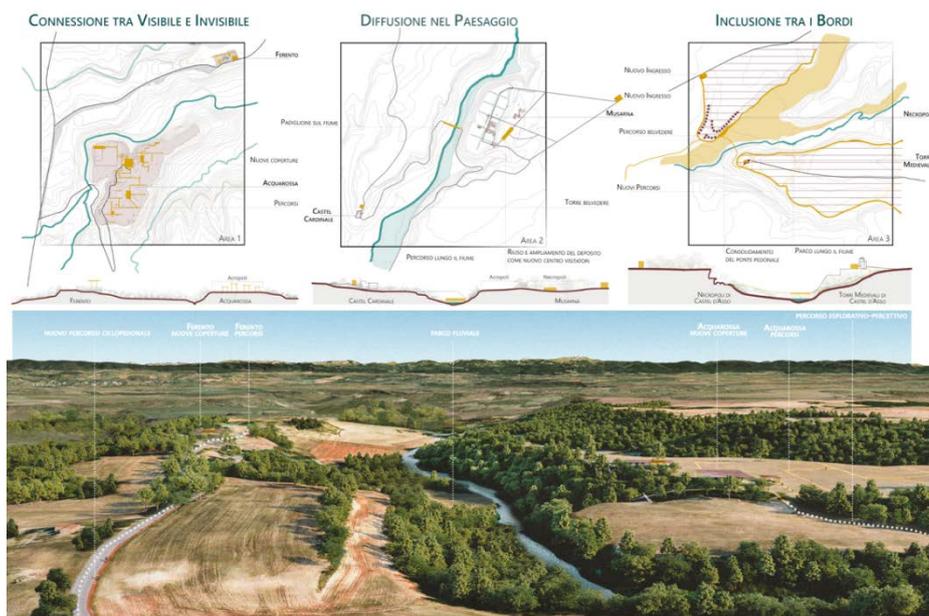


Figure 9. *The Archaeological “Rooms”.* Drawing by the Working Group, 2022
 Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea’s competition for “The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia”, 2022.

There is a magnetic dialogue between the two areas which recalls past history and which sees Acquarossa swept away by natural disasters and Ferento which was born from its ashes and which became a Roman city destined to last through the centuries.

Regarding Acquarossa's area, the archaeological plan³² developed by the Swedish Institute is very explanatory, representing the ancient paths system that circumscribed the open spaces. This plan was the starting point for trying to recompose the lost historical traces. The goal was to implement a few precise interventions able to reveal, make visible and legible the entire settlement which now appears almost completely underground and to enhance the relationships established with the landscape and with Ferento.

In this sense, the project reworks the theme of the narrative path by tracing the ancient paths and building a texture made up of linear elements, to reveal what is invisible to the eye. These paths lead to the ruins, but also allow to reach some views of the landscape from which to admire the natural beauties that characterize these places, such as Acquarossa waterfalls. The extended archaeological site has gradients that allow the narrative path to undergo changes and variations; in fact, at the points where it is necessary, it transforms into a platform for solving jumps in altitude. The material used for the platforms is steel, also used for the protective covers of the visible finds, defined by a thin blade supported by slender circular pillars. This same typology is also proposed at the Ferento site to replace the obsolete existing roofing in the thermal area (see Figure 10).



Figure 10. *Ferento and Acquarossa Area's Project. Drawing by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

In relation to the new digital itineraries, to the innovative systems for revealing the ruins, in addition to the physical reconstruction of the historical layouts, touchscreen supports covered in steel have been positioned in connection with the roofing elements to propose a system through which to reproduce and narrate to

32. Luciano Proietti, "L'abitato di Acquarossa," in *Tra Caeree e Volsini*, L. Proietti, M. Sanna (eds.) (Viterbo: Archeotuscia 2013).

visitors the original composition of the Etruscan urban settlement layout. The interactive supports digitally reproduce the reconstruction of the town through educational videos, also providing examples of *domus* with which visitors can interact to understand the ancient structure. Furthermore, through these devices, visitors can also learn about what is contained in room already set up in the Viterbo's Museum in Rocca Alborno, deepening the reasons of a historical and archaeological nature that link Acquarossa and Ferento, as an invitation to visit other sites spread throughout the area. In general, these two sites are part of the digital network that can be mapped through the apps that guide throughout the overall exploratory-perceptive experience, indicating the types of ruins can be visited, the location of various stop areas, the itineraries to follow and the distance, even in terms of time, between sites.

The diffusion of fragments is, instead, the main image that returns the condition of the second project area in which the sites of Musarna and Castel Cardinale are, an area with buildings and scattered remains, located between two plains without a real direct connection, since the ancient traces of the historical routes have been lost. Starting from the fragmentary character of the area, new paths and small architectural pavilions have been inserted, which aim to link the elements present in the area, going to define a unitary system. The new project pavilions are not positioned close to archaeological remains, but are conceived as landmarks in landscape that signal and reveal the presence of an area with a significant historical and cultural character, inviting the visitor to enter the site and discover it hidden in the vegetation, through new routes that evoke historical routes.

Entering Musarna first, a new welcoming element defines the gateway to the city; from here it is possible to walk along the main route, an extension of an ancient *cardo* of the settlement, re-proposed through a floor into the rural landscape in full respect of its naturalness through the use of ochre colored tuff. Therefore, a new entrance to the city is identified, marked by a portal-element made up of light slats in which some seats are inserted in the lower part and, in the upper part, a series of digital screen. At the same time, there is a second path that can be taken, that is the existing one that leads to current sheepfold: from the project, this new path is recovered and leads the visitor to the agricultural shed which is also redeveloped. The interiors are reused as exhibition spaces also through the addition of a new pavilion: a contemporary architectural graft recognizable by the burnished steel cladding, but which takes up the shapes of the pre-existing building; inside there are various services such as infopoints, toilets and refreshments, to ensure an appropriate welcome to the archaeological area. From an architectural point of view, the opaque element of the graft is dematerialized into a sequence of thin elements that envelop the pre-existing building throughout its longitudinal development, showing itself on the outside as a single volume that extends towards the rural landscape (see Figure 11).

Regarding the open space, the agricultural area currently present in Musarna territory is converted into an agricultural park where different essences related to the Tuscia rural nature are planted, and in which the division of various thematic areas is marked by the reinterpretation of the ancient settlement layout, including the enhancement of the *cardo* that leads inside the archaeological site, constituting

a fundamental element of perception and passage of the landscape. In the park, there are various seats in steel with educational panels to offer the visitor equipped areas where to stop during the visit.

Continuing towards the river, another pavilion is inserted, which is located in a nodal point of the area and of the entire design strategy: it is both a bridge that connects the two plateaus, allowing to cross the river Leia and to mend the connections between the two ruins, and the starting point of the paths of the river park. From this point, the visitor can continue his archaeological-naturalistic experience in many different ways, reaching Castel Cardinale, undertaking an organized trekking route on the side of the valleys or he can travel along the river to discover naturalistic beauties.

Castel Cardinale is made recognizable to the visitor through the insertion of a new element that underlines its presence. This element takes up the height of the tower that distinguishes the ruin, and re-proposes its shape, becoming a sort of lookout tower over the landscape from whose top there is a view of this part of Tuscia. The castle is preserved in its state of ruin, with the provision of appropriate restoration interventions to ensure greater conservation over time, with the arrangement of its internal spaces, open to welcoming cultural events, as if it were a theater whose scene it's the landscape.



Figure 11. *Musarna and Castel Cadinale Area's Project. Drawing by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

In Castel d'Asso area, that is the third area, the *necropolis* and the *acropolis* remain from the Middle Ages refer to each other from the plains where they arise: the first, dug out of the rock, has a privileged position looking towards the ancient tower, standing out among the vegetation which gives the remains the appearance of a romantic ruin. A plain broken by Freddano torrent separates the two areas,

drawing the borders of this large green area: it is precisely in these borders that the overall reason for the two sites must be found. Similarly to what happens in the area between Ferento and Acquarossa, here too the two main archaeological sites are evidence of a common past and of the stratification to which the settlement was subject. Separated by two borders, the sites are not completely separate and disconnected places, but on the contrary, they maintain a sort of visual and perceptive unity of which the landscape is the glue.

The border becomes the element that narrates the area transformations taken place over the centuries. A historical and archaeological story along the edges is developed through narrating and educational paths that lead the visitor along the particular and unique cube tombs of the *necropolis*, up to the central river park whose stream is crossed through a new bridge. Finally, it is possible to reach the medieval remains, characterized by the presence of two towers from whose tops, visual relationships are established with surrounding landscape, and with the permanence of the remains of the fortifications in visual contact with the *necropolis*. Here, in front of the towers, a new pavilion has been inserted which redraws the orographic profile of the plateau, taking up the terracing obtained from the excavation of the *necropolis*, like a sort of mirror device between the two sites. The roof of the new volume corresponds to that of the remains of the fortifications, so as to mitigate the impact of the new small architectural graft.

The new paths tell the ruins story and has a double sense of travel, both from the valley in continuity with the *necropolis* and with the trekking route that goes from Musarna to Castel d'Asso, and to the existing parking from which the archaeological walk begins. This path is equipped with didactic and exhibition panels and digital interactive devices that help clarify to the visitor what type of ruin characterizes those places, to help understand the historical and architectural issues of the *necropolis*, as well as to provide information on the other sites of the network. Furthermore, architectural videomapping systems have been inserted which give the possibility of enriching the narrative path through projections on the rocky surface of the tombs for the digital reconstruction of the original decorative consistency. This itinerary is a path recognizable by the ochre colored tuff flooring that recovers existing paths, by the seats along the entire development whose linearity is highlighted by lighting systems placed under the platforms which have the function of facilitating visual use of the accesses to the tombs (see Figure 12).

Protective elements have been inserted near the tombs to preserve, secure and stop the slow crumbling to which the *necropolis* is subject, to complete the restoration program envisaged to safeguard the ruins, but also to protect the visitor from possible accidental falls along the side of the valley. Furthermore, the railings, in burnished steel, have Braille writing on the surface, a language that can explain the characteristics of the ruin to people with severe visual impairment, so that the exploratory-perceptive path is as inclusive as possible.

This path inside the *necropolis* leads to a terrace overhanging the landscape from which there is a view of the medieval site, the river park below and the waterfalls. It is important to note that Castel d'Asso constitutes the second step of this park which goes from Musarna to Viterbo.



Figure 12. *Castel d'Asso Area's Project. Drawing by the Working Group, 2022*

Source: Images done by the working group for the project in the idea's competition for "The Recovery and Enhancement of the Historical-Archaeological-Artistic Heritage of Tuscia", 2022.

Conclusions: Open Perspectives

If the whole system of the proposed design actions within the general strategy of the landscape museum aims above all at the preservation, enhancement and use of the ruins, understood as archaeological "rooms", another factor the strategy takes into consideration concerns social inclusion understood as a way that allows the community to be involved in a long-term management practice of the sites, in relation to sustainability aspects of the intervention linked to collective belonging, to the involvement of local social capital and the implementation of economies linked to compatible tourism.

The proposed project, winner of the first prize of the ideas competition, also develops the issue of public use of history with the creation of hybrid archaeological spaces for the community, characterized by design actions aimed at returning these areas to citizens so they can become spaces to be used for events of various nature, like cultural events or other initiatives, transforming them into archaeological theaters, public spaces immersed in the landscape, available as cultural stages of itineraries multi-experiential tourism, in full respect of the historical matter. The proposed interventions make it possible to prepare spaces in which to experience the ruin, understand it, walk through it, building an articulated and always different exploratory-perceptive experience based on the specific place, which gradually reveals its historical and naturalistic dimension, in a continuous dialogue between past and present.

Another strong point of the strategy is to have considered the temporality within the project. Due to the nature of the ruins, archaeological sites are not fixed and immutable, but are constantly changing sites, subject to mutations and unplanned discoveries that make continuous investigations necessary through which to reveal the ruins. Therefore, the project cannot be considered as something that begins and ends in a precisely defined time, but instead as a project "open" to

new possible problems and future needs, to new possible and unpredictable archaeological discoveries, in order to include reversibility and flexibility in the intervention.

The feasibility of the interventions was also a criterion that strongly guided the architectural and strategic choices. Essentiality of the new architecture inserted and narrative innovation were the key concepts that distinguished the design actions, from the territorial scale, to the landscape one, up to the architectural one, in full respect of ancient materials and landscape context, enhancing the strong relationship between them.

The topics addressed, the operational guidelines and the proposed design solutions have been identified and developed so that they can have generalized, replicable and applicable guidelines also in projects for other historical sites in the Tuscia area of Viterbo. Methodologically, starting from the investigations conducted up to the definition of the strategies, the common problematics and specificities to the various archaeological ruins were identified, in order to formulate multiple answers that took into account heterogeneous conditions. The three archaeological areas explored in the context of the design project proposal were studied in integrated, multi-scale and network terms as pilot sites, starting from whose protection and innovative enhancement, to implement a broader program of enhancement and reconfiguration of the cultural landscape of the Tuscia viterbese also in terms of inclusion, involvement of local social and human capital, tourism launch and economic sustainability.

Acknowledgments

The paper is the result of a common research work by the two authors. Nonetheless, the paragraphs *Introduction; Tuscia's archaeological heritage: knowledge and thematic interpretation* and *A Museum of Landscape* are to be attributed to B. Di Palma, the paragraphs *The project for archaeological landscapes, The archaeological "rooms"* and *Conclusions: open perspectives* are to be attributed to F. Coppolino.

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A “Tearing Down” and the Aspiration to Something Greater: A Freedom Colony Church Falls in Vox Populi, Texas”

*By Michael O’Brien**

What caused the failure of the last vital cultural, educational, and spiritual institution in Vox Populi Texas, a freedom colony in Colorado County, Texas? Why were established balloon framing construction methods consistently compromised during the construction phases? Was this an example of faith over function? The wall failure which ultimately led to the abandonment of the South Point Baptist Church was investigated as part of a study of construction phasing and related compromises to the structural capacity of the structure in the context of balloon framing practices of the time from 1850 to 1920. This investigation was made possible by third-party theft/harvesting of interior sheathing and flooring which has exposed the improvisational wall and floor framing. Archival research on Vox Populi and the South Point Baptist Church was conducted at the Nesbitt Memorial Library, Columbus Texas. Digital models of the church construction phases were developed, and framing detail models constructed of key structural conditions to understand their modification and their possible role in the failure of the South wall which ultimately lead to the church’s abandonment and subsequent fall to ruin between 2011 and 2020. The use of an improvisational method of balloon framing was likely provoked by resource shortages at the time of the initial construction, likely 1900, and was compromised by later construction phases where the first phase (of 4 phases) meeting hall construction had its lateral resistance compromised to a point where the structure was no longer capable of transferring wind load from the roof and wall to the foundations. The resulting displacement of the South wall and subsequent openings in the roof and floor resulted in a deterioration of the roof, wall, and floor at the juncture of the phase 1 meeting hall and phase 3 rostrum additions. The required structural repair exceeded the capability of the congregation resulting in the abandonment of the South Point Baptist church in 2012. Demolition/harvesting of interior surfaces, the bell, and cornerstones by parties unknown began in 2016, has since stopped and the building stands precariously, some 136 years after its post-emancipation organization.

Introduction

As America continues to find its way to acknowledging the role of slavery and the critical contribution it made to the building of prominent educational facilities, government buildings, and the economic infrastructure many southern states benefit from today, reparations are being actively discussed.¹ One proposition for reparations is widespread reinvestment in African American communities. In this context we consider the town of Vox Populi, Texas, a freedom colony still intact

*Professor, Department of Architecture, Texas A&M University, USA.

1. R. Ray, and A. M. Perry, *Why we need reparations for Black Americans* (Brookings, 2020).

enough to be made legible as a part of the cultural landscape of the post-emancipation record in Colorado County, Texas.

Like many Freedom Colonies in Texas, Vox Populi, Texas is slowly turning to dust and rubble along Highway 71 in Colorado County, Texas. It has no recognition as a legitimate part of the historic landscape in county history, and like all Colorado County Freedom Colonies, is a memory historic accounts do not discuss with the same prominence as the county's role in the story of Texans 1836 retreat from the army of Santa Anna known as the "Runaway Scrape."



Figure 1. Cornerstones 1971 (Left) 1923 (Right)

Source: Michael O'Brien Image.



Figure 2. South Point Baptist Church, View from North 2014

Source: Michael O'Brien, Photo.

Vox Populi emerged as a parallel economy serving newly emancipated slaves in the early 1870's and grew to a bustling small town with stores, mills, community center, schools, cotton gins, two cemeteries and three churches. The South Point Baptist Church was the oldest, chartered in 1883, and cornerstone text confirm it was constructed and reconstructed at least three times. Visual evidence supports the thesis that at least the second and third constructions were made with physical parts of the community, if not the first church. That is, parts of the buildings that had established the town and the early church it is likely that "Tearing-Downs"² community gatherings organized to harvest and recycle building materials produced usable lumber, siding and windows, possibly from the first church building, for new constructions at South Point Baptist.

The "Tearing Down" was cited by George Rawick in the book *"The American Slave: A composite autobiography"* who, in the transcribed memory of John Sneed, included a first-hand account from a formerly enslaved person in Travis County, Texas. "We had a tearing-down dinner" "and didn't want to leave Marse Doctor. He talked to us and said as long as he lived we would be cared for, and we was. There was lots of springs on his place, and the married (couples) picked out a spring and Marse Doctor gave them stuff to put up a cabin by the spring. And they took what they had in the slave quarters to the new house. They wanted to move from the (slave) quarters, but, not too far from the Master."³

Frequently this lumber was not the size, or length needed to meet the new use. This seems to have been the case at South Point Baptist where the aspirations of the members exceeded the dimensions of the reclaimed lumber resulting in unusual innovations in balloon framing. This paper will present the evidence of Freedmen's "Tearing-Downs" and recycling lumber as seen in the current state of the South Point Church, the last community anchor of Vox Populi, and argue that the contemporary ongoing "tearing down" of the South Point Baptist Church driven by the influence of HGTV and its shiplap craze is putting these remote historic African American landmarks at risk for pilfering and destruction, resulting in the loss of history for all future generations.

Historians recognize that in post-emancipation Texas, new, small rural communities developed around schools and churches,⁴ in response to laws passed to restrict the rights of the newly freed slaves.⁵ Bill Stein, historian associated with the Nesbitt Library in Colorado County Texas notes that these communities, like the schools and churches they grew up around, were frequently segregated. Vox Populi, Texas, home to the South Point Baptist Church is one of these.⁶

2. T. Sitton, and J. H. Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: independent Black Texans in the time of Jim Crow*. 1st ed. by Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad; with research assistance and photographs by Richard Orton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

3. G. P. Rawick, *The American slave: A composite autobiography: supplement, series 2*. (Greenwood Press, 1979), Sneed, John account of freedom day p. 7-3703.

4. Texas Historical Commission, *African-Americans in Texas: A Lasting Legacy* (Texas Historical Commission, 2016).

5. Ibid, 7.

6. B. Stein, *Consider the Lily, the Ungilded History of Colorado County*, Part 9: 1878-1883 (n.d.).

Like many Freedom Colonies in Texas, Vox Populi, Texas is slowly turning to dust and rubble along Highway 71 in Colorado County, Texas. It has no recognition as a legitimate part of the historic landscape in the county history and seems to be a memory the county is reluctant to recognize or discuss in its history, deferring to the more-lively story of the county's role in the story of Sam Houston's "Runaway Scrape."⁷

Willard Robinson begins his book "Reflections of Faith" connecting the permanent structures used for worship as developing from "enclosures for protection and veneration of sacred trappings" to visual representation of the importance of religion in society.⁸ Robinson also notes that in Texas, the church was the vital center of community life accommodating worship, weddings, funerals, and also education. This remains especially true for African-American churches today, sadly, making them targets for vandals and arsonists. While some denominations in the late 19th century offered technical assistance to congregations seeking to build a church, many did not, and the local faithful were left to their own devices when designing and constructing their churches.

Context

This may have been especially true for the recently emancipated citizens building the South Point Baptist Church in the town of Vox Populi. The new town stretches along a quarter-mile of Highway 71 in Colorado County, Texas midway between the county seat, Columbus and the county seat of Wharton County to the south. The construction of Texas highway 71 was platted through the heart of the town of Vox Populi which was organized in the 1870's following the Juneteenth declaration of emancipation read by Major General Gordon Granger in Galveston, Texas on June 19, 1865.⁹ The town developed as what some have called a "convenience market" for former slaves, some argue that this was to minimize the longer journey to larger towns. It is my thesis that these "freedom colonies" were often self-isolated, located nearly midway between established towns to reduce the citizens exposure to the Jim Crow era indignities and violence regularly visited upon them by the members of the white communities.¹⁰ Vox Populi, like many rural freedom colonies operated as a parallel economy, offering schools (enrolling 200 pupils at one point), community center, cemeteries, stores,¹¹ cotton gins, and mills. Vox Populi also had its own post office from 1880 to the 1930's.¹²

7. C. Covington, *Runaway Scrape* (Texas State Historical Association, 2016).

8. W. B. Robinson, and J. M. Robinson, *Reflections of faith: houses of worship in the Lone Star State. Willard B. Robinson, with the assistance of Jean M. Robinson* (Waco, Tx: Baylor University Press, 1994).

9. Texas State Library and Archives Commission, *Juneteenth* (Texas State Library and Archives Commission, 2017).

10. Sitton, and Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: independent Black Texans in the time of Jim Crow*, 2005.

11. Stein, *Consider the Lily, the Ungilded History of Colorado County*, n.d.

12. Texas Escape, *Vox Populi, Texas* (Texas Escape, 2017).



Figure 3. *Vox Populi School*

Source: Image by Colorado County History.Org.

Today, Vox Populi stands as vanishing shadow of its former self as a freedom colony concentrated along Highway 71, slowly being consumed by the elements, and pressured from nearby extraction industries. Vox Populi is unique as a concentrated Freedom Colony and stands as a contrast to many of the more dispersed freedom colonies similarly established in Colorado County Texas of which there is little evidence of their existence today.¹³

South Point Baptist Church

Two churches “anchored” the town of Vox Populi, True Holiness Pentecostal Church on the North end, and South Point Baptist on the South end of the settlement. In between, some 20 structures including the post office, school, community center steam mill, cotton gin and store were found. Today only a dozen or so buildings survive, and each passing hurricane deteriorates more and more history.

The cornerstone for the South Point Baptist Church records 1883 as the date of organization, while the present building dates from 1923. During the 40 years between, it is likely an earlier church had been built, perhaps as a “single wall” construction type using 1x12 lumber as the load bearing wall such as is found at the nearby Pleasant Hill Baptist Church (1880) and the nearby Vox Populi school perhaps also dating from 1880.

Figure 3 of the Vox Populi school class shows the “single wall” or “box and strip” form of construction which helps establish the towns’ ability to produce

13. Stein, *Consider the Lily* (n.d.): Stein lists Rocky Chapel, Good Hope, Hill’s Chapel, Brownsville, Toland Chapel, Thompsonville, Jone’s Bend, Pleasant Grove, and Shaw’s Bend as schools for freed slaves in the 1870’s none exist today.

milled lumber, perhaps at the steam powered corn mill that was present near the time of the 1883 organization of the church. The single-wall method of construction required little in the way of materials, thin 1x12 planks made up the walls, and what very little 2-inch lumber was needed, was used for roof and floor framing.



Figure 4. Joint between Phase 1 Meeting Hall and Phase 3 Rostrum Roofs Showing Stains from previous use as the "First" Single-wall Church
Source: Image by Michael O'Brien.

It is possible that the 12-inch-wide ceiling boards found in the ceiling of the South Point church as it stands today, and some floor framing, may have been part of the "first" (1883) South Point Baptist church and were saved for reuse in the "second" church construction in 1923 as the community practice of the "tearing down" of the old and recycling pieces was known and documented by Sitton.¹⁴



Figure 5. Pleasant Hill Baptist Church Colorado County Tx. ca. 1880
Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

At South Point Baptist, framing used in the floor of the initial phase of the church shows signs of having been cut to frame a roof, (Figure 6) and much of the

14. Sitton, and Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: independent Black Texans in the time of Jim Crow*, 2005.

walls, and floor structure are constructed from shorter pieces of framing, nailed sided by side, “sistering” to make a longer piece of framing. The reuse of construction materials to build anew is documented by Thad Sitton in “Freedom Colonies.”¹⁵



Figure 6. *Floor Framing with Unused Mortise and Gable End Cut (Phase 1)*

Source: Michael O’Brien Image.

Phasing of Additions

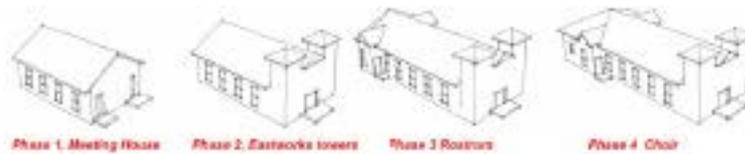


Figure 7. *The Four Phases of Construction*

The character of the lumber and framing technique makes it appear the current South Point Baptist Church was built in multiple phases; the initial 1923 “meeting hall” structure, a one-room rectangular structure approximately 37 feet long by 25 feet wide, with a sidewall height of approximately 14’ to the top plate. A second phase consisting of the “westworks” bell towers and narthex but located on the meeting hall’s east side extending the full 25-foot width of the meeting hall projecting 7 feet from the meeting hall phase and being 22 feet to the top plate of the towers. The apparently newest additions, the rostrum and choir addition, consisting of a curved rostrum that projected into the meeting hall, and a three-tier choir riser with offices and restrooms flanking the choir/rostrum to the left and right. This rostrum/choir addition had a footprint of 14 feet deep by 33 feet wide centered on the meeting hall phase and roughly matching its sidewall height. A failure of some type occurred at the juncture between the rostrum/choir phase 3 addition and the meeting hall phase 1 addition which resulted in the wall framing and its associated sill piece being displaced to the west some 3 inches. The resulting sloping of the western wall likely contributed to the abandonment of the

15. Ibid.

church, which based on trophies visible in 2014, was still a vibrant congregation up through 2007. The sill/wall connection along the western wall shows evidence of extensive water and insect damage, perhaps leading to the rotting of the corner post base and sill connection, thus "freeing" the southern sill beam to move and the attached southern wall to lean precariously.

The Meeting Hall, Phase 1 1923

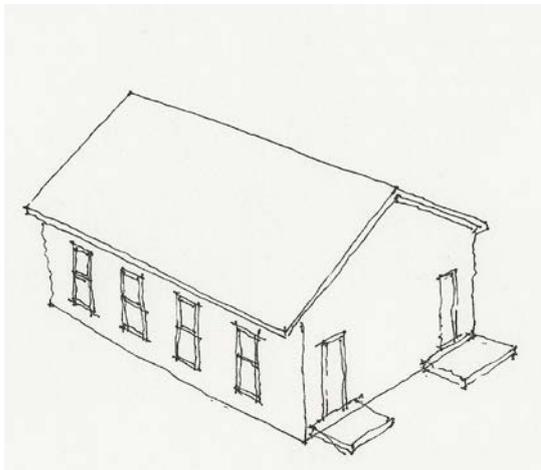


Figure 8. Phase I Meeting Hall

Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

The meeting hall phase, which makes up most of the existing building may not have been the original church building. While the cornerstone notes that the church was established in 1883, wood constructions from that time would have used square or rectangular headed nails stamped from nail plate. Virtually all the observed nails at the church today (are with the exception of one) are wire type nails¹⁶ perhaps dating it to 1923, the only other date on the first cornerstone. Lumber widths are very close to 2 inches thickness indicating lumber cut between 1900 and 1924 when the American Lumber Standards called for 1.75 inch-thickness.¹⁷ The current standard is of 1.5 inches. None of the lumber in Phases 1 and 2 possesses a grade stamp further indicating the lumber was milled, perhaps locally, prior to the common grading standards implemented by the Southern Pine Association in 1915.¹⁸

As a single-story building, the phase I church is balloon framed with framing members extending from the 4x6 sill to the top plate of the wall. Balloon framing would have been widely known and practiced by the 1923 build date estimate.¹⁹ The corners of the phase one meeting hall have not yet been fully exposed by the

16. T. Wells, "Nail Chronology: The use of technologically derived features," *Historical Archeology*, 32, no. 2 (1998): 78-99.

17. L. Smith, and L. Wood, *History of Yard Lumber Size Standards* (Madison, WI: Forest Products Laboratory, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1964), 10-16.

18. SPIB Team, *Lumber Grade-Marking History: 1915* (SPIB Team, 2018).

19. F. W. Peterson, *Homes in the heartland: balloon frame farmhouses of the upper Midwest, 1850-1920* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 1.

ongoing demolition/material theft but what is visible in both the northeast and southeast corners of this phase 1 construction shows not a solid corner post but a build-up of smaller framing members applied both side by side and on the west face of the corner. This would be consistent with the overall carpentry approach used in the phase 1 church which made extensive use of recycled lumber, possibly from the first church, perhaps from a “tearing down” of a nearby structure. The corner post is braced along the long axis wall with a “down brace” along both the long and short axis of the building. This “down brace” a continuous 2x4 extending from top plate to sill is a critical lateral bracing component that was common in balloon frame construction of this time.²⁰



Figure 9. Downbrace (Circled) in Southeast Corner at South Tower Door

Source: Michael O’Brien Image.

The connection between this post and the 4x6 sill is not visible, and other visible sill locations shows no evidence of timber joinery so perhaps this corner post to sill connection is a simple nailed connection as the southeast tower post/sill connection is.

The exposed framing of the meeting hall (phase I) shows that the lumber is less refined than that used in the rostrum/choir addition. Lumber in phase I has square corners, not eased, and has un-sanded surfaces, additional thickness, and shows circular mill saw marks (likely a secondary function of the local steam corn mill) and is greater than 2-inches in thickness, with some approaching 3-inch thickness.²¹ The exterior walls on the long axis of this meeting hall phase were originally punctured by four window openings measuring 36 inches wide by 68 inches tall. These windows are separated by sections of framed wall 60 inches in length. This 60-inch wall increment would be unusual today as most wall segments are modularized to fit the 16-inch on center stud spacing and structural sheathing

20. M. O’Brien, “Hybrids on the Way to the Western Platform Frame: Two Structures in Western Virginia,” *Preservation, Education and Research*, III (2010): 41.

21. M. Odintz, *Vox Populi, TX* (Texas State Historical Association, 1995).

dimensions. Applying contemporary wood frame thinking would produce a wall segment 48 inches wide with 3 stud spaces, or the next stud space increment 64 inches (4 stud spaces). The 60-inch space between windows in this phase 1 is only divided into two stud spaces, that is a single stud centered on the 60-inch wall, the equivalent of a 30-inch stud spacing, almost twice the spacing in use today, probably related to the ability of the 1 inch thick exterior and interior shiplap siding wall surfaces to span stud to stud and transfer wind load to the studs without excessive siding deflection.

It is likely that most of the lumber used to frame the walls and floor was not purchased or milled for the church project per se. There is evidence that the lumber was reused from another structure, perhaps the result of a "tearing down" wherein the community would disassemble one building to reuse the parts to build another.²² There are floor joists that show unused mortise cuts, and gable end cuts, indicators that the lumber had been reused. Significantly, virtually every wall stud does not extend continuously from the sill plate to the eave plate, depending on the practice of "sistering," where a framing element, like a stud or joist is reinforced by nailing another stud or joist adjacent to it (Figure 10). This practice is still in use in carpentry today, but typically only for damaged stud or joist members. In this case, the entire meeting hall wall and floor structure is made up of sistered members indicating that the members had been reused from another building, perhaps the original church that was not as tall in the sidewall or wide in the floor-span as the current building.

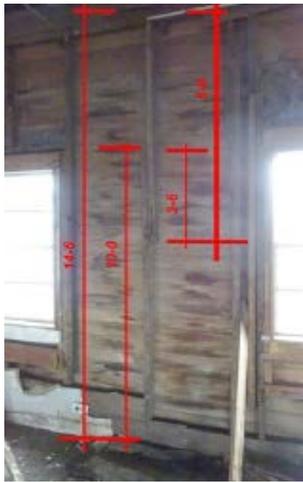


Figure 10. Phase 1 Walls, 8 and 10 Foot Stud "Sistered" to Make a 14'-6 Stud Height
Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

I believe it is important to consider this "sistering" approach in an aspirational context, one that placed a desire for space, light and height over the humble resources at hand. It is my conjecture that the original church, perhaps constructed with the "box and strip" method like that found in the nearby school building and the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church some 20 miles north in Colorado County. This

22. Sitton, and Conrad, *Freedom Colonies: independent Black Texans in the time of Jim Crow*, 2005, Location 371, 372.

conjecture is founded on the presence of extra-wide interior ceiling sheathing showing deterioration along their short axis as if they had been vertically in contact with the ground. In this conjecture I can see this “box and strip” church, built at the 1883 inception of the church, being disassembled as a congregational event, with the wall boards and roof framing being stacked for reuse. As these wide sheathing boards exist, they would represent a 9 to 10-foot wall height. Reasonable for this “box and strip” construction where wall height is limited by tree dimension, but low for a room as large as that planned for the meeting hall phase, necessitating the “sistering” of 8-foot wall studs to achieve a nearly 14-foot tall sidewall height. The aspiration to the 14-foot wall height drove a significant deviation from standard carpentry practices, and material availability, a triumph of aspiration over traditional practice.

The ceiling is sheathed in 10 to 12-inch-wide boards nailed to the underside of the roof joists as they meet the wall, and then a ceiling joist acts as a tension tie across the sloping roof joists. The net effect is that of a partial “cathedral” ceiling that slopes upwards for approximately four feet extension from the wall, on each side and is flat for the remaining 16 feet in the center of the space. The roof framing above is 2xlumber, informally trussed, perhaps on an “as-needed” basis to prevent excessive deflection in the ceiling joists. Above these trusses are 6-inch boards arranged as “skip” sheathing for a cedar shingle roof. Below the plane of the ceiling, and below the height of the top plate for the wall studs (approx. 14’) one finds six-3/4-inch steel rods with turnbuckles spanning across the space. The spacing of these tie-rods do not correspond to the wall stud spacing and only connect to the shiplap siding, not to studs or the top plate. The absence of disturbance to the interior shiplap sheathing indicates that these tie rods must have been original to the construction. The use of iron rods as ties in wooden constructions dates back to the 12th century and in America dates back to 1833 in bridges and mills,²³ so their use here, while uncommon in balloon framing, is not an unusual innovation.



Figure 13. Interior Demolition 28 Jan. 2017 Showing Tie Rods, Semi-Cathedral Ceiling

Source: Michael O’Brien Image.

23. J. I. Rempel, *Building with Wood* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 253.

The "Westworks"/Narthex Addition, Phase II

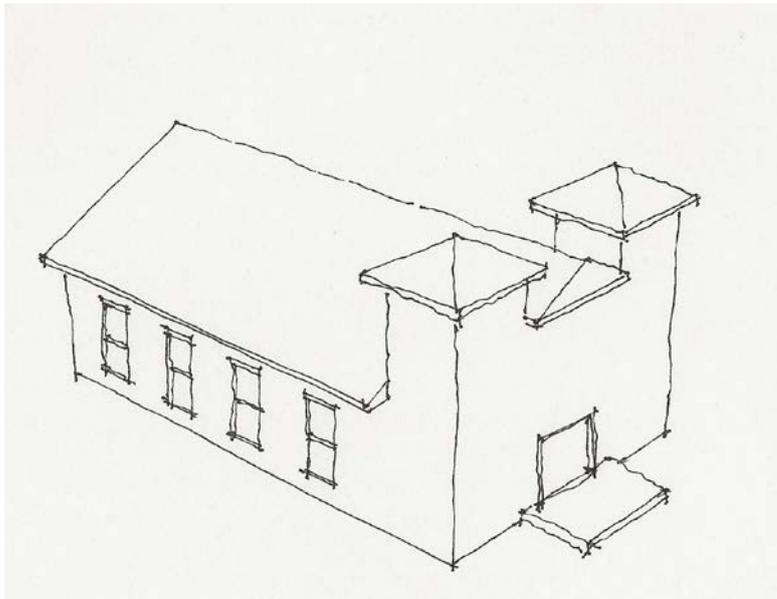


Figure 14. Phase II "Eastworks" Tower and Narthex Addition
Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

This second phase is approximately 21 feet floor to tower eave, seven feet deep and extends fully across the 25-foot width of the phase I meeting hall.

Lumber in this phase 2 addition is similarly milled to 2 inches or more in thickness, shows saw marks from the milling process, and is square edged. Easing or radiusing of the edges, common after the postwar period is not visible in this phase. Like the phase I meeting hall portion of the church, no structural panel materials were used as wall or floor sheathing and no framed bracing is visible making these towers dependent on the phase I downbraces for their lateral stability. The exterior 1" thick shiplap siding functioned both as the shear diaphragm of sorts and weather barrier. The towers remain plumb and true as of the date of this article.

The framing techniques used in this addition shares some characteristics with the phase 1 construction in that the framing members are built up, that is, doubled or tripled to achieve both the required cross section required for the 21-foot-tall eave height while being made up of shorter sticks of lumber. The continuity of the overlaps between pieces of spliced lumber differentiates this "building up" technique from the "sistering" technique used in the phase 1 meeting hall where the overlap between side nailed members is often 30 inches or less. Doubled 2x6 members supported the cast bell which was in place in 2010 but has since been removed during the current stripping/demolition of the church.

The addition of a pair of tower spires like those in phase II to flank the entry of a church structure was traditionally called the "westworks."²⁴ As was often the case, the sanctuary of the Southpoint Baptist Church established a "Liturgical

24. H. Braun, *Cathedral architecture* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1972).

East,” which in this case, positions the sanctuary and rostrum to the west and the towers and nave facing highway 71 to the east.

The evidence for these towers and narthex being a later addition includes: the corner braces in existence in the phase I corner on the west side of the towers. One would wonder why would a carpenter put a “corner brace” effectively seven feet away from the tower corner? My response would be that the presence of the braced meeting hall, but unbraced tower confirms that the carpenter placed the brace in this location because the phase two addition was not yet conceived, and the brace was required to anchor the corner post as traditional balloon framing practice would have it.



Figure 15. *Balloon Frame Process Dependent on Down Braces to Stabilize Corners*
 Source: From “Hybrids on the Way to Western Platform Framing”²⁵.

The second piece of evidence is the presence of a partially filled openings at the doorways in the wall between the southern tower and the meeting hall. These partially filled openings shares a common height with the exceptionally tall (7’6”) window heads in the phase 1 meeting hall and have been filled in to meet the door head height (6’8”) for the door between tower and hall. The act of filling in this opening required a cutting away of the downbrace in the southeastern corner, another example of faith over function. This may be a filled in opening for one of what may have been gender-specific entrances which were symmetrically arrayed adjacent to the downbraces on the buildings entry façade.²⁶ Gender-specific entrances were common in early U.S. protestant churches. The historic Van Wert Baptist Church in Polk County Georgia (1846) still features these gendered entrances²⁷. Historic accounts indicating the practice was fading in the late 1800’s²⁸. The final bit of evidence for the towers as additions concerns the thickness of the wall between the tower/nave addition and the meeting hall. The wall is exceptionally thick, 8 inches where the other walls in the building are approximately 4 inches. Examining the jamb of the opening between phase 1 and phase 2 one can observe a doubling of the framing, indicating that the wall of the meeting hall stood while a wall (and structure) for the towers was constructed adjacent to it.

25. O’Brien, *Hybrids on the Way to the Western Wood Frame*, Preservation, 2010.

26. B. Waugh, *Designing Churches – Entrance Doors* (Presbyterians of the Past, 2016).

27. Unknown, Van Wert Methodist, Historic Rural Churches of Georgia. Retrieved from <https://www.hrcga.org/church/van-wert-methodist/> 10 July 2019.

28. Sharon Center United Methodist Church, *Undated history of Sharon Center United Methodist Church, “Who We Are.”* (Sharon Center United Methodist Church).

The Rostrum Addition Phase 3: Faith over Function, the Elimination of Bracing and the Death of the Church

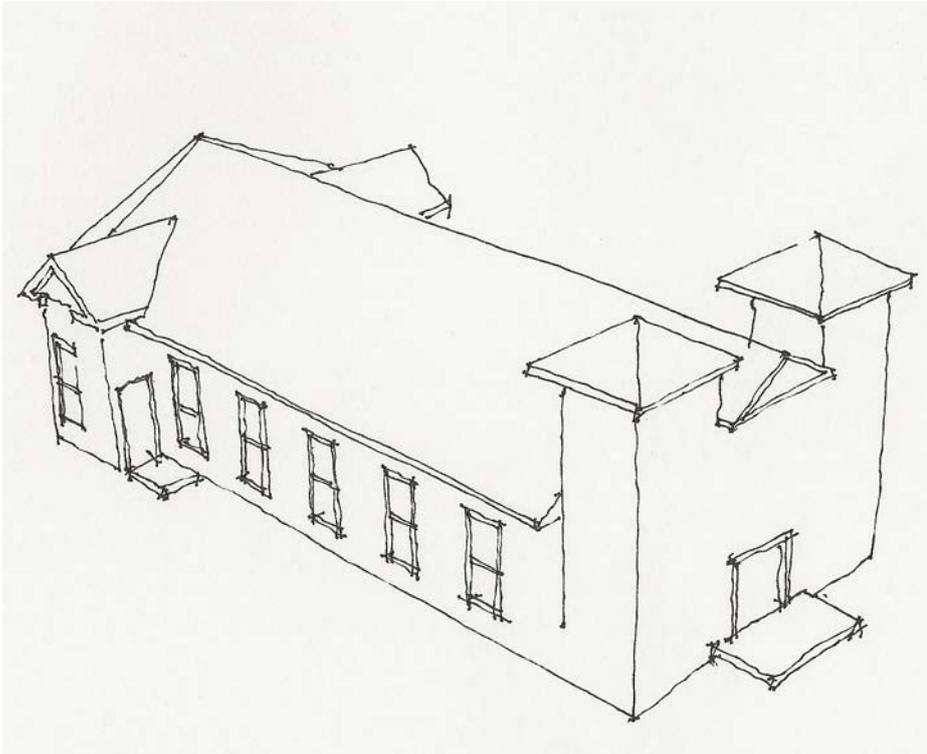


Figure 16. *Phase III Rostrum Addition*

Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

The specific design sanctuary wall of the meeting house phase is difficult to determine as it was completely removed when the rostrum addition was constructed. This act, which removed the downbraces for the southwest and northwest corners ultimately doomed the church. Without the downbraces or compensating framing, lateral forces exerted on the roof from the South levered the wall framing (buckling some sistered studs) and sliding the unrestrained sill to the outside edge of the foundation piers. This unrestrained lateral force resulted in the distortion of the South wall and in nearby roof and floor openings/leaks to the exterior.

One might conjecture, based upon the exposed framing of the subsequent choir addition, that a pair of tall windows may have been centered on the wall, subsequently moved to the back (west) wall of the rostrum addition and then to the back (west) wall of the choir addition where they were ultimately replaced by the current, shorter, steel framed windows. Short studs under the current windows and patched exterior shiplap seemed to confirm the window height change.

The third phase construction appears to be an addition expanding the overall width of the western end of the church and is a fairly contemporary addition, perhaps dated to the 1930's by its use of 6-inch clapboard for interior wall sheathing (in lieu of a structural panel) as well as exterior siding, the predominance of round-head wire nails, and the exclusive use of more "modern" lumber, machine sawn and finished to less than a true 2" dimension, eased corners and in full lengths (no

“sistering”). These characteristics clearly delineate this as a later phase construction than the meeting hall it extends. This 14’ x 33’ addition may date from a more extensive renovation conducted after the 1923 as noted on the older cornerstone as the “rebuilt” year. This addition saw the rostrum, and small offices, with a matching cedar shingles on skip sheathing roof installed. The cement asbestos siding installed on the south side of this third phase are likely from a 1940’s or later maintenance project.

The Choir Addition, Phase 4

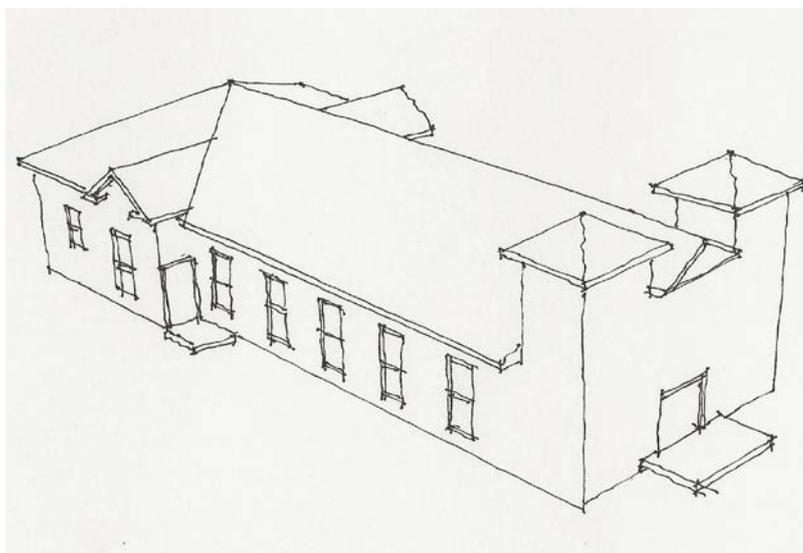


Figure 17. *Phase IV, Choir Addition*

Source: Michael O’Brien Image.

After, perhaps shortly after the 1923’s Rostrum addition, an extra 8’x33’ was added to the west wall of the rostrum. This addition included men’s and women’s toilets, and a rostrum-wide 3-riser choir space. The framing lumber and wall sheathing closely matches the rostrum construction but clear joints in the shiplap wall sheathing and distortions in the roof surfaces show that this was an independent addition installed following the 1923 rebuilding by Reverend A.E. Combs. The cement asbestos siding that covers the south, west and east sides of both the phase 3 (rostrum) and phase 4 (choir) additions were likely part of a later maintenance project, perhaps the project that replaced the 7’6” high windows with the current 6’6” high steel frame units, as the cement asbestos siding shows no indication of patching of a taller opening.

Final Phase: Window Replacements and Finishes

Perhaps the final phase of construction can be considered as a weatherization and refinishing project. The existing bell tower louvered opening was closed in, new carpeting and ceiling installed, the old windows were replaced with smaller steel framed windows with the space beneath the windows filled in with studs and

clapboard. The choir addition was covered with cement/asbestos siding on the west and north sides while the remaining church was covered in plywood.

A second cornerstone dated 1971 identifies Reverend Bennette Cortez as the elected pastor with deacons G. Farrow, J. Dancy, T. Johnson, G. Howard, and L. McCrew as "Successors." The presence of this second cornerstone may have indicated a re-dedication of the church leading to its active use through 2007. Reverend Cortez passed away in Houston, Tx in 2009 after becoming minister at the Greater Faith Baptist Church in the late 1990's.²⁹

Demolition by Parties Unknown

Parties unknown began removing the contents of the church, its cornerstones and much of the interior shiplap siding by July 2014. The unknown demolition crew installed temporary bracing to compensate for the removal of materials, and in the process exposed the construction of much of the interior walls which made observation of construction, and evaluation of phasing possible. As of February 2019, the church, in this partially demolished state, continued to stand. When South Point Baptist finally falls or is demolished, the last institutional anchor of Vox Populi will be gone and the noble aspirations of 124 years of residents will become little more than a brush pile along Highway 71



Figure 18. *South Wall of South Point Baptist Showing Distortion*

Source: Michael O'Brien Image.

29. C. Horswell, *Acras Homes pastor Bennette J. Cortez* (Houston Chronicle, 2009).

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