

# Camillo Sitte's Artistic Principles and the Enacting Public

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## INTRODUCTION

"Each person, withdrawn into himself, behaves as through he is a stranger to the destiny of all the others. His children and his good friends constitute for him the whole of the human species. As for his transactions with his fellow citizens, he may ~~mix~~ among them, but he sees them not; he touches them, but does not feel them; he exists only in himself and for himself alone. And if on these terms there remains in his mind a sense of family, there no longer remains a sense of society." Count Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859)<sup>2</sup>

So begins Richard Sennett in his now classic book *The Fall of Public Man*. This study of the loss of 19th-century European public life examines the end of a "public culture" that fed a retreat from urban life, with its spontaneous human contact, towards intimate space. From a public who was simultaneously actor and audience, the city became a community of strangers: withdrawn and autonomous from one another. (Image: A Highly evolved Descendent of the Mask Man Ray 1934) Contrast this with Camillo Sitte's arrival to a new city:

"Lighting at the station, he would bid the cabman drive immediately to the central square. There he would ask for the leading bookstore, and there he would inquire for three things, namely: First, the best tower from which to view the city; second, the best map of the city; and, third, the hotel where one could eat the best dinners."<sup>(63)</sup>

This was how Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) entered and studied unknown cities. He was an active stranger: energetic and methodological. He moved through the "clasp of the streets" and then removed himself, elevated, a "voyeur" above the streets, then returned.<sup>3</sup> He moved between street and skenacting the role of individual, other, private person and new comer, joining and then leaving a public realm. (Image: Winged Snail Camillo Sitte 1889\*) He accomplished this through the web of interaction that provided "mutual support and direct contact with each other."<sup>4</sup> Sitte

felt support and contact slowly receding, observing "The life of the common people has...been steadily withdrawing from public squares...the significance of squares has been lost...Life was, more favorable to an artistic development of city building than is our mathematically precise modern life. Man himself has become almost a machine..."<sup>(246)</sup>

This paper argues that Sitte gathered his artistic principles from the actions as well as from formal 'representations' of daily living. The verbs of life form a basis of these artistic principles upon which to build a city. They form a standard that becomes visible through active living. Cities both build upon and are built by the actions - and the enactments — of the inhabitants of the spaces. His study of the "Platz," a city's distinct outdoor rooms, have their source in both the objects of the city and everyday 'performance' exchanged between inhabitants within public spaces. (Image: Children Playing in Berlin, 1901)

## To enact

Why "enact?" Act, both a noun and verb, simultaneously implies doing something and the thing that is done. A law or a statu(t)e is "enacted" and becomes an authoritatively or legally established "act." It also suggests a repeatable and common series of actions — rituals, everyday practices: acting out or performing a representative and representation of a greater cultural or religious or civic way by "putting into" action and "thoroughly" acting out common or agreed upon practices.

This sense of enactment is missing from similar recent typological and formal studies of urban space (i.e., Rob Krier, Colin Rowe's Contextualism) although it is evident in Alexander's "Pattern Language."<sup>(16)</sup> And Sitte's ideas are neither pattern generating nor prescriptive. One can read his images as over simplified typological groupings reduced to physical/ morphological constructs. It is easy to miss the attitude toward instinctual and intuitive action embedded within the text. However this artistic principle of daily action — and the urban complexity that arises from the ordinary common lives is there. For example, Sitte writes

about playing in the snow:

"...children at play follow un-hindered their own artistic instincts in drawing or modeling...The parallel is to be seen in their favorite winter pastime of building snowmen. These snowmen stand on the same spots where, under other circumstances and following the old method, monuments or fountains might be expected to be located. Imagine the open square of a small market town in the country, covered with deep snow and crisscrossed by several roads and paths that, shaped by the traffic, form the natural lines of communication. Between them are left irregularly distributed patches untouched by traffic. On these stand our snowmen, because the necessary clean snow was to be found only there"(159-160).

Sitte's notion of "typology" might be based on children's play, beyond fixed and passive human "elements" of action — walking, sitting, standing, moving up steps — and into the situations that provoke these actions. (Image: *Dramatic Gesturing* from *Bühne* Oskar Schlemmer 1927 or 1924) Everyday life and custom playfully join 'artistic principles' that exemplify and enrich those lives. (extending Friedrich von Schiller's (1759-1805) idea that art expresses a drive for play and, ultimately, human creative freedom<sup>5</sup>.) My purpose in this paper is to look at how these principles bring what Michel de Certeau has described as "everyday practices," "doing things," *métis* — "ways of operating" out of an "obscure background and into the foreground."<sup>6</sup> I will not be looking at specific practices, nor will I review Sitte's life and works. This can be found in the Collins's thorough discussion that accompanies their translation of Sitte's influential text. Rather I will look at Sitte's principles as if they have grown from assumptions that human practice and action lead into *natural* (rather than *unnatural*) design. (Image: Ringstraße in the Snow, 1945-48) I do not mean to imply that the use of any formal geometry and morphology is simple — nor that Sitte does not describe spaces morphologically. Rather I believe that Sitte's notion of form was revealed from how one publicly conducted oneself, describing a life of enactment. His principles, based on his criticism of the planning and design of Vienna's Ringstraße, seem oddly familiar.

### The Public Destroyed:

The destruction of public life began (wrote Sitte) the moment it disengaged itself from outdoor "open" rooms and moved in to hidden "closed" halls. (Image: Passerby on Schwarzenbergstraße, 1945-48) Gone was an idyllic form of life constituted and lived virtually and figuratively in open outdoor rooms. Gone were urban rooms (Platz) that maintained, contained and recreated the habits of human transaction and exchange: the place of assembly for political and civic practice (Agora), places of commercial transaction (Market) and places for play and theatrics (religious, games, drama). Instead meaningless vacant spaces that were merely

interruptions between buildings to support hygienic (air, light) and pictorial (view) purposes. The separation occurred by function and utility rather than a functioning unity that openly celebrated free public exchange. Rather than complex and messy places, discreet institutional places appeared. Sitte demanded that public buildings be continuous with the Platz, that they share themselves with the Platz, encircling it like the rooms of an atrium house (recalling Alberti) bleeding the inside and outside together.

### ON PRINCIPLES

Sitte takes two tactics: first he establishes principles and then applies them as a critical poultice on "modern" (turn of the century) Viennese urbanity - ultimately placing the blame on engineers and other "nameless technicians."<sup>7</sup> Sitte approached "beautiful" European spaces that demonstrated a unity between cultural action and design. He hoped these could become transformed by a purely Austrian matter-of-fact *Zeitgeist* (32): "the practical artist should not let himself be guided by sentimental impulses, because no artistic (*malerisch*) planning could be a thorough or lasting success unless it complied with modern living conditions." (246)

A sense of "presence" becomes an underlying canon hidden within the written text. Nowhere in his diagrams or drawings is there an atmosphere of space that arouses what Sitte describes in his text: an "overpowering effect" that certain places "evoke:" "even a person of moderate artistic sensibilities cannot escape the compelling and powerful impression."<sup>8</sup> (Image: the merging of text with image — an original page of Sitte's written manuscript) These were impressions that recreated an immediate sense of presence. It occurs when one's upright bodily "confrontation" with things comes "face-to-face" with others. His presence is evident throughout the text: standing there, looking, touching, smelling, hearing, moving and imagining the space and its surrounds. "There is nothing here to distract our attention; nothing that reminds us of the daily hustle and bustle. In contemplating the venerable façade of the cathedral, we are not annoyed by any obtrusive little tailor shop, by the confusion of a cafe, or by the shouts of drivers and porters." (153) (Image: Cafe Reitter, Dreschler-Palast around 1900)

### Directing Design

Sitte's most obvious "principles" are directives established within the titles of his first seven chapters. (Image: "That the Middle of the Platz should be kept Free" figure 6, 1901 edition) The Platz, the city's primary space, maintained historical continuity for the city. It was the main hall of a "house" to which every citizen was a family member. Its form framed significant public buildings and monuments (which acted as examples of its life) and contained the city's possessions signifying the people's and city's history. As a result, these outdoor rooms opened the city to view by becoming a manifestation of an open social life. All who entered the city could experience it as a work of life.

Embodied within these principles is this inhabited perception of the world. I have envisioned other principles (derived from the "original" directives) as follows:

### Non-directive principles

*Being "in touch," making cities and knowing cities "naturally"* evoke the classic argument between "intuition" and "rationale," it repeated itself often since the 16th century disagreement between Michelangelo and Leonardo or Dürer. (Image: Laurentian Library Stairs) In Sitte's lifetime, it became a pre-WWI argument between Muthesius and Van de Velde, who disagreed on the role of the artist-architect within industry, and continued between the wars. The Bauhaus Dances explored the nature of human movement and inhabitation and the restrictions of the grid, of costume, of machines that imposed upon and tempered this freedom — We do not move on a grid, so why design cities within the grid? Design must originate "on the spot" rather than arriving fully conceived as context-less "manufactured products" set within a preconceived grid.<sup>9</sup> (Images: *Vitruvian Man*, Cesariano, 1521; *Wire Costume* from *Triadic Ballet* Oskar Schlemmer, 1923)

"We...come..scurrying about with our T-square and compass, presuming to solve with clumsy geometry...fine points that are matters of pure sensitivity(158-159)...the natural way...[designers] could attain naturalness easily by judging and arranging everything right on the spot for its actual effect. We ... work on the drafting board, and often we have never in our lives seen the place for which a...project may be intended. Should one be satisfied then to place this mechanically produced project, conceived to fit any situation, into the middle of an empty place without organic relation to its surroundings...? 'Manufactured product' is here as everywhere the trademark of modernity; everything is punched out by the same die..."(213-214)

Pencil on paper, directed by compass and ruler following a continuous grid extends horizontally — becoming the land, moving over and ignoring unique, local, *organic* conditions. "Innate and instinctive ... natural sensitivity" are lost within the "tools" of design and intellect creating "universal" land.

*Attention deficits and the natural irregularity of the world:* (Image Viennese Streetcar Passengers, 1945-48) The world is really irregular even though it appears harmonious. This is because we aren't paying attention to it and become easily deceived by what we see. We can't avoid being deceived. Order evolved from human feeling and action and truly "successful" places, usually "irregular," contain an inherent order. This was not an order of similarity or equality. Recalling Vitruvius' definition of "symmetria" as a *sense* of order that provides "rhythm and peace" to spaces,<sup>10</sup> one can create order out of irregularity. Take the Piazza S. Maria Novella, Sitte offers, whose irregular five-sided plan

seems four sided and rectilinear because we can perceive only three sides at a time.

"...One easily deceives oneself as to the right-angled or obtuse-angled relationship of these three sides (particularly when one is, as usual, not paying special attention) because such judgment is based exclusively on a perspective view, and an exactitude in measurement of the true angle by eye alone is difficult even for the expert who is giving his full attention to it."(187)

*Exactitude is impossible, (bilateral) symmetry is pointless:* (Image: *Overture from Don Giovanni* Joseph Losi) We never really see — or our seeing is fictive — due to anatomical and perceptual limitations, an inability to really see non-perceptively/perspectively, even while we draw plans and elevations. The eye presents us with its "regularity" in the midst of "irregularity" by ordering a series of images from a general disorder that forms an individual's moving perception. Henri Bergson might say that there is in the actual piazza something more than, but not different from what seems given. Our ability is to see and remember selections from an array of things that frame a *kind* of walking, touching, smelling, seeing. It is an inexact "kind of" being in the world — simultaneously fictive and factive, strangely similar yet contradictory to Kevin Lynch's idea of city "image-ability." "There are environments that invite or reject attention, that facilitate or resist organization or differentiation." Sitte might agree with both theorists of perception." Sitte also prefigures the J.J. Gibson's theory of space perception that allows us to distinguish surface from edge, figure from ground: perceived as differences between objects and their enclosing surfaces (1950).<sup>12</sup> (Nolli prefigured both) By practicing a perceptual rather than an intellectual model of invention (i.e., through immediacy of the senses rather than preconceived drawings) the 'mistaken' search for formal rules would not emerge as an important theme of design. The rule, for instance, of axial symmetry could not have been conceived — since it was merely a "theoretical notion of an identity of right and left."(190) Instead this notion is found within the "abominable block system"(240) whose vacuous regularity attributed only "ever-so-many square yards of empty surface."(197)

*Art is a source of happiness. An artless city is an empty city. Emptiness will invoke Agoraphobia and Depression will follow:* This emptiness will profoundly effect the inhabitants. The population will undergo massive psychological breakdowns, losing their sense of uniqueness, turning unenthusiastic and blase as a result of the boring regularity of the grid." Cities will become unsafe. No one will care about their public spaces or their city. Georg Simmel (in 1903) also anticipated this blase state that would evolve from a reductive approach (of the economy), sustaining Sitte's fears: things of value would lose their "aura" ( used in Benjamin's terms) when recreated as homogenous common standards.

“The essence of the blase attitude is an indifference toward the distinctions between things. ... The meaning and the value of the distinctions between things, and therewith of the things themselves, are experienced as meaningless. They appear to the blase person in a homogeneous, flat and gray color with no one of them worthy of being preferred to another.”<sup>14</sup>

A predominating grid destroys security and happiness. Yet this is the purpose of a city, he writes (through Aristotle), to provide its inhabitants with a sense of security and satisfaction which cannot be achieved as a mere “technical matter, but should in the purest and most elevated sense be an artistic enterprise.” (141-142)

The *Ringstraße* is empty yet *constantly flowing*: (Image: Autos around the Ring, 1945-48) Sitte and others - Musil, Freud, Herman Bahr, Karl Krauss, Adolf Loos, to name a few, protested the Hausmannian design approach for the *Ringstraße*. It would give birth to emptiness, detachment and deception, they argued.<sup>15</sup> And it occurred in Le Corbusier's 1922/1925 proposal for a Contemporary City with Three Million Inhabitants: “a vast module of 400 metres” fast moving road systems above the city, skyscrapers, square, museums to create order, light and green. It sounded curiously familiar to Sitte's fears.<sup>16</sup>

“Everything tends toward the immense, and the constant repetition of identical motifs is enough to dull our senses...As this cannot be altered, the city planner must, like the architect, invent a scale appropriate for the modern city of millions.” (244)

The Ringstrasse maintained Vienna's original form of walled fortification but transformed into a wall of monumental institutions and housing. It represented new Austria and the new Viennese aristocracy who lived along the ring. Previously everyone had picnics and took leisurely walks around the wall. The Ringstrasse converted this space into a parade ground for the costumed bourgeois. The Ring orchestrated the movement of the population, providing a “visual expression of the values of (the) social class.” A wall of politics, economics, and society replaced “fortifying” leisurely walks and play with a political, economic and social parade ground that flowed along a continuous loop.<sup>17</sup> (\*\*Image: Military Parade for General Mobilization - July 24, 1914)

Buildings became massive, costumed entities that, as Schorske remarks, “float unorganized in a spatial medium whose only stabilizing element are an artery of men in motion.”<sup>18</sup> The contained plaza that arrested movement, tempered ritual and habit, and acted as both destination and thorough-fare ceased to exist. It was all movement without end, missing the place to stop, to arrive, to see, and to be in. Rather than a series of connected restrained spaces, outdoor rooms providing identity to the public and the city, the Ring maintained steady streams, a vastness providing space to stand back, to remain distant, where buildings became a

stylistic wallpaper of Icons lining a never filled and always flowing corridor of movement.<sup>19</sup>

## CONCLUSION

### Parade Grounds and the Faceless Worker:

Sitte believed that spaces accrued from and responded to life lived through active and intimate participation. Successful plaza spaces made way. They responded to the movement of the social group who lived “publicly” and in the “open” and became an expression of public *patterns*. Architecture joined the action, supported the action, exemplified the action. The front face of a Gothic Cathedral was still, monumental, set for distant viewing, for rest and contemplation. The people stopped, looked, contemplated the church and then stepped forward.<sup>20</sup> Its sides were an expression of interior movement that corresponded “in a natural way to the movement of people toward the church.” (208-209) A cathedral located in the middle of a field replaced everyday processional social movement with massive ‘unnatural, mechanical’ group movement? more suitable for armies than congregants. Framed, cropped, perspectival processional space was reconstituted into mechanical, self conscious and even inhibited action.

Relaxed, unhurried and naturally occurring ‘choreography’ was disappearing and quickly being replaced by ‘parade grounds’ that supported nameless and faceless masses of people marching in step. (Image: WWI armored lookout man, 1914) This new “type” of being, one that the writer Ernst Jünger (1895-) believed must emerge from the horror of WWI, lived, bred and predominated as technocrat and “worker” (*Der Arbeiter*) — a “man of steel,” armored, like Nietzsche's “last man.” A “transformed world” emerged from the horror of war — and created blase aestheticization originating within a mechanized battlefield of the first world war. The male body became machine-like and, as with all other machines whose dimensions and function took precedent, gained “ästhetischem Rang — mit einem Wort: an Notwendigkeit” (an aesthetic rank — with one word: necessity).<sup>22</sup> (Image: Parade around the Ring to celebrate the opening of the new parliament, 1896) Sitte's premonition of this possibility — of basing the design of the Platz on use and necessity — would make it and its corresponding outdoor life unnecessary.

Gone would be loosely orchestrated dances within plazas and around statues “...walking about from one plaza to another in such a cleverly grouped sequence” (197) that exemplified a notion of public.<sup>23</sup> (Image: On the Sirk Corner, Walking on the Ring, oil by Maximilian Lenz, 1900) The act of walking along the Ring itself was a sham — a Poternkin city, evoked by Loos. There was no space for a leisurely walk. There was no space for the walker. Yet, people dressed and acted as if they were there for a leisurely stroll, to window shop, and to show themselves to the continuous traffic along the Ring.

“It is only in our mathematical century that the process of enlarging and laying out cities has become an almost purely technical concern. ... Therefore it seems impor-

**tant** to remind ourselves once again that this attitude solves only one aspect of the problem, and that the other, the artistic aspect, is of at least equal importance." (142)

Yet, Camillo Sitte began his research a stranger: first by taking a taxi ride, then finding a bookstore — a "market" for knowledge. From here he obtained instruments for viewing the city from above: he bought the best city map found the best tower. Finally, he situated himself within the best public home: a hotel known for their delicious food. In many ways his actions, as a stranger coming to know public spaces of an unknown city, mirror those that he saw emerging in Vienna. The citizens were treated as if they were ahistorical beings without unique experiences gained from occupying their city over time. As a stranger, one remained outside the "realm" of the city's real public, having no other history than his or her own history accrued as a tourist, through the eyes of cabbies, maps, towers and from the inside of hotels.

"Here," wrote Sennett, "(was) a picture of society in which there were scenes but no plot. And since there was no plot...there was no history" and no unique characters "...for their actions caused no change in the lives of the people; only endless adaptations. ... People 'behaved' but had no experience."<sup>24</sup> Their lives had little meaning, little dynamism; a static life created at and on a drafting table - rather than life, genuinely lived openly. They created places for strangers who 'dressed' rather than lived their role on the Ringstrasse.

## NOTES

\* snail with wings: This is the final image in the book - probably drawn by Sitte; consider the following:

"Der Städtebau"'s winged snail is, perhaps a self portrait of Sitte. The wings lift one up to see where one has previously been standing and walking. The wings speed up the slow, perhaps seemingly static motion of the snail on a ground. Yet what one is viewing from above is no more than the trail that the snail leaves in its wake. This trail is a path tracing the intimate contact the snail's foot has with its ground. Sitte asks us also to be snails as we walk on the ground or move above ground. Either way, we leave a trail in our wake. He asks that the trail be truly ours. Le Corbusier writes, like the snail, a person "took his tasks upon his own shoulders and brought them to a satisfactory conclusion, ...He lived like a snail in its shell, in a lodging made exactly to his measure; there was nothing to induce him to modify this state of things, which was indeed harmonious enough. (Le Corbusier, 1986, "Towards a New Architecture" (trans. Frederick Etchells) p.273.) The snail, firmly attached to the ground, grasping the earth and leaving a trail in its wake. Yet, when lifted or detached from the earth, pulls itself into its shell, totally withdrawn and disengaged. Its body, formless, is held by the outer structure of its home, yet its very being is freed by wings that remove its tight hold on the earth and, presumably, nature. The character of the snail, defined by its home, as Sitte hoped that the unique character of the Viennese could be defined: by their public spaces.

\*\* A water color by Carl Pippich representing the day after the ultimatum to Serbia, four days before declaration of war. This 'war two' - the war against Serbia became a world war and Austria found itself fighting Russia and Serbia and one month later lost 100,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Sennett, *Fall of Public Man* (New York: Vintage Books Random House, 1978), Frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, tr. Steven F. Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 92.

<sup>4</sup> Sennett, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, 1795.

<sup>6</sup> Certeau, p. XIX.

<sup>7</sup> Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914) identified a "cult of the engineers" in planning" referring to British engineer William Lindley (1808-1900) whose hygienic approach completely changed the face of Hamburg. Collins, p.35 and fn 24, p 342.

<sup>8</sup> Piazza del Duomo (Pisa)

<sup>9</sup> Referring to the Vienna Ringstraße and its district that was planned as a homogeneous whole (1859), built over time and completed by the end of WW1. It shows little similarity to the 1859 proposal. Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse*, Vol.1. (Graz: Herman Bohlaus Nachf, 1969), pp.80-81.

<sup>10</sup> Vitruvius (Bk III, Chpt I, par. 1, Morgan trans.) "*Symmetria* is a proper agreement between the members of the work itself, ..." Sitte, p189.

<sup>11</sup> Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. N.M. Paul & W.S. Palmer from 5th 1908 edition (New York: Zone Books, 1988), p.71; Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), pp. 5,10, 136.

<sup>12</sup> J.J. Gibson, *The Perception of the Visual World*. (Cambridge, MA: 1950)

<sup>13</sup> See Collins's discussion of *Platzscheu* or *Platzangst*, note # 186 p 379. Also, "I have noticed that this is the case with all towns that are laid out along straight lines and in which the streets intersect at right angles." (223) Twenty-five years later Robert Mallet-Stevens ("Architecture and Geometry" 1924) believed "We need right angles" and Le Corbusier worried about the rule of the right angle in relation to natural landscape and anthropocentrism: "Our house is bound up with our movements like the snail's shell. So it's important that it fits us well." "The New Spirit of Architecture." Charlotte Benton and Tim Benton, editors, *Architecture and Design 1890-1939* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1975) pp. 131,133.

<sup>14</sup> ...in an economy based on money. George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" 1903 *On Individuality and Social Forms*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971), pp. 329 - 330.

<sup>15</sup> See Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*. trans. & edit. James Strachey. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1962) p.33, Adolph Loos, "Potemkin City," *Spoken into the Void. Collected Essays 1897-1900*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), pp. 95-99. In 1900, Herman Bahr wrote "...to disguise [the Ring] behind borrowed forms is both silly and ugly. ...people used to require that a building should look like something; we demand that it should 'be something.'" Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918* (New York: Phaidon Press; Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 90. See also Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*. 1953.

<sup>16</sup> "The irregularly shaped building plots which exist now in cities and which must appear in the face of problems posed by the future, absorb all the creative powers of architecture and wear out the architect" Le Corbusier in Benton, pp. 138-140. Compare with Sitte's comments on architects afraid of irregularly shaped building lots: "Irregular building plots...that allow the most interesting solutions." (225) and "vastness" (179)

<sup>17</sup> For hygienic and political purpose. Howard Saalman, *Hausmann: Paris Transformed*. (New York: George Braziller, 1971), p.19. The Ringstrasse did not 'rip through' Vienna but maintained both fabric and isolation between old city and suburbs. It took over vacant land of the wall. Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art. London Paris Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p.73. See also Norma Evenson,

*Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Vantage Books Edition, 1981) pp. 24,25, and Wagner-Rieger, pp. 86-87.

<sup>18</sup> The Town Hall was dressed as a 'Goth', symbolic of free commune following absolutist rule, the University became clothed as Renaissance, symbolic of Humanistic tradition and higher learning, Parliament? a Greek temple as "noble, classical forms ... edifying and idealizing effect on the representatives of the people." Schorske, pp. 36, 41 and Wagner-Rieger, p.90.

<sup>19</sup> Recalling Musil's man 'without qualities': "...the inhabitant of any country is a mixture of "at least nine characters..." Rather combining into a unique individual "...they dissolve him and he is really nothing but a little channel washed out by all these trickling streams, which flow into it and drain out of it again to join other little streams filling another channel. Hence every dweller on earth also has a tenth character, which is nothing more or less than the passive illusion of spaces untilled; it permits a man everything, with one exception: he may not take

seriously what his at least nine other characters do and what happens to them, ...,the very thing that ought to be the filling of him." Musil, 1952, p.30.

<sup>20</sup> Similar to the empathic approach of Geoffrey Scott (1885-1929) and Mary (1884-1945 and Bernard (1865-1959). Berenson

<sup>21</sup> Cologne Cathedral and Vienna's Votive Church.

<sup>22</sup> Andreas Huyssen, "Ernst Jiinger's Armored Texts" *New German Critique* 59, (Spring/Summer 1993, 3-24) p.10. See also Karlheinz Hasselbach, "Politics from the Spirit of Poetics: The Aesthetic Perspective of Ernst Jünger's *Der Arbeiter*" *Orbis Litterarum* 49: 272-292, 1994.

<sup>23</sup> Recalling "Kakania" part of a "super-American city where everyone rushes about, or stands still, with a stop-watch in his hand." Musil. 1953, p.30.

<sup>24</sup> A criticism of the theoretical basis of Erving Goffman's work, Sennett, p.36. I would like to acknowledge the criticism and reflections that Joseph Rykwert (who read an earlier and longer version), Marco Frascari, and David Leatherbarrow contributed. Likewise, George Claflen, Kate Wingert, and Brigitte Knowles- who have read more recent versions.