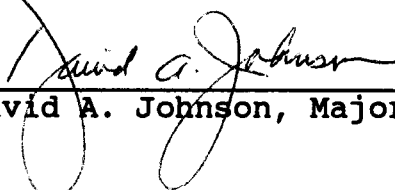


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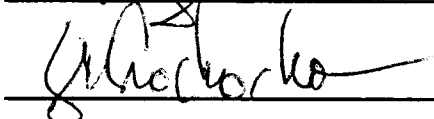
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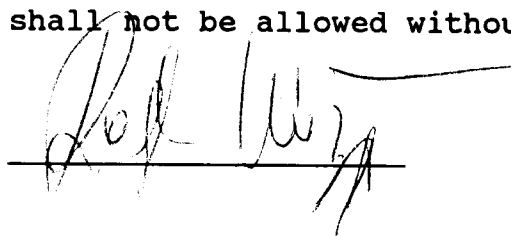


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December 2, 1988

CAMILLO SITTE AND AMERICA:
A STUDY OF THE RECEPTION OF SITTE'S IDEAS
IN AMERICAN PLANNING LITERATURE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master Of Science in Planning
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Ralph G. Wurzer
December 1988

*David H. Hark
C. 1988*

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ABSTRACT

The influence of Camillo Sitte, Austrian architecture and city planning theoretician (1843 - 1903), on planning thought in the U.S. is discussed in this study. Research showed that Sitte appears with increased frequency in the planning literature and is treated specifically by writers who deal with the subject of phenomenology in architecture.

Based on a literature review, this thesis suggests that Sitte had and continuously has a certain impact on planning theory in this country. However, it seems that aside from the sources cited in this study, Sitte's "Artistic Principles" in city building had much larger influence in the U.S. than is provable. This might well be an unconscious, unadmitted impact where the origin is unretrievable.

A comparison of selected projects in the United States with Sitte's teachings is included. They shall not be misunderstood as case studies in the classical sense since prove of derivation with certainty is almost impossible in questions of design. However, the study of examples allows parallels to be drawn between certain design elements and the theories of Sitte.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to show the impact and influence the Austrian architect and city planner Camillo Sitte (see Figure 1) had on American literature as well as on selected projects which have been implemented in this country. The thesis in its greater part is set up as a literature review but also includes three studies which shall demonstrate how Sitte's theories have traveled from Europe to the United States and have then possibly been incorporated in the design of the described examples. The presence of Sitte's work, and discussions and excerpts from his book Der Staedte-Bau nach seinen kuenstlerischen Grundsuetzen¹ (City Planning According To Artistic Principles) in the American city planning and architecture literature led to the assumption that he also must have been influential on planning thought in this country. Interesting is that his theories reached America long before his book was ever available in the English translation. I have included both extensive and limited quotations dependent upon their pertinence -- if they enforced a trend in ideas or expressed an especially interesting diversion from the observed norm. This review

¹Camillo Sitte. Der Staedte-Bau nach seinen kuenstlerischen Grundsuetzen. Vienna, 1889



FIGURE 1. Camillo Sitte

Source: Camillo Sitte Archive

includes printed material normally available to any researcher. As apparent from the title, I have generally limited this thesis to literature which has been published by publishing companies which are seated in the United States and to those foreign companies which have branches in the United States. Non-U.S. printed materials, especially those from Austria, Germany, and France are used in this thesis only to demonstrate reactions to Sitte on the European continent or, as in the case of publications from Britain, they aid in a better understanding of how Sitte's theories got transmitted into the U.S.

Countless publications about Sitte's work have appeared in several languages. Also numerous papers, articles and books by authors from Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Britain, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have been published on how Sitte, after the appearance of his book "Der Staedte-Bau..." has altered the practice of city planning in their home countries. In the United States, George R. Collins and Christiane C. Collins, certainly the most renowned Sitte researchers on this continent, published in 1986 the book Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning² which includes a very careful

²G. R. Collins and Christiane C. Collins. Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning. New York, 1986

translation of "Der Staedte-Bau..." as well as comments and explanations about Sitte's theories in the context of the time at the end of the 19th century, and his influence in Germanic countries and abroad. The fact that there are numerous treatises of Sitte seemed worth while a study of his reception in America.

Another reason why I have selected this topic and presented it to the faculty of a school of planning is, that I feel that planners ought to have a basic understanding of city design. I do not agree that planners should relinquish this discipline completely to architects, contractors or developers. Certainly, Camillo Sitte is only one among many city planning theoreticians who are worth introducing to a audience of planners but it should be noted that he was one of the few who was able to combine the arts, architecture, landscape planning, design, traffic aspects, and economical and social issues in his teachings. It is apparent that when Sitte was writing in 1900 the planning discipline was far less complex compared to those problems and limitations a professional has to face today. Therefore I have used "planning" as what it stood for at the time when Sitte's book was published rather than what we understand city

planning to be today.³ In 1904, in the monthly magazine "Der Staedtebau" Sitte summarizes his ideas about the building of cities when he writes:

City planning is just a field of such a technical, artistic, and politico-economic activity, although in recent times it has been recognized and fostered as a separate discipline. City planning represents the fusion of all the technical and creative arts into a great and integrated whole; city planning is the monumental expression of civic spirit, it is the soil that nurtures true patriotism. City planning regularizes traffic, it provides healthy and comfortable living conditions for modern man who has for the most part become a city dweller; it has to arrange the most favorable placement of industry and business, and it should foster the reconciliation of class differences.⁴

The final reason for the selection of this topic is that Sitte's message, although delivered one hundred years ago, still has a strong applicability in this country since, as Georg Conditt states:

he was the first to articulate an expert protest against the monotonous, two dimensional "regulations" (gridiron subdivisions) of his time, which aimed only at maximum land exploitation.⁵

³The disciplined process of establishing the social, physical, cultural, educational, transportation, public works, and other normal needs of a city over a period of time and of preparing the resources to provide for those needs (Abrams 1971: p. 43).

⁴Camillo Sitte. Der Staedte-Bau nach seinen kuenstlerischen Grundsuetzen. Vienna, 1907

⁵Arnold Whittick. Encyclopedia of Urban Planning. New York: McGraw Hill, 1974. p. 903

Sitte however, founded his criticism not only on human considerations, as those who accuse him of being a romantic dreamer claim, but to the same extent "on functional and practical arguments by employment of fundamental research and development programs in city planning."⁶ He is important because by means of a thorough study of streets, urban squares, and city patterns of the past he created a set of standards to evaluate these elements or plans. His observations are based on the pedestrian, the pace of his movements, and his immediate environment. The conclusion of this study was that medieval city patterns usually provide the best results and visual experiences for the pedestrian. Sitte further discovered that there exists a strong relationship between the esthetics of the environment and the behavior, and the reactions of people. Besides esthetics, Sitte advocated irregularity and informality as to enhance more freedom of design. Sitte's strength lay in his understanding that cities were in danger of becoming inhuman machines. Through his book he expressed this apprehension and offered some solutions for a change of direction.

⁶Whittick 1974: p. 903

This thesis is divided into six sections with section one the introductory explanation of why the research effort was carried out. Section two provides a brief biographical sketch emphasizing Sitte's education, and experience as an architect leading to the publication of his book, a discussion of its initial impact and influence within Germanic countries. Additionally this section includes an abstract of "Der Staedte-Bau ..." ("City Planning according to Artistic Principles") to serve as reference source for the clarification of various interpretations within the main argumentative sections. The final part of this section is a discussion of the various translations of the theories into French, Spanish, Italian, and English with special attention to the 1902 edition by the French architect Camille Martin.

For a better understanding of the city planning situation in Europe before and after the appearance of Sitte's book, section three explains two completely different approaches to city planning by discussion of selected works and writings of Baron Haussmann who radically redesigned Paris, and the Swiss architecture reformer Le Corbusier.

The major topic of section four, "The Passage to America," is a discussion of Sitte's indirect influence on American planning well before his book was ever available in an English translation. It shall include a chronology of literature supported by excerpts from various texts,

demonstrating Sitte's influence on planners who were in turn influential in America. Included in this section is also a chart which graphically shows the most important events in the English speaking literature before the appearance of an American translation of "Der Staedte-Bau..." in 1945.

Section five includes a general survey of Sitte's influence upon modern city planners and theoreticians. It also deals specifically with the Viennese's influence on individual persons who reflect the directness of that influence upon America in the form of literature. A segment of this section summarizes the impact of Sitte's influence and draws conclusions as to the strength and weakness of this influence as apparent in the literature as well as the quality of the specific texts. In order to reinforce the hypotheses of this section, three studies are included at this point.

All previous hypotheses, data and documentations are combined in the conclusion of section six defining Sitte's apparent influence upon American city planning and design.

2. CAMILLO SITTE, CITY PLANNER

For clarity and in response to Camillo Sitte's relative obscurity, section 2 provides a brief biographical sketch emphasizing education, and experience as an architect, city planner, and diversified scholar, leading to the publication of his book Der Staedte-Bau nach seinen kuenstlerischen Grundsuetzen, in May of 1889.¹ A discussion of the theories' initial impact and influence within Germanic countries is another part of this section. The sub-section "City Planning According to Artistic Principles: An Abstract" provides a condensed summary of Sitte's teachings. In the following sub-section, the various translations into eight languages is discussed. Special attention is paid to the numerous misinterpretations and misunderstandings of Sitte's theories abroad caused by the 1902 edition by Camille Martin. Martin's French version is actually more a subjective interpretation rather than an accurate translation. Unfortunately it served as the source for American planners up to the time when the first American translation was published.

¹Most of the information about Sitte's life and work derives from Rudolf Wurzer, Camillo Sitte--Lebenslauf und Werk. Vienna: Springer Verlag, 1968

2.1 CAMILLO SITTE'S LIFE, WORK AND POSITION IN GERMANIC COUNTRIES

Life

Camillo Sitte was born on April 17, 1843 in Vienna, Austria as the only son of Franz Sitte and Theresia Schabes. Since his career was particularly influenced by his father, some short remarks about him are being included.

Franz Sitte was born as the nineteenth child of a farmer's family in what was at that time, Austrian North Bohemia. He studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. His first work of architecture was the design of a Catholic church in the Renaissance style. The church was designed and begun by the Swiss architect Johann Georg Mueller, who shortly before his death assigned Franz Sitte the completion of the structure. Other major works were a priest hospital and a chapel in the Gothic style which both were erected in the same district of town where Camillo was born.

After graduation from high school in 1863, Camillo Sitte studied architecture at the -- what is now -- University of Technology in Vienna where he was academically advised by, and worked closely with one of the most important Austrian architects and teachers,

Heinrich von Ferstel.¹ During this time Camillo was also registered in several classes in archeology and art history at the University of Vienna which were taught by Rudolf von Eitelberger who showed great interest in city planning and incorporated this subject into his class teachings.² It has been suggested that Eitelberger's influence has been the major cause - beside the ongoing transformation of Vienna - that got Sitte interested in city planning.

In 1875, after his graduation from the university, he was awarded directorship of the newly founded State School of Applied Arts (Staatsgewerbeschule) in Salzburg. It is quite apparent that intervention by Eitelberger for his favorite student helped him in reaching this position. The acceptance of the directorate at a state affiliated institution alienated him from his father. Franz Sitte wanted his son to be an independent artist rather than a, in his opinion, uncreative state employee and bureaucrat. His remarkable accomplishments in Salzburg were followed

¹Heinrich von Ferstel designed the University of Vienna, the Votiv Church and other famous buildings.

²The mid-eighteen hundreds were an important time period in Vienna's city development. Just after the fortifications walls around the old part of Vienna became obsolete the great majority of Vienna's population was concerned about the demolition of the walls and the following rebuilding and redesign of the vacant land. An international competition about the redevelopment of the ring-like shaped land, after completion known as "Ringstrasse" was held in 1858.

by a call back to Vienna where the Royal Court assigned him in 1883 the foundation of a similar school, the Imperial School of Applied Arts (Kaiserlich und koenigliche Staatsgewerbeschule).

The period in Vienna was the most fruitful time in Sitte's life as an intellectual with a multitude of interests and for creativity in his writings. A countless number of newspaper articles and papers was published throughout the whole spectrum of art and were not at all limited to the subject of city planning. It seems that none of his publications logically led the path to his latter publication of "Der Staedte-Bau...". There is no evidence that the origins of the book lay in his writings and lecture series but it was suggested that the experiences he collected during extensive travels through Austria, Germany, France, and Italy were the driving force to his revolt against the city planning practice of the time.

In 1889 "Der Staedte-Bau..." was published, and the response was unexpectedly enthusiastic throughout Europe. Suddenly Sitte was merely not the architect and art school administrator anymore but an internationally acclaimed figure. He was called to serve as expert in numerous juries and the European town planning world became acquainted with his theories. Invitations to prepare plans for Melbourne and Adelaide in Australia followed. The city governments of Hamburg, Germany, and San

Francisco called for his advice about the placement of monuments.

Over the following years Sitte's ties to Germany became stronger than to any other country, especially through the time of successful collaboration with Joseph Stuebben and Reinhard Baumeister but he never accepted any planning offers from a foreign country. However, he stayed very active up to his early death and prepared for a second volume to his successful book. City Planning * According to Economical and Social Principles remained a collection of fragmented notes. Sitte, jointly with Theodor Goecke, founded a monthly journal which first appeared in Berlin in 1903 shortly after Sitte's death. Many articles and designs by Sitte which have not been included in "Der Staedte-Bau..." were published in the journal throughout the following years. At the very beginning of this century, the periodical Der Staedtebau which was not exclusively devoted to esthetics but also to economic, engineering, and social aspects of planning enjoyed probably wider recognition than Sitte's book.

The transformed lifestyle placed heavy demands on his energies. Camillo Sitte died on November 16, 1903 in Vienna at the age of 60 years.

Work

In order to demonstrate Sitte's variety of interests and to emphasize that "Der Staedte-Bau..." was not his

single accomplishment, the following pages provide a brief abstract of his work.

A. Buildings

With his first work, the Mechitaristen church (see Appendix A: Figure 2) in Vienna, Sitte demonstrated his philosophy about the unity of the arts. It took him from 1873 until 1900 to complete this church because he combined the tasks of the architect, construction supervisor, contractor, sculptor, stucco artist, and the painter within one person. For over a quarter of a century after completion of the exterior walls and roof, Sitte designed every detail of the interior, including frescos, woodwork, and plaster work by himself.

In 1883 he won an architecture competition for the design of a parish church in Temesvar (Hungary) in the Renaissance style.

The hunting lodge for Count Colloredo-Mansfeld (completed 1891) close to Zbirow (Bohemia) ought to be mentioned here, because Sitte produced not only detailed drawings for each style element but also models in the scale of 1:1.

The city and church officials of Oderfurth-Privoz (see Appendix A: Figure 3) commissioned Sitte 1894 to design a new town hall, a church and a parish house as well as a layout plan for the small community. With this project, completed in 1899, Sitte was able to apply one of

his theories in practice, that being the placement of buildings within a city. As the plan shows could Sitte avoid symmetry and a layout of straight streets. In doing this he achieved to enhance enclosure (main square) and vistas (approach on the streets leading to the main square).

B. Plans

Among a variety of plans for the cities of Teschen (1892), Reichenberg (1901), Maehrisch Ostrau and Marienberg (1903), and Laibach (1895), the extension plan for Olmuetz (1894), Czechoslovakia deserves special attention (see Appendix A: Figure 4).

The fortification walls, as in most cities in Europe at that time were also demolished in Olmuetz. This created the need for an extension plan which was assigned to Camillo Sitte. He proposed new residential and commercial areas but left the old town center unchanged. In the Southeast of the town a park with the average width of 150 meters had to serve as a buffer between the industrial area and the residential areas. A strip of high income single family housing with a width of 30 meters represented a transition zone between green open space and commercial and multi-family residential developments. The shape of the blocks is characteristic and later used as model for other cities. A typical block had rectangular form with the dimensions of 200 meters

length by 40 meters width. In using this particular layout Sitte attempted to keep the backyards open from future development.³

In his plan for Laibach (Ljubljana), Slovenia, (see Appendix A: Figure 5), he incorporated his theories about townscape as discussed in his book:

People should always find their way in the city and shall never lose orientation of where they are. Therefore the city needs focal points which must be easily visible. These focal points may either be architectural structures or natural elements. The city shall also be divided into several sectors of different functions with very clear defined boundaries. These sectors shall be interlinked with each other by joints.⁴

Both, the plan for Laibach as well as the plan for Olmuetz were implemented. A third plan which deserves attention is the plan for Marienberg (see Appendix A: Figure 6) which due to Sitte's death could never be realized. This plan was also laid out according to his theories including enclosed plazas, no crossroads, alternating street widths, avenues, and provisions for parks, playgrounds and exercising fields.

³Due to a severe shortage of housing in the 19th century, many backyards were commonly used for additions to the main building and subsequently lost their recreational and sanitary purpose.

⁴Camillo Sitte: *Das Wien der Zukunft*. Monatsblaetter des wissenschaftlichen Klubs, 1891. p. 3.

In order to demonstrate that Sitte was more than a romantic dreamer and esthetic, we need only look at his plan for Marienthal (see Appendix A: Figure 7). It happened that Sitte before the layout of the plan, for the first time conducted a simple economical feasibility study based on statistical data which he collected himself. Marienthal was meant to be a near-city recreational second home village on the shore of a projected reservoir. After a thorough comparative survey he came to the conclusion that 300 plats and single family homes are the minimum number in order to justify public services and infrastructure, a community center, a harbor, stores, and a community park.⁵ Unfortunately Marienthal was never realized, and his feasibility analysis not tested since the dam and reservoir have not been built.

C. Publications

Superficially viewed, Sitte was not a very productive man. A few buildings and the publication of one book, "Der Staedte-Bau..." are the commonly well known accomplishments of his life. It took a long time for the public to realize that it was Sitte who stood behind the

⁵Sitte studied 200 villages in the vicinity of the projected Marienthal and collected statistical data about single family house constructions, and by means of comparison he analyzed the demand for second homes.

variety of numerous articles and papers about planning, architecture, or art. Only the appearance of the book called attention to all the other writings of Sitte.

In order to understand Sitte's personality and his broad spectrum of interests, it is necessary to look at his publications. These writings can be divided into two groups, being those which deal with architecture and city planning, and those which are on art and other subjects. Especially the latter appeared mostly in newspapers, a fact that made it hard for heirs, executor, and researchers to locate them after his death.⁶ Following is a selection of titles:

Publications on architecture and city planning:

City Green.⁷ About Old and New Cities in Regard to the Placement of Monuments.⁸ The Modernism in Architecture and in the Arts and Crafts.⁹ City Extension and Tourism.¹⁰ The Extension of Vienna.¹¹

⁶According to the Camillo Sitte Foundation and the Archive is the list of publications by far not yet complete.

⁷Der Lotse 1901

⁸Zeitschrift de Oesterreichischen Ingenieur und Architektenvereins, Wien 1889.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Neues Wiener Tagblatt, Dec. 6, 1891

¹¹Ibid., Jan. 22, 1885

Publications on art and other subjects:

Painting Techniques in Greek Sculpturing.¹² About the French Welfare State System.¹³ The Operetta.¹⁴ Wagner's Lohengrin.¹⁵

Lecture series supplemented his writings. Some of his topics were Richard Wagner and the German Art; Basic Forms in Furniture Design; The Annexation Law and the Site Plan; etc.

It is apparent that Sitte was equally intrigued by music, painting, economy, architecture, and city planning and expressed these strong interests by means of writing. Thus it is understandable that only a small portion of his experiences and findings was summed up in his renowned book through which his international reputation was founded.

Camillo Sitte's Position in Germanic Countries

As soon as Sitte's book was published, his ideas were immediately and enthusiastically welcomed and adopted. Two months after the appearance of "Der Staedte-Bau...", a

¹²Festschrift Benndorf, Wien 1889

¹³Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Nov. 22, 1887.

¹⁴Neues Wiener Tagblatt, March 21, 1874.

¹⁵Salzburger Zeitung, March 12, 1877.

second edition was necessary. Plans like those for Altona, Darmstadt, Ludwigshafen, Dessau (see Appendix A: Figure 8), Kufstein (see Appendix A: Figure 9), Wiesbaden, Mainz, and Pfersee bei Augsburg (see Appendix A: Figure 10) give witness to what extent Sittesque planning philosophy has been adopted in German and Austrian city planning practice. An explanation for his popularity may be that Austrians and Germans simply agreed with Sitte's doctrine of the importance of the human element in the idea of a city. The people were accustomed to living within their historical heritage of medieval towns and also utilized their public spaces (streets, city squares) as the center of social life. With his suggestions for future town development, Sitte merely expressed a view in city planning which was later supported by the majority of planners and city officials. When "Der Staedte-Bau..." appeared, the time of large scale city extensions in Europe was still in force. That is the reason why Sitte's influence showed immediate results in practical application.

S. D. Adshead on the other hand, explains the reasons for Sitte's popularity as a result of the Germans' longing for new impulses in planning when he states:

When we remember that Germany was, through the war of 1870, isolated from the great architectural traditions of France, we can understand how fertile

was the soil for the reception of Camillo Sitte's ideals.¹⁶

Contrary to Adshead, G. and C. Collins believe that Sitte had such an impact on Germany because of certain nationalistic tendencies at this time. Not only were the people tired of "straight lines", but also of importing trends from non-germanic countries. Certainly Baron Haussmann's plan for Paris (see section 3) was highly influential all over Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century but at the same time it fertilized the soil for an upcoming controversy about city planning practice. Haussmann and his successors defended in the following years the formal, Sitte and his successors the informal school of city planning. Therefore Sitte's new theories were publicized just at the right time.

A group of important Germans needs to be mentioned since the professional world of Germany was the most enthusiastic receptor of Sitte's theories. Naturally these people stand for a much larger audience of admirers.

Carl Henrici, an architecture professor taught theory of esthetics in city building in Aachen. He was so inspired by Sitte that he based his plans for two planning competitions on Sitte's artistic principles. Both, the entry of an extension plan for Dessau (see Appendix A:

¹⁶S. D. Adshead. Sitte and Le Corbusier. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1930. p. 86

Figure 8), and the entry for the extension of Munich (1893) won prizes and were carried out. Theodor Fischer, the chief city planner of Munich, supervised the implementation of Henrici's plan for Munich. Fischer also taught at the Technical Universities of Stuttgart and Munich. Among his students were several individuals who later became famous architects and planners. Among them were Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut, J. J. P. Oud, and Paul Bonatz. Walter Gropius, Berlin born architect, planner, and teacher founded the "Bauhaus" in 1919. During World War II he came to the United States and held an appointment as professor of architecture at Harvard University. In 1938 he became chairman of the department of architecture. Aside from his architectural work, Gropius (together with Marcel Breuer) was responsible for the layout of New Kensington Housing, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1941.¹⁷ Fischer, who was also one of the founding fathers of the "Deutscher Werkbund" was one of the greatest admirers of Sitte's work and considered him to be

¹⁷New Kensington Housing was built as a defense housing project for workers of the neighboring aluminum factory. The site plan can be described as an unsuccessful attempt of organic planning. The layout is defined by winding roads and cul-de-sacs but lacks any esthetics in its spacial arrangement. However, with this project, Gropius deviated from his usual rigid language of design.

"the father of modern city planning."¹⁸ Another most important follower of Sitte was Joseph Stuebben, the publisher of the monumental Handbuch des Staedtebaus¹⁹ (Handbook of City Building). Stuebben "recognized the epoch making character of Sitte's ideas"²⁰ and had worked Sitte's principles into the fabric of the Handbuch. As an expert who sought international reputation, Stuebben delivered papers about city planning at several International Housing and Town Planning conferences in London, at the Congress of Public Art in Brussels, and at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. With Reinhard Baumeister, who is considered one of the founders of zoning, Sitte had a fruitful exchange of ideas. Baumeister is the author of the book Stadterweiterung in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung (City Extension, in view of technical matters, building inspection requirements and economical feasibility) from 1876. Sitte and Baumeister did not

¹⁸In the Harvard University libraries, G. and C. Collins found this quote in the English translation of Fischer's lecture on City Building from 1908.

¹⁹First Edition by Bergstraesser, Darmstadt 1890

²⁰Collins 1986: p. 91

agree on a variety of concerns in design and esthetics but shared the rejection of rectangular systems.²¹

2.2 CITY PLANNING ACCORDING TO ARTISTIC PRINCIPLES: AN ABSTRACT

During the time of research for this thesis it became apparent that despite the wide recognition of his main work "Der Staedte-Bau..." in the literature, Sitte remained relatively unknown for many American city planners or, was misinterpreted and misunderstood up to the present time. The purpose of the following abstract of "Der Staedte-Bau..." is to explain the sources and justifications of his theories and to serve as a reference source for the clarification of various interpretations, both positive and negative, within the main argumentative sections four and five.

Many Sitte researchers have tried to find a reason why he ever became motivated to write the book. As apparent in the previous chapter 2.1, there does not seem to be a straight avenue leading from his other

²¹Baumeister preferred the free standing object (church, public building, monument) in contrary to Sitte who strongly objected the current practice of clearing out surrounding objects just to make one, the remaining, building look more prominent.

publications and architectural work to the artistic principles. Extensive travels to those countries (Austria, Germany, France, and Italy) and cities he used as his examples, admiration of the Classical, the Baroque, the Renaissance, and Medieval styles in city building were suggested by some authors to be the driving force for Sitte to publish the book. Analyzing the prefaces to the editions one, two, and three one can find Sitte's own motivation being dissatisfaction with the prevailing mode of town planning of his days. In the preface of the first edition, Sitte acknowledges the accomplishments in technical and hygienic matters, but points out openly that artistically modern town planning has achieved almost nothing. He writes:

It is the fact that ... modern majestic and monumental buildings being usually seen against the most awkward of public squares and the most badly divided lots.²²

He underlines that the book was meant to be a collection of study materials for the expert, but neither a "history of town planning nor a polemical tract."²³ It was 1889 when he wrote those lines. That not only Sitte was dissatisfied with the current practices in city planning becomes apparent in the foreword to the third

²²Collins 1986: p. 138

²³Ibid.

edition (1900) when he enthusiastically describes that the "basic idea of his book has already been vigorously put into practice since its first appearance." He continues that:

through this book city planning was given a totally new direction and that such is to its credit alone, must be corrected because a literary work can provoke such an effect only when the whole matter is already in the air.²⁴

Since there is no intention to go into lengthy detail and Sitte's writings have been available in this country since 1922²⁵ this section describes only the most important aspects of the book. The Finnish-American architect Eliel Saarinen was up to this date the only author who produced an abstract of "Der Staedte-Bau..." in his 1943 book The City: Its Growth, its Decay, its Future.²⁶ It is obvious that Saarinen knew Sitte's book in the original version since he, unlike other authors did not include discussions of chapters or passages which were added later in the French translation from 1902 which for a long time served as the source to the subject in

²⁴Collins 1986: p. 139

²⁵Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets. Civic Art. New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1922. Hegemann and Peets included a translation of parts of Sitte's book in their publication Civic Art. See a discussion of their book in section 4.

²⁶Eliel Saarinen. The City: Its Growth, its Decay, its Future. New York: Reinhold Publishing Co., 1943

non-germanic countries. It was also Saarinen who wrote "A Note on Camillo Sitte", the introduction to the first English translation by Charles T. Stewart from 1945.

These qualities make it justifiable to use Saarinen's division of Sitte's town building philosophy into three parts, each of which being of basic importance.

"First Sitte emphasized the informal nature of the Classical and Medieval mode of town building. Second he emphasized the coherent organisms of these towns which was achieved through proper correlation of building units and third, he stressed the formation of plazas and streets into organic and spatial enclosures."²⁷

Despite, or even because Sitte, like any architect at this time was educated in the philosophy of formality in city design, he favored informal freedom of design (see Appendix A: Figures 11&12) as the highest value in city building throughout his entire life. The Greek and medieval towns seem to appear irregular and randomly grown. He stresses the idea that immediate reasons can often be easily found. Topography, a former important roadway, a river, a group of trees etc. are some of the "natural" reasons which made the ancients build their cities in what today appears irregular. Sitte favors irregularity because it is not only natural and organic but also picturesque. Examples of Greece and Rome underline this theory since both cultures when they

²⁷Saarinen 1943: p. 118

erected respectively the Acropolis and the Forum Romanum were at the peak of their cultural development but did not design their cities according to formalistic laws and symmetry.

On every page Camillo Sitte's book is a spirited exposure of that inartistic fake symmetry and thoughtless formalism of the T-square, by which gridiron, diagonal , or radial street systems have been applied to our modern cities, turning them into dreary places where it is hard or impossible to show fine buildings to advantage. Even the better productions of the system of T-square geometry which he was fighting appeared unsuitable to him for architectural development by an artist.²⁸

Sitte admired how our ancestors have respected topography, former roadways, and other natural obstacles and assets in their city development but it seems that Sitte was not aware of the contradiction of these two notions, being that the respect of nature and history also contains traces of formal design thought and does not totally represent the freedom of creative expression.

The second of Sitte's fundamental principles is that of the correlation of building units, or the relation between buildings and plazas, which seemed to be completely forgotten in the time of formal thought. With this notion Sitte emphasizes that contemporary (19th century) city planning misunderstood correlation for symmetry and style rather than for a "universal law". In

²⁸Hegemann and Peets 1922: p. 18ff.

various examples it is demonstrated how buildings can properly relate to plazas as well as to each other. Sitte points out how the people in former times understood to avoid boredom and monotony so characteristic of 19th century city planning, by grouping buildings in a variety that allowed creative freedom and produced in the following a creative town pattern. Complaining about the current situation of plazas being used as parking lots, Sitte demonstrates that in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance town squares were used for community life. This different functional use he explains through the existence of a "rapport between square and surrounding public buildings."²⁹ The lack of artistic relationship between buildings and plazas is for Sitte the problem of modern city building. Statues, monuments, colonnaded agoras, and provisions for fresh markets and quiet areas -- present in old times -- promoted the vital community activities on public squares (see Appendix A: Figure 13).

The relation between the visual appearance of structures and plazas and their effect on people's behavior is commented by Saarinen when he states:

Every town development emerged indigenously from local conditions and from the psychology of its people. Therefore when Sitte undertook his study it became a psychoanalytical examination

²⁹Collins 1986: p. 154

of the human aspect and its architectural expression.³⁰

Another feature in Sitte's spatial model is enclosure (see Appendix A: Figure 14). A decidedly enclosed quality of space is the "most important and essential prerequisite of any artistic effect."³¹ In chapter three he emphasizes the mutualities of a plaza (or public square) with the room of a building and states that a "merely unbuilt piece of ground is not yet a plaza."

Just as there are furnished and empty rooms, so one might also speak of furnished and unfurnished plazas, since the main requirement for a plaza as for a room, is the enclosed character of space.³²

Hence as with buildings, planning of plazas ought to be as well creative organization of all the problems, technical human, and esthetic. Eliel Saarinen is of the opinion that

although the planning of buildings and the planning of towns are two different languages they have the same grammar, so to speak. They both deal with organization of space to accommodate man.³³

In various examples Sitte analyzes plaza problems throughout Europe and repeatedly points out that

³⁰Saarinen 1943: p. 121

³¹Collins 1986: p. 170

³²Ibid.

³³Saarinen 1943: p. 123

especially in medieval towns public spaces were highest enclosed. Suggestions are made on how to raise the degree of enclosure by means of stylistic elements such as colonnades or arches. Influenced by the emergence of the school of psychoanalysis (Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler) in Vienna 1900, he finds reasoning for his theories about the advantages of spatial enclosures also in this area of science. A nervous disorder, "agoraphobia," so he writes is experienced by people who walk across plazas "with their yawning emptiness and oppressive ennui", feeling a "certain anxiety and discomfort."³⁴

All this might sound highly romantic, and superficially viewed it seems as if he would have refused to cope with the present or the future. But it is a mistake to believe that he did not think about the future. Sitte was well aware that an avalanche of automobiles would break into the cities and that this fact would alter spatial requirements.³⁵ These laws are created to fit both, "form and rhythm of contemporary demands and not as a preconceived idea in mediievally narrow terms."³⁶ Saarinen continues to defend Sitte's theories and emphasizes that there are ways to find the proper answer

³⁴Collins 1986: p. 183

³⁵Compare with Sitte's chapter on "Modern Systems".

³⁶Saarinen 1943: p. 125f.

to the space problem in accordance with Sitte's fundamental laws of town building. He further suggests that this is just as possible as

one is able to design buildings to satisfy the present augmented demands for air, light and space, and yet to do it in accordance with those same fundamental laws of architecture which guided even the medieval builder in his narrow space.³⁷

It seems to be appropriate at this point to elaborate some more on Sitte's opinion about the gridiron system which was once famous in Europe and continues to be applied in America as a most effective mode of spatial arrangement. As Peets expresses in his article "Famous Town Planners", "The gridiron he (Sitte) thinks of it as a necessary evil."³⁸ The following is a selection of reasons why Sitte opposed the common practice of the gridiron design in such a radical fashion:

No respect of the natural lines of traffic, topography, rivers and soil condition;

Disturbance of the traffic flow due to countless four-way intersections. Pedestrians suffer inconveniences since they are forced to cross streets more frequently;

Because of the increased number of streets, the gridiron manifests a waste of land and hence a waste in economical terms.

Since public buildings are free standing objects in the gridiron system, all four facades have to

³⁷Saarinen 1943: p. 125f.

³⁸Elbert Peets. Famous Town Planners. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1927. p. 251

be expensively designed (the ancients exercised more economical understanding by covering up three sides of their public buildings by adjacent buildings);

Plazas lack spatial enclosure due to four cutting through streets which destroys the uniformity of its appearance;

Plazas as well as streets are exposed to wind and dust since straight lines induce a channelization of the wind;

Gridiron does not allow for a great variety in grouping of buildings which can easily lead to boredom in the appearance of the city;

Lack of orientation devices. Due to the monotony even residents, if not permanently alert, are highly endangered to getting lost.³⁹

In conclusion it can be said that through the book:

Sitte for the first time radically challenges a-priori abstract city planning which comes off the drafting board, and points out its failure to take concrete experience into account. Thus he stresses the existential value of space and defines what might be called a behavioral space. His investigation into esthetic value in city planning should not be confused with the numerous contemporary tendencies toward two dimensional pictorial effects.⁴⁰

Choay attacks all those designs which were created to serve merely the abstract delight and amusement of the architects than any serious purpose for their users.

Many blame Sitte that all the examples he used to reinforce his theories are materials from the past; but

³⁹Camillo Sitte. Das Wien der Zukunft. Monatsblaetter des wissenschaftlichen Club. Jan. 15, 1891

⁴⁰Francoise Choay. The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century. New York: Braziller, 1969. p. 105f.

was it not the contemporary mode of city planning that he attacked and tried to change? It just so happened that he found all the justifications for this attempt already existing in Greek, Roman, Medieval, Baroque, or Renaissance town patterns. Saarinen advocated this opinion by quoting Sitte, that, "it is not a preconceived idea of this research to recommend so called picturesque beauty of old towns for modern purposes." Saarinen explains Sitte's words in that way, that:

it was not his aim to utilize medieval examples to illustrate how towns of his time should have been built, but to explain those principles which in earlier times consciously or subconsciously influenced civic efforts toward organic coherence.⁴¹

The impact of "Der Staedte-Bau..." was not limited to Germanic countries. The following sub-section provides information about the successive translations of Sitte's book into several other languages.

⁴¹Saarinen 1943: p. 132

2.3 A HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF "DER STAEDTE-BAU..."

Reviewing the early American and English literature it is noticeable that there exists a number of misconceptions and misinterpretations of Sitte's city building principles. In order to understand these differences in interpretation a short abstract about the translations of "Der Staedte-Bau..." might be helpful.

As mentioned in previous sections, "Der Staedte-Bau..." was such a success that it had to be reprinted only a month after its first appearance in May 1889 (see Appendix A: Table 15). The third German edition appeared in 1901 in Leipzig and Vienna and underwent no changes. Some minor adjustments of the visual material were made in the fourth edition from 1909 and as a positive response to Camille Martin's French translation which appeared earlier, the chapter "Greenery within the City" was added posthumously by Sitte's sons. The fifth and last German edition appeared in 1922 as an updated fourth version. The photographic material was modernized and the foreword rewritten.

The following is a compilation of the translations of
 "Der Staedte-Bau...":

<u>Language</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Editor/Translator.</u>
Spanish	1926 Barcelona	Emilio Canosa
	1980 Barcelona	Reprint; R. Barba
Russian	1925 Moscow	P. A. Mamatov
French	1902 Geneva	Camille Martin
	1918 Geneva	Camille Martin
	1980 Paris, Milan	Daniel Wieczorek
Serbo- Croatian	1967 Belgrade	Dorde Tabakovic
Italian	1953 Milan	Luigi Dodi
English	1945 New York	Charles Stewart
	1965 London, New York	G. and C. Collins
	1986 New York	G. and C. Collins
Swedish	1982 Stockholm	Goeran Sidenblad
Japanese	1968 Tokyo	Toshio Ohishi

Certainly the most important translation of "Der Staedte-Bau..." was Camille Martin's L' Art de Batir les Villes. Notes et Reflexions d'un Architecte traduites et completees par Camille Martin from 1902. It was this French edition which introduced Sitte to the non-germanic countries and also served as the reference for translations into other languages. Unfortunately it was also the translation which has deviated most from the original. Starting with the title, "The Art of Building Cities. Notes and Reflections of an Architect, Translated and Completed by Camille Martin" it is clearly evident that this is a completely different book. Since Martin was Swiss, the book appeared in the French speaking part of Switzerland in the city of Geneva. Martin, an architect himself, was assisted by Friedrich Puetzer who

had been a student of Carl Henrici. Puetzer is the author of Sittesque plans such as for the cities of Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, and Mainz. Despite the detailed knowledge Martin and Puetzer had about Sitte's principles, they, as they put it, completed "Der Staedte-Bau..." in their translation in order to make it easier and more understandable for the French reader. Collins and Collins state that the 1902, and more so the 1918 edition have altered the original text into a French setting due to nationalistic reasons and to ease application to French cities.⁴² In replacing the original Austrian (especially Viennese) and German examples by French and Belgian ones, Martin tailored the principles to a more French taste. Also many drawings were replaced by other city planners' drawings like by those of Stuebben.

In 1900, Sitte published an article about "Greenery within the City" in the Hamburg weekly magazine Der Lotse: Hamburgische Wochenschrift fuer deutsche Kultur. Two years later this article appeared, in an extremely condensed and summarized form, in Martin's publication.⁴³ Another addition to the original was the chapter about

⁴²Collins 1986: p. 79f.
Note the notorious rivalry between France and Germany.

⁴³As stated before, Sitte's sons took up the idea and included the entire article as a chapter in the fourth German edition (1909).

"Streets" which was not even written by Sitte. It is suggested that Joseph Stuebben was partially responsible of the said article. This chapter has been subject to many attacks against Sitte since Martin unproportionately favored and advocated the winding, crooked street layout over the straight line. The final liberty by Martin that needs mentioning at this point is that he overemphasized the medieval element at cost of the original's elaborations on the Baroque style.

Undoubtedly, Camille Martin's translation can be blamed for most of the misunderstandings of Sitte's theories abroad. There exists general agreement among those who know the original text in German that the French versions from 1902 and 1918 are more subjective interpretations than accurate translations.

It took until 1945 until "Der Staedte-Bau..." was translated into the English language. Long before that a very accurate Russian edition from 1925 was published by P. A. Mamatov who, in his foreword emphasizes the importance of esthetics at a time when cities underwent and presently are undergoing mayor transformation. The book of Emilio Canosa from 1926 is a very exact translation of Sitte's last edition into Spanish. Charles T. Stewart, a former director of the Urban Land Institute, translated "Der Staedte-Bau..." into English in 1945. He worked very closely from the French text but stayed with the original first editions by omitting the later added

chapters "Streets" and "Greenery within the City." In the 1960's, George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins concentrated their attention on Camillo Sitte and published a new translation with accompanying comments and interpretations of "Der Staedte-Bau..." The chapters "Streets" and "Greenery within the City" are also included. When the book appeared in 1965 it was the most thorough study of Sitte, his life, and his work on the American market. However, their assessment of Sitte's importance in modern city planning seems slightly overdrawn since they neglected to stronger criticize on Sitte's relative one-sidedness. The 1986 publication The Birth of Modern City Planning again by Collins and Collins is an updated 1965 version and represents the most valuable resource published in English.

As long as 23 years passed between Hegemann and Peets' introduction of Sitte's principles to this country and the first rather accurate and complete translation by Charles Stewart. Civic Art is a manual detailing various aspects of design. It deals with architecture, the spacial arrangement of buildings, site design, and art and esthetics in city building. In form of graphics, photographs, and examples from past and present, the book teaches the reader how to artistically and functionally design cities or elements of these. A thorough and very detailed discussion of Camillo Sitte's theories is included in Civic Art.

3. HAUSSMANN AND LE CORBUSIER:

TWO ANTIPODES TO SITTE

The previous sections have suggested that Sitte's theories were a reaction to current planning practices in Europe in the mid 1800's. Baron Georges Haussmann was one of the role models the entire planning world looked up to. With his plan for Paris he had an enormous influence upon Europe. It is also safe to say that traces of his ideas can be found in the 1901 McMillan Plan for Washington D.C. Since Haussmann followed a very formal and rigid direction in his plan, his theories were in clear opposition to those of Sitte.

Le Corbusier, the other antipode to Sitte discussed in this section, followed a formal and stylistic direction as well. Le Corbusier's message was to break with history, and replace old traditional forms with new ideas. De-congestion, symmetry, accommodation of traffic, vast green spaces and community areas were some of his proposals for the planning of cities. Le Corbusier was born shortly before Sitte's death, but notwithstanding, he was one of the most aggressive critics of Sitte's "romanticism".

This section is laid out to help in clarifying the reasons why there ever arose the need for a different approach to city planning. It is also designed in such a

fashion as to draw a picture of the reactions to Sitte's principles.

In the year 1853, after the passage of a public law in France regulating health, expropriation, and building codes, an outstanding city rebuilding program for Paris was initiated by Louis Napoleon. It was the French Emperor himself who laid out a new pattern for Paris consisting of monumental plazas and wide unbroken lines of streets. Georges Haussmann, Prefect de la Seine (Paris and environs) from 1853 until 1870 was assigned to carry out the plan and combine Napoleon's proposals to a functional whole. He focused his plan on the improvement of road connections inside the crowded medieval city core as well as to the outer districts with the goal of keeping the central facilities of the service sector in the city center. He intended to achieve this by reducing the coverage intensity and a simultaneous development of residential areas in the outskirts. It should be borne in mind that Paris was the fastest growing city in France at this time and sanitary problems, and problems of civic safety forced the municipal government officials to radical actions.

Haussmann originally was not a town builder. He was more or less forced into this role. "He considered only a

few problems in the entire field of civic problems."¹ Most of the writers in the literature agree that he was more of an administrator and executor than a visionary planner; with great continuity and by being one who refused to compromise, he achieved the results which were expected from him.

Before Haussmann's plan was implemented Paris was divided into several units which barely had any communication with each other. There was not one metropolitan area -- the city was split up into various sections. It was Haussmann's accomplishment to introduce the notion of the unity of a city. Due to an enormous in-migration Paris suffered from overcrowding. The plan solved many of the connected problems. From the rebuilding of Paris the Emperor expected a future avoidance of riots since the narrow streets and alleys had facilitated the barricades during the revolution. Breaking lines through the city seemed for him to be the appropriate remedy to assure future control over Paris. However, it was not necessarily the safety issue, where the particular emphasis of Louis Napoleon lay, but the sanitary, social, and economical issues which Haussmann intended to solve. High priority was given to communication lines and accessibility. This had the

¹Saarinen 1943: p. 129

effect that vast areas were demolished without guilt, or sentiment for the old and traditional. "Through designing a circulatory system and opening a system of ventilation" an improvement in the traffic flow was accomplished.² Wide arteries, the boulevards, solved some problems of air and light and safety. The attempt to create more green spaces and park lands failed and even despite the plan, the areas for open air recreation were substantially reduced in their dimension.

For a long time Haussmann was "misunderstood as destructive" and as an "Attila of the straight line" who vandalized the medieval core of a city but Paris of today which attracts citizens as well as tourists is largely his creation.³ "For Haussmann esthetics are actually secondary, coming as a belated attempt to embellish streets which he had not originally laid out for reasons of beauty".⁴ Haussmann implemented an example of town building which, despite its safety, traffic, and economic orientation did not "force a strange theoretical, and preconceived layout on the city but was based on existing

²Choay 1969: p. 17

³Ibid., p. 15

⁴Ibid., p. 19

conditions and the "spirit of Paris" (see Appendix B: Figures 16&17).⁵

The Swiss architect, Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret) stands for a radically different school of planning. His theories and practices were most contrary to what Sitte suggested to be the better rules for city planning. He advocated progress and breaking with old fashioned traditions and favored open and airy cities over the philosophy of containment which was represented by Sitte. Le Corbusier combined the skills of an architect with those of a planner, a sculptor, and a painter. Sitte died when the Swiss was only six years of age but his principles remained an important part of the literature up to the time when Le Corbusier entered into a professional life. The Swiss was one of the most radical and consistent critics of Sitte's principles despite the fact that in his early years, he showed some interesting similarities to those he opposed.⁶ However, in 1924 he

⁵Saarinen 1943: p. 129

⁶Collins and Collins have found a publication by Allen H. Brooks who describes his discovery of writings and drawings of Le Corbusier from 1910 which clearly show similar opinions about streets (the chapter which was added by Martin in the French version of "Der Staedte-Bau..."). From the manuscript it also becomes apparent that Sitte and Le Corbusier shared their dislike for the American gridiron system (Collins and Collins 1986).

was inspired by "Der Staedte-Bau..." to put Sitte's ideas down by stating:

I read Camillo Sitte, the Viennese writer, and was affected by his insidious pleas in the direction of the picturesque in Town Planning. Sitte's demonstrations were clever, his theories seemed adequate, they were based on the past, and in fact ~~were~~ the past, but a sentimental past on a small and pretty scale, like the little wayside flowers.⁷

and continues that:

...the author confounded the picturesque with the conditions vital to the existence of the city.⁸

Referring to Le Corbusier's book Urbanisme, S. D. Adshead thinks that he "regards the past as a confused medley of scatter-brained men. He divides men into those who meander along zig zag lines like pack donkeys, and those who walk in straight line."⁹ In his book City of To-morrow and its Planning, he elaborates on his feelings about the straight line when he writes: "When man begins to draw straight lines he bears witness that he has gained

⁷Le Corbusier 1947: p. xxv
The city of To-morrow and its planning is the English version of the 1924 published Urbanisme

⁸Ibid., p. 8
 Note that Le Corbusier used the previously discussed version Camille Martin's as the source he based his Sitte criticism on.

⁹Adshead 1930: p. 91

control of himself and that he has reached a condition of order."¹⁰

Since Le Corbusier disregards the curve as something that brings about sickness and death he frequently complained that all the great European capitals are built along the pack donkeys way and that the cities lack broad arteries and consist of a prevailing network of capillaries instead. In his book one can find how much Le Corbusier's opinion on the gridiron concept has changed over the years. Here, in 1925, he praises the Americans for their predominant city pattern and states "That's the way to do it."¹¹ Additionally to his exceptional architecture, the Swiss also created several plans for cities. The utopian "Ville Radieuse" and "Ville Contemporaine" (see Appendix B: Figures 18,19,&20), the "Voisin Plan" for Paris, and the plan for Chandigarh, India, were some of his renowned projects. All these layouts show somewhat similar elements. Symmetry and order, high rise office buildings, vast green ("natural") areas, a three level street system (underground, level, elevated, according to its rank), and a mass transit system of subway and tram lines. "The residences, great or small, are 'machines a vivre', machines for living just

¹⁰Le Corbusier 1947: p. 37

¹¹Adshead 1930: p. 91f.

as the skyscrapers are machines for exchange and the streets are machines for traffic."¹²

Le Corbusier's theories require an enormous amount of discipline from the people who want to live or work in these cities. That humans are not able to comply with his invention of living units (unités d'habitation) composed of shopping streets at the main floor and cells (cellules), the apartments, is testified in the 1947 constructed "Marseille Block" which today shows strong signs of decay.

"Sitte has shown us that there are principles of city building other than those which result in the execution of a preconceived plan."¹³ Le Corbusier on the other hand

lays down the principles of planning and pre-vision, but he expects too much of human beings... He makes no allowances for the passions and weaknesses of humanity which, after all, add so much to the interest and charm of life.¹⁴

Le Corbusier's theories about city planning found many followers and were utilized all over the world up to the early 1970's. Socialistic totalitarian systems continued to employ similar rules of units and cells in

¹²Percival and Paul Goodman. Communitas. Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. p. 27

¹³Adshead 1930: p. 93f.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 94

their city planning practice even up into the eighties but his slogan "freedom through order" today does not quite seem applicable anymore.¹⁵

Sitte, like Le Corbusier more a city builder than a planner, seems presently slightly out of date as well when he praises the informal element in planning practice, but at least he provided within his principles for more space and individualism for the human being.

In conclusion can be said that Haussmann and Le Corbusier with their theories about city planning were truly opponents to Sitte's ideals. Haussmann as well as Le Corbusier advocated patterns which allowed for free flow of traffic and accessibility. For Haussmann, streets and squares were not thought to be centers of social community life. These new lines cutting through Paris served as arteries for traffic, and as a means of ventilation which additionally provided improvements in terms of defense. Squares were laid out for similar reasons. Their function was the expression of power through monumentality and the accommodation of parades.

Le Corbusier's idea of a city consisted of four elements: housing, workplace, the movement in between the two, and recreation. For him the street served only the

¹⁵Ibid.

functional purpose of transporting people effectively and without delay from one point to another.

Sitte, as discussed in the previous section, saw the street and the city square as something people should enjoy as gathering place and as center of social life. Contrary to Haussmann and Le Corbusier he strongly opposed the practice of sacrificing the scarce public spaces of cities to traffic needs.

4. THE PASSAGE TO AMERICA

This thesis in general, and this section in particular, are based on a statement by Eliel Saarinen, the Finnish-American architect and planner, who was perhaps one of Sitte's most adherent contemporary followers. He stated in his 1943 book, The City: Its Growth, its Decay, its Future:

Everyone concerned with modern civic problems, whether he admits it or not, has been influenced directly or indirectly, willingly or unwillingly. Even those who disregard his ideas and see in them only old fashioned romance, are considerably indebted to him for much of what they are able to accomplish themselves, no matter how extreme their viewpoints.¹

With certain limitations, it is easy to agree with the above mentioned statement. Those who knew about Sitte have certainly spent some time considering the importance of those principles for their own work. However, Saarinen's opinion can only apply to those who had access to Sitte's book.

It is unfortunate Sitte's book was not available in English translation until 1945. Clearly this impeded his direct influence upon the American planning community at large. However, the influence of other persons embracing his theories introduced his ideals to America a long time

¹Saarinen 1943: p. 132

before he himself enjoyed widespread familiarity. This is not to say that Sitte's message reached America in its entirety and originality. Only Peets and Hegemann and Saarinen covered in their books the majority of his theories. Others, like Mumford and Geddes as the following text shows, limited their discussions only to some aspects of Sitte's teachings.

A Gantt chart at the end of this section graphically shows the most important events in the English speaking literature in the timespan between 1889 and 1945.

The following text shall give answers on how Sitte's principles managed to reach recognition in this country.

4.1 THE TRANSMITTERS TO AMERICA

It seems to be almost impossible to find a straight line of events leading to the introduction of his ideals in the U.S. Clearly an important role by the introduction was played by British writers. By treating Sitte in their publications , at least the quite significant language barrier was overcome. Raymond Unwin with his 1909 book Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs,² and Patrick Geddes with his

²Raymond Unwin. Town Planning in Practice. London, 1909. Reprint, New York: B. Blom, 1971

1915 publication Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Cities³

must be counted as the most prominent early connoisseurs of Sitte's work. Unwin and in particular Geddes were most influential in this country, as was Lewis Mumford, who in return was a strong admirer of Geddes' theoretical approach to city planning and the aspect of human behavior in planning.

Sir Raymond Unwin was the first British architect who devoted a considerable attention in his writings to Sitte. Unwin, after entering into a partnership with Barry Parker, published several books such as The Arts of Building a Home⁴ or Nothing Gained by Overcrowding.⁵ Like a great number of people in the planning or architecture profession at this time, Unwin came under the strong influence of Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement. This influence found its expression in the creation of layouts for Letchworth (1903) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907). Sir Raymond, seen as a man with socialistic ideals, tried throughout his career to aim his planning

³Patrick Geddes. Cities in Evolution. London, 1915. Reissued, London: Williams and Norgate, 1968

⁴Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. The Art of Building a Home. London: P. S. King, 1912

⁵Raymond Unwin. Nothing Gained by Overcrowding. London: Longmans, 1901

efforts towards the provision of housing for all classes. Unwin earned reputation in the U.S. as lecturer at several universities and as the author of a low-cost-housing study for the National Association of Housing Officials (1934), a study which later served as an important reference for the New Deal planning legislation after 1935. Town Planning in Practice is the first thorough discussion of Camillo Sitte in the English language. A detailed description including maps, and illustrations explain particularly the principles concerning town centers and squares. It is unfortunate that Unwin had to use the French version as source for his discussions. This apparently had led him to the assumption that Sitte blindly condemned the straight line. He notes:

it does seem to me that they [the modern German planning school] are in danger regarding these principles as the only ones of great importance, nor do they appear to realise how far it is possible to comply with these principles in designs based upon more regular lines.⁶

The Scottish biologist Patrick Geddes was the other important promoter of Sitte's ideas in the U.S. It was Geddes' great accomplishment to lay the foundation for a more scientific way of planning. He was the one who initiated the incorporation of social and biological aspects into urban planning. Slum clearing projects and

⁶Unwin 1971: p. 112

public neighborhood parks in Scotland were his first planning efforts. Geddes was also a pioneer in advocating a tool which has not been known at this time; the application of civic survey was first tried out in Edinburgh as an early means of diagnosis of the living, economical, social, and environmental conditions of a city. Conurbation is a term which was created by Geddes.

Like Sitte, Geddes was one who, due to his resentment of authoritarian formalism and technocratic planning, disliked engineer solutions. He was one who preferred organic planning and therefore he stood in strong opposition to the Parisian model of Haussmann. Geddes recognizes Sitte's importance in the movement towards an organic approach to planning and rediscovery of the medieval in his book Cities in Evolution:

Camillo Sitte, that admirable architect of Vienna, who has done for the appreciation of the medieval city as a whole what the romantic revival did for its cathedral or town house.⁷

Geddes goes on to discuss the practice (of the 19th century) of removing all surrounding buildings from cathedrals, and other public buildings, and leaving them as sculptures in a gallery. In strong agreement with Sitte, Geddes realizes that this was not preferable as the

⁷Geddes 1968: p. 200f.

It is interesting that Sitte is thoroughly discussed in the editions of 1915 and 1968, but does not appear on the 1948 edition.

true beauty of such structures lies in the relationship to their surroundings.

But while we in British cities are still for the most part cheerfully proceeding with the removal of such characteristic minor features of the past as are necessary to isolate our monuments and set them in the midst of the incongruous and transient utilitarian ugliness of the present, it has been the great achievement of Camillo Sitte's memorable book to convince architects and art lovers generally that the antique city planners knew what they were doing better than we had ever realised, that their crowding up of the cathedral was no mere concession to the exigencies of space within a populous and small walled city but was also the very condition of its towering sublimity, the artistic enhancement of its effect.⁸

Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes shared their background in the science of biology. Unlike Mumford, Geddes applied his education in practice by teaching botany. Mumford on the other hand has never actually applied his education in the field of biology. He has, however, under influence of Geddes' teachings, utilized his skills when he wrote his first monumental work The Culture of Cities.⁹ His approach to city planning was through the sociological and ecological aspects of city life and city culture. Consequently with the ideas of Sitte and Geddes he writes in The Future of the City:

⁸Geddes 1968: p. 201f.

⁹Lewis Mumford. The Culture of Cities. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938

We must now conceive the city accordingly, not primarily as a place of business or government, but as an essential organ for expressing and actualizing the new human personality"... and that: "The innovations that beckon urgently are not in the extension and perfection of physical equipment: still less in multiplying automatic electronic devices for dispersing into formless suburban dust the remaining organs of culture". On the contrary: "significant improvements will come only through applying art and thought to the city's central human concerns.¹⁰

Additionally to the British publications the highly renowned monumental work by the German Werner Hegemann and the American architecture historian Elbert Peets appeared a few years later; Civic Art: an American Vitruvius is a book which even today serves as an important reference for all those concerned with urban design.

Werner Hegemann, born in Germany, underwent extensive education throughout several countries in Europe as well as in the U.S. Having been a student of Ernst March, an admirer of Sitte, he had authentic knowledge of the Viennese's teachings.¹¹ Hegemann was responsible for designs in California (San Francisco, East Bay, 1913-16), Pennsylvania (Wyomissing, Holland Square, 1917), and Wisconsin (Madison, Lake Forest, 1920).

¹⁰Lewis Mumford. The Future of the City. Architectural Record. New York: McGraw Hill, 1962. p. 121

¹¹Both, Ernst March and Camillo Sitte were students of Heinrich von Ferstel (see section 1).

Elbert Peets, a trained landscape architect was the co-author of Civic Art. He was educated at Harvard University. Throughout his life he maintained strong ties to the European continent and her architectural history.

According to the authors, Civic Art is a synopsis of Camillo Sitte's book. Hegemann and Peets based their entire discussion of the modern revival of civic art on Camillo Sitte's theories. Drawing parallels to the World's Columbian Exposition and its impact on city planning (City Beautiful) they point out that Sitte even today preserves value and timelessness he had when he first published his ideas; that being also true for America, "...where since about 1893 valuable contributions to civic art had been made."¹²

An assessment of the influence of Civic Art cannot be easily made since Hegemann and Peets have not been extensively discussed in the American planning literature.

The final individual who served as a transmitter of Sitte's ideas is Eliel Saarinen. Of Finnish descent, he moved to the U.S. in 1923. His city planning principles evolved from his intimate knowledge and admiration of Sitte's work. Saarinen had an enthusiastic insistence as to Sitte's influence upon the planning community

¹²Hegemann and Peets 1922: p. 9

throughout the globe. He prepared a number of plans for European, and Australian cities. Especially in his design for Munksnaes-Haga, a suburb of Helsingfors, the affinity to Sitte is evident (see Appendix C: Figure 21). Saarinen was particularly prominent in Chicago between 1920 and 1940. He is also the author of the foreword of the 1945 translation by Charles Stewart.

These treatises of Sitte in books and other print materials like those from Hooker (1904), show that his teachings were known to at least a limited number of people in expert circles more than forty years before "Der Staedte-Bau..." was translated into the American.

George Hooker, who according to Collins and Collins (1986) had intended to translate Sitte's book, agreed in his The Chicago Record Herald article: "Camillo Sitte, City Builder" with the Austrian in the necessity of esthetic values for cities.¹³ Hooker managed to draw connections between Sitte's theories about the advantages of irregularity in medieval times to Chicago at the turn of the century. He considered Chicago as a city with sufficient historic potential as to foster esthetics and picturesqueness as an important part of the city's visual appearance.

¹³The Chicago Record Herald, Jan. 15, 1904: p. 6

Hooker was not trained as a planner -- he received a law degree -- but devoted the major part of his life (1861-1939) to civic problems. He served as Secretary of the Chicago Transportation Commission and from 1905-1917 as Civic Secretary of the City Club. In the latter function he tried to win businessmen, professionals, and politicians for his goal, being the improvement of Chicago. Sitte's teachings and the importance of esthetics for cities were among his topics he frequently explained to the members of the City Club. Hooker also made himself a name as a speaker on Burnham's Plan for Chicago.

Thanks to travels in Europe, prior to his time with the newspaper, he gained deep insight into planning practice in Germany and Austria. Aside from his treaty of Sitte, he reported about the municipal reform movement on Europe.¹⁴ In this article he discusses the achievements of European municipal governments in the solution of problems such as city planning and architecture in the legal context, transportation, defortification, and property legislation by using examples of various cities in Germany and Austria.¹⁵

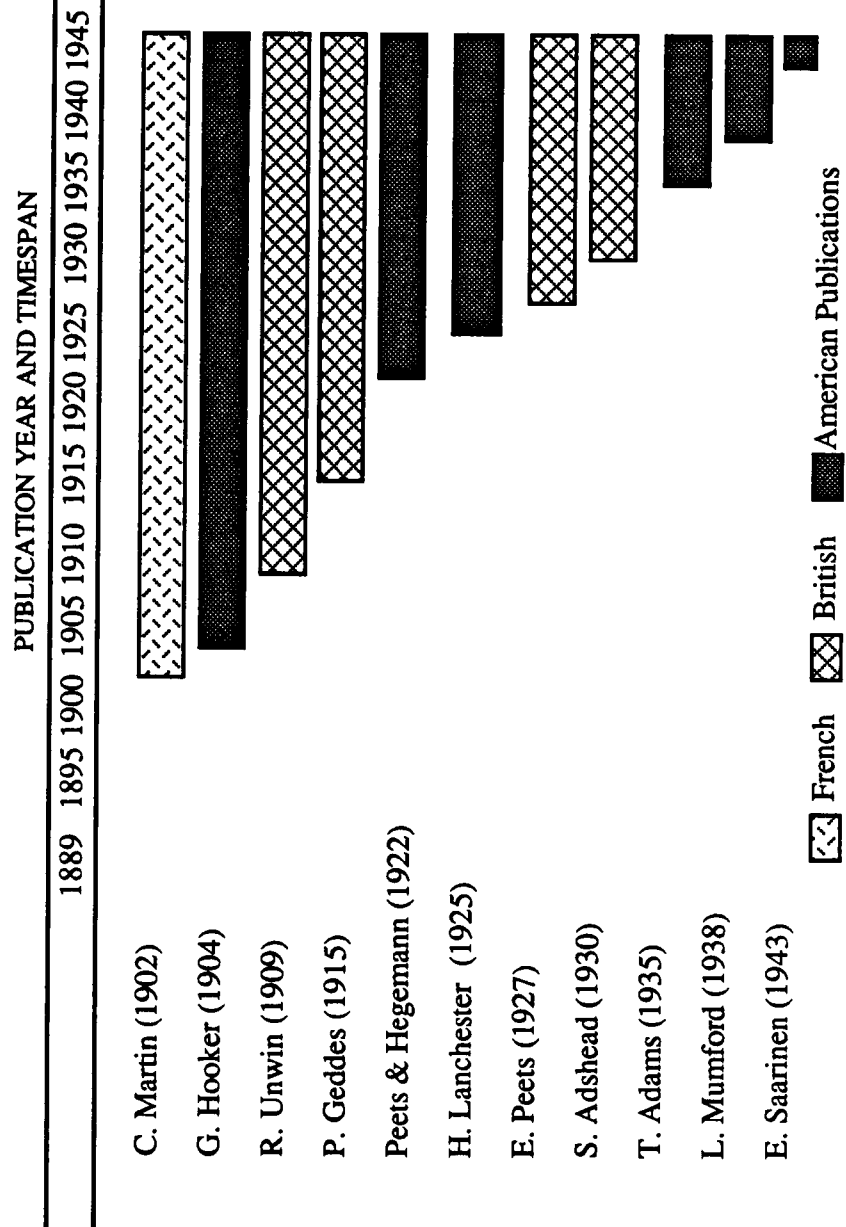
¹⁴The Chicago Record Herald, Jan. 30, 1904: p. 8

¹⁵David P. Handlin 1981: p. 76ff.
This paper by David P. Handlin is a thorough biography of George Hooker and discusses Hooker's relation to Sitte.

4.2 EARLY PUBLICATIONS ON SITTE UNDER THE TIME PERSPECTIVE

The Gantt chart on the following page is a graphical addition to the explanation of how Sitte's theories have reached America. It includes the most important publications about Sitte and shows the time span of how many years they have served as reference sources in the time period between 1889 and the first American translation in 1945. That the chart does not go beyond 1945 does not imply that these books are totally forgotten or are replaced by more recent publications. Most of these are still standard literature in research and planner's education.

TABLE 1. CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLICATIONS ON SITTE AND
TIMESPAN OF THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE U.S. BETWEEN
THE APPEARANCE OF "DER STAEDTE-BAU..." IN 1889
AND THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY STEWART



The following pages show in detail how planners and other writers expressed their opinion about Sitte and demonstrate his importance for their very own work.

5. SITTE'S RECEPTION IN AMERICA

The following section shall deal with an explanatory research effort concerning the impact of Camillo Sitte upon American Planning literature and shall also demonstrate certain parallels between his theories and the planning practice in this country in the first half of this century.

The preceding text has shown how Sitte's ideas have made the passage from Austria to Germany and France, from Germany and France to Britain and finally from there to the United States. The following provides more detailed information on how Sitte gradually gained recognition in the U.S. after his introduction by the Englishmen Geddes and Unwin and the appearance of Civic Art. The latter was undoubtedly the most important source for the distribution of the principles. This is the reason why the following literature review starts out with the year 1922 (the appearance of Civic Art) since from that time on everybody was given access to knowledge about Sitte. The selection of publications is not claimed to be complete, it simply seemed to be the appropriate choice of sources which reflect opinions and reactions on Sitte's outstanding book.

The second part of this section is devoted to a comparison of selected projects in the United States with Sitte's theories. It should be noted that the examples

cited are not to be misinterpreted as case studies in the classical sense. The author of this thesis is well aware that in urban design it is almost impossible to prove derivation with certainty. However, the study of examples allows parallels to be drawn between certain design elements and the theories of Sitte.

5.1 RESPONSES AND REACTIONS IN THE LITERATURE

In general, American literature, because of the aforementioned availability reasons, has been none too generous with its devotion of treatises upon Sitte. He does nonetheless appear with marked regularity in related works by renowned planners, many of whom readily confess his influence upon their own work. Due to an increasing number of citations of Sitte in the recent past it seems that in the 1980's there arises a stronger consciousness towards urban design and esthetics in city planning theory.

If one analyzes what has been written about Sitte, one can find that not too many writers covered the theories in their entirety. Most attention was paid by the vast majority of writers to Sitte's discussions of plazas and the arrangement of monuments and public buildings within the urban fabric. Others, like Lewis Mumford, or John Dyckman, reported almost exclusively

about what has only appeared as an appendix in the fourth edition of "Der Staedte-Bau..." from 1909, being the issue of parks and green open spaces and their importance to cities and their inhabitants. Formal versus the informal in planning finds frequent entry into the literature about Sitte throughout the past 70 years. The traffic issue and the safe arrangements of intersections is also a topic which is found in many writings about "Der Staedte-Bau...".

However, compared with other authors and theoreticians it is apparent that Sitte never had the importance he would have deserved if his theories had been introduced to this country at the time they were developed. Advocating esthetics in the 1930's, when everyone fostered the "new" and the "modern" just seemed to be a manifestation of quaintness and therefore widely considered out of date.

One of the earliest writers about Sitte (and who was published in the U.S.) was Henry Vaughan Lanchester. In The Art of Town Planning he defends both Sitte's theories and their application to modern problems. He states:

...romanticism took no hold on planning until towards the end of the nineteenth century, when it reappeared, owing to the initiative of Camillo Sitte, of Vienna in a new form, supported by very well-thought-out arguments and combined with many sound deductions as to the aesthetics of town planning. He directs his attack to characteristics of the typical Renaissance plan namely, its open treatment,

without enclosed "places", and its rigid formality on an extended scale. He only accepts the formal within limited areas, and exhibits a distinct preference for a picturesque irregularity in general treatment...¹

Here, Lanchester establishes Sitte as a true progenitor of modern romanticism but also gives him credit for his traffic solutions for intersections. Disregarding the grid system in the context of design for traffic, Lanchester agrees with Sitte's warnings that "...a number of routes gathered to one point result in danger, confusion and delay."² In discussing Sitte's employment of medieval examples versus the formal plan, Lanchester assesses his importance in favor of the Sittesque practice.

...the fact is indisputable that he and his school entirely remodeled, in most ways for the better, the practice of city planning in Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Of course the reaction overshot the mark at times, and produced affectations of the picturesque that are to obviously evident as such, but, in the main, the release from an unintelligent formalism has been a great gain, more especially where it has harmonized the lines of lay-out with the natural formation of the site and its surroundings.³

Ten years after Lanchester, Thomas Adams published Outline of Town and City Planning. Adams, of Scottish

¹H. V. Lanchester. The Art of Town Planning. New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1925. p. 81

²Ibid., p. 82

³Ibid., p. 209

descent, served in England as a Secretary for the Garden City Association, became the first manager of Letchworth and in 1923 was appointed to the directorship of the Regional Plan of New York. During his seven years in this position, he gained reputation not only as a planning consultant but also as the coauthor of a great number of books about planning in regard to the Regional Plan. In the book which is referred to, he not only utilizes Sitte for his explanation of European planning history and the issue of informality, but he also observes that Sitte has led to much imitation of picturesque arrangements of new city layouts. However, Adams recognizes that:

Camillo Sitte of Vienna, Dr. Joseph Stuebben, and other architects were prominent leaders in the movement to introduce into street planning a logical variety and picturesque arrangement, with the avoidance of rigidity of geometrical patterns.⁴

Lewis Mumford saw Sitte's importance in his being one of the first who spent thought on insulating the suburbs from through traffic. Mumford refers here to Sitte's doctrine of the medieval discontinuous street as he, Sitte, found it worthy of imitation in modern plans. In The Culture of Cities, Mumford obviously misunderstood Sitte by assuming that his theories were only meant for

⁴Thomas Adams. Outline of Town and Country Planning. New York: Russel and Sage Foundation, 1935, p. 285f.

application to the "experimental seedbed" suburb.⁵ He must have mistaken city expansion of the 19th century Europe for suburbs in the American sense of meaning.

In later publications such as The City in History, The Urban Prospect, and The Brown Decades, Mumford cited Sitte exclusively in connection to his discussions about the function of parks in the urban fabric.⁶ He agrees with Sitte that the most important function of an urban park is that of "lungs" of a city as sanitary green. In "Greenery within the City", Sitte focuses his observations on two aspects, the health aspect of parks in particular as oxygen producer, and the placement of trees and shrubbery under practical and esthetical considerations. Mumford very well points out that despite Sitte's discussions about the park, F. L. Olmsted was surpassing his theories by separating parks into different functional areas. This provided a greater variety in the usage of the park as a recreation facility for a population as a whole, suiting their different needs and expectations.

⁵Mumford 1938: p. 214

⁶Lewis Mumford. The City in History. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1961.
_____. The Urban Prospect. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1968.
_____. The Brown Decades. New York: Dover Publications, 1955.

In 1945 "Der Staedte-Bau..." appeared in an accurate American translation by Charles Stewart. Immediate reactions came in form of book reviews by Herbert W. Stevens who wrote for the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Albert Guerard, from The Nation, and Paul Zucker who produced a review for The Journal of Aesthetics & Art Criticism.

In a passionate appeal to the reader, Charles Stevens warns of a widespread application of Sitte's theories since they were "geared to a horse and buggy age."⁷ He pleads that today there were more than one, the pedestrian, scale of design namely the pedestrian, the vehicular, and the aeronautical scales. Especially in regard to the aeronautical scale the author used the example of the cloverleaf which, viewed with Sitte's eyes would not appear as an esthetic design, but seen from an airplane it would form a good picture. Stevens spends a long time ridiculing Sitte's doctrine of planning for the human scale. In a lengthy discussion he tries to develop methods of finding a way to make human scale quantitatively measurable.

To make it quantitative, the precise ratio between a line in reality and a line that exists on some constant frame of reference, perhaps on the retina of the eye, for a prescribed set of circumstances, would have to be determined.

⁷Journal of the American Institute of Planners 1946:
p. 30

Here is where architects, artists, and planners together with optometrists and eye specialists, could begin a study of the mathematics of esthetics.⁸

However, despite all the strong feelings, in the closing paragraph Stevens suggests that Sitte's principles are to be applied in cities but only there where they are suited.

A very different opinion about "Der Staedte-Bau..." is expressed by Albert Guerard, by a man who thinks of himself of a "last fossil defender of art for art's sake, in this world of Marxians, profiteers, and functionalists."⁹ Therefore he appreciates that Sitte thought of planning not as a technocratic discipline but as an art. He also agrees that Sitte's message does not stand in contrast to city efficiency and he closes his remarks with:

Our failure to grasp these "artistic fundamentals" accounts for the fact that elaborate civic centers like those of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Denver are somehow disappointing. Sitte enables us to understand that old Italian and German cities have charm, not because they are old and strange, but because they are right.¹⁰

⁸Journal of the American Institute of Planners 1946: p. 31

⁹The Nation 1946: p. 697

¹⁰The Nation 1946: p. 697

Paul Zucker sees Sitte as an "absolute must, as a counterweight to the many books on city planning which emphasize only the solution of certain modern problems"¹¹ because he thinks that aside from economical and technical aspects, also the arts have to be taken into consideration.

A contrary standpoint is taken by Siegfried Giedion in Space, Time and Architecture.¹² He feels that Sitte's theories have failed to change and reform city planning. He agrees that artistic problems nowadays are as important as the technical ones and acknowledges Sitte's detection of where the problems of cities are to be found. However, he sharply disagrees with the suggested means of improvement. Giedion regards the principles as not more than "surface reforms" since they offer no solutions whatsoever, to correct the defects of planning.¹³ He thinks that Sitte "was some kind of a troubadour, ineffectually pitting his medieval songs against the din of modern industry."¹⁴ Giedion closes with the remark

¹¹The Journal of Aesthetics & Art Criticism 1946: p. 70

¹²Siegfried Giedion. Space, Time, and Architecture. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

¹³Ibid., p. 568

¹⁴Ibid., p. 570

that the idealistic 19th century planners failed to foresee the future since they could not develop any theories which were suitable to achieve their goals.

One of the leading historians of city design, Christopher Tunnard, sees Sitte's message as the base for the creation of a new term being "Creative Urbanism". Starting from Sitte's principle of "visual planning", he develops a new approach, that of the "pooling process...which should take place between the natural and social scientist on one side and the creative urban designer on the other." Although Tunnard recommends Sitte's advices, the issue of "visual planning" by definition seems to be too narrow for the author. He feels that visual planning - as Sitte approached it - "savors of esthetic caprice, "forced spontaneity", and trick devices to appeal to the eye alone."¹⁵

Questions of scale and proportion, apparent size, and other relations must be thoroughly studied, not only in the way Sitte describes but especially in relation to problems of density and economics suggested by the social scientist.¹⁶

Tunnard criticized the lack of goal oriented planning and pointed out that cities currently (1960's) rather

¹⁵Christopher Tunnard. The City of Man. New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1953. p. 369

¹⁶Ibid., p. 368

evolve in an uncoordinated fashion. In order to mitigate the practice of haphazard decision making by the private sector and government he suggested more cooperative comprehensive and regional planning. To make planning work, Tunnard (convinced as Sitte) emphasized the importance of the visual, and esthetic dimension in comprehensive and regional planning since "otherwise no one will be aware of its presence, no matter how successful the decisions may be within an administration or economic framework."¹⁷

In his article, "The European Motherland of Urban Romanticism", published in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1962, John W. Dyckman comments upon Camillo Sitte's influence on American planning:

The selectivity of American city planning is eloquent on this last point. From Camillo Sitte, the earlier American physical planners took the idea of the continuous park strip, winding thorough the city and bringing nature into its heartland....¹⁸

The frequency of parks within major and minor American cities is of course common knowledge. City dwellers place high priority upon the convenience of parks to their homes, it is considered an intrinsic part of the

¹⁷Christopher Tunnard. Man Made America: Chaos or Control. New Haven: Yale Univeristy Press, 1963. p. 443

¹⁸Journal of the American Institue of Planners, 1962 p. 278

city life experience. Of course Sitte did not "invent" parks, but his has been an important voice in continuing to maintain the awareness of their importance. Dyckman goes on to state:

...but they were much less entranced with his idea of short lengths of streets, coming to sudden closure, and with preoccupation with small vistas... It was natural that it would turn toward monumentality and search for civic symbols rather than towards the fine grain, the picturesque, and the warmth of closure and small scales.¹⁹

During the 1950's and 60's, "townscape" was the subject of extensive discussions among theoreticians and physical planners. Although undoubtedly Sitte was the first who treated this issue in modern times, the standard works on "townscape" and city design ignored the existence of such theories. Kevin Lynch's The Image of the City,²⁰ Gordon Cullen's The Concise Townscape,²¹ and Thomas Sharp's Town and Townscape²² are among those references. However, Town Design²³ by Frederick Gibberd, a book which

¹⁹Journal of the American Institute of Planners 1962: p. 278

²⁰Kevin Lynch. The Image of the City. Cambridge: Technology Press, 1960.

²¹Gordon Cullen. The Concise Townscape. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. 1971

²²Thomas Sharp. Town and Townscape. London: Murray, 1968.

²³Frederick Gibberd. Town Design. New York: Praeger, 1967.

is widely used in planning education in the U.S. (despite Gibberd's British origins) clearly shows - by treating Sitte's theories about the relationship between building height and bulk to open space - how much the Austrian was in advance, at least under the perspective of time, to Lynch, Cullen, and Sharp.

A very thorough discussion why such concepts for urban design like those of Sitte and Le Corbusier failed in reality, can be found in Introduction to Urban Planning²⁴ by A. Catanese and J. Snyder. The authors point out that in order to design large objects, such as cities, both order and complexity are necessary but rather not simplicity; the latter being reserved for small objects.²⁵ They state: "Whether or not simplicity or diversity is most important in any single instance of the design of the city can only be determined by the context of the design decision."²⁶

Reinforcing this statement, the authors employ almost the same example as Charles Stevens used in his book review of "Der Staedte-Bau..." being the feelings, impressions, and experiences of those who drive along an

²⁴Anthony Catanese and J. Snyder. Introduction to Urban Planning. New York: McGraw Hill, 1979.

²⁵Ibid., p. 86

²⁶Ibid.

expressway vs. those who walk along this kind of roadway. The authors' reproach addressed to Sitte and Le Corbusier, is that they had failed in seeing the "urban esthetic experience in a context but rather developed a "vocabulary of forms" which in reality cannot serve as a means to enhance the "urban esthetic experience."²⁷

Grady Clay, the landscape critic, sees Sitte as someone who provides for those who learned "the clues to scenery from looking at pictures."²⁸ He opposed Sitte's theories because his "laws" of city building would deprive the spectator of his own personal interpretations and imaginations. Clay comments that the "neat and proper" picturesque of Sitte's preference is

the end of a visual language - when it creates pictures that need no answers. And that also is the death of townscape - when it produces pat visual answers that require no questions.²⁹

In Paul Spreiregen's The Architecture of Towns and Cities,³⁰ one can find a brief comment on Sitte and his principles. However, this publication should not be taken

²⁷Catanese 1979: p. 86f.

²⁸Grady Clay. Close Up: How to Read the American City. New York Praeger, 1980. p. 28

²⁹Ibid., p. 28f.

³⁰Paul D. Spreiregen. Urban Design: The Architecture of Towns and Cities. Malabar: Krieger, 1981.

as a serious reference. Unfortunately Spreiregen lacked detailed knowledge, apparently due to poor research on the subject. The author uses an English translation of the French title from 1902 as the title for Sitte's book; he describes the partnership of Sitte with Stuebben who according to Spreiregen was the author of an 1880 published book with the title "Der Staedtebau";³¹ and last he fails to recognize that Sitte was not in favor of Gothic city patterns, a position which the Austrian had expressed very clearly.

Another publication which shows a number of misunderstandings of what Sitte's message was intended to convey is Edward Relph's The Modern Urban Landscape,³² who sees Sitte as part of the "Gothic revival in architecture."³³ However, his point that the new trend in city planning was easier adopted in Germany due to more stringent municipal control than in the U.S. is very

³¹Stuebben published Handbuch des Staedtebaus in 1890. However, in 1904 Theodor Goecke and Camillo Sitte (post mortem) jointly published a periodical with the name of Der Staedtebau.

³²Edward Relph. The Modern Urban Landscape. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

³³Relph 1987: p. 51
As apparent from the book, Sitte was not in favor of Gothic city building practices. Edward Relph also failed to recognize that Sitte's book did not appear in Germany but in Austria.

legitimate. The author compares the City Beautiful Movement and Burnham's role with a similar movement in Europe at the beginning of this century. It seems somewhat contradictory when he claims that City Beautiful and the World's Columbian Exposition in particular was exclusively an "American Event" and not a "European Event" but in the same chapter he describes how strongly Burnham had been influenced by Rome and Paris.³⁴ It is difficult to agree with Relph that the beautification movement in the U.S. was completely isolated from Europe inasmuch one can find discussions of Burnham's detailed knowledge about European planning. Burnham did know and respect the German School of Planning but it would be an audacity to claim that his work was influenced by Camillo Sitte.³⁵ The Plan of Chicago with its monumental elements and symmetrical street layout resembles Haussmann's plan for Paris rather than any German city pattern.

Having studied the publications which were previously discussed, one can find that Sitte is not at all an unknown to American city planning authors. It seems that two general directions in the assessment of Sitte prevail

³⁴Relph 1987: p. 55

³⁵see Daniel Burnham 1970: p. 21
In discussing German city building practices, he mentions Stuebben and comments upon Der Staedtebau as being a well edited magazine.

in the literature. There is the one which admires Sitte for his commitment to art in planning and his judgement of the importance of urban form for the city dwellers. There is the other which ridicules the principles as something utopian that should only appear in history books.

However, over a span of over eighty years there has never been a time when all the writers have totally agreed or disagreed upon Sitte's teachings. It is unfortunate though, that in the literature up to now one still can find misunderstandings about Sitte's message which have been propagated from the time when the book was published.

However, analyzing the publications on urban design of the recent past, one discovers that Sitte's teachings have found an increasing echo in the American literature. The number of books dealing with this subject grew substantially in the 1980's. In closing, some of the latest publications -- not commented in this thesis -- which discuss Sitte, shall be mentioned at this point. The Urban Millenium³⁶ discusses Sittes engagement for a better reputation of city building practices in the Middle Ages; The Elusive City³⁷ comments upon Sitte's relation to English Garden City planning and to Haussmann's

³⁶Josef Konvitz. The Urban Millenium. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985

³⁷Jonathan Barnett. The Elusive City. New York: Harper & Row, 1986

theories; The Public Face of Architecture³⁸ includes major parts of Sitte's chapters "The Relationship between Buildings, Monuments, and Their Plazas" and "The Irregularities of Old Plazas." It seems that increasing frequency with which Sitte is discussed in the literature is an indicator for an arising consciousness towards townscape and esthetics in the theory of city building.

5.2 POSSIBLE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF SITTE'S THEORIES IN AMERICA

As with section four, this part also has to start out with an observation of British town planning practice at the turn of the century. Sitte was known to those planners who set milestones in Garden City planning. Thus, the conclusion may be drawn that some of his ideas have been incorporated into practical application. Consequently the British Garden Cities have served as models for early suburban and residential planning efforts in the United States. Although it cannot be proven for certain, indirect or even direct influence on layouts of

³⁸Nathan Glazer. The Public Face of Architecture. New York: The Free Press, 1987

early residential areas and Garden Cities in America is perceptible.

Most of the writers agree that Raymond Unwin had adopted many of Sitte's fundamental ideals for his plan of Letchworth like intimacy of space, the layouts for a residential street network (avoidance of through traffic), the T-intersection instead of the more commonly used four way intersection,³⁹ enclosures and vistas, and "diversified buildings made to interrelate three dimensionally."⁴⁰ In one publication on Unwin,⁴¹ Sir Raymond disputes that Sitte had possible influence on particular design for Letchworth due to time conflicts. It is stated that the Englishman did not have access to Sitte's theories before the plan for the first Garden City was completed. However, as discussed in previous sections, Unwin and Sitte shared a dislike for mechanical stereotypes, and the "uniform, monotonous streets of bye-law housing which engulfed Victorian cities."⁴² Another parallel between Sitte and Unwin is that both of them did not see planning

³⁹Compare with Sitte's chapter on "Modern Systems": At a T-intersection there are only three different ways a vehicle can collide with another vehicle, whereas at four way intersections there are 16 different ways.

⁴⁰Choay 1969: p. 109

⁴¹Unwin 1967: p. 95

⁴²Cecil Stewart. A Prospect of Cities. London: Longmans Green & Co., 1952. p. 177

as an intellectual discipline, but rather fostered the human element in their approach towards town planning. Both, as one can find repeatedly in the literature, regarded city growth not as something scientific or constructive but as something abstract and sentimental.

 Sitte's aim was to reestablish a system of organic town building, but he did not possess comprehension of modern mechanics and of the necessary elements of the industrial city. Neither did Unwin.⁴³

 Analyzing the final layout of Letchworth one can find the implementation of many of Sitte's principles. Although the original plan of Letchworth from 1904 was characterized by a certain degree of formality and rigidity (see Appendix C: Figure 22), the pattern of the town after completion points towards the affinity to Sitte's principles (see Appendix C: Figure 23). Deliberate informality and irregularity, grouping of buildings according to the principle of informality, and the recognition of parts of the city as units are all aspects which remind of Sitte. A closer look at the part of Letchworth known as Shopping Centre, resembles a medieval pattern (see Appendix C: Figure 24). However, Letchworth is not exclusively characterized by informality (Unwin refers to it as informal formality) as the Town

⁴³C. B. Purdom. The Building of Satellite Towns. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1949. p. 102

Square shows, but also this design is marked with the ideal of picturesqueness and visual effect.

"Forest Hills Gardens and Roland Park are amalgams of Sitte and the landscape style..." writes Elbert Peets in his article.⁴⁴ Both planned communities were designed by Frederic Law Olmsted but only Forest Hills Gardens could have possibly been influenced by Sitte. Roland Park in Baltimore, Md., dates from 1891. It shows that in America there has been an application of some of Sitte's and Unwin's ideas like irregularity, winding streets and respectful treatment of the given topographical condition at the same time, yet independently from the European examples.

Forest Hills Gardens, N.Y., (see Appendix C: Figure 25) is a planned community designed by Frederic Law Olmsted and Grosvenor Atterbury in 1912. In terms of urban design this model suburb was directly inspired by the British Garden City idea but "lacked any relation to broad public policy for the distribution of population and the development of regions."⁴⁵

⁴⁴Peets 1927: p. 251

⁴⁵Daniel Schaffer. Garden Cities for America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982. p. 33

Like Sitte's proposals and Unwin's plans, Forest Hills is not based on a geometrical pattern but on the contours of the site adapting itself to topography and nature. The planners also developed a hierarchical system of roadways which suits the class of traffic to be accommodated. Enclosures, vistas, and irregularity are elements which were deliberately planned in order to enhance picturesqueness. Forest Hills is the origin of the neighborhood unit which was later applied in such planned communities as Radburn, Greenbelt, and Baldwin Hills Village.⁴⁶

But does not the idea of units (neighborhood unit, unit of a superblock) resemble Sitte's doctrine of the recognition of parts of a city as a unit and the centralization of public services around city squares? Throughout his book Sitte emphasizes the importance of plazas as a central function area (and not only a piece of esthetics) within the city as a whole as well as in a defined part of a city, those plazas being the focus of neighborly and community life. Though not explicitly stated, Sitte's contribution to the development of the 'unit' expressed in the community block or the superblock in association with a city square ought to be acknowledged.

⁴⁶Clarence Perry was a former resident of Forest Hills Gardens.

Eliel Saarinen's admiration for Sitte's teachings did not seem to have carried over to his son Eero. Saarinen Jr. (1910-1961) was primarily an architect and designer who experimented with different modern building materials and unusual geometric forms. The T.W.A. terminal of New York's Kennedy Airport gives witness of his talent and originality. Throughout most of his life Eero could not be brought into conjunction with city planning or Sitte. However, shortly before his death he was given assignment to design a dormitory section of Yale University (see Appendix C: Figure 26) with which he broke with the tradition of his own work.

The pattern resembles a medieval town (maybe San Gimignano, Italy with its significant towers). The main street (see Appendix C: Figure 27) is a "narrow, winding walk ... with its steps going up and down ..." ⁴⁷ Saarinen took advantage of the topography and integrated the different levels to create a variety of visual experiences. Courtyards are another element of Saarinen's layout. He designed the buildings in such a fashion as "to give variety and sequence of spatial experience in the courts." ⁴⁸ In terms of the relationship of buildings to

⁴⁷Eero Saarinen. Eero Saarinen and his Work. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. p. 92

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 88

each other he describes his plan as follows: "We have used a large scale bending of walls back and forth to give those buildings a scale that would stand up next to the surrounding buildings."⁴⁹ The problems of through-traffic he suggested to solve by closing the thoroughfares in order to enhance the inclusiveness of the unit.

It cannot be denied that Saarinen's discussion of the design and its realization show affinity to Sitte's theories since the Finnish-American architect approached the assignment with the following mind setting: "Repetition, regularity, uniformity, standardization -- all prime parts of the vernacular -- were at odds with diversity, variety, and individuality we wanted."⁵⁰

The final example shall illustrate that medieval and Renaissance rules of the relation of buildings to each other and of open spaces to buildings, reintroduced by Camillo Sitte, are also applied in major cities of the New World. Sitte did not exclusively see urban squares as pieces of art but also as a means of decongestion of urban areas. Combining both elements, artistic design and open space, acceptance of the city by its citizenry as a livable environment can be achieved. A square not

⁴⁹Saarinen 1968: p. 88

⁵⁰Ibid.

artistically designed remains merely a gap in a sea of stone. Borrowing Gallion's example⁵¹ of Radio City New York (see Appendix C: Figure 28) one can find that Sitte's rules concerning size and shape of plazas have found consideration in a project in New York.⁵² For Sitte the relationship of height and width of the bulk and the architectural character of the building were crucial for dimensioning a plaza. For his explanations the Viennese frequently used churches as the dominant structures of a plaza. In modern times his churches can easily be replaced by landmark high rise office and public buildings. Skyscrapers are as much dominating structures as churches and though they serve different purposes they also attract pedestrian traffic in their immediate surroundings. Sitte states that:

The size of plazas is in proportion to the size of the building dominating each plaza: or to put it otherwise, the height of the building varies in proportion to that dimension of the plaza which is measured perpendicularly to the facade of the building. Consequently, in deep plazas the height of the church facade is related to the long dimension of the plaza; while in broad plazas the height of the palace or town hall is to vary with the width of the plaza.⁵³

⁵¹Arthur Gallion. The Urban Pattern. New York: Van Nostrand, 1963. p. 394f.

⁵²Note that it is not claimed that Radio City, New York has been directly influenced by Sitte's principles. This example shall merely serve demonstration purposes.

⁵³Collins 1986: p. 181f.

According to Sitte there are a minimum dimension of a plaza, i.e. "the height of its principal building, taken once" and a maximum dimension "being the double of that height."⁵⁴ As far as the length of a plaza he states that "plazas in the ratio of length and width is more than three to one already begin to lose charm."⁵⁵ All the above discussed principles were advocated by the Austrian because he strongly opposed the common practice of his time to design plazas and street openings into plazas in too large of a scale. In terms of the streets leading to plazas he comments that the narrower those streets are laid out, the smaller plazas are permitted and he complains that nowadays our broad streets necessitate huge spaces.

The selection of Radio City, New York is a valid example of how modern design can bring about enclosure and visual experience. That Sitte can also be applied in modern cities with high rise buildings is demonstrated in following statement: "Overly large plazas have a most pernicious influence on their surrounding structures. The latter can, in turn, never be large enough".⁵⁶

⁵⁴Collins 1986: p. 182

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 183f.

6. CONCLUSION

As apparent from the literature, the writers developed relatively extreme relationships to Sitte. There are those who regard him as the "Father of Modern City Planning", and there are those who consider his message as something quaint and absolutely worthless for application in modern times. As always with extreme viewpoints, both do not quite reflect Sitte's real importance and contribution to modern urban design. In general, the Austrian's approach to the solution of the modern city's problems are certainly too unscientific and pragmatic compared to today's expectations on planning theory. In his teachings he covers broadly the role, feelings, and expectations of the human being - the city dweller - neglecting all those other components of city life which are as crucial as esthetics. Maybe his unfinished book about city planning according to economical principles would have given witness that he also considered such 'profane' subjects as budget, jobs etc. Had it ever appeared it would certainly have helped his reputation and he would have been immune against the attacks of those who saw in him just a romantic dreamer. Those who oppose him reproach Sitte for narrow mindedness in terms of planning. Maybe these critics on both continents, the European and the American, were not fully aware of Sitte's contribution in the time context. In

history representatives of the two standpoints, progress vs. containment, -- if carried out to an extreme - have always been good for widely publicized arguments.

Sitte's importance for the city planning discipline lay in a variety of fields. It was not just esthetics he called upon. It was the human element with all its facets brought into context to city building. His message was about how to achieve an environment where people experience enjoyment and satisfaction to be a part of this urban environment. He pointed out the increasing inhumanity of our cities which resulted and even still results in out-migration to the suburbs. City form was for him the means to achieve the goal of keeping the people in the city content.

Sitte's theories were developed at a time when cities were undergoing rapid changes; changes which forgot the citizens as being the most important part of the urban fabric. Improvement of the urban economy, and winning control over the arising traffic problems did not leave much space for beauty. Haussmann initiated a wave of monumentality in planning which was later continued to the excess of fascist planning. Mussolini's Italy and Albert Speer of Nazi Germany reached a degree of monumentality and formality that achieved the desired goal of demonstrating power over their intimidated peoples. In the U.S. the gridiron pattern had succeeded to a degree which did not allow for much informality. This is not to

say that there has not been a movement towards esthetics, but it did reflect more the formal school of city planning.

In this intellectual environment Sitte developed his theses. Facing his readers with Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque city patterns must have demanded too much - not just from the Americans. Those planning theories, like Le Corbusier's, were found easier to understand since they called for progress and they offered solutions for economical problems and the avalanche of traffic threatening the substance of city life.

Around the middle of this century there evolved a movement which has been given the name townscape. Sitte undoubtedly was the man who made townscape possible. Not many have given him credit for this 19th century "invention". With townscape, planners started to appreciate Sitte's doctrine that there is a close relationship between the everyday behavior and the esthetical reception of architecture. This is not at all utopian as Sitte is labeled by many who attempted to argue his unimportance for modern planning.

It is unfortunate that the term "artistic" for many American writers seems to convey superficiality or something that does not have to be taken too seriously. The U.S. has been strongly influenced by engineering and economic needs. Artistic merit is largely considered as merely a matter of visual judgement and not as a

fundamental factor. The study has shown that Sitte appears with constant regularity in the literature. The great disadvantage for an early discussion or application of his fundamentals was the fact that the arrival of the message in its entirety in America was almost 56 years delayed. Another factor was that Americans working in planning and related fields - the immigrants are not excluded in this observation - lacked a background in European city development of the past, which resulted in problems of comprehending that the theories were not meant to convey the idea of "back to medieval practices". It seems that there prevailed a certain reluctance to accept that an application on modern planning is possible. The consequence was that many abolished Sitte's message as something that has merely historic value but no relationship to current times. However, it is interesting that Sitte's theories up to now are still treated in a multitude of architecture and planning publications. Though often ridiculed, his message has found a stable place in the literature. This leaves the conclusion that he, admitted or not, represents a position in American planning theory.

Although it cannot be proven for certain, some key elements of his teachings have been and are widely used in the common practice of urban design. The idea of considering cities as bodies composed from units with city squares as their central places, avoidance of

through-traffic within these units, preference of T-intersections over crossroads, and the readiness to accept asymmetry are all elements which were realized in early Garden City design. The esthetics of properly dimensioned city squares, enclosures and vistas have also found entry in layouts.

In the near future Sittesque design examples will gain more importance since increasing congestion and rediscovery of downtown life will require that more attention is paid to the city dweller and the pedestrian. Maybe Sitte has had less influence on actual design, than this thesis suggests; but he has certainly had continuous impact on planning thought. This might well be an unconscious, unadmitted impact where the origin is unretrievable. Modern literature proves that this assumption is not completely wrong. A trend towards the study of psychological implications of architecture in the urban context is observable. Sitte has reintroduced the ancient notion of interaction between environment and human behavior. Today this notion appears with increasing frequency as "genius loci", or the "spirit of place" in the theoretical city planning literature -- a clear evidence for the validity of Sitte's doctrines in modern times.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A:
ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 2

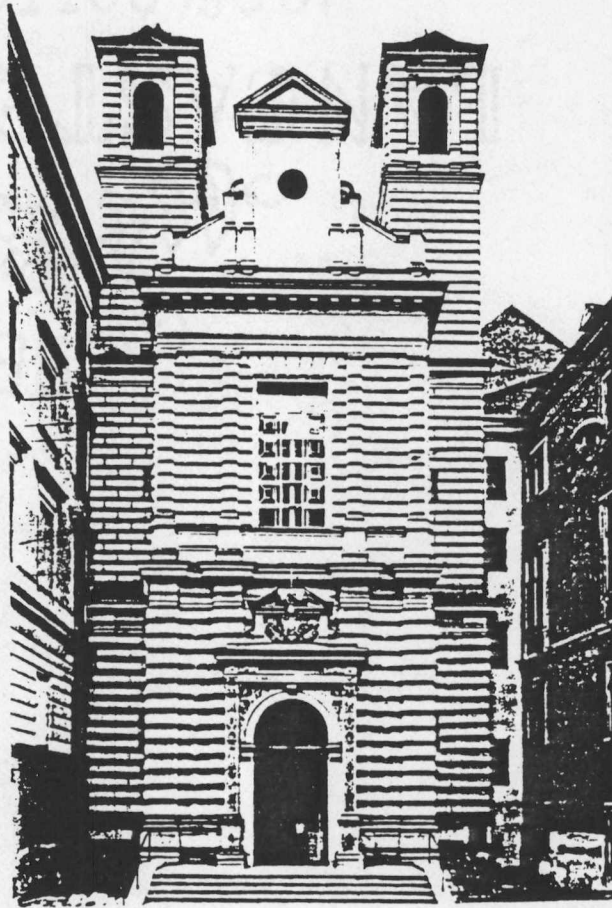


FIGURE 2. Camillo Sitte:
Mechitaristen Kirche, 1871.

Source: Camillo Sitte Archive,
Vienna.

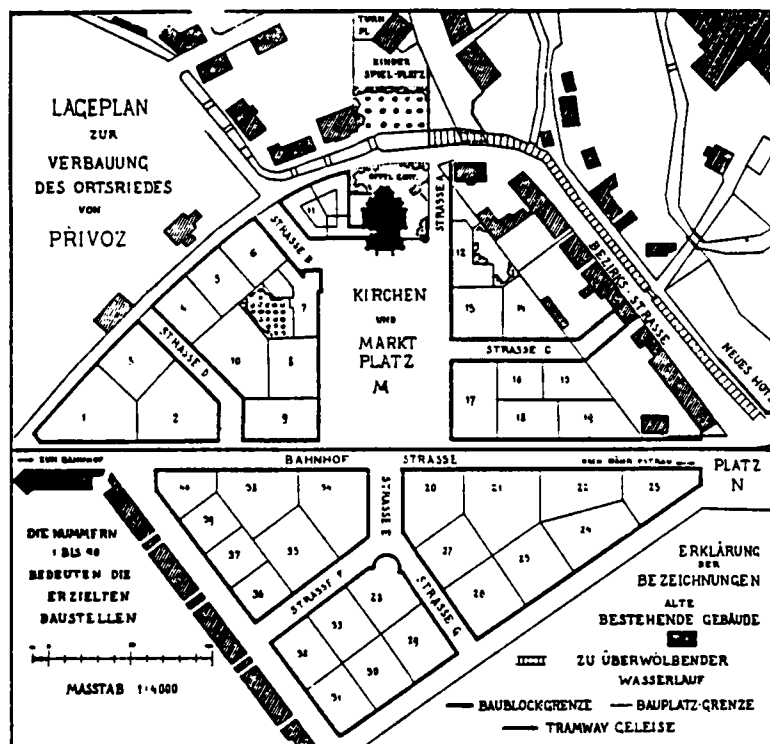


FIGURE 3. Camillo Sitte: Plan for Oderfurth - Privoz, 1895. Note the enclosed plaza and the avoidance of symmetry.

Source: Collins, G. and C.
Camillo Sitte: The Birth of
 Modern City Planning.
 New York, 1986, Table V.

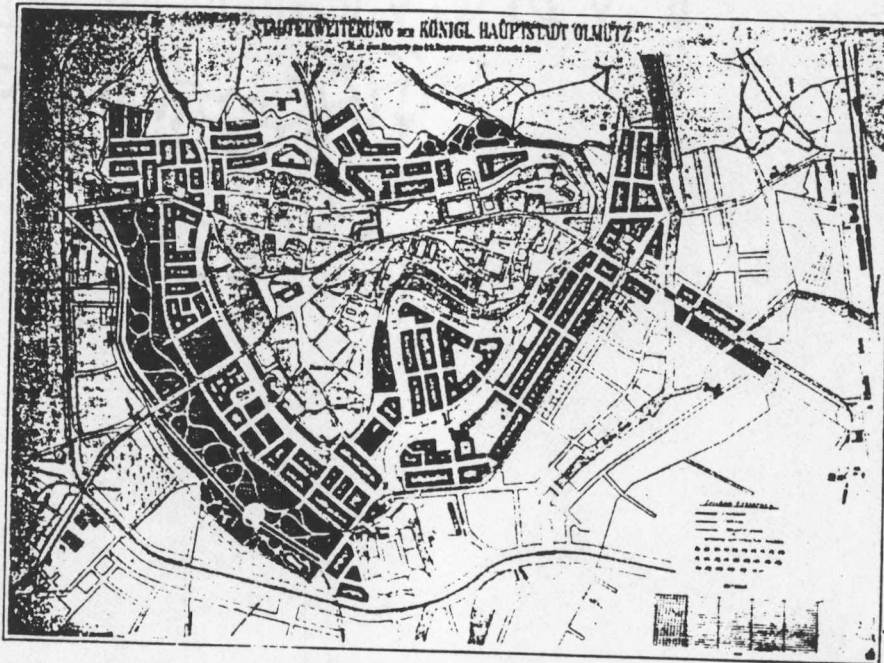


FIGURE 4. Camillo Sitte: City Extension Plan for Olmuetz, 1894. Note the significant shape of the blocks with interior gardens.

Source: Hegemann, W. and Peets, E. Civic Art. New York, 1922, Table 150.

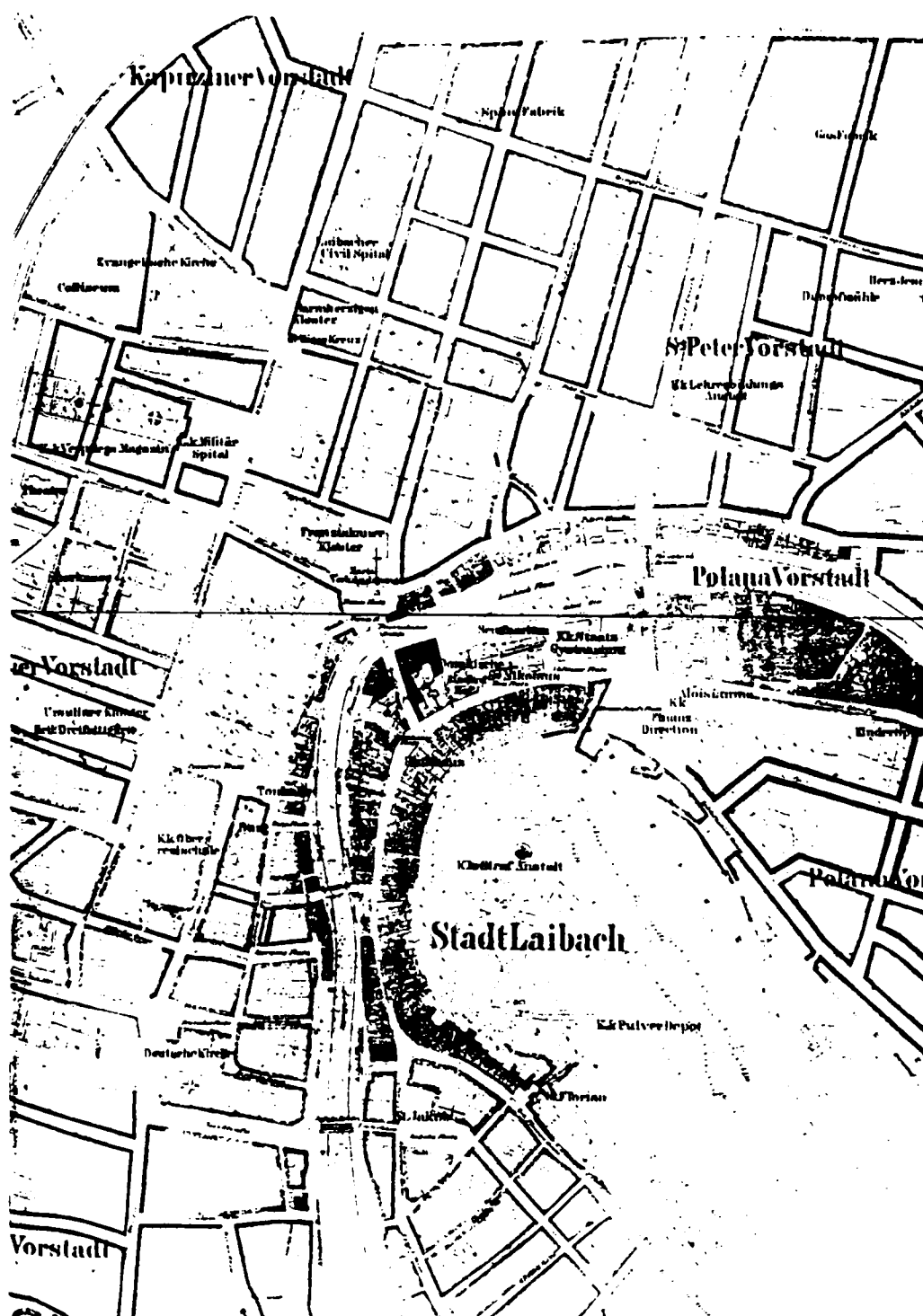


FIGURE 5. Camillo Sitte: Plan of Laibach. Sitte designed the southern part adjacent to the old town.

Source: Camillo Sitte Archive, Vienna.

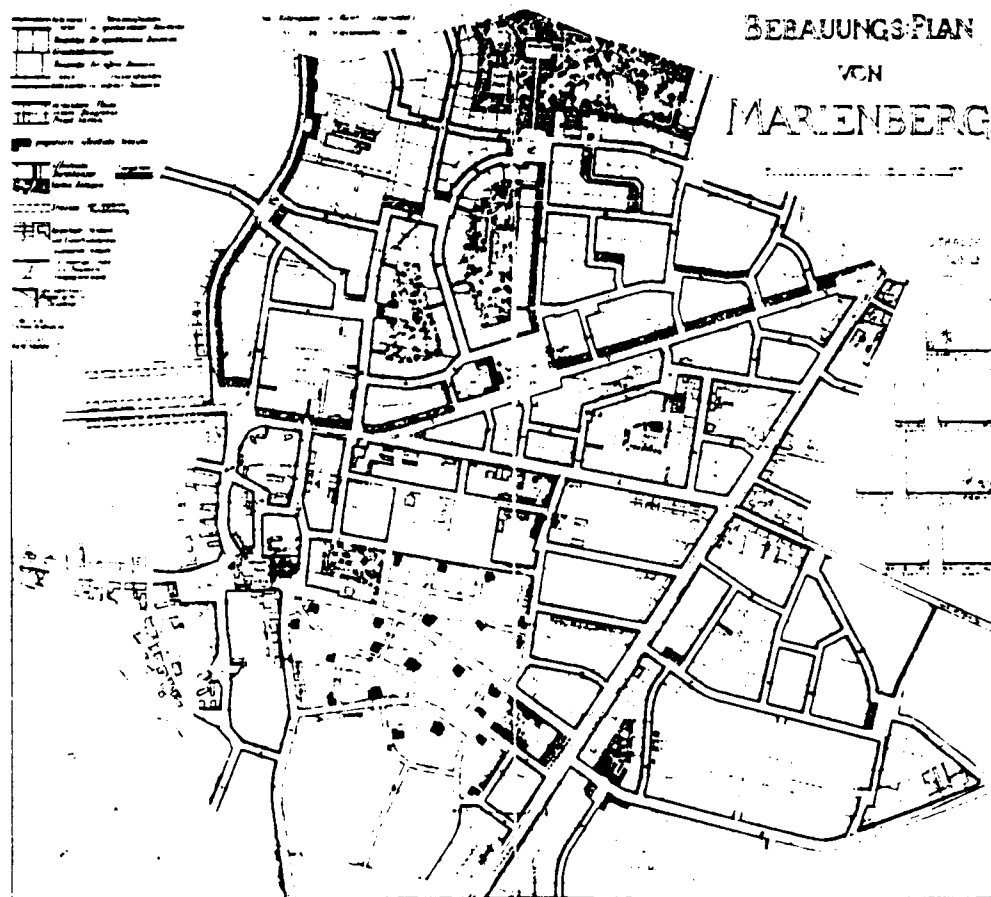


FIGURE 6. Camillo Sitte: Extension plan for Marienberg.

Source: Collins, G. and C. Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning. New York, 1986, Table II.

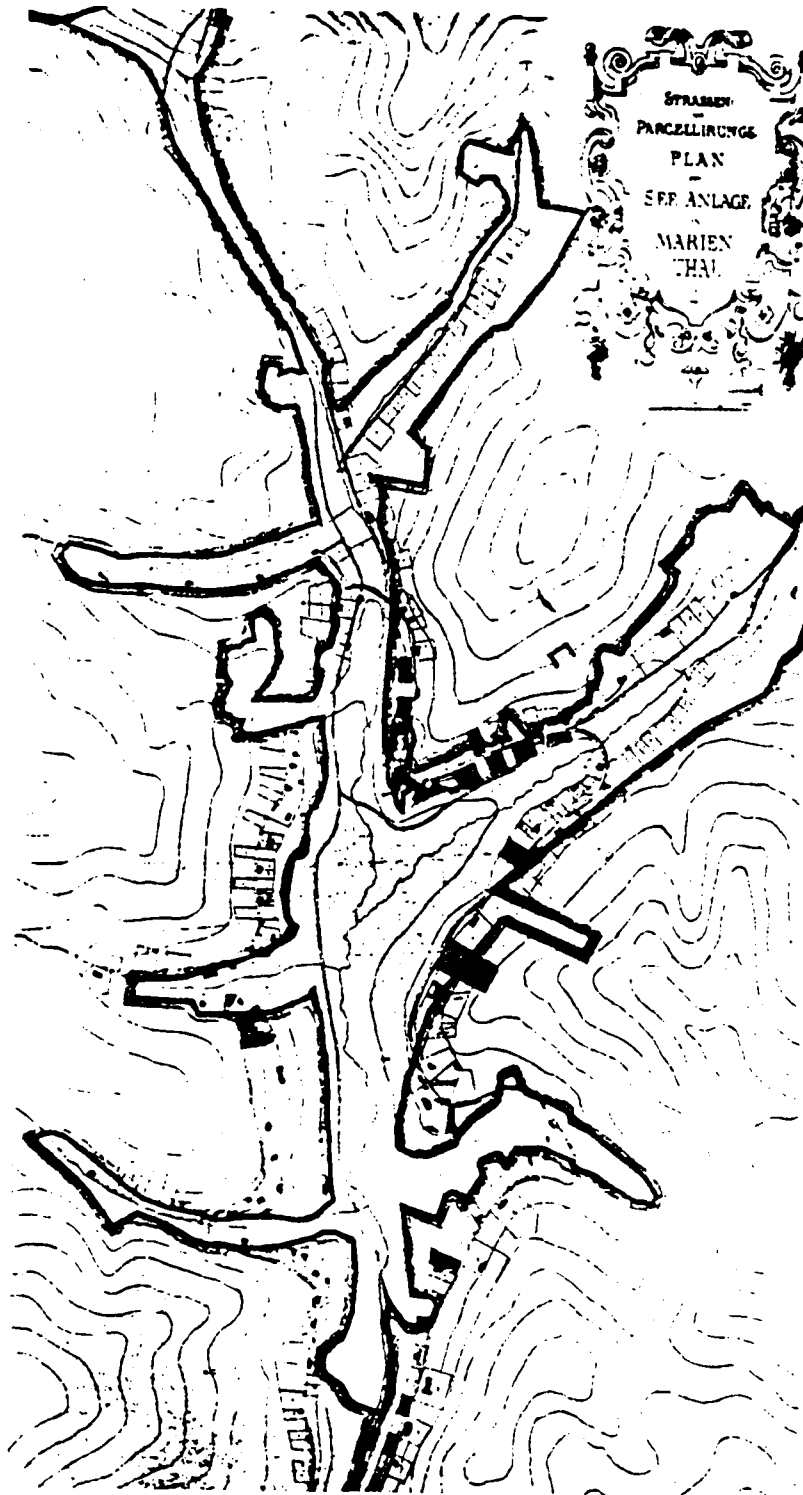


FIGURE 7. Camillo Sitte:
Plan of Marienthal.

Source: Camillo Sitte
Archive, Vienna.

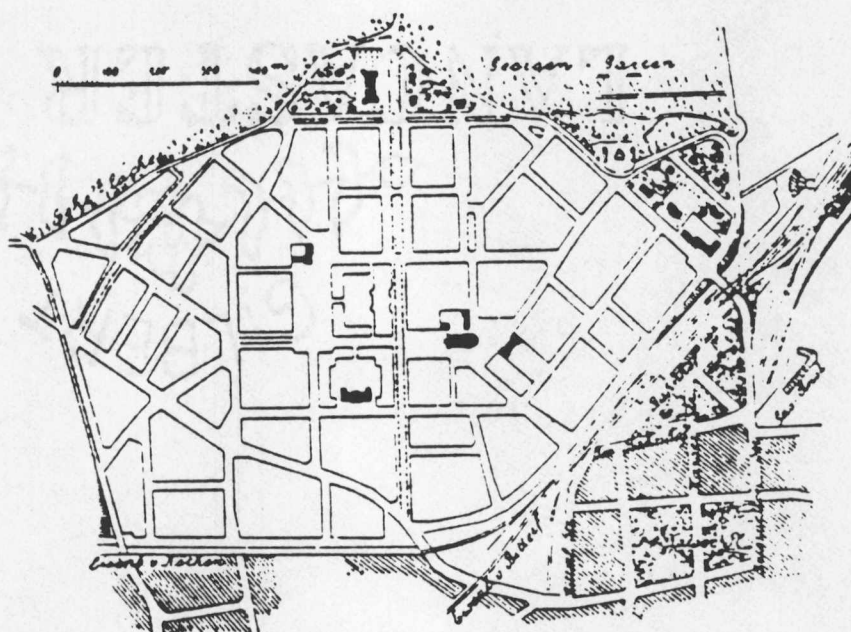


FIGURE 8. Karl Henrici: Extension plan for Dessau.

Source: Maksimovic, Branko. Camillo Sitte -- Der Aesthet des Staedtebaus. Vienna, 1968, Abb. 4.

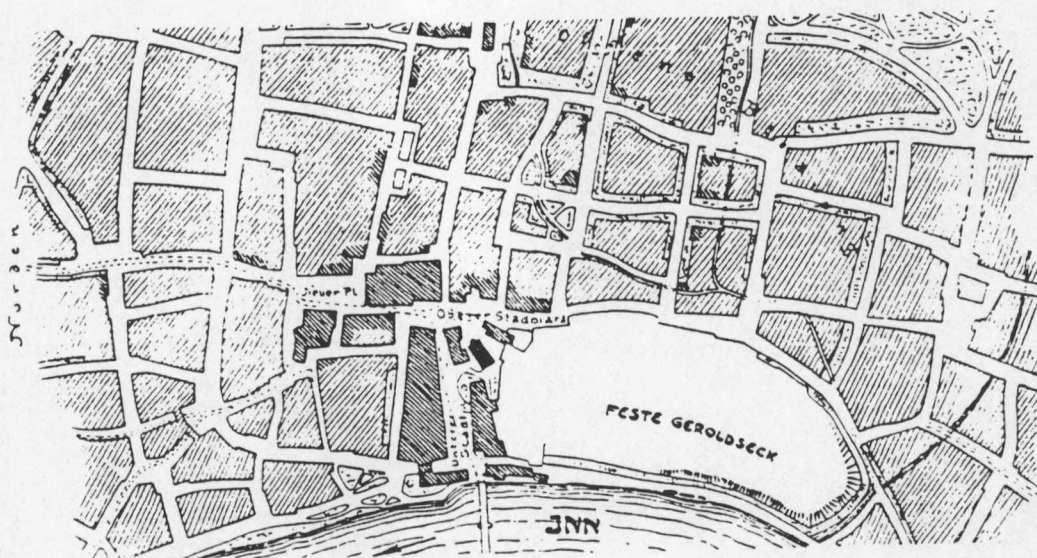


FIGURE 9. Otto Lasne: Plan of Kufstein (existing structures appear in darker hatching).

Source: Maksimovic, Branko. Camillo Sitte -- Der Aesthet des Staedtebaus. Vienna, 1968, Abb. 3.



FIGURE 10. P. A. Hansen: Extension plan of Pfersee bei Augsburg (existing areas appear in dark hatching).

Source: Maksimovic, Branko. Camillo Sitte -- Der Aesthet des Staedtebaus. Vienna, 1968, Abb. 4.

Informal versus Formal Language of Design

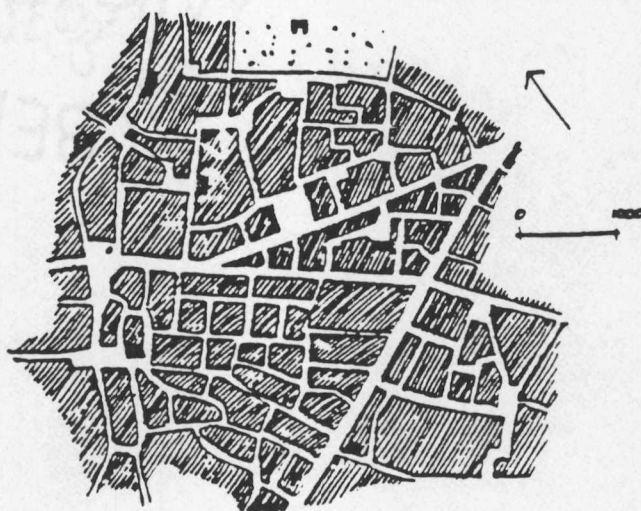


FIGURE 11. Medieval Town Pattern.

Source: Spreiregen, P. Urban Design: The Architecture of Towns and Cities. Malabor, 1981, p. 36.

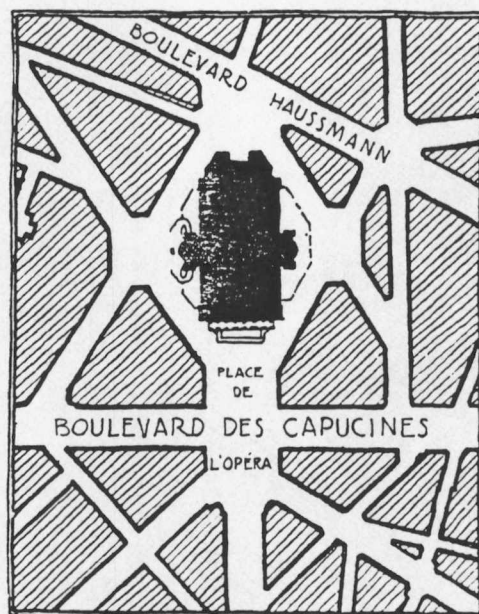


FIGURE 12. Paris; vicinity of the Opera.

Source: Hegemann, W. and Peets, E. Civic Art. New York, 1922, Figure 16.

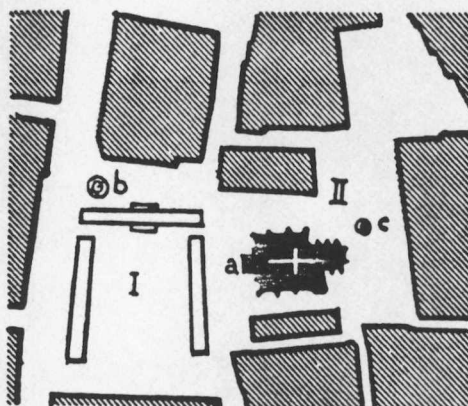


FIGURE 13. Example for the relationship between buildings, monuments, and plazas (I. Market Place. II. Square. a. Church b. and c. Fountains).

Source: Collins, G. and C. Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning. New York, 1986, Figure 6.

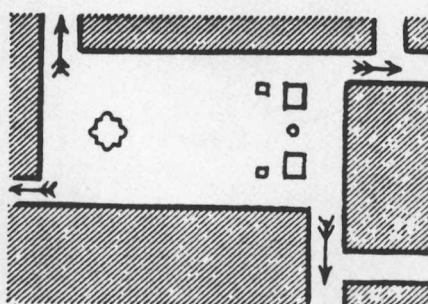


FIGURE 14. Enclosure. Sitte demonstrated how to design a modern square which is highly enclosed.

Source: Collins, G. and C. Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning. New York, 1986, Figure 108.



FIGURE 15. Title page of Der Staedte-Bau nach seinen kuenstlerischen Grundsaeetzen. First Edition, 1889.

Source: Camillo Sitte Archive, Vienna.

APPENDIX B:
ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 3



FIGURE 16. Paris before Haussmann's reconstruction (around 1848).

Source: Wurzer, Rudolf. Anlass, Ziel, Durchfuehrung und Verwirklichung von staedtebaulichen Planungen. Vienna, 1976, Abb. 12.

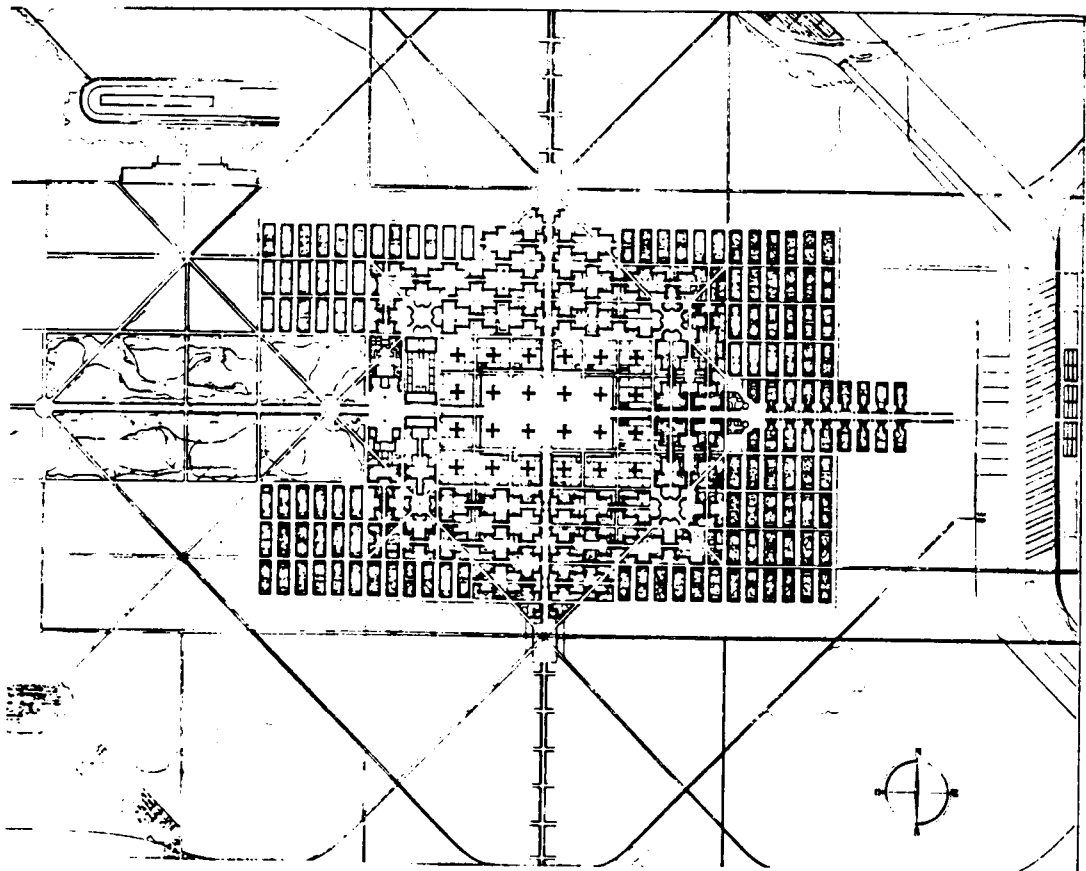


FIGURE 18. Le Corbusier: La Ville Contemporaine.

Source: Evenson, Norma. Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design. New York, 1969, Figure 5.

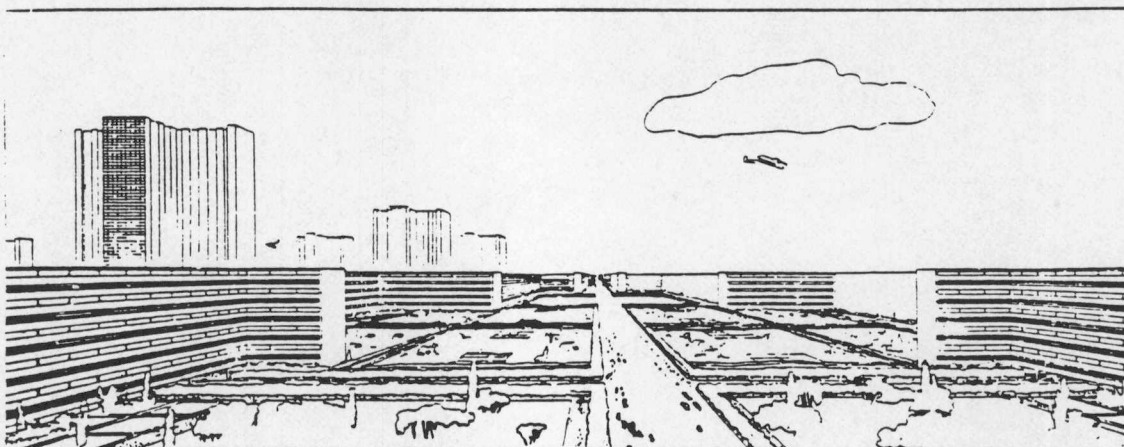


FIGURE 19. Le Corbusier: Residential superblock.

Source: Evenson, Norma. Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design. New York, 1969, Figure 10.

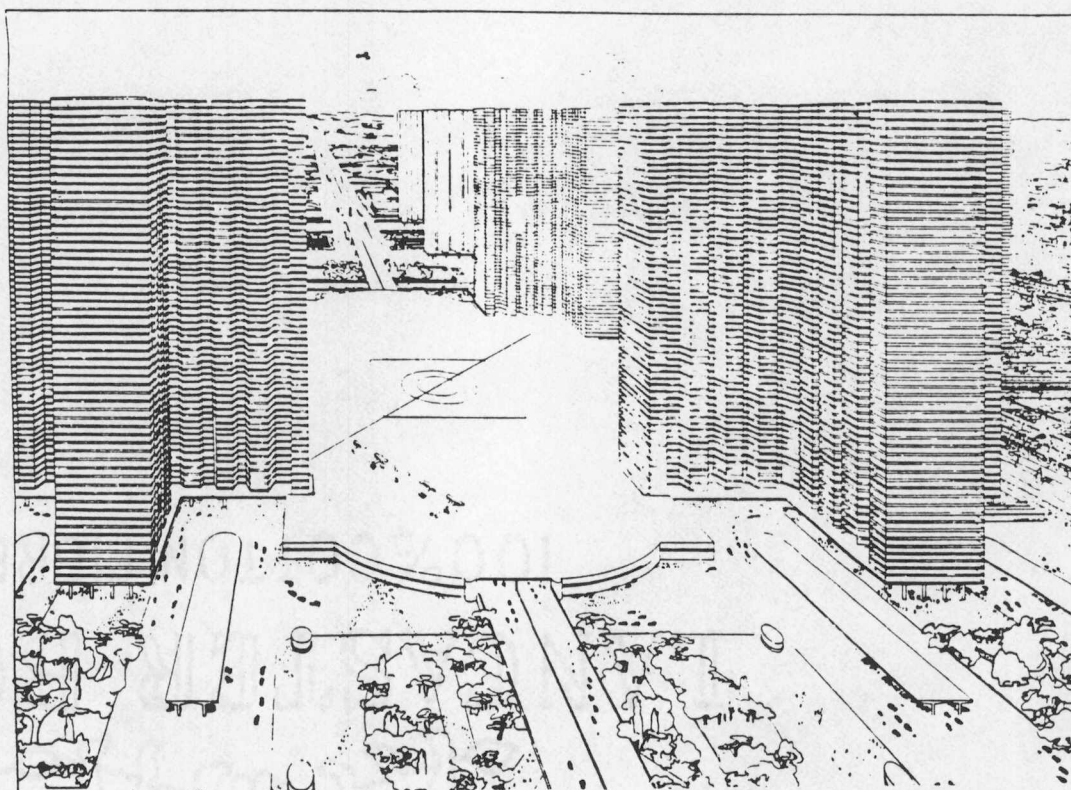


FIGURE 20. Le Corbusier: City for Three Million.

Source: Evenson, Norma. Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design. New York, 1969, Figure 6.

APPENDIX C:
ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 4 AND 5

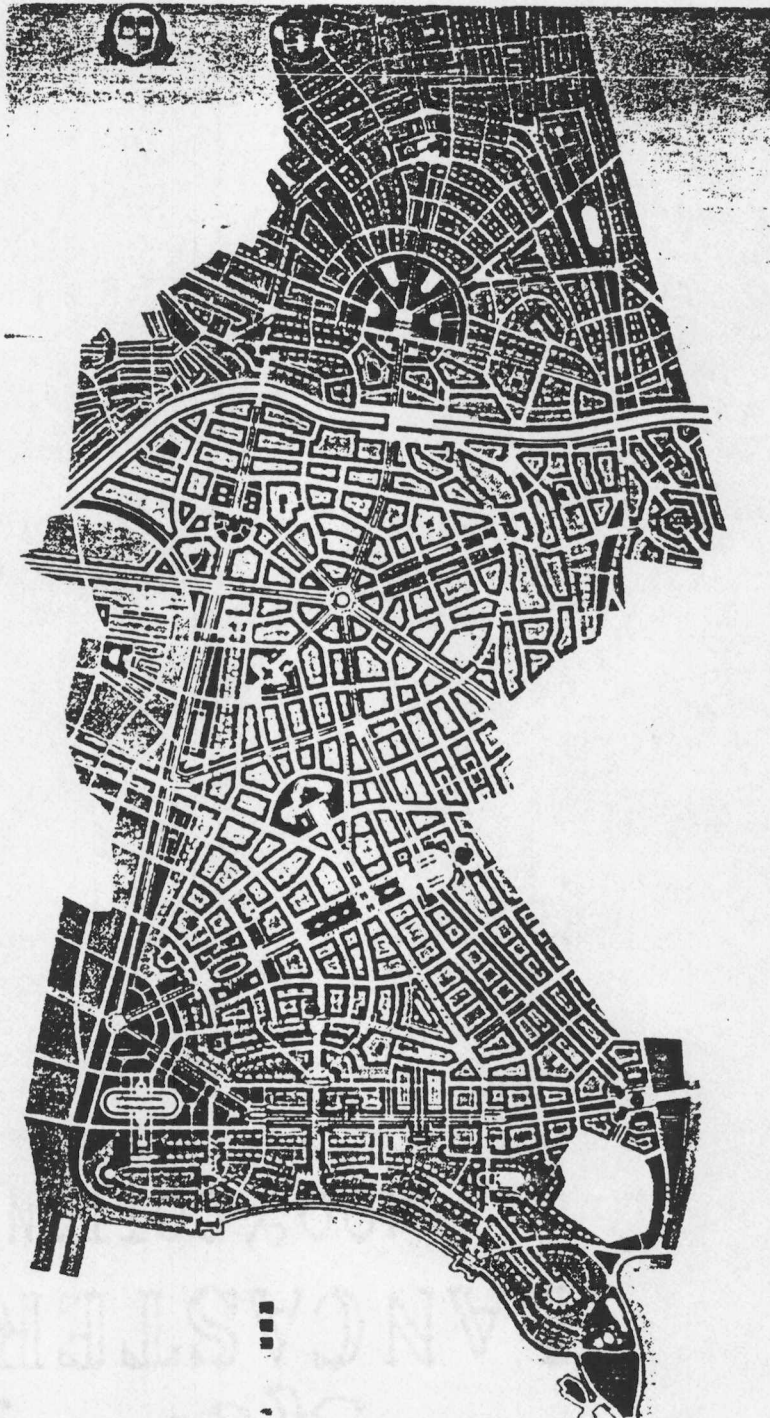


FIGURE 21. Eliel Saarinen:
Plan of Munksnaes-Haga,
1915.

Source: Christ-Janer, Albert.
Eliel Saarinen. Chicago,
1979, Figure 39.

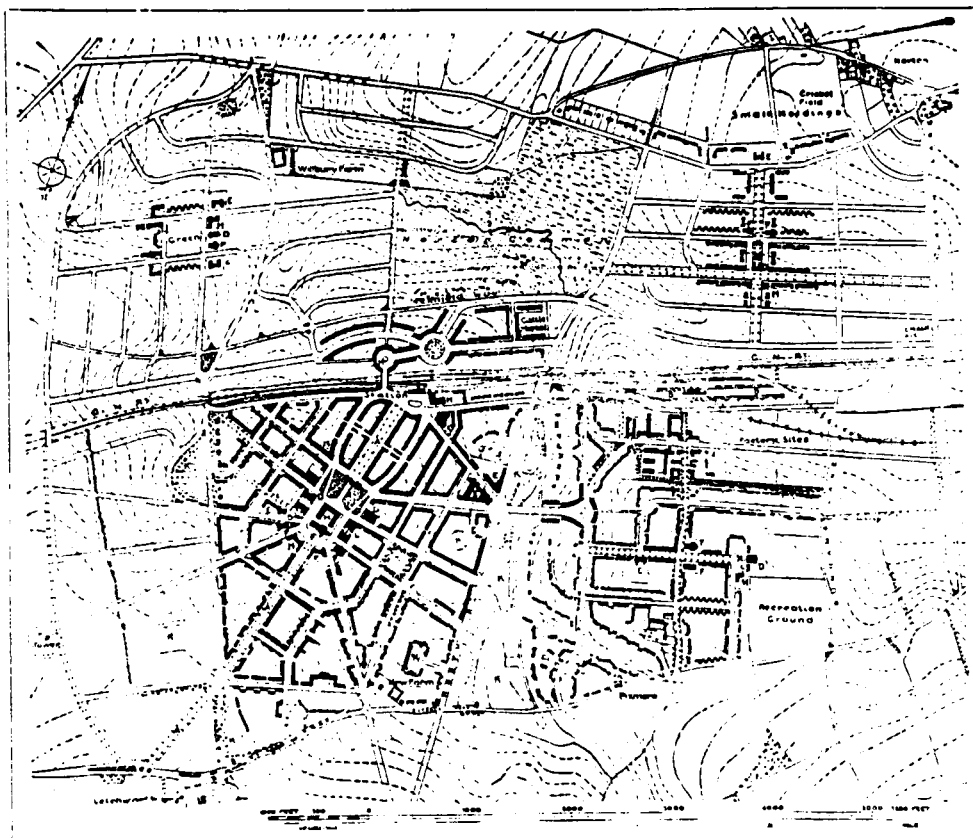


FIGURE 22. Unwin and Parker: Original Plan for Letchworth, 1904.

Source: Purdom, C. B. The Building of Satellite Towns. London, 1949, p. 87.

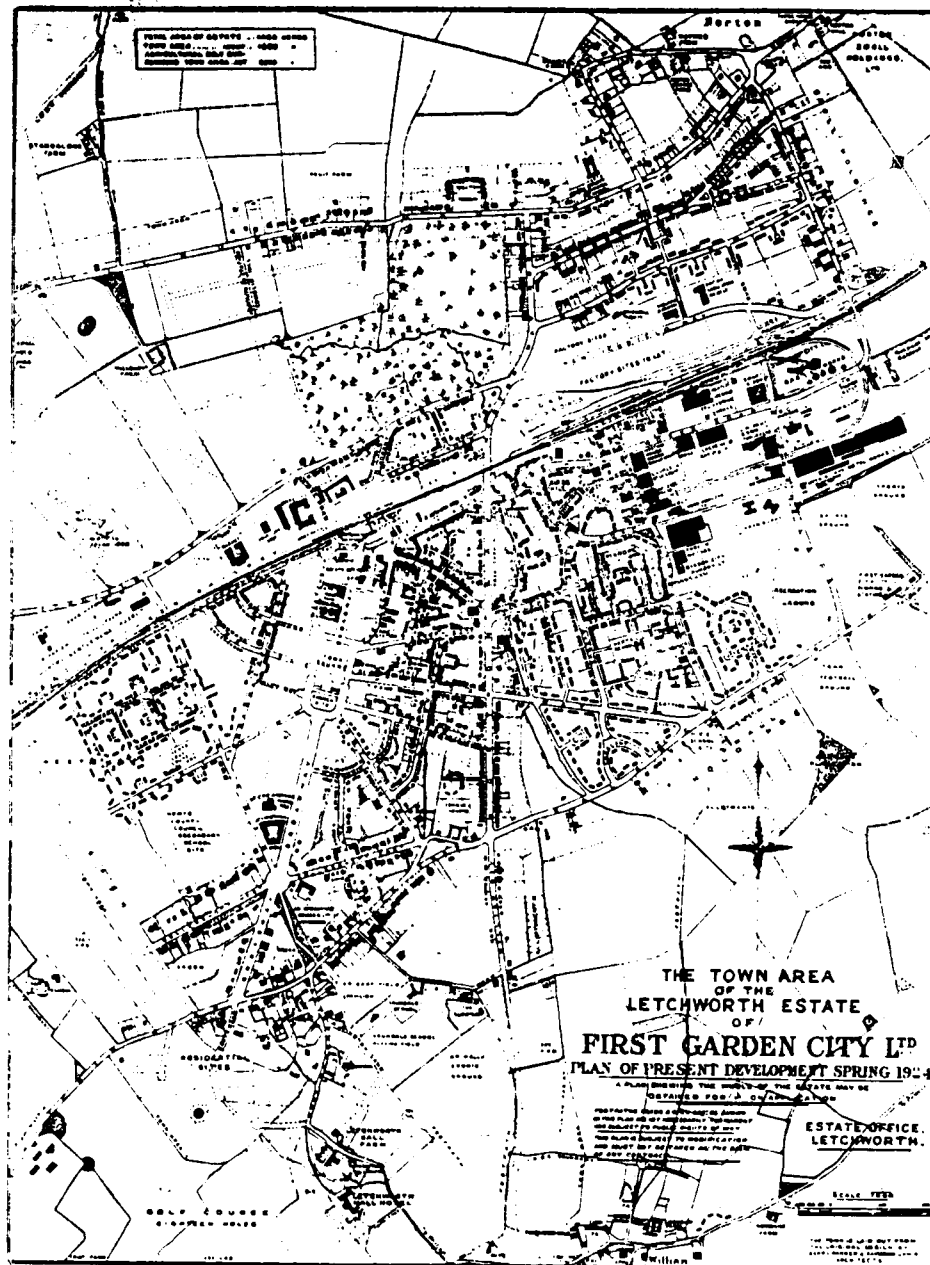


FIGURE 23. Letchworth, 1925.

Source: Purdom, C. B. The Building of Satellite Towns. London, 1949, p. 93.

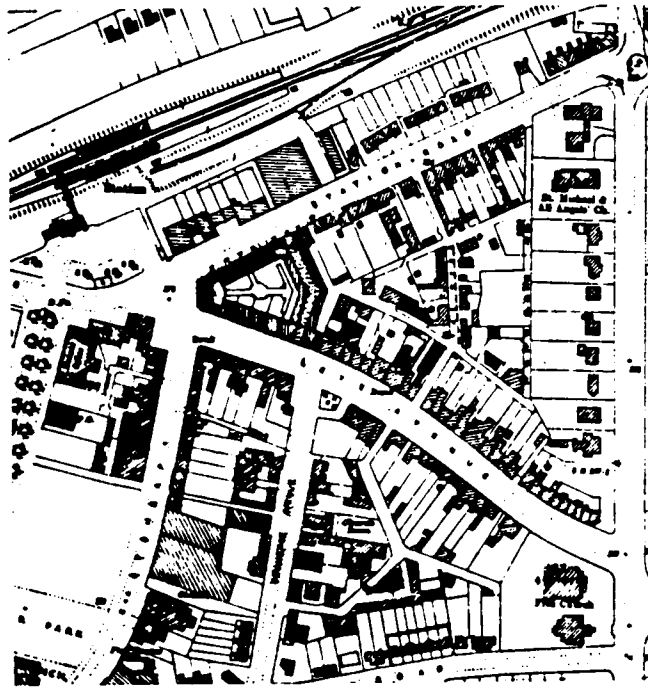


FIGURE 24. Letchworth Shopping Centre, 1948.

Source: Purdom, C. B.
The Building of Satellite Towns. London, 1949,
p. 105.

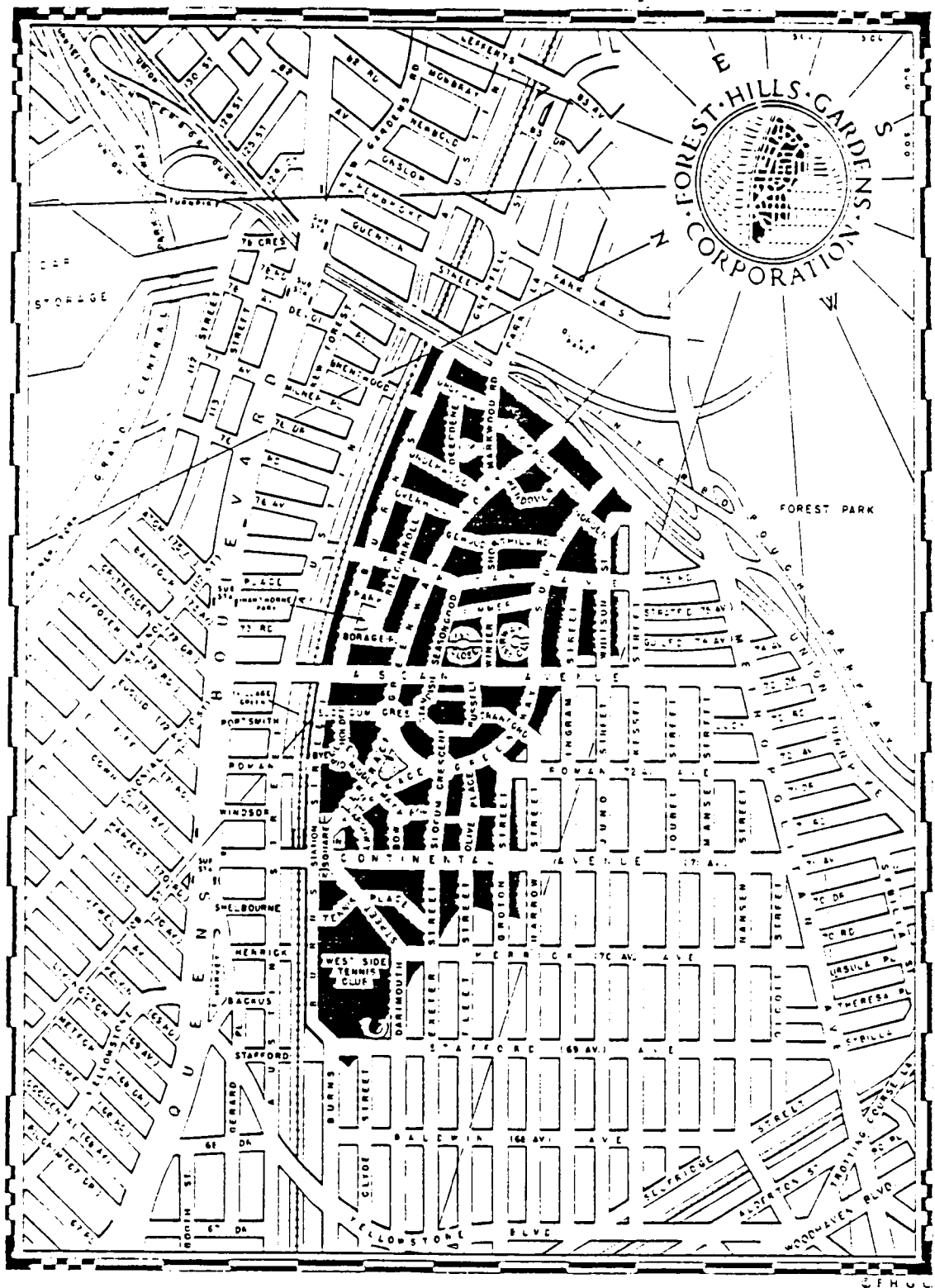


FIGURE 25. Frederick Law Olmsted and Grosvenor Atterbury: Forest Hills Gardens (the dark areas indicate the original layout).

Source: Courtesy: Forest Hills Garden Association.

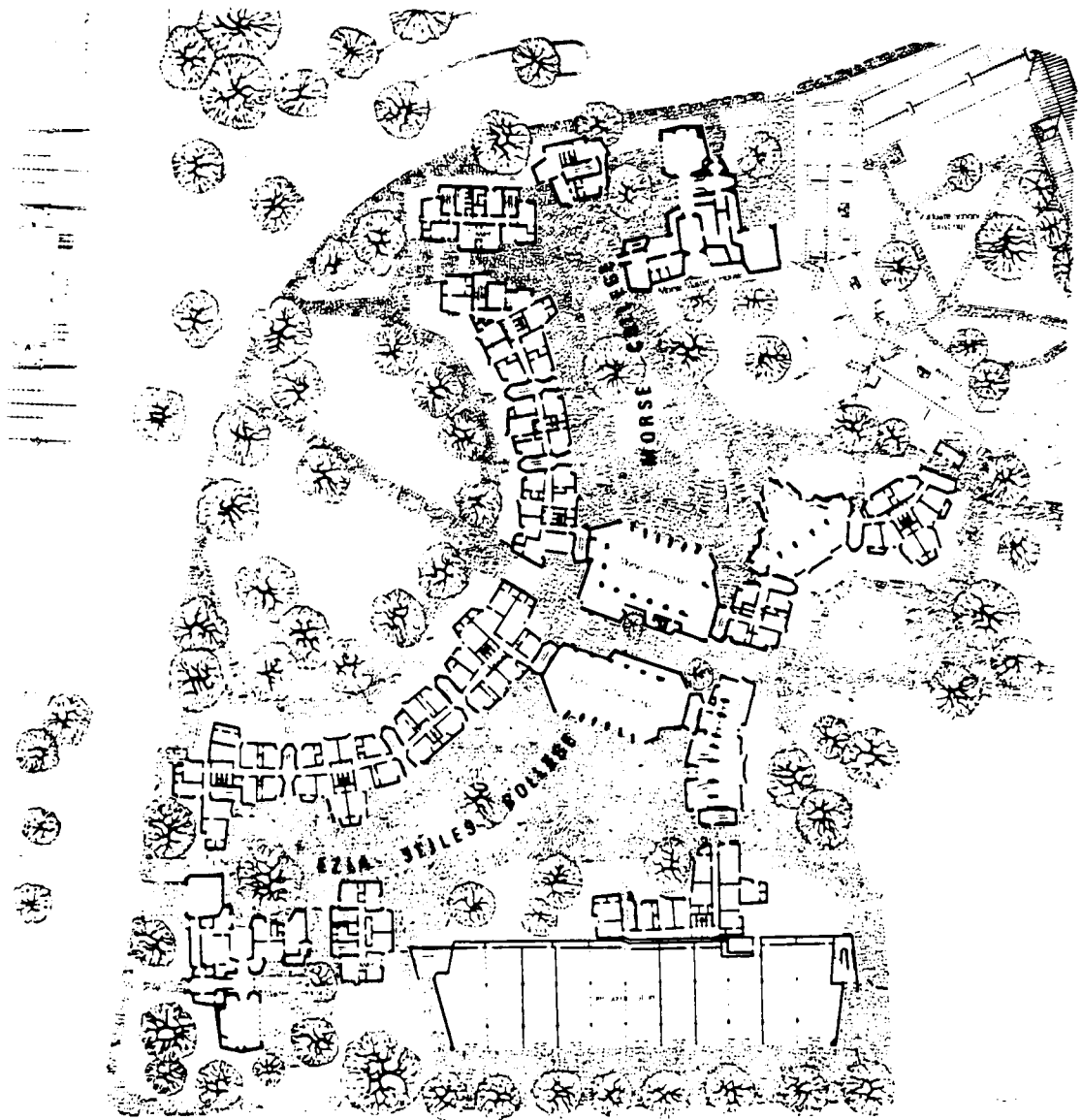


FIGURE 26. Eero Saarinen: Yale University Dormitories, 1958 - 1962.

Source: Architecture and Urbanism. Eero Saarinen. Tokyo, 1984, p. 138.

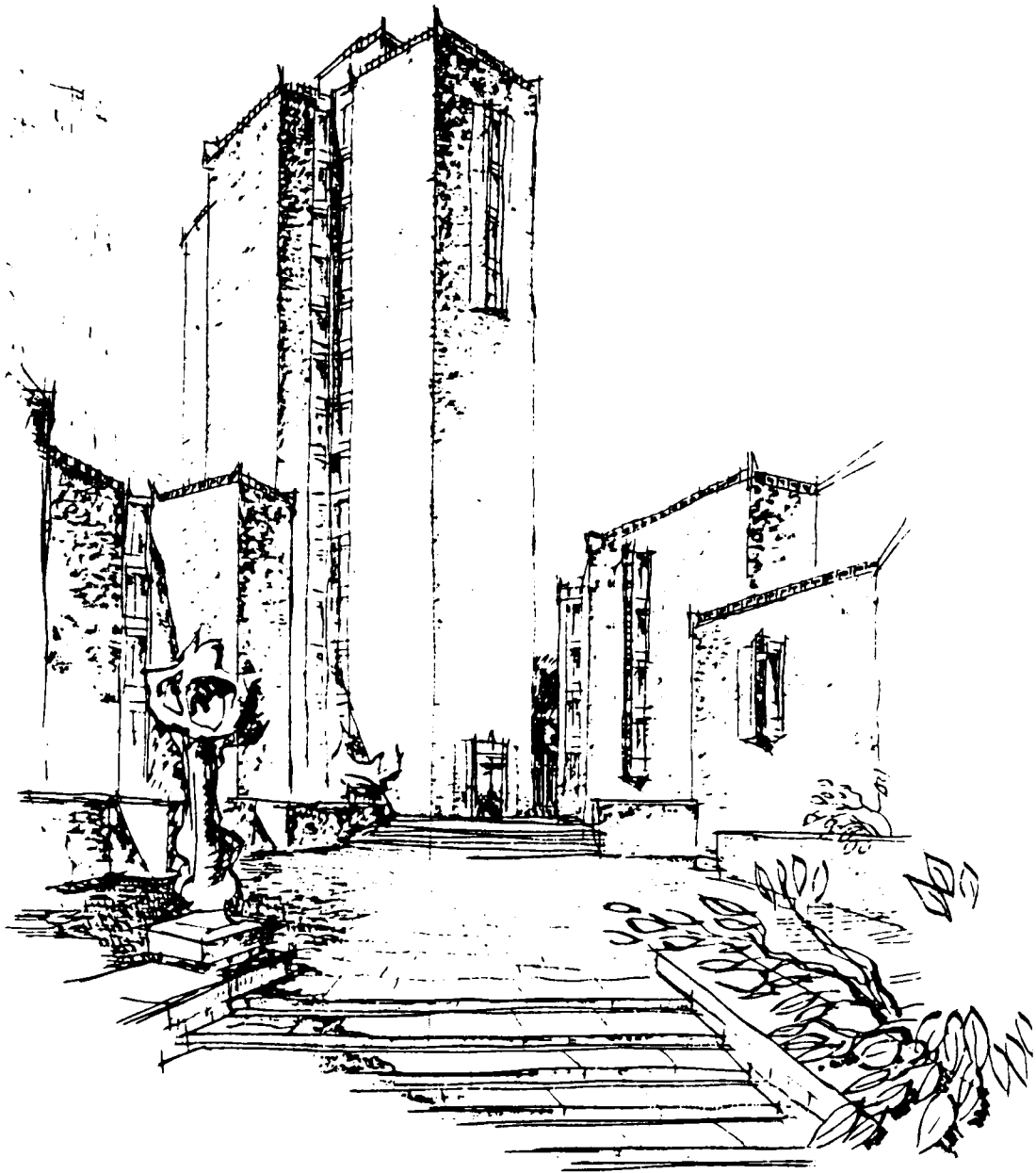


FIGURE 27. Eero Saarinen: Yale University Dormitories. Main Street.

Source: Saarinen, Eero. Eero Saarinen and his Work. New Haven, 1968, p. 94.

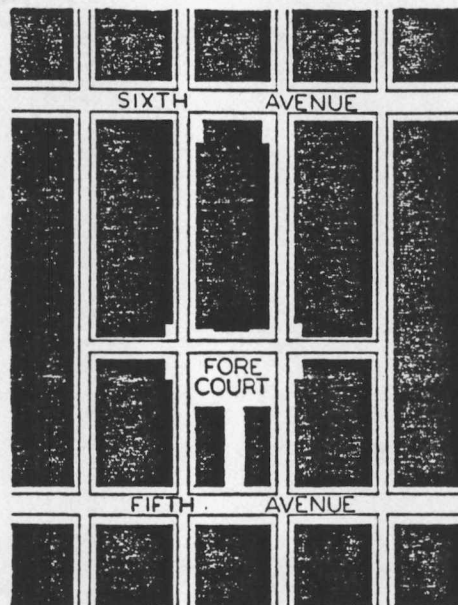


FIGURE 28. Radio City, New York.

Source: Gallion, Arthur. The Urban Pattern. New York, 1963, p. 395.

VITA

Ralph G. Wurzer was born in Villach, Austria, on August 28, 1958. He attended elementary school in Vienna, Austria, and graduated from 2.Bundesgymnasium, Wien XIX in May, 1974. In Fall of 1976 he entered the University of Technology in Vienna, Austria and received the Master of Urban and Regional Planning from this institution in 1984.

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