

M. Christine Boyer

M. Christine Boyer
The City of Collective Memory

Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England

© 1994 Massachusetts Institute of Technology
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form
by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording,
or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from
the publisher.

This book was set in Cochin by DEKR Corporation and was printed and
bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Boyer, M. Christine.

The city of collective memory : its historical imagery and architectural
entertainments / M. Christine Boyer.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-262-02371-7

1. City planning—Psychological aspects. 2. Architecture—Aesthetics.
3. Urban beautification. 4. Architecture and society.

I. Title.

NA9031.B72 1994

711'.4—dc20

94-10041
CIP

Contents

Acknowledgments

ix

Introduction

o n e

The Place of History and Memory in the Contemporary City

1

t w o

City Images and Representational Forms

31

P A R T

Historical Precedents for the City of Collective Memory

O N E

t h r e e

The City and the Theater 73

f o u r

The Art of Collective Memory 129

f i v e

Topographical Travelogues and City Views 203

s i x

Invented Traditions and Cityscapes 293

P A R T

Contemporary Forms of the City of Collective Memory

T W O

s e v e n

The Instruments of Memory 367

e i g h t

Manhattan Montage 421

Epilogue

n i n e

The City as Radical Artifice 479

Notes 495

Index 549

o n e

The Place of History and Memory in the Contemporary City

Postmodern Ambiguities

This work investigates representational images and architectural entertainments of present-day cities. By doing so, it attempts to critique the practice of architecture, city planning, and historic preservation in a specific manner. It recognizes that these arts still carry within their visual imaginations the influence of nineteenth-century procedures and representational views of city building. Perhaps unconsciously, often explicitly, they reach back to manipulate architectural fragments and traces formulated as expressions of nineteenth-century problems and needs, but then they insert these fragments into contemporary contexts that are controlled by vastly changed circumstances and desires. Engulfed and enframed by a set of new constraints forged in contemporary times, these fragments from the past appear denigrated by nostalgic sentiments that fuel their preservation or reconstruction, while our collective memory of public places seems undermined by historicist reconstructions. When juxtaposed against the contemporary city of disruption and disarray,

the detached appearance of these historically detailed compositions becomes even more exaggerated and attenuated.

Consequently, the role of history and memory and the concepts of space and time in our contemporary arts of city building need to be reconsidered when they rely too explicitly on constructs and models formulated in earlier periods. If these arts borrow nineteenth-century fabrications such as museumlike cities and travels in time, the trompe l'oeil wall painting and the tableau vivant, scenographic stage sets and civic spectacles, to cite only a few examples, then we need to understand both the historical organization of these visual genres in their original spatial and temporal contexts as well as their insertion and meaning within aestheticized cityscapes of today. Differing in visual and articulable qualities, these forms cannot be transferred from one age to another without making adjustments in the parameters of representability or accounting for changes in the social, political, and historical field of vision.

This book will argue that the shift of view from the present to the historical, from the modern to the traditional, from twentieth-century to nineteenth-century city forms, leaves many questions unanswered and not even posed. Designers of urban projects, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, seemed intent on arranging and detailing ornamental places of the city until a matrix of well-designed fragments appeared. In these compositional nodes, they called on history or local and regional traditions to specify through design codes and regulations the ambience and styles of particular places until an aestheticized aggregate prevailed.¹ But the matrix of places that results encourages partial, piecemeal vision pushing interstitial spaces out of its view. The deindustrialized and deterritorialized, displaced and disadvantaged, have no seat in this constructed array. As spectators or designers of these city scenes, we have allowed our visual imaginations to project this matrix with its apparent intervals and disconnected places onto a seemingly unified image of the city. In this illusionary totalized view, it is paradoxically the question of linkages and totality that matrices suppress: those that question how the past, the present, and the future are related; those that examine contemporary inversions that

privatize public space and publicize private space; or those that might admit the maligned but necessary idea of community, of public space, of a collective project to bind us together in harmony.

Matrices are a ploy in the postmodern war against totalities; their tactics are those of erasure and interruption. As opened-ended aggregates of details and differences, they never congeal into universals, always deferring closure that concepts such as "the public sphere," "the city plan," or "collective memory" by necessity require. To "totalize," on the other hand, is to yield to the modernist's desire to master and dominate city space, or to experience the city in a coherent and integrated manner. In our current negation of totalities, we no longer dare, as Sartre once said, to draw even a partial summing up of the historical and social situation to guide our future actions, to judge our collective project, or to prescribe necessary social transformations.² Adrift in a sea of fragments and open horizons, our postmodern position is ambiguous. We cannot speculate or reflect on a more rational and equitable form for the city, for fear of erecting perspectival wholes and illusionary totalities that might exclude or homogenize what we believe must remain plural and multiperspectival. Confronted with an all-too-totalizing system of late capitalism with its global reach and administrative rationalizations, however, the indeterminacies and undecidabilities of our postmodern stance offer no virtuous solutions with which to confront contemporary crises, nor allow us to oppose and resist the increasingly uneven development of our cities and nations. The aestheticized matrix with which we cover the city becomes a screen that allows us to perfect only partial attachments—to this local community, to that particular history, to these traditions. It displaces an engaged commitment, making us ambivalent about whether oppositional critics can effect any change. In other words, the pictorialization of space and time, which this book will explore within the contemporary arts of city building, shatters our place in the city and forbids us to envision a social order that we can reform. Although this pictorialization may amuse, lull, or even entertain us, it does not alienate, nor hold us accountable, nor sustain our resistance.

If modernism blew apart the relationship between history and the city, destroying the perception of architectural illusions that the nineteenth century put into place, then architecture in the 1970s and 1980s attempted to restore the public realm of the city, to reweave the shredded urban fabric, and to reconstruct a sense of collectivity and cooperation. But this gesture was fraught with paradoxical positions. Because inherited notions of good city form or any mention of "collective" entail a totalizing perspective, there are women, minorities, gays, and marginals, in particular, who have opened these forms of closure and exclusion to enable different voices and other positions to find expression. Yet something gained has also meant something lost: broken totalities that deconstruct the voice of paternalism and Western rationality come along with other things we don't necessarily want. We have lost a moral public sphere in this sea of plural voices; the better argument yields no collective weight, actually enabling the public sphere to be dominated by private voices selling fictional styles of life and imaginary behaviors.

By extension, we may see contemporary architectural expressions as vertical slices cutting across a matrix of plural styles and intertwining artistic expressions, rather than holding onto an Enlightenment or nineteenth-century view where even architectural styles, it was argued, followed a progressive and linear development. But if we do, then here too we have lost any authoritative voice that might orchestrate our civic spaces, any normative design that might bind our spirits together. Yet our desire for authentic memories and city experiences reveals an empathy for lost totalities, even though no one actually speaks out in favor of a unified city. Paradoxically, we seem to recognize that struggles over good city design are always multistructured, requiring alternative viewpoints and spectator positions, and we do seem aware of the exclusions our matrix engenders, but then we allow dominant voices to impose their meaning and to control the politics of representation. The contemporary arts of city building are derived from the perspective of white, middle-class architectural and planning professionals who worry in a depoliticized fashion about a city's competitive location in the global restructuring of capital, and thus myopically focus on improving a city's marketability by

enhancing its imageability, livability, and cultural capital. Since the early twentieth century, architecture has been a commodity as well as a form of publicity, but now in the triumphant culture of consumption, designer skylines and packaged environments have become vital instruments enhancing the prestige and desirability of place. Due to these paradoxical positions, we need, consequently, to examine our contemporary ambivalence that both desires yet rejects a view of the city as a constructed totality.

Another postmodern ambiguity that depoliticizes and neutralizes our critical awareness of contemporary city form lies in the manner in which we reference "history," and this too has to be reexamined. As being "modern" in the early part of the twentieth century meant, among other things, being self-consciously new, blowing up the continuum of tradition, and breaking with the past, the contemporary arts of city building, by returning to traditions established in the nineteenth century, explicitly jump over the city of modernism, hoping to drive that representational order out of their sight. In a conscious attempt to eradicate modernism's oppositional or critical stance that aimed to disrupt the hierarchical authority and official heritage that the nineteenth century bourgeoisie succored within their own set of historicizations and eclectic views, contemporary reevaluations of "history" have crushed any redeeming sense of tradition. By now, traditions have been so thoroughly "invented" or homogenized, and "history" so absolutely marketed or commodified, misrepresented, or rendered invisible, that any oppositional potential rooted in collective memory has been eclipsed completely. We need, therefore, to be reminded of Walter Benjamin's claim that all history writing is a story of the triumph of bourgeois values and represents the posthumous reconstruction of fragmented events according to a completely fabricated architecture. Benjamin felt that random historical objects from the past such as the debris to be found in flea markets or discrete historical events such as the construction of the first arcades must be allowed to violently collide with others, so that the present may achieve insight and critical awareness into what once had been.³ In a similar manner, our memory of the city, of pictorialized space and time, must be revitalized by

reexamining the writing of history as representation and by reawakening utopian involvement invested in architectural and urban forms.

In jumping over modernism's sense of history, however, contemporary historicizations are no different from any writing of history that aims to separate a present time from a past, to break with and differ from everything that has occurred just before and up to the present dividing line. This new discrete time period recognizes that everything in the recent past must be forgotten, eradicated, repressed, or treated as dead and unthinkable, in order to establish a new representational form. So Michel de Certeau claimed, every new time finds its legitimation in what it excludes. Yet this new time nevertheless welcomes the existence of earlier pasts, specified by earlier ruptures before the time of the current division—it even builds its representational forms out of materials from these accepted pasts, reorganized by conflicts and interests formed in the present.⁴

Consequently it is not surprising to find that the refuse and remnants of nineteenth-century architectural and urban traditions have been rescued by the avant-garde of contemporary times, although such salvage operations often appear to be enigmatic quotations and awkward supplements. If modernists were preoccupied with the present or current time, then architects and designers of the 1970s and 1980s grounded their own obsession on refiguring the past. Yet in these gestures they reaffirmed its perishability and death. The past, being over and done with, now falls prey to our invention. It is resuscitated or resurrected in partial or ironic refigurings, subsequently reinforcing our sense of loss and detachment. The City of Collective Memory, with its quasi-archeological presentations and stagings, bears witness again and again that something has vanished from our present-day cityscapes that we seek to regain and to review. Artistic forms and representational logics borrowed from the nineteenth century seem to hold sway over contemporary imaginations, becoming perniciously ideological when they are misrecognized as natural constructs and rational decisions. We should be suspicious of their control on our perception and how they insinuate their way into representational forms of the city, for representations always mediate between the spectator's perception of

reality and what might be reality: they are supplements or substitutes standing in for the "real," never establishing a perfect fit nor a mimetic relationship. To regain oppositional awareness in the contemporary city—an awareness sustained by a critical sense of history—we need to study the generative forces influencing their representational forms.

The Inversions of Public and Private Space

In the City of Collective Memory, we are interested particularly in the creation of meaningful and imaginative public spaces. Yet perhaps one of the most maligned constructs of today is the misrepresentation of the word "public" when applied to city places. A fresh look at the history of public space might sharpen the issue. Before the end of the eighteenth century, "public space" was usually designed as an honorific place celebrating the power of the king, queen, or aristocracy and used to recall and to invigorate their sovereign conduct and responsible actions. Think, for example, of the ceremonial city of late medieval and Renaissance times, whose important junctions and public spaces were marked at special times of the year with stages and scaffolds holding aloft theatrical tableaux vivants. As the royal procession paraded through the city from site to site, these dramatic tableaux revealed not only the terms by which royal authority was accepted, but also reflected the city's self-image of its own obligations. Eventually transcribed in stone, a memory system of public monuments and places arose, rearticulating these communal covenants and rehearsing their sovereign pledges.⁵

The great political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries transformed this ritual conscription of city space into the democratic public sphere. Here the meaning of public space was extended to include places of public debate and gatherings where the rational voice of the people could be heard. Now public authority was linked to a system of norms and regulations, and these in turn were publicly known, debated, and discussed until a consensus arose over their legitimate and rational application.⁶ The space of the city became the model of this rational bourgeois public sphere. By the end of the eighteenth century Paris, for example,

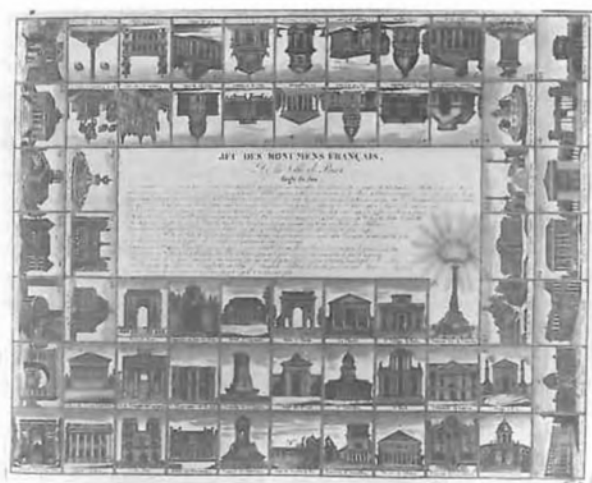
had been divided into twenty districts, and these subdivided into twenty sections: each section contained twenty houses, and each house numbered, its floors divided and all doors assigned a letter. Subsequently each individual residing in the city could be known and represented by their rational coordinates within this Cartesian grid; anything irrational and threatening disorder could be expelled from sight. Thus hospitals, cemeteries, poorhouses, and prisons were banished from the center of the city to reappear at marginal sites on the outskirts.⁷

Throughout the nineteenth century, as the working class rose up in protest and the uneducated and illiterate grew in numbers, the public sphere of the city was reconceptualized in terms of the rich and the poor. The "irrational" and repressed demands of the working and dangerous classes returned to haunt the streets and disturb the spaces of the city. Unreason was unleashed within the heart of the city, endangering and undermining the bourgeois foundations of order. Attempts were made to rout out this dangerous disease by piercing large boulevards through the slums and insalubrious areas of the city, but in the end these reforms only produced more riots, unrest, and anxiety. Because the rational demands of the poor were now met with irrational suppressions, "reason" could no longer legitimate the bourgeois public sphere, so its meaning began to evaporate.⁸ When the state tried to guarantee social order by promising to fulfill needs that the private sphere had long neglected, such as housing, transportation, education, and health services, then the concept of the public was transformed once again into the more abstract public sphere of the welfare state. Electoral reform and public education seemed to lie at the heart of this new public sphere, a rearrangement in which the topographical sites of the city could be readily employed. At the turn of the twentieth century, cities in the Western world underwent a revitalized period of civic improvement that embellished in an ad hoc manner municipal buildings, public libraries, railroad stations, public parks and parkways, bridges, and statuary, trying wherever possible to establish civic spaces of beauty and order. So a New York City Municipal Art Society Committee Report of 1905 proclaimed:

The inculcation of love for the city in which one lives, being only an enlarging of the love for home, is an end that should meet with response from the newest recruit to American principles. It is a form of patriotism that can appeal to all people who come to this country. . . . Adequate, dignified, beautiful governmental buildings will produce an effect on the governed which mere holders of office as individuals cannot do.⁹

Once again, in the last few decades there has been a restructuring of concepts: the "public" has become a negative concept connoting unruly bureaucracies, corrupt officials, inefficient management, regulatory impositions, and burdensome taxations. Meanwhile, "private" has been refurbished with an exalted image: the freedom of the market and the freedom of choice and style of life that commodities and wealth can provide.¹⁰ As the importance of public space in the center of cities has waned—in part the result of explosive privatization that both the rise of suburbs and the media revolution have engendered—then private space becomes more valued than public places. Most civic improvement schemes and inner-city spatial recyclings play on this inversion of values—creating private preserves for the wealthy that are then transformed into "public amenities" by allowing a select group of people to stroll unimpeded along their corridors and spaces of power. Yet even this contemporary reference to the public is a universalizing construct that assumes there is a collective whole, while in reality the city's public is fragmented into marginalized groups, many of whom have no access to or voice and representation in the public spaces of our revitalized and gentrified cities.

The public realm of the City of Collective Memory should entail a continuous urban topography, a spatial structure that covers both rich and poor places, honorific and humble monuments, permanent and ephemeral forms, and should include places for public assemblage and public debate, as well as private memory walks and personal retreats. Having lost this understanding, the spatial form of the contemporary city reveals a patchwork of incongruous leftover pieces alongside a



Game of Chance, "Jeu des monuments français de la Ville de Paris," (1810).

set of artfully designed compositions. Even though "the public" may be referenced in these well-designed nodes, not one of these places actually addresses the metropolitan whole nor recollects what the city totality requires. Instead, designers formalistically draw on nineteenth-century manuals of civic art that prescribe an order and harmony for each inserted enclosure, but then fail to link these sites together or relate them to the layers of history and people that the city actually presents. The result is the city matrix that we explored above, an instrumental symbol of order that Stephen Tyler has called the "ultimate thought picture of Western desire."¹¹ Instrumentally imposed on the surface of the city by the developer, the planner, the preservationist, or urban designer, it is the web of space that defines the city as an array of well-defined or historically preserved places. But this array entraps and inhibits our desire to explore what resides outside of the grid, or to understand what must be done to obtain an open and just society. This latter project requests that we reconceptualize and reformulate banished theories of the public sphere and how this affects contemporary constructs of urbanism or the process of planning the city.

The Generating Powers of a City Plan

If the contemporary city suffers from an inadequate and misguided process of planning, then perhaps a reexamination of some of the latter's historical roots might awaken forgotten intentions. A sense of urbanism or a process of city planning was one of the procedures by which the Enlightenment aestheticized absolute power—parceling and redistributing it through a utopia of rationalized space. Those who held Enlightenment ideals projected that scientific and technical instruments of rationality would control chaotic urban form and provide an emancipatory public sphere and an improved quality of life for all citizens in newly formed democratic states. Behind every city plan and architectural project lay the wildly utopic belief that society was progressing toward a better future, that industrial production when harnessed by collective desires would erase want, eradicate disease, and supplant revolution. An architectural regime that controlled the behavior of individuals

belonged to this instrumental rationality: believing that architecture itself could effect and reform social behavior. If the masses, housed and fed by meager allowances and expanding in number within the working-class districts of nineteenth-century industrial cities, presented a dangerous threat to social stability, then how better to discipline their behavior and instill democratic sentiments and a morality of self-control than through exemplary architectural expression and city planning improvements?

Michel Foucault explained how disciplinary procedures were developed during the nineteenth century to produce efficient, well-behaved, and productive individuals: how norms of good behavior and rationality were internalized through education and training.¹² But the development of disciplinary structures transforming individual behavior also implied that a utopian image of a well-governed and comely arranged city must first be developed. This idea was based on the assumption that an exemplary model was antecedent to perception and only secondarily produced the normative behavior expected of each individual. If the self could be constructed, its identity specifically shaped by educational experiences, then for each individual to willingly blend into a collective totality and to enable the spirit of the whole to prevail, it was necessary that a harmonious arrangement of society be represented, its organizational rules learned, remembered, and applied. Georges Canguilhem, in his work entitled *The Normal and the Pathological* (1966), found "the social order [to be] a set of rules with which the servants or beneficiaries, in any case, the leaders, must be concerned. The order of life is made of a set of rules lived without problems."¹³

Many treatises written in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and once again at the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, so Foucault described, outlined the art of governance—accounts that taught not only how a citizen should conduct himself and be spiritually led, but how as well the sovereign ruler should govern the state, what were her/his moral duties and obligations to her/his subjects, and how the sovereign's own behavior should be ruled by rational forces, not the persuasion of might. The sovereign was like a wise head

of the family carefully supervising his household economy for the common good of all its members. Intelligently governed, the state or household economy produced the greatest wealth; it operated efficiently without waste, it created sufficient means of subsistence, and so its members multiplied and prospered. This was the positive art of governance, a pastoral model in which the leader positively ensured, sustained, and improved the life of each individual. It supplanted the model of brute force and hierarchical privilege negatively imposing laws and sanctions. The pastoral model implied that a ruler must have sufficient knowledge to judge wisely, and must know the needs of the subjects and the state of the nation, its markets and trade, its territory and property. But it also implied that subjects were well educated, obedient, and acted responsibly so that they too partook of the art of governance. To ensure acts of self-governance, citizens were presented with visual models to internalize, remember, and apply.

Consequently, if a wise leader were to follow these directives, she or he would architecturally embellish a capital city to visually demonstrate what the order and organization of a well-governed state or society should be. This sovereign would place a conceptual diagram before each subject that outlined the city's collective infrastructure and networks of communication, its provisions for public hygiene and edification, and its arrangements for private housing.¹⁴ We can turn to a little known reformer of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, A. Perreymonde, to examine how a sovereign might establish such a relation between a unified perceptual image of the city and the moral governance of its citizens. Commenting on the state of Paris in the 1840s and hoping to augment the grandeur and power of Louis Philippe, Perreymonde noted that the city had disintegrated into a series of autonomous residential quarters and had lost its formal coherence and dominating influence over its citizenry. The core of Paris, he proclaimed "must be ONE, STABLE, CENTRAL, and ACTIVE BY ITSELF," and so he emphasized that the grand crossing of routes at the center of the city must be strengthened.¹⁵

Designing a new plan for Paris, Perreymonde highlighted only the significant streets, reducing the rest of the fabric to neutral background. Against this

backdrop he dramatized important buildings, and by creating a series of major new streets he not only specified the location of the three symbolic centers of government, school, and the city—the Louvre, University, and Hôtel de Ville—but he as well gathered what had become a series of autonomous residential quarters into one large district by enclosing them within a newly formed network of streets. The residential instability of Paris, accentuated by its numerous insalubrious quarters, so Perreymonde believed, was an abnormal state of affairs and led to moral and material decay. These districts must be regularized and pierced by large straight routes so that the population could be stabilized and begin to prosper. Finally, Perreymonde stressed the role of history in unifying the city totality: creating new squares surrounding significant churches and historic structures, which set them off from the rest of the city. A new representational order was imagined for Paris: an expansive and majestic panorama that drew the totality together, outlining only its significant sites for public embellishment and inspiring its citizens, through the contemplation of its sublimity and grandeur, to be rational and orderly in their public affairs.¹⁶

Both Napoleon I and Napoleon III understood this art of governance that embellished and beautified cities. Envisioning themselves to be the spiritual fathers of their nation, they both desired to represent the collective spirit and social harmony of their sovereign responsibility by turning nineteenth-century Paris into a universal museum containing a collection of historic artifacts and monumental structures. Building on the classical art of memory, which associated specific ideas with unique locations within an imaginary structure and then linked these ideas through a memory walk from place to place, Napoleon III in particular conceived of the architectural promenade not only to bind his city of Paris into one cohesive unit, but to act as a memory walk through the historic monuments and grandiose architectural facades that represented the heroic accomplishments and communal responsibilities of his directorship. It was assumed that the ties that bound the city of Paris to its history were revealed to the spectator through its architecture, while "history" so embodied in the fabric of the city represented an ordering structure

enabling each spectator to understand its heroic and virtuous lessons and the progress and stewardship its shaping revealed. Not only was the city with its collection of monuments expected to be a source of inspiration, but monumental buildings were as well theatrical backdrops for dramatic representation and enduring civic display.¹⁷

César Daly, an architectural critic, embellished these nineteenth-century desires for a unified and monumental city by using his *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* as an instrument of both architectural and social reform. As early as 1843, Daly already perceived that vistas and aerial views articulated a unity and urban order that could not be gained by a viewer traveling through the city along its rude labyrinthian streets. A bird's-eye perspective offered the spectator not only an outline of the circulation scheme that ordered the city, but it also revealed the relative importance of specific buildings and gardens to the degree that each stood out from the whole. So he wrote

Nothing is so beautiful as great horizons, immense landscapes, perspectives whose extent one's eye cannot seize. Great spectacles reinvigorate man's forces, stir his heart and seduce his imagination. It is only from on high that one apprehends the masses of great monuments, reads their true dispositions and real character, and recognizes the general arrangement of their parts. . . .¹⁸

As Daly outlined, a visual and unified city could be achieved through a program of public works. In his view the plan of streets, along with canals and railroads, became the ordering structure of the city linking together different sites, both historic and contemporary, and thus became the generating device for its civic inspiration. Simultaneously the collection of civic structures in the heart of the city reinforced the center's position as an object of public admiration and spiritual elevation.¹⁹

These ideas outlining a memory system for the nineteenth-century city still influence contemporary architects and planners, albeit in a submerged and

unconscious manner. The last two decades in particular have been concerned as well with the problem of time: of permanence and discontinuity, of generation and rupture. We want to know what aspects of the city plan resist change and which do not, or what structures or forms have evolved slowly and collectively over time? And just how does the city become the locus of collective memory and not simply an outdoor museum or a collection of historic districts? Although we are no longer interested in the ties that bind sovereign to citizen nor the creation of a totalistic perspective over a unified city, yet there is a dormant *desire* hidden behind many of our contemporary historicizations that the chance survival or willful preservation of architectural remnants and monuments within the city retain the visible marks of the passage of time and enable them to symbolize or encapsulate a culture of place. And although we may no longer be deluded by a naive Enlightenment belief that architecture can reform behavior or that moral norms can be deduced from architectural expressions, and we hardly place much faith in the architectural promenade as a narrative journey that controls our perception of or unifies the city, nevertheless we still want public spaces to penetrate our aesthetic sensibility and offer spiritual and pleasurable experiences. And like architects of the nineteenth century, we too in contemporary times recognize the importance of history to our sense of place and well-being. Daly proclaimed, "To neglect history, to neglect memory, that which is owed to our ancestors, is then to deny oneself; it is to begin suicide."²⁰

One link between past and present urban memory systems, which translates these desires into contemporary forms, lies in the work of Marcel Poëte, Professor at the University of Paris from 1914 to 1948, and before that director of the Bibliothèque des Travaux Historique de Ville de Paris. Poëte keeps cropping up in this book in surprising places—as a collector of Atget's photographs of forgotten byways and passages in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century or as an influence on the urban theories of Aldo Rossi in the 1960s. Poëte believed the urbanist to be a doctor who treats the city as a living being that is born, evolves, acts and reacts, is modified and expands, declines and dies. As doctors of cities,

Poëte warned, we must collect all the visual symbols of this urban being—all the evidence of its pathologies and normalities, gathering and storing all the memory tokens from bygone times, so that in our present time we can arrive at an equilibrium between the urban being and its material environment. It is the play of functions that explains the arrangement of life in the city—functions such as a market or a theater that confer a soul or personality on their surrounding districts. The quarter becomes the essential element of the city to study, for the city complex is composed of quarters, each with its own characteristics and each part related to the whole, thus defining the urban totality. In addition, Poëte noted that across historical periods there exists a certain constancy of themes discernable in a city's monuments, pattern of streets, and fragments of the original plan that persist over time. In fact, Poëte argued, the plan becomes both the real and abstract generator of subsequent urban form, and by studying this plan a spectator can understand the spatial arrangement of the city itself.²¹ Cities tend to hold to their original pattern, yet still grow and evolve, deform or transform their inherited shapes. It is these permanences that mark the difference for Poëte between the contemporary and historical city: they are the artifacts that give meaning to and constitute our memory of a city.²²

These nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban theorists expected that a city's formal structure and material appearance could signify its civic prowess, historical achievements, and wholeness of being. They demanded that places and monuments transfer meaning and knowledge across generations, indeed that these artifacts actually generate memory and inscribe civic conduct. But simultaneously this opened up the possibility that city forms could fail to generate meaning and memory, that partial structures could cause memory loss by disrupting signification and decentering the spectator. It seems that Poëte was pointing at this when he called the urbanist a doctor of cities who read and interpreted the normal and pathological signs of the city. And indeed two discourses did arise in the nineteenth century that focused on improving the material form of the city from these different perspectives. Architects outlined the rules and regulations that would produce an

ideal state of good city form, unifying diversities and eradicating differences. Following Canguilhem we call this "normal space," and however you carve it up it is centered, mappable, and manipulable space never allowing for visualizable gaps. It is above all else exclusionary space incapable of articulating or making sense of much of the paradoxical and irrational world, and hence allows neither unrealized possibilities to happen nor unexpected events to take place. On the other hand, nascent planners of the nineteenth century set their gaze on the deviances and abnormalities that defined the pathological city. To restore the city to an assumed normal or healthy state and to recompose its ideal form, they summoned up a body of statistics, legal regulations, and cause-and-effect instrumental controls, aiming to correct these abnormalities. In their attempt to heal the ills of the city, they disavowed its physical form, treating the space of the city like the body of a woman, who also in the nineteenth century was envisioned as a site of excess, of hysterics, of illnesses and exclusions.

— We still have this inheritance today: architects hoping to heal the image of the city brutalized by modern intrusions through contemporary incremental insertions, contextual additions, or figured zoning, trying in this manner to retie "knots" in the unraveling city fabric, reintroducing a human scale, a sense of place and tradition that the modern city destroyed. And city planners remain even more disturbingly abstract than their nineteenth-century forebears, manipulating policies that ride high above the city's physical form, breaking the syntax that enables them to speak about bodies and buildings in space. Whether from a normal or pathological perspective, it seems today that we still are ruled by a latent desire for a perfectly ordered and rational city, excluding everything that does not fit into this utopian mold. We still look to civic architecture to legitimate state interventions and help us remember exemplary actions. We long nostalgically for public spaces and monumental architecture in which the spirit of the city or the grandeur of a nation can be expressed. And in contested terrains, it is still a fragile issue of how to tie the obligations of citizens to state directives. Often it is suggested through monumental gestures and architectural displays. After the bright white nothingness

of modernity, once again we expect to draw forth from the urban terrain hidden meanings and unconscious memories that we believe lie buried in the material form and generating structure of the city: meanings and memories that offer the pleasure of recognition and collective well-being.

The Writing of History and Memory Crises

This book about memory in the city is also about architectural entertainments and the pleasure that spectators find in, or at least expect from, architectural expressions. In the City of Collective Memory, we find that different layers of historical time superimposed on each other or different architectural strata (touching but not necessarily informing each other) no longer generate a structural form to the city but merely culminate in an experience of diversity. Especially in the last few decades, these architectural residues from earlier times have become important sites of pleasure. Perhaps it is the elusive quality of these outmoded places or their precarious state of existence that offers the spectator pleasure. Or pleasure might be found because these fragments reawaken forgotten memories that have long been dormant, or because their original function and purpose have been erased, allowing the viewer to substitute invented traditions and imaginary narrations. Maybe it is only that these traces from the past interrupt the normal fast-paced tempo of city life and as countercurrents and back eddies in the flow of events momentarily subvert the traveler's directions and plans. Whatever it is, these fragments and remnants cause an unexpected shift of attention, allowing a reappraisal of their presence in the city.

To fully appreciate or be able to read this cityscape as text, however, spectators are required to look at the city not only in formal and functional terms, but in figural or interpretive ways as well. Yet the pure vision imposed by modernist theories of urban space destroyed any relationship that might have existed between form and figure, or a rational and subjective view. By erasing historical references and linguistic allusions, the modernists constructed a disciplined city of pure form that displaced memory and suppressed the tug of the fantastic. They relied too



Panoramic Wallpaper, "Les Grands Boulevards de Paris," (c. 1855).

heavily on the power of science to reduce perception to that which could be conceptualized or visualized. By following the path of scientific methodology and assuming their role to be that of social engineering, *they* sought an absolute correspondence between the exterior city reality and its truthful and purified representation. On the other hand, to read across and through different layers and strata of the city requires that spectators establish a constant play between surface and deep structured forms, between purely visible and intuitive or evocative allusions.²³

We might begin to build a passage between the two, and reestablish a linkage between objective and subjective views, by reconsidering how we write and read "history," because that is what we are trying to evoke in the City of Collective Memory: a better reading of the history written across the surface and hidden in forgotten subterrains of the city. Throughout this book we will encounter two liminally conjoined spaces: that of history/memory, or that of objective thought/subjective testimony. In each of these pairs, however, a line is drawn separating one from the other such that the continuity of movement between the two is inhibited if not forbidden. The writing of modern "history"—a term coined in the eighteenth century—seemed to have established itself as the guardian of this threshold, for it banished subjective storytelling, eliminated the dangers of otherness, and eradicated lived traditions so that it could substitute instead a fictional order of time progressing toward the future, ever improving upon the past.

Thus modern Western history was established on an act of repression and separation: repressing archaic spectacles and mythical appearances and separating the time frame of the present from that of the past.²⁴ If ancient history had been the collection of great lessons and exemplary accounts to guide action and persuade thought in the present, or if people's actions were believed to be tied to the terrestrial influence of the stars and interventions of God's will, then modern history attempted instead to narrate a true and objective picture of how the past must have been. The modern age wanted cold clear facts, not mythical narrations or religious significations. The experience of constant change and revolution in the late eighteenth and

nineteenth century spawned a widespread awareness that time was constantly changing, and that past, present, and future time periods were categorically distinct. History's didactic role and its lessons that endured across the ages were transformed. Instead, "history" seemed to be constructed by individuals, the present plannable and future outcomes predictable. "History" established a linear sequence of cause and effect: it belonged to science and the present, not rhetorical persuasion or didactic illustration. Thus the past as a separate period of time was to be critically analyzed and instrumentally reconstructed in order to achieve for the present an independent and critical awareness of things.²⁵

Consequently, history writing throughout the nineteenth century, and again in the contemporary arts of city building, meant an increasing instrumentalization of the past, substituting a framed space contrasting with the thickness of reality, replacing the teller of tales with the narrator of history. Baudelaire would criticize this instrumentalization in his prose poem "Windows," claiming that

he who looks in from the outside through an open window never sees as many things as he who looks at a closed window. There is no object deeper, more mysterious, more fruitful, more shadowy, more dazzling, than a window lit by a candle. What one can see in the sunshine is always less interesting than what goes on behind a pane of glass. In this black or lighted hole life lives, life dreams, life suffers.²⁶

The narrator of history, in Baudelaire's poem, has substituted a preoccupation with reality and truthful representation for experiential knowledge and imaginary musings.

Walter Benjamin would reiterate this substitution of experience with factual accounts, noting in modern times that

experience has fallen in value. And it looks as if it is continuing to fall into bottomlessness. Every glance at a newspaper demonstrates that it has reached

a new low, that our picture, not only of the external world but of the moral world as well, overnight has undergone changes which were never thought possible.²⁷

This diminution of experience in the early decades of the twentieth century could be witnessed in the proliferation of information whose quantitative ascendancy was matched step by step with its qualitative decline. "Every morning," Benjamin noted, "brings us the news of the globe and yet we are poor in noteworthy stories."²⁸ Journalistic accounting of events was intentionally divorced from everyday experience and its very brevity, its newsworthiness and its juxtaposition, column by column, with other random events only enhanced this feeling of separation.²⁹ When storytelling was alive, Benjamin felt, experience was still embedded in tradition and connected with historical memory. Thus storytelling always contained some useful advice or conventional moral from the past: it conveyed experiences that were still meaningful within the shared communal life of its listeners. But modern life had transformed collective experience into a series of fragmented and privatized events. When the worlds of memory replaced themselves in rapid succession, as they did in the nineteenth century, then the continuum of tradition was ruptured irrevocably.³⁰

Benjamin went even further, exploring within the modern metropolis this degraded nature of experience with its ensuing loss of memory. The city, or so Benjamin thought, once offered pleasurable streets and phantasmagorical visions, beckoning the stroller to explore. But as the familiar patterns of experience declined throughout the nineteenth century, the modern metropolis met the spectator's gaze with "shock experiences." The swelling crowd in large cities, for example, buffeted the spectator about, subjecting her or him to traumatic collisions and abrasive noises. Inevitably for sheer survival, the spectator's conscious awareness withdrew from such negative experiences, while a veil descended protecting the viewer against such attacks. Thus memory traces, once recorded as experiences in a direct and natural manner, failed to register at all. Consequently the continuum of traditional experience and remembrance embedded in spatial forms, once thought to be

the ordering structure of the city and the generating device for memory, was impoverished beyond recognition. This continuum could only be resuscitated synthetically and unnaturally in frozen city landscapes where memory had fallen asleep, lulled by the comfort of "once upon a time."³¹

For Benjamin, writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, the present must be awakened from the phantasmagorical spell of nineteenth-century images that still dazzled and controlled awareness and memory. As "history" now seemed to be composed of these images or snapshots, not narratives or stories, a voyage into the deep structure of these memory images must precede reawakening. Hence Benjamin became a collector of out-of-date artifacts, seemingly disparate memorabilia of bygone times, which he subsequently used to develop new perception and substitute for the loss of memory taking place in the present. The discarded and ruinous arcades, souvenirs, street signs, railroad stations, winter gardens, and panoramas were collective dream images carried over from the nineteenth century whose psychic force, Benjamin believed, still held sway over a spectator's subconscious and inhibited anything new from occurring. By placing these objects in unique contexts and configurations, they became a new form of "shock experience" used to reawaken memory. They enabled the spectator to think through dream images and to achieve a critical awareness of the present.³²

("Memory" and "remembrance" seemed to be in crisis throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³³ Finally the act of remembrance, having severed its ties with everyday experience, was driven out of sight and into the unconscious at the very moment when the metropolis seemed to threaten the psychological stability of the spectator, when totalistic vision and the ability to represent collective reality were reduced to analyzing leftover fragments and outmoded scraps, when the acceleration of time seemed to open up a void, closing off any meaningful access to the past. A panoramic flow of unstable visions offered a new accounting of memory disturbances: those of amnesia, paramnesia, hypermnesia, for example, all narrate not only an increasing medicalization of memory disturbances at the end of the nineteenth century, but reveal as well a growing

anxiety and need to establish a normal relationship between the present and the past. How much memory was good for the present, both reaffirming our connection with the past and enabling the transmission of moral values that guaranteed social stability? Where should memory tokens be stored lest they burden the present with unnecessary remembrances? And what were the techniques by which forgotten memories and hidden traces could be recalled to conscious narration?³⁴

Of course, Sigmund Freud contributed considerably to the internalization of this memory crisis. He believed that the recollection of repressed memories was a partial reconstruction, a fictional retelling that actually took the place of personal histories now lost from sight.³⁵ Delving into the deep structure of dreams and concealed forms of expression that condensed, distorted, or displaced the real materials of life, Freud aimed to impose or to narrate a connected story from these underlying and fragmentary meanings and thus restore continuity to the patient's everyday life. Henri Bergson also focused on memory, consciousness, and duration in the late nineteenth century. Reality, for Bergson, was always a composite collection of things—a representation that became problematic only when individuals lost their ability to discern that representation contained two different presences, one of recollection and one of perception. By mixing these together, individuals often projected outside themselves states that were purely internal. These two different lines of external observation and of internal experience, however, must converge for recollection to insert itself correctly into perception. And memory was the key to the restoration of perception.³⁶ When we search for a recollection that escapes us, Bergson claimed,

We become conscious of an act . . . by which we detach ourselves from the present in order to replace ourselves, first in the past in general, then in a certain region of the past—a work of adjustment, something like the focusing of a camera. But our recollection still remains virtual; we simply prepare ourselves to receive it by adopting the appropriate attitude. Little by little it comes into view like a condensing cloud; from the virtual state it passes into the actual . . .³⁷

A student of Bergson, Maurice Halbwachs, would elaborate on and revise these theories in the 1920s and 1930s, making them more available to planners and architects. Halbwachs claimed that collective memory was rooted in concrete social experiences and associated with temporal and spatial frameworks. Forgetting, he felt, was not necessarily caused by obstacles that had to be removed, as Freud and Bergson had professed, but instead was the result of vague fragmentary impressions producing inadequate stimuli to prompt awareness.³⁸ Memories, Halbwachs suggested, were recalled by time periods, by recollecting places visited and by situating ideas or images in patterns of thought belonging to specific social groups. Memory was essentially social, for Halbwachs claimed, "a man who remembers alone what others do not remember resembles somebody who sees what others do not see. It is as if he suffers from hallucinations."³⁹ Thus memory orients experience by linking an individual to family traditions, customs of class, religious beliefs, or specific places. Halbwachs rejected Bergson's claim that memory was individualistic, represented by a horizontal series or flow of perceptions. Instead, for Halbwachs, memory was based on lived experience, something that reached out of the past and seized the individual in the manner of naive and immediate knowledge. Memory had to be linked to lived experience; otherwise it was reduced to "history," becoming abstract or intellectualized reconstructions, debased or faked recollections. Diverting the flow of perceptions, memory made the rememberer aware of time and offered a perspective on the past that membership in a group provided. And memory always unfolded in space, for when memories could not be located in the social space of a group, then remembrance would fail. Consequently, the activity of recollection must be based on spatial reconstruction.⁴⁰

So it seems that at every rupture point between the moderns and the traditionalists there occurs a memory crisis—at the end of the nineteenth century and once again in the last few decades of the twentieth century—a problematization of the normal relationship of the present to the past. A memory crisis is provoked, perhaps, by the very desire to establish a rupture, to break with recent traditions, to slay the father as the modernists did and the postmodernists propose. As every

memory crisis recognizes that something is lacking in the present, a desire develops to collect tokens from the past, to store them in museums and collections lest these items be allowed to slip from our view, be forgotten in the dust of time, or be free to roam at will and thus disturb the road to the future. But then there arises a new problem of where to put our memory tokens and what should be the appropriate balance between the present and the past, for collecting can be obsessive, repeating over and over the desire to recapture a vanished past, to restore that which is lacking and gone from the present until one—like John Ruskin in the nineteenth century—loses one's mind.⁴¹ And like the last half of the nineteenth century, we too have experienced a "Trenzy of the visible": a memory crisis of too many images, too phantasmagorical, too commodified, that inhibit the recall and recollection of images stored in the mind.⁴²

Recognizing this crisis, an attempt was made in the late nineteenth century to medicalize memory disturbances and to classify disorders that blocked a patient's normal access to the past. And so it seems today. Zones once silenced and rejected as marginal territories now loom into view as what the past lacked and what must be brought back into memory: madness, carnivals and festivals, the masquerade and the melodrama, women's studies and black studies, subaltern cultures and, of course, the City of Collective Memory become frontiers of new exploration.⁴³ And once again it is a matter of subjective interpretation, not of objective and rational science. In the modern age, it was assumed that individuals could know with certainty what was true and what was false, what was normal and what pathological, what was rational and what irrational. But there was always a tug from below mediating the truth of the world, turning its arrogant confidence back on itself, destroying any account of the way we represent the true and the normal.⁴⁴

As Gilles Deleuze has noted in his commentary on Michel Foucault,

The unthought is therefore not external to thought but lies at its very heart, as that impossibility of thinking which doubles or hollows out the outside.⁴⁵

The folding or doubling is itself Memory: the "absolute memory" or memory of the outside, beyond the brief memory inscribed in strols and archives.⁴⁶

To think means to be embedded in the present-time stratum [the outside] that serves as a limit: what can I see and what can I say today? But this involves thinking of the past as it is condensed in the inside, in the relation to oneself (there is a Greek in me, or a Christian, and so on). We will then think the past against the present and resist the latter, not in favour of a return but "in favour, I hope, of a time to come" (Nietzsche), that is, by making the past active and present to the outside so that something new will finally come about, so that thinking, always, may reach thought.⁴⁷

Remembering and recollection today have achieved new importance as the contemporary metropolis becomes a source of constant exchanges in and relays of information, and represents a physical site in which images and messages seem to swirl about, devoid of a sustaining context. Recall no longer refers exclusively to psychological memory—our ability to recollect forgotten experiences and retrieve them to conscious awareness. Nor is memory considered to be collective, in the sense that it is linked to the social and physical space of a people and related to the transmission of values and traditions. The presence of interpretative systems that translate memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms have vanished once and for all. Our memory crisis seems to be based on our need to establish counter-memories, resisting the dominant coding of images and representations and recovering differences that official memory has erased. If the purities of modern urban planning have left us face to face with displacement, disengagement, and disenchantment when it comes to the urban experience; if the visualizations of multinational capitalism present an array of oppositions juxtaposing homelessness and luxury spaces, soup kitchens and haute cuisine, smells of decay and obsession with perfume—a montage of images that confuses us and makes us question still further our place in the city—then today's memory crisis seems to rest on our need

to interweave disjunctive and noncommensurable images to establish connections across the city and reappropriate its utopian promise.⁴⁸ We are compelled to create new memory walks through the city, new maps that help us resist and subvert the all-too-programmed and enveloping messages of our consumer culture. But how can the arts of city building attend to the city of tradition and memory without limiting its horizons to conciliatory conclusions and foreclosing zones of uncertainty and complexity, without imposing unjustifiable control over the city and exercising unwarranted authority over others? This is the contemporary challenge that the arts of city building must wield against postmodern furies.⁴⁹ Can we, like Walter Benjamin before us, recall, reexamine, and recontextualize memory images from the past until they awaken within us a new path to the future? This too is the task of the City of Collective Memory.

have plundered to their advantage the grab bag of historical styles and nostalgic motifs until these picture-makers and scene painters have turned nearly every Main Street and city center into historicized stage sets. But the market shifted in other directions as well: if high-volume, low-cost mass consumption was the objective of retailers in the 1950s and 1960s, then low-volume, high-cost conspicuous consumption became the lucrative target in the 1970s and 1980s. And these transformations were paralleled by declining interests of city governments in poverty and social welfare issues, which they expressed during the 1950s and 1960s, and their increasing concern in the 1970s and 1980s to attract and retain businesses that offered white-collar employment and generated affluent middle-class residents. Restructuring markets and issues until they privileged the well-to-do had important effects on urban space and consumer choices within the "public sphere." And it did not take long for advertising agents to realize that atmospheric milieus or historic image-sets, which presented the spectator with a packaged array of commodities and showcased specific styles of life, offered effective commercial environments for the selling of goods. In the end, the elite and urbane spectator seeking entertainment and education became the contemporary explorer of a city's architectural promenades, desiring nostalgically to reside in places that reeked with historical allure or to be clothed in the outfit of safari adventurers, Scottish pheasant hunters, or Victorian maidens—to name just a few of the choices. The discourse of advertisement and the fictive constructions that often accompany historic preservation and architectural compositions, at least in America, found their mark where private fantasies and public sites intertwined: 67 percent of Americans, so a "values and lifestyle" typology proclaimed in the early 1980s, were outer-directed consumers seeking to emulate the various styles of life that consumer society constructed. And historic compositions and city tableaux, as we shall explore, were one of the ways lifestyles were constructed and sold.⁹¹

e i g h t

Manhattan Montage

By what then are montage and its embryo—the frame—characterized? By collisions. By the conflict of two fragments placed side by side. By conflict. By collision.¹

SERGEI EISENSTEIN

Just Looking at Cities

The landscape of the contemporary city seems to be composed of conflicting fragments, slices or framed views first cut out and extracted from the city fabric, then set up and juxtaposed against each other. Suddenly in Manhattan, as well as in most global or first-tier cities that experienced explosive real estate growth in the 1980s, it appeared as if someone had twisted Alberti's beautiful dictum that called for the design of a city and a house to be considered as one, and instead said, "make of the city a large museum, and a museum a small city." Tradition in public

places, the showcasing of its architectural and urban heritage, returned with a vengeance, transforming isolated fragments of the city into open-air museums, celebratory promenades, and scenographic events. These public spaces became collections of architectural styles and materials, arcades of shops and restaurants, mixtures of residential and office spaces, and labyrinthine arrangements of pathways, parks, and esplanades. What used to be underdeveloped edges of the city, its waterfront and railway tracks, have either been reclaimed and redeveloped or have visionary plans to do so in the future. We have only to pass along the waterfront of Manhattan, for example, following a rhythmic sequence of visual enclosures, both real and imaginary, from Riverwalk on to South Street Seaport, South Ferry, Battery Park City, the Hudson River Center, Riverside South or some facsimile to come, and a grand ribbon of green stretching between Riverside and Battery Parks, to experience a surprising compositional effect that pulls these diverse scenes together, yet sets one off against the other.

Each fragment becomes a static tableau of the city, representing contrasting views made more potent by their proximity to each other. Some capture the fads and fashions of architecture and urban design, others comment on the public and private notions of space, yet each conveys some nuance of contemporary times. With the return of tradition, the city was folded back on itself, celebrating its grandiose past with renewed enthusiasm and basking in the security evoked by the memory of bygone times. For what was being highlighted in these public places was a city's civic heritage or patrimony embedded and engendered by the physical form of the city. To stop the unravelings of the modernist aesthetic, a historicized discourse on the city reached out to gain instrumental control over its past. Yet resemblance has a model that it inevitably reorders and hierarchializes for its own effect. Duplication and repetition as the prevalent mode of spatial organization isolate the fragment and highlight only its surface appearance. They draw our attention to the image capitalized in a few privileged sites, yet they ignore all the interstitial spaces. The nostalgic mode so prevalent in these world-class cities since the late 1960s has mystified and mythified our collective memory of the city,

sweetened and distilled our spatial sensibility into the look and the feel of cherished times and places. Although we might disclaim that historicist precision and styling cover a vagueness in historical reasoning, this is only its simplest effect because the image is inscribed in the more complex logic of the 1970s and 1980s, restructuring urban space.

To explore these new city tableaux, let us hold up the picture of South Street Seaport, or an equivalent historic district such as Quincy Market in Boston or the Place Beaubourg in Paris, and look through their redoubling frames. These areas represent holes in the heart of our cities and gaps in our present concept of history, which can be filled with true or false visions. If once the picture frame was essential for a well-composed tableau, now the invisible boundaries that enframe the historic district must provide an equivalent allusion. The spectator enters these centered districts from City Hall or Wall Street, or unexpectedly stumbles on them upon emerging from underneath an elevated highway or inadvertently discovers them when exiting from narrow and meandering streets. Suddenly the spectator is plunged into a totally constructed space. The surprise is enhanced, perhaps, because only a few years before these areas had been the remnants of the city that modernist town planning ignored. Now they have been recycled as gigantic image spectacles to enhance the art of consumption. Spectators have responded positively to the bland and fictive pleasures offered in these new public theaters of late capitalism. As recycled remnants of the past, they have become monumental tourist and shopping containers. Perhaps it all began in San Francisco with the restoration of Ghirardelli Square (1962), then the Cannery (1964) and all of Fisherman's Wharf. But the movement has spread: Paris has its Place Beaubourg, with an underground shopping mall built where its nineteenth-century food markets (Les Halles) once stood; London has its Covent Garden, another recycled food market; New Orleans its Old French Market; Portland, Maine, its Customs House Wharf; Boston its Quincy Market; New York its South Street Seaport; and so on in countless cities. These open-air bazaars and storehouses of heterogeneity, where one can buy anything from anywhere, have so concentrated geographical space and historical

time that the uniqueness of place and the specifics of context have been erased completely.

Guy Debord has written that "the spectacle is capital accumulated until it becomes an image," and T.J. Clark has used this concept of spectacle in referring to the changes Baron von Haussmann wrought to the Paris of Napoleon III. The spectacle was an attempt to colonize the realm of everyday life, to extend the capitalist market into the private arena of leisure time and personal styles and into the public scenery of boulevards and architectural landscapes. As the consumer market developed the new world of the giant boulevards and department stores, it altered the space of the nineteenth-century city, producing new urban forms and new building types.² Late capitalism has replaced the boulevard with the pedestrian plaza of a historic district, and the department store with refurbished markets. These open-air shopping emporiums are bound to proliferate for they represent, as one enthusiast claims, "the happy marriage of a number of phenomena in American culture—a new style of business, a newly discovered interest in food and an informal festival, and a recently aroused passion for making what is historically significant useful."³

Most of these city tableaux are marketplaces, and their architectural compositions set the stage for a particular kind of experience. Marketplaces from the beginning of time have always been those interstitial spaces where go-betweens gather and contracts are negotiated. Often located on the edges of town or at crossroads and border lands—just beyond the control of regulated zones—they were places of exchange and movement between people and goods. They were liminal places, in the sense that they epitomized the betwixt and between in space and time. Brought face to face in the marketplace, the known and ordinary everyday world met the exotic sphere of faraway places.⁴ In addition, the market was a space where "just looking" represented that moment of hesitation before one purchased an item for sale, when one calculated the character of the seller and the worth of an object, yet it was the same moment in which the buyer experienced pure desire and conjured up in his or her imagination the images of a fantastical world that the

possession of that object seemed to promise. A marketplace, then, was a container of desires and yearnings; and ships and sailors, waterfronts and seaports—what else are they but markers of that desire, which propelled men and ships to voyage thousands of leagues around the world for that pinch of Madagascar pepper for seasoning meat or coffee from Mocha to stimulate spirits?⁵

In every town the story appeared to be similar: either city authorities decided the working market—a term for the wholesale vegetable, fish, or meat market—was an obstacle to efficient city planning and so banished its presence to the city's periphery, sometimes as long ago as the 1950s; or private interests discovered that rehabilitated Victorian building facades, reconstructed market stalls, and trendy shops and restaurants returned more revenue on their investment than smelly fishmongers and boisterous vegetable hawkers ever could pay. The consequences were clear: every city began to revalue and recycle its leftover "working" districts, its warehouses, its waterfronts, its Main Streets, and its commercial centers, and every city began to look like everywhere else. Serial replication followed well-established rules: the pioneers with their arts-and-crafts appearance began the recycling, but soon the trendier and higher-priced merchants arrived. They started to rehabilitate and refurbish in a grander style. Rents rose and speculators descended, while federal, state, and local monies advanced. Cultural centers were built, theatrical backdrops rearranged, special regulatory zoning and historic district status was granted, historic signs and descriptive labels prescribed, and guided tours and educational programs developed. The battle strategy was apparent: the old ways must go. To assure the rapid circulation of goods, people, real estate, and fashionable styles, pedestrian zones banned the automobile from these sacred enclaves, speculators evicted local businesses and services, and invitations were sent to national retailers. The regional and local sense of place changed entirely.

In the economy of late capitalism, the emphasis is most often placed on the individual consumer of goods and services. As a result, packaged tours, museum extravaganzas, and food emporiums become the consumer arts of mass

entertainment, while the city landscape itself is transformed into a background prop for the graphic display of billboards, neon signs, and advertisements. A new visuality is introduced into the cityscape by reducing the language of architecture to a serial experimentation with pure signs, media codes, styles, or fashions. But a language dependent on the commercial image, the perfect lure, conflates artistic and popular imagery and removes the border line that once separated the observant and sensitive traveler along city streets from the promenader and consumer of commodities and scenographic spaces. The self-consciously drawn boundary carefully marking the distinction between tasteful art forms and the popular arts has been rearranged, and the critical art forms of modernism that refused to surrender to "easy seductions and collective enthusiasms" have been negated in the contemporary art forms of popular participation.⁶ Hence the flux of constant revivals, rediscoveries and reinterpretations of outmoded styles, acts as one more spur for consumption. Popular art forms and images are designed to be consumed: they are drawn close in order to be totally devoured, jostling the viewer against what once were considered vulgar and distasteful.⁷ By turning the values of high art upside down, tourist experiences in combination with historic districts of our cities—areas such as New York's South Street Seaport, Boston's Quincy Market, or the Baltimore Harborplace—become food-oriented and clothing emporiums packaging a specific style of life. These sites are culinary and ornamental landscapes through which the tourist now grazes, celebrating as she or he goes the consumption of places, art, and exotic stuff.

Producing the Show

South Street Seaport's story is typical of waterfront restructuring projects where the dynamics of buying and selling not only determined its origin but controlled its future as well. An elaborate and detailed series of real estate transactions has been set into play in order to gain instrumental control over the saving of history and the production of place. But in the process, these arts of building city spaces have been inhibited from attaining their original goal. The last vestiges of New York's



"South Street Seaport," cover for *Advertising Supplement to the New York Times*, 1984.

mercantile history, an eleven-block area of four- and five-story late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commercial structures in Lower Manhattan, seemed imperiled in the 1960s by a Wall Street building boom encroaching from the south and by the threatened relocation of the Fulton Fish Market, which had held to this spot since 1822. From an urban redevelopment viewpoint, the area contained only shabby structures, dilapidated piers, marginal enterprises, and squatters that entitled it to be officially designated a "slum." But the Lower Manhattan Plan of 1966, noting that the financial district was running out of space in which to expand, proposed that office and luxury residential towers be built on landfill extending out to the pier line along the entire waterfront from the Brooklyn Bridge on the East River to Battery Park on the Hudson River. If the financial district was to retain its national and international supremacy, the report argued, it must not only be given the opportunity to expand but it must be sustained as well by at least six residential communities within walking distance, containing somewhere between 10,000 to 15,000 people. Each one of these communities would be centered around a waterfront plaza located at the end of the axis of Wall Street, Broad, Chambers, Fulton, and the World Trade Center. Already in 1964 the Port Authority had announced plans to build the World Trade Towers, and proposed two years later to use the earth dug up for its construction as landfill along the derelict piers on the Hudson River, creating the area on which Battery Park City would rise. So the opportunity seemed ripe for the fulfillment of a dream that reached back to the 1930s and envisioned luxury residential communities developed within walking distance of the Wall Street financial district.⁸

Not everyone shared this dream. There would be protracted debates over the amount of subsidized housing to be offered in each new residential community, and there were alternatives to be considered for waterfront redevelopment as well. As shipping activity was fading along the waterfront, what better way to commemorate its contribution to New York's economy than to create a Maritime Museum? Consequently the state passed a bill in 1966 to locate such a museum in Schermerhorn Row. These twelve old counting houses had been erected in 1810–12 by Peter

Schermerhorn on landfill along the south side of Fulton Street and the corner of South Street, a site right in the center of one of the proposed waterfront communities. Here in these buildings during the heyday of South Street's mercantile past, a merchant received goods from his ships, counted, stored, sold, and later distributed the merchandise, and so these buildings, it was argued, must become the commemorative focal point for a maritime museum. So vehemently did downtown real estate interests pressure the state to withdraw this bill, however, that funding was delayed for at least a year.⁹ Meanwhile another interest group arose, "The Friends of South Street," with Peter Stanford as its head, which proposed to create a living outdoor museum recreating the ambience of a "street of ships" out of four blocks of the old mercantile district along the East River, with the Schermerhorn block as its centerpiece. Their plan called for a pedestrian plaza and a mixture of low-scale retail, office, residential, and museum spaces located in restored and reconstructed buildings between Burlington Slip and Peck Slip, Water Street and the East River.¹⁰

To implement something from each of these redevelopment and preservation plans, the City Planning Commission created the Brooklyn Bridge Southeast Urban Renewal Plan in 1968 (approved 1969), intending through its power of eminent domain to condemn some derelict blocks, create pedestrian promenades, preserve certain structures, and build new housing and office spaces.¹¹ Instead the city entered into long negotiations, acquiring and reselling parcels of South Street Seaport and allocating them to different interests as the development game unfolded. Designating the area around South Street to be a Special District within the larger renewal district, the city named the Friends of South Street, incorporated as the South Street Museum in 1967, as the official sponsors of this newly created district. This would allow the district to remain open to the waterfront, to set aside several of its streets as pedestrian walks, to ensure the preservation of some of its valuable historic properties, and to guarantee through its design guidelines that in the midst of high-rise development, South Street Seaport would eventually become a special retreat. Not waiting for the uncertain and lengthy process of city planning,

however, the Seaport Museum created Seaport Holdings, Inc., directed by Jakob Isbrandtsen, who was also chairman of the museum's board, and this corporation began to negotiate the purchase of the Schermerhorn block. But so did a real estate development company headed by Sol G. Atlas and John P. McGrath, who already owned one-third of a neighboring block and now convinced the owners to sell them Schermerhorn Row. Isbrandtsen immediately bought the rest of that block, hoping to stop their assemblage and knowing that if this historic centerpiece was lost, so was the whole concept of an outdoor South Street museum. Consequently another route was taken, and he mounted a successful public campaign in December 1968 to convince the New York City Landmarks Commission to designate Schermerhorn Row a landmark within forty-eight hours, and so stop the threat of its immediate destruction. This landmark action prodded Atlas and McGrath to sue the city for depriving their company of its development rights.¹²

Meanwhile the Museum's Seaport Holdings, Inc., gained title to the block north of Schermerhorn Row and two historically valuable blocks across from the Row, where the future market and museum buildings would eventually be established, placing these properties in escrow for the museum until the latter could raise the money for their purchase. It was hoped that an innovative and untried use of zoning would permit the allowable development rights over these valuable historic structures to be sold by the museum and to be allocated to seven different transfer sites in lower Manhattan, and that this sale would enable the museum to buy back the properties from their own Seaport Holdings, Inc. Cooperating with this idea, the city created an enlarged development district around Schermerhorn Row, including some of the public street from which development rights could be transferred. Because the gap between the four- or five-story historic structures and the large towers that zoning allowed was so great (i.e., Floor Area Ratios [FARs] between 10 and 18), acquisition of these properties through eminent domain was not justifiable. Thus some other compromise had to be arranged between preservation interests and development pressures. It was hoped that if development rights were sold to Atlas and McGrath from the Schermerhorn Row block and the two

historically valuable blocks that Seaport Holdings owned, they in turn would be allowed to build a far taller structure on the nonhistoric westward block adjacent to Schermerhorn Row. In return for additional development rights, it was expected that Atlas and McGrath would give Schermerhorn Row to the museum as a special gift.¹³ To facilitate this compromise, the city designated a Special South Street Seaport Zoning District in 1972 within the Urban Renewal District, planning through its design guidelines to preserve the architectural quality of this historic enclave, yet through its zoning provisions to facilitate nearby office development where transferable development rights could be used.¹⁴

By 1972, however, office space in lower Manhattan was overbuilt, and the city was beginning to slip toward a fiscal crisis, so development pressure subsided, giving the South Street Seaport Museum time to develop its plans but transforming the compromise transactions into an issue that now was dead. Because Atlas and McGrath were in financial trouble, they decided not to build on Schermerhorn Row and instead sold the property to the city and transferred their development rights to Chase Manhattan Bank, one of a consortium of banks enabled to receive such land and air rights. Meanwhile the museum's Seaport Holdings, Inc., fell behind in both its tax and mortgage payments, because no development rights had been sold from the properties it controlled and consequently the banks moved to foreclose. Other complex negotiations ensued in which the city eventually acquired the entire four-block nucleus on which the museum was focusing, along with several waterfront piers. The city paid the mortgages that Seaport Holdings held on the blocks across from Schermerhorn Row, while the latter relinquished all of its property claims and transferred to the consortium of banks the development rights it was holding in lieu of the rest of the purchase money that the museum owed.¹⁵ In 1974 the city sold Schermerhorn Row to the museum, and they promptly sold it to the state for its Maritime Museum. As the property passed through the ownership of the Seaport, however, covenants were attached guaranteeing that it be restored by the state in a manner specified by the museum, and that its development plans be coordinated in tandem with those of the Seaport Museum.

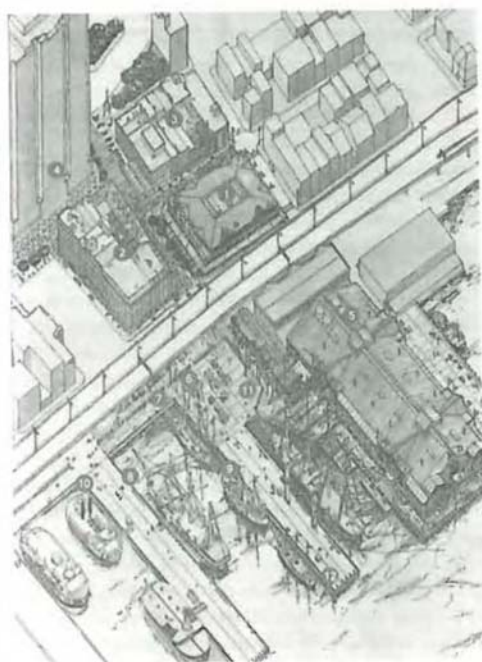
Within a few years, however, as the Seaport Museum was searching for more retail space that would allow it to enter an entirely new restructuring game, two museums seemed incompatible and so the Maritime Museum was terminated even though the state, through its Urban Development Corporation, would see that the restoration of Schermerhorn Row went ahead as planned.¹⁶

In 1977, as the entire ten-block area surrounding South Street Seaport south of the Brooklyn Bridge to John Street, including several piers, became a historic district, a new public-private partnership arose, and now the meaning of "historic" was stretched beyond preserving the rich history of New York's nineteenth-century maritime development to a concept that hopefully would reintroduce economic vibrancy to the area as a twenty-four-hour tourist, residential, and commercial district and would produce an income base from which the museum could subsidize its cultural programs. By this time the Seaport Museum was under a barrage of criticism: it had not paid rent to the city for at least two years, it had mismanaged several million dollars on shoddy restoration work, it was pressuring for the removal of the politically sensitive Fulton Fish Market, and it had spent money allocated for relocating artists who lived in Schermerhorn Row on administrative expenses. In 1977 John Hightower, the former director of the Museum of Modern Art, was appointed president of the Seaport Museum while James Shepley, the president of Time, Inc., was made chairman of the board. They began to discuss the idea of restructuring the Seaport into a retail shopping center with a historic maritime theme.¹⁷

Commercial development gained an advantage in 1979, when the Rouse Company joined the city, the Seaport Museum, and the Urban Development Corporation in an agreement to turn South Street Seaport into a specialty retail center similar to its successful projects in Boston's Faneuil Hall and Baltimore's Harborplace. The first phase of the project would see Fulton Street and Front Street set aside as the pedestrian crossroads of the new marketplace, and the museum block developed with small specialty retail shops, in a nautical mode to complement its seafaring exhibits. In addition the old Fulton Market block where

food sheds had stood since 1822 would be the site of a new festival food market, designed by Benjamin Thompson & Associates to simulate the old tin sheds of earlier times. This new market shed was arranged so that the street-level fish-market stalls along South Street would remain as part of the Fulton Fish Market, but four levels entered from the Fulton Street market axis would be dedicated to specialty foods, fast food stands, and restaurants. The second phase would see the site at the Water Street entrance to the Seaport privately developed as office space, with shops and restaurants along its Fulton Street facade. In conjunction with this commitment of private development money, the city received a \$20.4 million Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) from the federal government in 1981 to enable it to reconstruct Pier 17 and to improve the infrastructure in the entire urban renewal area, including a waterfront promenade. The third phase would develop the retail areas of Schermerhorn Row as small nautical theme shops yet guarantee the continuation of two historic restaurants, Sweets (established in 1842) and Sloppy Louie's (established in 1930). Meanwhile the Rouse Company would build a three-story pavilion simulating nineteenth-century entertainment piers lying adjacent to the museum's ships with restaurants, cafes, and clothing shops lining this great hall of commerce.¹⁸

As real estate development and commercial retailing became more important than museum activities, an independent nonprofit South Street Seaport Corporation was established in 1982 to shelter the museum, with its interest in public education and historic preservation, from its profit-making ventures in real estate development. Christopher Lowery became president of South Street Seaport Museum, with real estate development his obsession.¹⁹ Nevertheless there were snares in mixing culture and commerce, and the recycling machine did not always run smoothly. The gradual and piecemeal instruments of historic preservation took a backseat as development forces rapidly rose. By the time South Street Seaport officially opened in 1983, three-quarters of its museum exhibition space had been reassigned to Cannon's Walk, an interior space lined with retail shops, while 95 percent of the material acquired for Seaport exhibits remained in storage. In



"South Street Seaport Plan," from *Advertising Supplement to the New York Times*, 1984.
[Key: 1. Fulton Market, 2. Schermerhorn Row, 3. Museum Blocks, 4. Seaport Plaza, 5. Pier 17, 6. Pier 16, 7-12. Historic Ships.]

addition, the museum's ability to raise money for cultural activities was weakened and its membership interest tarnished by so much commercial activity. South Street Seaport's revitalization of "the street of ships" may have begun with a desire to preserve seedy taverns, fish stalls, and its Schermerhorn Row as a commemorative monument to its great maritime past, but it was also hoped that historic preservation could facilitate the creation of a twentieth-century outdoor museum. Besides a museum whose cultural programs had yet to be financed, a few ships rehabilitated and rebirthed at its slips, and a multiscreen adventure film "The Seaport Experience" in which the sights, sounds, and smells of clam hawkers, the clatter on cobblestones and clamor of bells, and the feel of fog, mist, and sea spray were cleverly simulated, cultural resuscitation and exhibition development seemed to have stalled. Economic restructuring as a festival marketplace gained the advantage: Benjamin Thompson's specially designed New Fulton Market Building opened in 1983 and the new Pier 17 Pavilion in 1985, in addition to the Seaport Plaza, a thirty-four-story office tower. In all, the public spent \$61.05 million for the restoration of the museum block, improvements to the Fulton Fish Market, the restoration of Schermerhorn Row, and a waterfront promenade and pier construction. Private enterprise added another \$289.5 million for the development of the Fulton Market block, the Pier Pavilion, retail improvement on the two blocks along Fulton Street and in the museum block, and Seaport Plaza.²⁰ Even in the slowed-down economy of the early 1990s, it is expected that still more real estate development will come, because South Street Seaport stands as the successful emblem or flagship project of Manhattan's waterfront restructuring.

Although the four-block centerpiece, the city tableaux of South Street Seaport, has been in operation since 1983, the entire urban renewal and historic district projects are far from being complete. The museum's real estate wing leased a total of thirty-five acres from the city, roughly half of which comprise the four blocks on which the marketplace is focused. The rest are 13 buildings, some vacant and some containing wholesale fishing concerns. In 1986 the museum began to study the feasibility of converting these structures into retail and residential uses

more in line with its festival theme. Luxury residential development was becoming increasingly important, not only to support the retail concessions that still seemed to bloom in the summer and wither by the fall, but to establish as well a twenty-four-hour downtown residential community. In addition, the planned marina and hotel facilities have yet to materialize, and public money to leverage further private investment has failed to appear. Because property values spiraled upward during the 1980s, turning a dilapidated four-story brick building whose market price might have been \$350,000 in 1982 into property valued at \$1.5 million by 1986, it has made even five- or six-story new construction projects financially unfeasible. And the Landmarks Commission has been zealous in maintaining its curatorship over the ten-block historic district, and in spite of real estate economics has rejected every proposal for large-scale development.²¹ In addition, much to the distaste of redevelopers, the Fulton Fish Market has stubbornly refused to be moved even though the Port Authority's recently constructed Fishport in South Brooklyn stands open and waiting. Still, every day in the early hours of the morning more than 350,000 pounds of fresh fish are distributed to restaurants and fish markets from South Street's crowded and antiquated market sheds, and the city seems to have no plans to prod it to abandon its South Street location.²²

As the economic value of land in the South Street Historic District continued to climb, however, a potential problem arose over the privately owned blocks to the north of the Seaport Marketplace lying along Peck Slip and Pearl, Beekman, and Water Streets. At least one of these blocks, the northwesterly one along the Brooklyn Bridge, was excluded from the designated historic district in 1977. Ten years later, however, its property owners and the consortium of banks began to pursue plans for developing the site, while others sought to place the block under landmark control. The consortium originally had purchased 1.4 million square feet of air rights from the low-rise structures along Fulton Street, and in 1987 half a million of those air rights still remained to be sold and the contested block the only "receiving" site left as originally proposed. If the block was landmarked as preservation required, then the banks would be left with unusable air rights valued in the

range of \$15-\$25 million. At this cost it seemed inevitable that a compromise would be negotiated and some high-rise development sure to succeed.²³ Consequently, in the early hours of 1989 the city and two developers announced a new scheme for the development of Front Street between Beekman Street and Peck Slip, where a row of red-brick nineteenth-century structures still stood, containing among its former uses the "House of Fillet," "Rupert Fish Company," and the "Fishermen's Federation." The developers were proposing to lease the property from the city for forty-three years, in order to erect a \$40 million mixed-use complex with ground-level shops and offices and 130 apartments on the upper floors. The project was in keeping with the historic ambience of the district, or so the developers said, because it would renovate the existing structures and only construct new buildings six or seven stories in height on two vacant lots on the block.²⁴

In spite of this long, drawn out compromise, however, taller structures inevitably were encroaching on the edges of the historic area. Seaport Tower, for example, pushed a slender twenty-eight story structure onto the corner of Fulton and Pearl Streets with its design, or so it was claimed, based on the red-brick historic structures of Schermerhorn Row. And at least six different projects had been planned for the parcels assembled at 250 Water Street before approval finally was given in 1991 to the seventh proposal, a ten-story building designed by Charles A. Platt and Paul Spencer Byard. Since 1983, however, when a starkly modern twenty-three story structure with a concave glass facade was proposed for the site, preservationists have battled against the developers, demanding a more sensitive design. With the aid of a zoning bonus plus the application of transferable development rights, the developers had the right but not the permission to erect such a tall and overwhelming building. Over the ensuing years, as the battle raged on, it raised but did not answer the important question of whether new designs for sites on the edge of a historic district must take into consideration all of the distinguishing architectural characteristics—such as the low-scaled height, small bulk, materials, and ornamental treatment—that define the historic ambience of the *tout ensemble*, or whether they might be considered transitional structures and address

the general context of buildings erected on the other side of the imaginary frame that outlines a historic preserve.²⁵

Brokering Desire

There are other stories belonging to mercantile memories that these real estate developments may not allow. Gaddis Smith, for example, wrote in *The American Neptune*: "One of the great delights of maritime history is the scope it grants for operating across the full scale of human experience. At one end of the scale we can examine specific vessels, trace voyages moment by moment, and probe the character of particular people. At the other end, we can grapple with the most fundamental forces in our history—chronicling the mass movement of commodities and population, the spread and impact of technology, the rise and fall of empires."²⁶ Can a better stage set be found for a marketplace spectacle than recycling old mercantile areas that reek with the history of commerce and establish associative links in our mind?

From its earliest conception the Seaport was intended to be a twentieth-century outdoor museum stressing involvement, not contemplation, and acting on behalf of people, not simply preserving artifacts.²⁷ But this contemporary museum has consuming at its very core, for the money used to preserve its historic structures and maintain the ambience of its street of ships comes from its share of the revenues that this street of shops can produce. Consequently the Seaport is in reality an outdoor advertisement that narrates a story about trade and commodities stretching far beyond the ordinary shopping mall. This mode of advertising blurs the distinction between the atmospheric stage set and the commodities being sold, for its well-constructed historic tableau not only enhances the products displayed but locks the spectator into a consuming mode. Because the Rouse Company and the Seaport Museum depend on the income generated from retail rentals and sales, they must produce consumers in the mood to purchase the particular commodities the Seaport sells. Their advertising, which is the entire historical milieu, must be pleasurable, mildly educational, and definitely entertaining if it is to establish

popular appeal. What they sell to the retailers is access to a particular clientele delivered in the right frame of mind. Within the space of the South Street Seaport's historic tableau and through its museum's interpretative programming, the consumer is drawn into a special network of associated meanings, enabling a transference to take place between the context and the commodities for sale. In today's advertising world, after all, it is the atmosphere that sells; and in South Street Seaport, it is the compensating narratives of adventure and conquest that fill the spectator's nostalgic desires and prompt him or her to consume.²⁸

From time immemorial, women and men have been appropriators of nature for food, clothing, and shelter, and explorers and voyagers have traveled the endless oceans and plundered the farthest continents for raw materials and exotic stuff. With scientific instruments and technical knowledge, humankind has sought to conquer nature, to deny its supremacy, and bend it to human needs. But in the postindustrialized world of the present, an intimate link with nature has been severed, giving rise to a set of nostalgic desires to reexperience the time when man confronted nature directly, mastering the perils at sea and the dangers on land. Any seaport symbolizes this world of mercantile exploration that launched a thousand ships around the world. That mercantile world of goods and trading, of horsepower and reefed sails, of ropes and pulleys, wheels and weights came to an end in the late eighteenth-century, supplanted by the industrial power of fire, the steam engine, the factory, and the railroad. And with it died a view of the world that could be measured and counted, drawn and mapped by the knowledge of geometry and mechanics.²⁹ This is the same visible and demonstrable mercantile world that Diderot's encyclopedic mind reached out to capture as it slid away from his view: he visited workshops and built models of machines, he studied documentary images and artisan drawings, trying to reassemble a harmonious tableau of commerce and trade, to dignify manual labor, and to praise the mechanical arts.³⁰ And it is just this measurable and controllable mercantile world that South Street showcases and nostalgically extols.

Henry Adams may have said "that every trader's taste smelt of bric-a-brac," and indeed merchant collections of exotic stuff always defied a unifying principle. Yet unbridled eclecticism with its mobile categories and slippery boundaries was often viewed as a threat to more conservative taste.³¹ In a similar manner, the Seaport Museum was concerned with visual disarray and attempted to retain instrumental control over the scenographic displays of New York's mercantile tradition by developing streetscape programs in its weekly meetings with the Rouse Company merchants, thereby ensuring the success of its historical mission. Approval must be obtained for all street vendors, outdoor entertainment, and seasonal decorations, and permission is refused to any retail or festival activity if deemed inappropriate to the overall maritime and historical theme. As well, the museum controls the types of signs and advertising used by the merchants. A painted wall sign on Water Street, for example, reminding the spectator to "Visit the South Street Museum," recreates a nineteenth-century style of advertising. Vista markers as well as labels and signs on shops and on the museum's ships and historic buildings are carefully planned and controlled. Guided architectural tours, performing events, and historical pageants are also closely supervised by the museum for fear that eclectic disorder and randomness would endanger and diminish the meaning of this historical tableau.³²

A well-composed city tableau is itself an incomplete and impoverished picture that can be sustained only by inventing traditions and narrative stories that it calls to its support. Its real value is that of display, enabling the spectator—at South Street Seaport, for example—to travel vicariously and imaginatively into the mercantile past through its architectural traces, its exhibitions, and its commodities for sale. This distilled and composed picture, actually estranged and removed from the contemporary city, can be considered a collective souvenir drawn from the city's historical past. As a possession on display, every souvenir generates a travel narrative, for it is a visible reminder of past journeys whose distance reawakens the longing for more adventures and explorations. Yet it envelops a predatory urge as well, swelling on the desire to return home with bags filled with the latest trophies

and exotic remnants discovered on every voyage.³³ So for example, trinkets can be bought throughout South Street Seaport but especially at Captain Hook's in Schermerhorn Row, a simulated pirate's cave where seashells and ship's bells, scrimshaw and nautical antiques are sold. These offer the spectator a second-hand and partial experience of the sea and later, when displayed in one's home, narrate for the viewer a story of that long-ago visit to South Street Seaport.

A sign on the South Street Seaport Museum claims that "The Museum is around you" in the restored mercantile architecture, in the tall ships docked at its slips, in the morphological plan and names of its streets. This mildly educative and entertaining tableau constitutes the scenographic milieu and works in the following manner. It was common practice along the East River waterfront in the eighteenth century to locate slips for merchants' ships between the streets. One of the earliest was Beekman's Slip, which lay between Pearl and Water Streets below Fulton Street in 1720. In addition, the Beekman family in 1807 gave the city a plot of land to be used as a public marketplace. In the contemporary South Street Seaport, the name of the Beekman Market pushcarts is therefore not only a reminder of these city benefactors who donated the original market site, but as well it is a symbolic marker of earlier modes of merchandising. Always in need of extra warehouse space as commerce expanded during the eighteenth century, merchants along the East River harbor continuously pushed the mercantile district out into the river, filling in the old slips and building new wharves and piers. One of the earliest entrepreneurs was John Cannon, who filled in his waterfront lots in 1721 and built a wharf along Water Street. Today the interior street of the museum block is called Cannon's Walk, in memory of this early entrepreneur. New York as an entrepot lagged behind the growth of other east coast cities until 1774, when shipping activity suddenly doubled, and then redoubled again by 1795. Consequently Water Street soon lay inland as landfills continued and shipping activity expanded. Only two generations after Cannon, we find his grandson Peter Schermerhorn filling in water lots along Fulton Street between Front Street and South Street and building Schermerhorn Row.³⁴ Consequently, South Street Seaport presents itself as the contemporary and

inevitable continuation of this age-old mercantile practice of commercial expansion in which landowners constantly developed and redeveloped their waterfront on land reclaimed not only from the sea, but from the "natural" process of decay and decline. For with the advent of the steamship and large oceangoing vessels requiring a deep-water port, South Street Seaport by the late nineteenth century began to slide into a long decline. A seedy derelict waterfront arose by the mid-twentieth century with underutilized warehouses and marginalized activities. A once vital and diverse area diminished by neglect and the forces of urbanization found only its produce and fish markets standing vigilant over its maritime and commercial past. Surprisingly, it would be this food and fish motif that would become the center of South Street Seaport's revitalization, the "natural" vehicle, as we shall see, through which the narrative stories of this marketplace could be recovered and renewed.

In industrial exhibition halls and department stores of the nineteenth century, spectators went "to just look" at the merchandise, not necessarily to buy but to see what wondrous marvels modern techniques had produced and what exotic novelties had been sent from faraway places. The commodity became a spectacle, a series of beautiful images enveloped by fantastic and pleasurable allusions. And "just looking" was that moment of hesitation before purchasing a commodity when the shopper reflected on an idealized image that might be achieved if she or he were to purchase the item offered for sale. A kind of montage effect operated in this act, juxtaposing and blending real and illusory images.³⁵ "Just looking" at the architecture and historical displays of South Street Seaport as a backdrop for contemporary consumption is a spectator act inscribed in a similar image system, which extends the scene and initiates complex trains of thought. The image of the city is narrowed to the aesthetic experience of pure visual contemplation and to the physical configuration of place. Such a pleasurable and rationally composed cityscape, with its carefully drawn nodes, pathways, and edges, can be readily consumed by the tourist or spectator.

In the late eighteenth century, for example, the ideal cityscape was one of varied surprises and theatrical effects, expressly designed for the pleasure of

viewing. Abbé Laugier, a historian and member of Diderot's circle, in his *Essai sur l'Architecture* (1753) suggested that a city could be conceived as an analogical wilderness transformed by the gardener/planner into a landscaped park through the proper subdivision and location of its streets and squares. It was essential to secure the aesthetic effect that nature held over man by allowing lush vegetation and shaded greenery to invade the city, thus inviting—as contact with nature inevitably did—associations with noble thoughts and melancholic or innocent sentiments.³⁶ South Street Seaport borrows metaphorically from the garden effects of a landscaped city. Certainly a curious aggregation of architectural styles, the Seaport's historic district stands as an open-air equivalent of the curio cabinets and gardens filled with natural and artificial wonders that merchants constructed to display the bric-a-brac they brought back from the corners of the world. But South Street Seaport is as well a bounded and enclosed marketplace centered around the crossroads of Fulton and Front Streets and focused along the pedestrian axis of Fulton Street onto the East River and its line of tall ships. A hybrid place if ever there was one, to the right the image of Wall Street's financial towers arrests the view, to the left the scene is redoubled by a trompe l'oeil wall painting by Richard Haus, while straight ahead the prospect opens on the waterfront and beyond to the outside world. Perhaps the symbolism is clear: the financial mechanisms that orchestrate the scenery; the river that not only represents the mysteries of nature but as well the great unifying element opening up the world in space and time and bringing every product to town; and the trompe l'oeil painting that is a playful gesture never taken for reality, but always reeking of déjà vu and deception, ridicule and mockery. It is an effective boundary or limit, pushing the spectator's view back from the boondocks where development raises its head and returning the viewer's sight to the focused tableau. Parodying architecture and the South Street Seaport's tableau, the trompe l'oeil wall painting is suggesting perhaps that this reconstructed marketplace is but one of the tricks of perspective that those in power can play.³⁷

Nature as the great storehouse of raw materials and wondrous secrets seems to be a central theme of South Street Seaport, symbolized by The Nature



South Street Seaport, Richard Haas trompe l'œil wall mural (Winter 1993).



Store in Schermerhorn Row, which carries an eclectic list of items that teach about birds, fish, dinosaurs, and crystals; sells books about the stars, wild animals, and mushrooms; offers atlases and globes, prints of wildlife and landscapes, telescopes and binoculars, pedometers, thermometers, travel watches and clocks. Because nature is the repository of great secrets into which the adventurous explorer delves, then another store on Schermerhorn Row, Brookstone's, becomes a modern-day outfitter, offering every type of travel equipment, including cases that protect cameras, films, cassettes, and compact disks against security x-ray devices; carrying wheels and carrying cases; all kinds of nineteenth-century games and entertainment, both indoor and outdoor, such as sets for croquet and badminton; and garden hoses and tools, planters and watering cans. Of course no monument to the sea would be complete without a supply of charts and maps aiding man in his confrontation with nature and enabling him to plot out his course on a spatial grid. The Book & Chart Store stocks an array of treatises on the sea and sailing charts and maps for the real and imaginary sailor.

Not only is there an attempt at South Street Seaport to nostalgically record the pure forms of landscape and the presence of wildlife untouched by civilization and industrialization, but there is also great pride displayed in recording the presence of man in this landscape, including the instruments of knowledge developed and perfected in the late eighteenth century such as the clock, thermometer, barometer, and telescope—tools that enabled man the explorer to accurately measure, survey, and territorialize nature's wild and savage appearance. And clothing too reflects this desire to return to simpler and more innocent times: pure natural fibers, Irish linens and woolsens can be purchased at Williamson's of Schermerhorn Row; Laura Ashley sells Victorian-styled clothing that speaks of a higher morality and domesticity; and Pier 17 has its fill of trading posts selling clothing and equipment for contemporary explorers and travelers. This nostalgia for colonial attire deflected onto "the once-upon-a-time," veils any awareness of how we modern-day colonizers comply with contemporary modes of economic exploitation and territorial appropriation. Past and present forms of colonization, both economic

and spatial, are quickly inverted into amusement and displaced by a discourse that locates fashion and style within a discussion of natural beauty and raw materials, of exotic places and travel.

Space, clothing, and food are discriminating values, and their finely tuned classifications set up a hierarchy of tastes and distinctions. Consequently the theme of "fish" at South Street Seaport represents another natural and symbolic marker. At first appearance, Fulton Market seems to display two different food cultures: the "shirt-sleeve" wholesale fish market along the river's edge, which comes alive at the crack of dawn when fresh supplies of fish are sold to Manhattan chefs and restaurateurs, and the Festival Market Hall, which opens in the lazy hours of mid-morning and caters not only to gourmets shopping on its first-floor level for a range of delicacies such as Madagascar vanilla, Mississippi crayfish, or hazelnut coffee, but as well to tourists who may be satisfied on an upper level by assorted facsimiles of Coney Island refreshment stands such as the New York Pastrami Factory or the Burger Boys of Brooklyn. There are as well more refined dining spots, such as Roebing's Bar and Grill or the Ocean Reef Grill, carrying on the tradition of man and the sea. Now ostensibly the two different food cultures seem to clash, but in reality they cater to different tastes in order to generate more tourists. Tastes in food, Pierre Bourdieu describes in *Distinctions*, are discriminated by class attitudes toward the body, and fish in particular is deemed by the working class to be an unsuitable food for robust men for it must be eaten delicately to avoid choking on the bones, and it appears to be insubstantially light nourishment, feminine, almost medicinally "healthful."³⁸ Fish is consequently the perfect food for health-conscious natural food devotees found among the upper classes, and the perfect advertising emblem to capture the imagination of consumers already concerned with appearance and form. By calling on the tradition of Coney Island known as the "Mecca of the Millions," however, this spectacle of food and the pleasures that surround it establish yet another classification: that of popular taste. Because the Rouse Company is under agreement with the Seaport Museum and the city to attract large numbers of customers to the Seaport to eat and shop, it

must produce not just a food show for the monied elite, but low-brow popular exhibits as well.³⁹ And mass taste tends, or so Bourdieu has claimed, to prefer a mouthful of beef.

All of this discourse on nature, on colonization, on adventures at sea, spirals inward and downward toward the central preoccupation of South Street Seaport: the "natural" recycling of degraded and devalued territory unrelated to the rest of the city. Of course the "return to nature" and the adventures of travel can be looked upon as a critique of the flawed project of modernism, which attempted to deny the power of nature through its faith in science and technology. But Neil Smith has noted that pitting the individual against nature in the urban theater has another meaning as well. He claims that the image of the "urban pioneer" who moves into downgraded neighborhoods and begins the cycle of gentrification assumes that these adventurers are the first settlers on the frontier, populating abandoned districts of the city uninhabited except for a few straggling "natives," and claiming land that stands as a virtual wilderness waiting to be conquered and won.⁴⁰ But there is in fact nothing "natural" about this process of spatial restructuring that leaves parts of the city to decline while others are revitalized through massive flows of capital investment, regulatory land use controls, real estate transactions, and tax concessions. In particular, South Street Seaport, through its illusion of natural landscapes and travel adventures, pre-industrial market conditions and artisan production, masks other conditions of dominance. Part of New York's revitalized garment industry depends on sweatshop employment, many of the specialty food providers pay workers minimal wages and often violate health codes and safety requirements, and the upscaled marketplace for tourists, shoppers, and financial employees has displaced residential uses and marginal businesses, and banished from view every unregulated clown and spontaneous street performance.

In spite of all the plans and preparations for festival marketplaces, including those executed for South Street Seaport, these places have not always been successful at attracting tourists and customers. In the first few years of its operation the Seaport failed to draw the expected number of customers, and consequently

many of the original small-scale retail and food enterprises pressured for reductions in rent. Changes in retailing inevitably occurred and now many of the more successful stores, such as Banana Republic, Brookstone's, The Nature Store, and Laura Ashley, are national retailers who showcase their line of products in upscaled historic marketplaces such as South Street Seaport, but who rely on catalog sales to generate their profits. These highly verticalized contemporary colonists import their products from production zones in developing countries where labor and materials are cheap and then distribute these from automated mailing centers within the United States. They rely, however, on the historic ambience of festival marketplaces for advertising a particular arrangement of commodities and underwriting a pleasurable and valued style of life.⁴¹ Modern consumption depends on remarkable sites and image displays, sparking a desire for travel and adventure, for change and novelty, hence "selling" has developed intimate tie-ins with cultural tourism and leisure-time activities. What counts is the style, the look, or the image and how it is linked to a structure of feeling and incorporated into the marketing of furnishings, clothing, food, and holiday expenditures. The production of South Street Seaport is coextensive with the creation of such a market, and nostalgia the choreographer for its set of desires. It is a continuous advertisement, a theater stage for the business of selling with all of its hype and role playing, dissimulation and allure. Advertising in South Street Seaport places the spectator inside a specific historical and narrative milieu and plays with a series of references that the consumer must be able to read. Linked to advertising, the preservation of historic architecture and the reconstitution of past urban landscapes generate through their image-sets an emotional mood and style of life and thus become an integral part of production. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was after all not the choice between different products that was being advertised as much as it was alternative lifestyles and the staging of a particular set of goods.

The contemporary spectator of city spaces inevitably finds that the public spaces of her or his present-day promenades are none other than recycled and revalued territories like South Street Seaport that have been turned into gratified,

historicized, commodified, and privatized landscapes. They represent one of the many cultural spheres that once existed outside of the marketplace, but now survive only through the support of advertising and consequently display an aesthetic controlled to produce an environment that sells. "Just looking" at city spaces and traveling along their architectural promenades, although still pleasurable public experiences, increasingly tend to represent that moment of association when private desires take flight and become linked to future promises offered by items for sale. On one register, South Street Seaport narrates a partial story about the instrumental reproduction of a public marketplace where communal celebrations and festivals still take place, albeit in truncated and modified form. On another register, however, the spectator is targeted by the narrative "style of life" advertising that the Seaport represents, and finds her- or himself inscribed within a historic tableau appealing directly to fantasies of private identification. Shifting modes involving the public and private spheres are turning streets and spaces of our cities inside out, internalizing public ways and communal spaces behind the walls of privatized market development, while externalizing the private sphere of nostalgic desires and historic imagination within the scenographic stage sets of these reconstituted public places.

So finally it is here in South Street Seaport that present-day realities and nostalgic desires collide, for there is nothing "natural" about the uneven development of urban America that the market actually sustains. Wall Street financial interests desired to find new territory in which to expand, but they were concerned with the preservation of the city's historic waterfront and the reconstruction of its former marketplace only as stage props supporting a cast of more lucrative ventures. The urban voyager setting his or her sails against the howling forces of nature—a theme reiterated over and over again at South Street Seaport—is none other than a metaphorical device that situates the memory of historical voyages to uncivilized terrains against the contemporary appropriation of the city's undervalued and marginal wastelands and through this juxtaposition (or montage) legitimizes their conversion into profitable leisure-time places.⁴² But a city of increasing spatial differentiation results and the gap looms larger between neglected land and

revalued places, between the poor that the market ignores and the well-to-do that it privileges. The use of historic preservation and the creation of atmospheric milieus to stabilize this difference between types of public space may not change in the future, for we are only beginning to witness this process of spatial restructuring and to understand the manner in which the market draws on and sustains our historic imagination and plays with our desire to experience the present as a time and place retreating every day into the past.

Images of Battery Park City

From South Street Seaport, the spectator of city places seeking the Hudson River can either meander along the passageways that lead through the skyscraper canyons of Wall Street or follow a more direct route across Fulton Street. On either voyage the traveler is blocked from the river by streams of roaring traffic on West Street or arrested in the subterranean maze of the massive platform that serves as the base for the twin towers of the World Trade Center. Just beyond reach, jutting out from the Hudson River waterfront, lies the new development called Battery Park City.⁴³ The pedestrian is really not welcomed to this new public space, for she or he has to painstakingly and cautiously cross lanes of highway traffic with no obvious point of entry in sight. Or the traveler may select one of two elevated skywalks over West Street that unexpectedly lead from within the general confines of the World Trade Center's platform into the interior corridor of the megacomplex known as the World Financial Center, and suddenly plunge to earth over cascades of stairways and elevator banks.

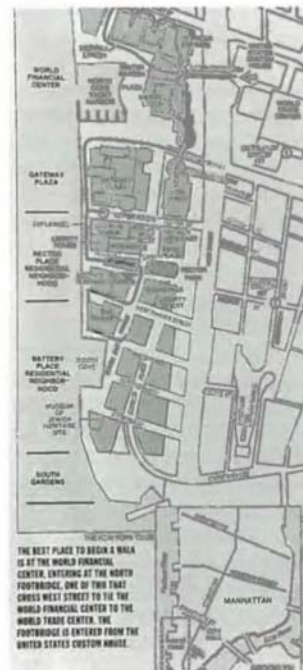
This project was conceptually linked to six other waterfront communities in the original 1960s development plan proposed for Lower Manhattan. Today, however, Battery Park City stands as yet another isolated city tableau in the contemporary game of spatial restructuring. On ninety-two acres of landfill at the southern tip of Manhattan, this idealized New York neighborhood was put in place during the 1980s. Here one can find the look of prewar apartment houses combined with the views and atmosphere of Brooklyn Heights, the reproduction of Central

Park lampposts and benches, the inspiration drawn from the private enclave of Gramercy Park, as well as the great landscape inheritance of Olmsted's parks. This "urban dream" is based on a master plan created in 1979, which embodied design guidelines specifying architectural elements and styles borrowed from the city's best residential streetscapes such as Central Park West, West End Avenue, and Riverside Drive. But the plan as well was informed by the memory of Manhattan's gridiron street pattern and the more subtle effects of its lighting, signage, and colors. No single-use projects such as the modern movement's red-brick housing complexes that dot the East River side of Manhattan or the node of culture at Lincoln Center, Battery Park City was to be instead a multi-use minicity incorporating within its boundaries apartments and offices, museums and schools, parks and marinas, hotels and restaurants, theaters and shops.

In this new exchange place dedicated to financial capital, we are given a view of how New York in the 1980s envisioned itself. Like South Street Seaport, Battery Park City is a historically constituted and compositionally structured place. But the story of its spatial production reveals a different set of tensions and conflicts. As a business center of worldwide importance, New York's financial district in the 1950s needed room to expand and places to house its workers if it was to compete successfully against the development of midtown Manhattan. This had been a dream of New York planners for Lower Manhattan since the 1920s and 1930s, when office developments around both Grand Central Station and Rockefeller Center were accepted as clear setbacks to the unchallenged supremacy of the financial district.⁴⁴ The dream was reaffirmed by David Rockefeller and the Lower Manhattan Association in their first proposal of 1958. Calling for a plan to save the financial district from slow strangulation, their report noted that sixteen new office buildings located in the hard core of the Wall Street district were forced to reach skyward, choked on all edges by ninety-seven acres of obsolescent, deteriorating, and economically wasteful land uses comprised of old fish stalls, vegetable and butter markets, old piers, ships' chandleries and light industries, and rows of small buildings—some more than one hundred years in age.⁴⁵ In addition, circulation was

a major problem, and the possibility of a Lower Manhattan Crosstown Expressway had been under study since 1948. But most important, the district had fewer than 4,000 residents, and the argument was made that if the financial district was to compete with midtown, it must develop new luxury residential spaces. The logical areas into which the financial district might expand, or so the Plan suggested, were the congested blocks surrounding the old West Side Produce Market below Canal Street and the East River Fulton Fish Market below the Brooklyn Bridge. These newly "prized" waterfront areas offered sufficient "fallow" land not only for office towers to sprout and expand but for residential communities to grow, housing in their turn leagues of white-collar office workers.

During the 1960s, the Manhattan waterfront continued to decline, being supplanted as an important cargo and shipping center by modernized container facilities in New Jersey and Brooklyn. Consequently many plans for waterfront restructuring were in place by 1966. The Washington Market Urban Renewal project took care of eradicating the produce market on the west side during the 1960s, subsequently clearing twenty-four blocks along the waterfront from its "encumbering" historic structures. And already the World Trade Towers development project, announced in 1964 and actively sponsored by both David and Nelson Rockefeller, suggested that the financial district might shift toward the Hudson River. Alongside these plans, waterfront restructuring proposals were offered by Mayor Lindsay, the Parks Department, and the Marine and Aviation Department. The latter had requested in 1958 that the Hudson River waterfront be revitalized with new cargo facilities; by the late 1960s, however, only two out of the entire seven miles of the Hudson River waterfront remained devoted to shipping uses, and it was expected in the future that these activities were doomed to wither and die. Thus Mayor Lindsay proposed to transfer jurisdiction over the waterfront to the Parks Department; not surprisingly the Parks Commissioner, Thomas Hoving, wanted to redevelop the decaying piers along the waterfront with swimming barges, strips of parkland, entertainment facilities, and residential communities. A hastily drawn up plan by the architects Harrison & Abramowitz for Governor Rockefeller



"Battery Park City Plan and Walking Tour,"
The New York Times Magazine
(November 20, 1988).

proposed a row of high-rise mixed-income residential towers standing in parks of green on landfill along the waterfront.⁴⁶ Mayor Lindsay's Office of Lower Manhattan Development offered their own plan for luxury housing by the team of Wallace, McHarg, Roberts & Todd; Whittlesey, Conklin & Rossant; and Alan M. Voorhees & Associates, Inc. Discussed above with respect to South Street Seaport, this plan located mixed-income residential communities at the ends of the axes of Wall Street, Broadway, Chambers Street, Fulton Street, and the World Trade Center. Each community was designed around waterfront plazas, and they were linked by a string of parks and an esplanade.⁴⁷ Eventually a new development scheme with a smaller amount of low-income housing was proposed as a compromise between the city's and the governor's plans. But commitment to develop even this compromise remained a debatable issue.⁴⁸

Then a dramatic new restructuring effort suddenly joined the development game. Following by two years the announced plans for the World Trade Towers, it was proposed to use the soil excavated in the development of those towers for landfill along the derelict Hudson waterfront. Unlike South Street Seaport, however, the key to this new development would lie in the creation by 1968 of the quasi-public Battery Park City Authority, empowered by the state to sell \$200 million worth of bonds to finance its landfill operations, the removal of decaying piers, and all of its public infrastructure improvements. Operating under a ninety-nine-year lease from the city, with an approved development plan that overrides any local land use review and remains but a gentleman's agreement, the authority was granted the right to sublet this landfill to private developers.⁴⁹ Development remained a dream, however, for Battery Park City was in 1976 just a barren landfill unable to attract development interest. The mid-1970s were of course exactly the years in which New York City slid toward bankruptcy during its fiscal crisis. In such financially gloomy times, plans for waterfront restructuring were forgotten, and the Battery Park City Authority was unable to sell additional bonds and thus could not raise the money for loans to support its residential developments. Meanwhile the market for office space declined all over Manhattan, in part due to a glut

of overbuilding in the early 1970s but also because New York had lost its allure as a business center, causing some corporate headquarters to relocate outside of the city. So plans to expand the financial district and underwrite its future with waterfront residential communities came to a halt.

The original site plan for Battery Park City located a huge, self-contained megastructure along the entire spine of a suppressed West Street roadway. The superstructure would then spin off an entire network of subterranean connectors, access ramps, and parking lots and lead to the financial district across a series of elevated pedestrian walkways. Megastructures, a technological framework combining the visually rich scenery of industrial piping, catwalks, and ramps with internalized multifunctional spaces for work, leisure, and movement were the rage of the 1960s. The architect Paul Rudolph's intended Lower Manhattan Expressway (1970), or the air rights development above the Port Authority near the George Washington Bridge (1965), were exemplary of this type of structure.⁵⁰ Battery Park City's site plan also included mixed-income government subsidized housing projects as isolated towers along the Hudson River waterfront. By the late 1970s, however, government subsidies for low- and moderate-income housing no longer existed, and so it was argued without any need to resort to issues of equity or social justice that if housing was to be part of the future Battery Park City, it must respond to the demand increasing throughout Manhattan for luxury housing at market prices. In addition, the total architectural outlook of the modern movement was under serious debate by the mid-1970s, and superstructural containers or residential towers in parks of green as part of this aesthetic approach suddenly looked as outmoded as last year's fashion designs.

In the late 1970s, New York's office market began to recover, and its image as a glittering world city reemerged. So the need arose, once again, not only for new office spaces but for corporate support services and communication centers, for entertainment spaces and for luxury housing to complement its expanding base of white-collar employment.⁵¹ By this time the World Trade Center had become a dominant force restructuring the shape of Lower Manhattan. This new

transportation, office, tourist, and commercial hub lay directly opposite the Battery Park City site and was pushing the office center of Lower Manhattan toward the west and the river. To the northeast of Battery Park City, the old wholesale district and manufacturing area of Tribeca (Triangle Below Canal) experienced in the late 1970s a lively pace of residential loft conversions. It contained the Washington Market Urban Renewal project toward its southern end, where Manhattan Community College and Independence Plaza, a middle-income residential development, had been erected in 1975. However, this urban renewal project stood out as a dramatic reminder of the problems that megastructure planning had posed. Designed as a huge complex raised on a platform, this project would have been connected to the World Trade Center and to Battery Park City by elevated pedestrian passageways. New York's fiscal crisis brought all of these development plans to an abrupt end, leaving the community college only 20 percent completed. With renewed development interest, however, the open areas of land surrounding the Washington Market Urban Renewal site plus the vacant landfill of Battery Park City were the only places for real estate expansion in close proximity to the World Trade Center. In addition, the middle-income project of Independence Plaza was now called a failure, because the city eventually bailed out the project by subsidizing rentals and thus brought their prices down to at least moderate-income levels. So it was easy to argue that if the master plan for Battery Park City was reorganized to allow more flexible and smaller-scaled development, and if the ideal of middle- or mixed-income residential communities in Lower Manhattan could be abandoned once and for all, then the barren landfill of Battery Park City might appeal to local developers as a luxury office and residential community. As it also appeared to be possible that the authority might default on its bond payments due in 1980, profitable development became more appealing than any form of subsidization. Of course this action under the duress of default and bankruptcy may have been only a sleight of hand, for implicit subsidies hidden from public awareness and accountability always underwrite private development through the provisions of public parks and public arts programs, corporate and financial tax abatements, or zoning

and planning allowances. Nevertheless, with the twist of these events the dream of a luxury minicity in Lower Manhattan was almost a reality, and as the rhetoric proclaimed, private enterprise now would build a new prestige community to house and entertain the expanding financial service workers, accountants, corporate lawyers, management consultants, public relations and communication experts, advertisers, and insurance agents that kept rising in number on the tide of New York City's renewed prosperity.⁵²

The time seemed ripe for restructuring the plans for the Hudson River waterfront as well. Disgarding the superblock megastructure mentality of the original plan, the revised master plan developed by Alexander Cooper Associates in 1979 believed that there was nothing wrong with Manhattan's street pattern of small rectangular blocks. Thus the new plan, either literally or figuratively, enabled the memory of this grid pattern to connect the northern and southern ends of Battery Park City to the rest of Manhattan. Conventional building lots and streets with sidewalks would enable the normal rules of Manhattan block and lot development to prevail and this ordinariness, or so it was argued, would appeal to the average New York developer. Abandoning the modernist concept of total design, Battery Park City would be developed incrementally over time as different areas of landfill were opened for development, thus simulating the manner in which a city actually develops. Emblematic residential places of Manhattan, such as Central Park West, Tudor City, Gramercy Park, and Riverside Drive were the designs against which Battery Park City's residential development guidelines were placed. The street would once again become the major organizing device, reintroducing shopping arcades, street-level crossings, and vehicular traffic. In addition a variety of park and landscape designs, public amenities, and street furniture would fully exploit the scenic potential of this waterfront property where landscape and riverscape merged. Because the success of the new plan lay dependent on commercial development, the business district of this new town was shifted to the center of the site just opposite the World Trade Towers. Here transfer of development rights from site to site would enable a large-scale office complex to arise—albeit a

modernist megastructure—while leaving the waterfront edge free for smaller-scale residential development and preserving riverscape views.

With these new plans in hand, developers responded and construction began. A remnant from the older plans, Gateway Plaza would be the first residential development of Battery Park City when it opened in 1982. Meanwhile Olympia & York Properties from Canada leased substantial areas of Battery Park City in 1981 and began to construct, at an estimated cost of \$1.5 billion, the four-tower complex designed by architect Cesar Pelli and henceforth known as the World Financial Center. And finally, the Battery Park Authority designated eight development teams for its Rector Place residential community. By 1983 the first segment of the waterfront esplanade was opened and within a few years followed the second esplanade section, Rector Park, South Cove Park, the glass-enclosed Winter Garden, and a 3.5 acre plaza surrounding North Cove. And of course there was more to come: North Cove Yacht Harbor, Vesey Place ice skating rink, the North Park and North End Parks, South Gardens, hotels, museums, and schools.

Battery Park City and the Rhetoric of "New York Ascendant"

Alongside the real estate and architectural producers of Battery Park City, there developed a series of postproduction artists such as advertisers and newspaper journalists who have manipulated and rearranged the images of place and showcased "history" for specific effects. One of their claims located New York among the ascendant world-class cities in the 1980s, perhaps the preeminent command and control center of the entire global economy. In this powerful media performance, Battery Park City, where the World Financial Center is located, played an important rhetorical role. New York, this play proclaimed, was the commercial capital of the world's largest market-oriented country; it was a major exporter and distributor of images and information in the business, financial, political, and cultural spheres of influence. And since the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s, the city and state in the interest of the public good had focused their attention on the



Aerial View of The World Financial Center at Battery Park City.

direction in which this international economy was moving, and attempted to capture the benefits that an expanding world financial exchange and its telecommunications support might generate.⁵³

One result of this framing narration of "New York Ascendant" has been the dismantlement of programs designed in the 1950s and 1960s to aid the poor and putting in their place an increasingly market-oriented set of urban policies that have transferred resources instead to the privileged and private sector. To no one's surprise uneven development has been the result, with expanding growth at the top where the well-to-do white-collar workers reside, and swelling ranks at the bottom where the marginally employed and ill-educated poor may dwell. Thus a breach continuously widens, placing the city of the rich on one side and that of the poor on the other. In this gap between the rich and the poor, an antagonistic "war of positions" pitting "them" against "us" might have been the response if the 1970s and 1980s had remained as politically volatile as the 1960s had been. But a dialogue of confrontation was artfully contained and neutralized in the 1980s' media performances that spoke of a new public spirit and civic grandeur overriding existing social and political tensions. Banished from our memories were values of mutual support, cooperation, and sharing that demand within a fractured metropolis that affinities be made across racial and economic differences.⁵⁴ By concentrating on corporate power, however, and all the glamor and glitter that a world-class city may reveal, media support for these other affinities was nowhere to be found. Disassociating the images of uneven development from those of place and privilege allowed unmentionable inequities to be sustained as normal and inevitable consequences of economic growth and global preeminence.

Noam Chomsky has critically observed that the media, as an adjunct of government, is expected to educate the public in the interests of those who manage state policies at any given moment in time, and to do so with enthusiasm and optimism about the causes in which the state is engaged. If one of those causes is the concentration of private power concomitant with the manufacturing of consent to its set of priorities and privileges, then in order to act as vigilant guardians

protecting privilege from the threat of public understanding and participation, the media may resort to "necessary illusions" by carefully selecting the general framework in which topics are discussed, issues raised, and premises left unmentioned.⁵⁵ The images of Battery Park City and the media performances that surround them are steeped in the invention of "necessary illusions." They legitimate the privileging of private interests through the construction of an optimistic media consensus telling the reader in a repetitious manner that the architectural productions of Battery Park City enhance the public welfare, demonstrate a new civic pride in the city, and through a backward-binding sense of tradition guarantee the illusion that these images belong to New Yorker's rightful and collective inheritance. In these media performances, our sense of collective identity is experienced aesthetically and noncritically through images that foreground the pleasurable look of the city while obscuring the agents of re-presentation and those that compose consensus.⁵⁶

One *New York Times* writer noted, "If this newest part of Manhattan called Battery Park City were a movie set, New Yorkers would laugh at its impossible concentration of city landmarks in reality."⁵⁷ And indeed Battery Park is a cinematographic setup, or a fabricated city tableau, that congeals into a universal generalizing theme. Starting with the impression they wanted to convey, its architectural directors carefully selected the views that would enhance this feeling. By drawing from a set of images that both exist and are valued in New York City, they meant to refigure the way that the spectator would perceive this new architectural assemblage. Through the juxtaposition of disparate images this montage is meant to evoke analogical associations that bind the new to the old, the fragment to the whole, the past to the present. As an advertising campaign proclaims, Battery Park City is just "More New York New York." And like the line in the song, "New York, New York, it's a wonderful town, the Bronx is up and the Battery down," this media narrative links the territory of the new city to the map of the old and merges high art with popular forms. Another journalist simply underlined these same themes as he eavesdropped on a fictitious conversation between "Weekend Walker" and "City Stroller" on a ramble around the landfill:

And all this talk of new lands: we're not opening up Oklahoma. Everything around the rim of Manhattan, downtown anyway, was a new land. Why do you think we have Front Street and Water Street inland from South Street on the East Side? Landfill, landfill. Even Greenwich Street, two blocks in, was on North River waterfront and, later the Battery was sticking out in the harbor.

Supposedly there is nothing unnatural or unusual that the stroller might encounter about the creation of Battery Park City, situated as it is in the historical record of how the cityscape of New York was created in the past.⁵⁸

Paul Goldberger, the upbeat architectural critic of the *New York Times*, was a major orchestrator of the media constructions that bind Battery Park City to the architectural heritage of New York. He claimed that this triumph of urban design was "close to a miracle," being "the finest urban grouping since Rockefeller Center."⁵⁹ Based on what he referred to as a radical notion, the 1979 master plan decided and most New Yorkers agreed that there was nothing wrong with Manhattan as it appears and that "most of the attempts by architects and planners to rethink the basic shape of the city have resulted in disaster."⁶⁰ In its initial form, Battery Park City was designed as a series of vast modernists "superblocks" and unfortunately, or so Goldberger felt, a remnant of these "eastern European housing complexes jazzed up by Buck Rogers" remained as Gateway Plaza in order to disturb the ensemble's historicist totality.⁶¹ But after the new master plan had been placed firmly in control of the look of the place, it was able to negotiate the architectural styles, historical allusions, and meaning of its public places in return for giving a private developer permission to build. The master plan symbolically located the major office building complex in the center of the plan—making the World Financial Center the new city's downtown—"the place to go for a special meal, dancing or a cabaret."⁶² Four gigantic towers designed by Cesar Pelli for Olympia & York, with their varied tops and different heights yet identical facades, "constitute a serious essay in romantic modernism," an attempt that combines the look of the past with modern materials.⁶³ The ten residential buildings of Rector

Place, a simulated Gramercy Park, provide a coherent sense of place and will act as a neighborhood template for future development in the northern and southern edges of town. Tying the entire ensemble together are the fifty acres of parks and promenades, a public gesture of magnificence, avidly celebrated by politicians who see Battery Park City as emblematic of the renewed energy and dynamism of New York as a great world financial center and the commitment of its government to the "public realm."⁶⁴

As a form of melodrama, this glorification of Battery Park City pitted the modernist aesthetic against the postmodern, innovation against tradition, an impaired city against its ideal form—a gesture in which "history" was constantly evoked as a reassuring device and traditional urban spaces were as welcome as a hero's return. By drawing on the tensions envisioned by good and bad architectural forms, this city tableau and its verbal hyperbole displaced the contradictions of spatial production onto an emotional and visual level. Constantly reenacting the same formula, this melodramatic performance created a sense of living tradition and mythology to be judged by its collective energy and nostalgic effect. Although Battery Park City did not depend on or borrow from the instinct of historic preservation, it was moved instead by the extraction and seriality of images drawn from New York's heroic commercial architecture as well as its liberal record of public and private parks. The organizing principle of this collection of architectural and urban forms was a backward-binding nostalgia that longed to repossess and return to New York's commercial heyday in the 1920s. For we have been told by architectural historians that American architecture in this interwar period finally created a style of its own when the city was catapulted into being a world-class financial capital. New York, *The Nation* proclaimed in 1929, became the "mecca and the model" for all of America.⁶⁵ Its spectacle of power could be viewed by every passenger who entered the harbor of the city, for its skyscraper towers were a vision "prophetic of modernity, of immense mechanical superiority, of intolerance of all that is not the newest, the latest and best."⁶⁶ Public grandeur became a by-product of America's commercial architecture whose tone was established in the 1920s. As

corporate skyscrapers replaced the lower profile of public buildings, they became the new symbol of the city's civic pride. Commercial buildings defined the cutting edge of architecture, setting precedents that others would follow.⁶⁷

Consequently the images collected in Battery Park City become metaphorical carriers of a special kind of history and defenders of a set of values established in earlier times. Through the recreations of traditional New York spaces and architectural forms—historical examples all built by private enterprise such as Gramercy Park, or Central Park West, Tudor City, or Rockefeller Center—the present is filled with a sense of grandeur and self-importance, or pleasure and excitement, that many modernist places in the city apparently failed to achieve. Battery Park City teaches us how to feel, not think, about the past, how to overcome the sense of failure and crisis that modernism provided, that the near bankruptcy of the city's fiscal crisis congealed, and that the decline of American international supremacy revealed.⁶⁸ The citation of these few images drawn from New York's commercial heritage seemed to justify the entire outdoor museum of Battery Park City. Some might question whether the city and the state should have been involved in helping financially to underwrite a \$4.5 billion, fundamentally upper-class project. But then, this is the intention of nostalgia, to invert and gloss over reality and twist and turn the dividing line that separates public and private space. And this seems to be New York's inheritance from the 1920s as well, a time when commercial architecture developed a truly American style and by this gesture alone turned the "image" of New York into that of a world-class city. As the boomtown mythology of the 1920s is carried over into the 1980s, Battery Park City's development energy, it was argued, might simply spill over and push the project thirteen blocks northward from Chambers Street as far as Canal Street. And some of the residential assignments, furthermore, might be transferred instead to more lucrative commercial development.⁶⁹

As the New York Regional Plan proclaimed during the 1920s, New York's "... most striking architectural feature is its mass of high buildings as seen from the surrounding areas of open water, which give it the benefit of open space from

which buildings can be seen. It is on the frontage of these water areas that its greatest opportunity lies for creating beauty of building."⁷⁰ Reiterated by a Mayor's Task Force on the Design of the City of New York in 1967, this group of elite New Yorkers noted that "New York needs—and could have—closer connections with nature . . . The city's largest sweep of nature by far is its harbor and rivers. The city is almost 25% water, with no less than 578 miles of waterfront within the city limits. This presents opportunities for both lyricism and liveliness which has largely been ignored."⁷¹ So the waterfront of Manhattan, that fallow landscape of decaying piers and underutilized spaces that has been described "as being like an unhemmed dress"—this too might follow the path outlined in the 1920s, and again in the late 1960s, and be restructured and recycled with monumental commercial developments.⁷² As if she were a stereotypical woman standing before her mirror, New York City seems addicted to a flawless perfected image of herself, always a younger image drawn nostalgically from her past.

This collection of city images, drawn from the memory of New York's heroic past, are situated quotations. They are public images appropriated for private means, underscoring the political message of "New York Ascendant," but they are also a way of giving form and expression to the invisible financial transactions and monetary exchanges of the World Financial Center. Susan Stewart, in her book *On Longing*, has noted that a collection replaces history with classification, formally ordering and arranging each item as a member of a set of objects and displaying them serially in its arrangement of boxes, shelves, cabinets, or museum rooms. Once upon a time the collection of bric-a-brac captured the aesthetics of mercantilism—a trader's possessions gathered from around the world, valued and displayed for their curiosity, monetary value, or for their uniqueness among a set of things. In every one of these prototypical collections, the world of things was given to the collector as if she or he were its rightful inheritor. "And this scene of acquisition is repeated over and over through the serial arrangement of objects in display space. . . . if they [the objects] are 'made,' it is by a process that seems to invent itself for the pleasure of the acquirer."⁷³ Now there were as well open-air equivalents to these

curio collections of appropriated objects—landscaped gardens surrounded by a perimeter belt of trees that turned the perspective toward the interior of the site, which in turn was composed as a series of walks and vistas with a sequence of architectural curios and facsimiles representing “our possessions” from India, China, or Greece. So it has been claimed, the aesthetics of eclecticism depended on “an extrapolation of the best that has been thought and said in the world by a Citizen of the World.”⁷⁴

Drawing on these analogies, we find that the images of Battery Park City are presented to the spectator as a series of views, classified and arranged within the interior of an outdoor architectural museum for his or her amusement, ripped out of their original context and displayed for the pleasures of possession and inheritance. The most emblematic space of this type, actually simulating a cabinet of curiosity with items selected from a thousand years of garden design, was the planned but rejected composition for South Garden. A collaborative effort between architect Alexander Cooper and landscape architect Jennifer Bartlett, this three-acre park at the southern tip of Battery Park City was designed as a grid of twenty-four cellular divisions, each 50 by 50 feet in size. Since New York's climate is hot in the summer and cold in the winter, a ten-and-a-half-foot concrete wall would have enclosed the entire garden, allowing only one small entry point in the middle of its eastern side. From within this enclosure, a spectator could ramble at his or her leisure amid the cells of the grid, each one composed of a different type of garden such as an evergreen winter garden, a serpentine garden, an orchard of apple trees, a lily pond, a rose garden, and more.

In addition to these staged landscapes meant for the pleasure of looking, Battery Park City's \$4.5 billion display of architectural might is contaminated with commercialism and like all commercial architecture, its scenographic compositions invoke the art of advertising. These public forms of communication influence still further the manner in which the spectator links Battery Park City to a network of other city views and spaces. Because it is difficult to give the boundless and abstract market transactions that surround the World Financial Center an image, this might

have led to a crisis in representation. Fredric Jameson, in *Postmodernism or: The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, claims that the rise of the British colonial system in the late nineteenth century created such a crisis, for imperialism was a global reality no longer visualizable, mappable, or representable. Man in the center of London, for example, experienced a gap between his bounded and centered everyday reality and this new global reality, and hence his world was haunted by a sense of alienation and filled with vacancies and voids. Jameson also suggests that a similar crisis has erupted under late capitalism with its global network of multinational corporations. In this worldwide system, he argues, the individual is thrown against an unmappable and bizarre juxtaposition of multidimensional spaces and discontinuous realities. So, he proclaims, a world that is not mappable is a world that cannot be critically transformed.⁷⁵

But instead of Jameson's unmappable world, this crisis of representation has been met in the contemporary city by the construction of new theatrical tableaux. In each of these stage settings the spectators are presented with well-established and valued views that showcase special styles of life, underscore social norms and moral structures, and offer entertaining and pleasurable events. On these stages, which ignore all the spaces and affinities that exist outside of their prosceniums, the new social norms and moral relationships that pertain in the global economy are given a show. Borrowing analogically from the *theatrum mundi* metaphor, claiming that all the world's a stage, these city tableaux are reminiscent of the seventeenth century, when the local customs and bartering practices of traditional fairs and marketplaces were transformed by the more abstract, invisible, and infinite processes of commodity circulation and money exchange. The theater became the terrain on which new relationships were defined and explained to spectators, who now resided within a strange and perplexing economy. “What made the theatrical metaphor so resilient [in the face of the powerfully transformative effects of commodity exchange] was no doubt its capacity to evoke the sense of a lived abstraction of distinctively human contrivance. . . .” In this theatrical metaphor, willful individuals were given a role to play in a predetermined world. Their

duty was then to act out the part allotted to them as perfectly as possible without questioning the assignment of roles.⁷⁶

And so we are brought full circle to the entertaining city tableaux that the world's financial capital has constructed before the spectator's eyes and to the concept of the "public sphere," which has been cleverly contrived. When the World Financial Center was inaugurated in October of 1988, five days of fairs and celebrations were staged by Drenttel Doyle Partners, the advertising agents hired by Olympia & York to celebrate the event with appropriate fleets of boats, puppet shows, banners, balloons, and carnival floats. In addition, a series of theatrical performances and art exhibitions were showcased in the glass and marble agora of the Winter Garden: events that tried to create the impression that this "new-generation Rockefeller Center" was the latest addition in a line of projects that inevitably link corporate sponsorship to the cultural life of the city. The World Financial Center's advertising campaign included a series of full-page, two-color advertisements entitled "City Tales." Each one of these advertisements was placed in prestigious New York publications such as the *New York Times Magazine*, the *New Yorker*, the *New York Magazine*, and *Vanity Fair*. These city tableaux, really photo-essays commissioned by the advertisers, asked twelve different poets, writers, and humorists to describe in their own words something characteristic yet special about Manhattan, some event or place that they encountered every day in the life of the city. Geared to the users of the World Financial Center, or so the advertisers claimed, "Everything about the Center is influenced by a progressive understanding of the uses of public space, and it's skewed toward the tastes of a younger, downtown crowd. The objective of DDP's campaign, Mr. Drenttel said, is to present the Center as a part of the fabric of New York," and hence the advertisements were actually "short on sell, long on creating a special look and feel of city life."⁷⁷ Intended to be twelve in number, after protests by the retailers who wanted a more direct selling campaign and less literary and artistic allusion, the campaign took on a more traditional bent. But the series of "City Tales" that did appear, however, reveal not only the type of "public" that Battery Park City was designed

for, but the legitimating rhetoric that its imagery instills. Around the edges of each photo-essay in tiny print are the list of stores, businesses, and restaurants located in the World Financial Center. And at the bottom, on either side of the four-square logo of the World Financial Center—a kind of medieval *nappe mundi* dividing the globe into four continents—is the major advertising theme: "At Battery Park City it's more New York New York." This graphic display and the stories narrate the obvious message of work and play in a city whose architectural and public heritage is shared and extolled by all groups who supposedly make up the public.

The "City Tales" read something like this: Poet Dana Gioia's "City Tale of Destinations: Arrivals & Departures," takes Grand Central Station as a theme. Although claiming that most contemporary travel feels more like commuting, he noted that one experience, that of Grand Central Station, still actually feels like travel as one enters into or departs from New York's greatest indoor public space. In this "democratic precinct," really a theater stage, one can meet people from all walks of life, each with his or her own compelling story. Grand Central's architectural triumph, moreover, lies in its ability to blend functional and impressive forms that "not only are unimposing but inviting. This is a place which recognizes the importance of each arrival." The obvious associative linkages with Battery Park City are not difficult to draw, but not one mention is made throughout this essay that Grand Central Station is simultaneously a magnificent landmark structure from New York's historic heritage, and it was at that time also a shelter for hundreds of homeless; that every arrival was greeted not only with the view of its cavernous lobby, but with the outstretched hands of panhandlers and the wretched faces of poverty; that a war over public space had its seamiest sites in the station.

Humorist Mark O'Donnell's tale was about "Eavesdropping: Fragments of the Perambulation." Juxtaposing snippets of conversation, he allows the unexpected to puncture the obvious and celebrates the contradictory montage that is New York. Here the conflicts and tensions of uneven spatial development that currently hound New Yorkers are released through laughter in the following manner: "... Spare change? I'm trying to buy a condo"... "Did whoever wrote

Arrivals & Departures

IN DANA GIGILA

photograph by Elizabeth Teichler

[illegible]

nage but whether into a park-like domain or across hill slopes. Considerably less can be said about its end use. Hundreds of trees bury in, each one marking a place of special meaning. Charged by their sheer numbers to be a place of great importance, the trees that only grow (although the presence of a few others that are planted) suggest that the place is not just anything is possible; represents the unacknowledged strength of Grand Central's architecture. It's a very central, this station is not only grand. In one fine central chamber mostly impressively surrounded by soaring galleries, pinnacles, towers, balconies, and stair landings, the air above circulates in the large shafts of filtered sunlight rising to the high arched ceiling decorated with clouds—no, it is not this, the reason is behind my eyes; because the sun and clouds are not in the sky but in the ceiling. From the ceiling, a large projection of clouds is



The World Famous Ipswich every day. They come to see their friends
and families. It's all right here.

the swirling cauldrons below, all the grandeur seems not only unimpaired but revived. This is a place which recognizes the importance of each annual harvest, gifts, from inspired, one might say the crowd ready to begin.

Dana Gioia, "Arrivals & Departures," "City Tales," Advertisement, Agency Drentell Doyle Partners (November 1988).

the Internationale make any money off it?" . . . "Ya, I have been riding the subway all week, I feel very homely on it" . . . " In another photo-essay entitled, "Business Day: Work Study," Guy Martin humorously claimed that New York was "a great concentration of people with aberrant jobs." No other place would offer a detective, for example, the opportunity to specialize in scuba diving for discarded weapons; or develop a whole specialty around insomniacs; or offer a market for fleet-footed venture capitalists, who hawk their wares to trapped drivers en route to the airports. "Work give us an idea of what New York requires and, more importantly, just how much you can get away with here." And David Rieff's "Feeding Patterns: All Night Fruit" noted that New York had become a special space for single people, who by some magical law all become hungry around midnight. Thank heavens for the Korean fruit stands that began to appear all over town about fifteen years ago, a group of newcomers who made New York an all-night city the way it used to be. "It was the greatest event in the lives of single people since the invention of the VCR."

Wondrous Images

Seductive images in the camera obscura always turn reality on its head. In a similar manner these visual narratives of South Street Seaport and Battery Park City mix theater play with actuality, publicize private space as public terrain, and push every neglected space of the city through the sieve of an imaginary matrix whose nodes are none other than well-designed city tableaux. The contemporary spectator envisions isolated city worlds as if they were framed within a frame—they appear as scenographic stage sets of different lifestyles to try and different voyages to take. Searching for exotic unreality, realms that lie beyond our everyday life, the stroller meanders through the corridors and containers of city places hoping to encounter the strange effect where reality and illusion collide. We travel on, lured by legendary accounts that fill our imagination. So it has been since the fragmentary travelogues of antiquity first publicized the Wonders of the World, lost somehow in time but residing somewhere on the geographical edge of the world. Astonishing monuments

others pass on situations, by making them practical and thus liquidating them. The latter is called destructive.⁵⁴

Benjamin offers us yet another unstable constellation of centrifugal forces in which the materialist historian becomes a destructive character in order to clear the ground for emancipating construction. So we remain today, unable to escape the ambivalent tensions between the new and the traditional: bound either way in double suspension, to construct and consequently to erase by clearing a path for a new age of technoartifacts, or to destruct and thus to forget by committing to a historicized and conscious memory the discarded remnants from this emptied field, not recognizing them as the ruins of progress.⁵⁵ Even if Benjamin prophesized that it would be only through mechanical reproduction that "what has traditionally been called art can be superseded, politicized, resocialized, and the unstructured 'public' transformed into a collective subject. . . .", nevertheless a warning raised by Benjamin still remains to be examined: the cult of technology in the 1920s and 1930s, the history of positive barbarism and technology-enabled power, did not lead to progress in a broader cultural, political, and social sense, but to catastrophe and war.⁵⁶

Notes

Chapter 1

1

For a discussion of "The Matrix of Detail," see Alan Liu, "Local Transcendence: Cultural Criticism, Postmodernism, and the Romanticism of Detail," *Representations* 32 (Fall 1990): 75-113.

2

Jean-Paul Sartre paraphrased without citation by Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or: The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991): 332.

3

Michael W. Jennings, *Dialectical Images: Walter Benjamin's Theory of Literary Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987): 49-51. For an extended discussion on the ambiguous positions of postmodern thought, see Terry Eagleton, "From Polis to Postmodernism,"

The Ideology of the Aesthetic (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990): 366-417.

4

Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*. Translated by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988): vii, 3-6.

5

Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): 10-14.

6

Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Translated by Thomas Berger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

7

Jose B. Monleon, *A Specter's Haunting Europe: a sociohistorical approach to the fantastic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 24-30.

- 8 Ibid.: 49–80, 94; and Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990): 191–202.
- 9 Report of the Committee on Civic Centers, Bulletin No. 15 *Municipal Art Society* (New York: 1905): 8.
- 10 Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal* (New York: Verso Press, 1988): 138–146.
- 11 Stephen Tyler, *The Unspeakeable* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987): 36.
- 12 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*. Translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
- 13 Georges Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*. Translated by Carolyn R. Fawcett (New York: Zone Books, 1989): 250.
- 14 Michel Foucault, "On Governmentality," *Ideology and Consciousness* [referenced below as *I & C*] no. 6 (Autumn 1979): 5–22; Michel Foucault, "Politics and Reason," in Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Michel Foucault, Politics, Philosophy, Culture—Interviews and Other Writings, 1977–1984* (New York: Routledge, 1988): 57–85; and Michel Foucault, "An Ethics of Pleasure" [Translated by Stephen Riggins] *Foucault Live* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1989): 257–277.
- 15 A. Perreymonde, "Deuxième Etude sur la Ville de Paris," *Les Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics—Journal des Architectes, des Ingénieurs, des Architectes, des Industriels et des Propriétaires sous la Direction de M. César Daly Architecte* [abbreviated as *RGA*] III (1842): 571. Quoted in and translated by Richard Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment, César Daly's Formula for Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1975): 203.
- 16 Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment*: 203–209.
- 17 Ibid.: 169–246.
- 18 César Daly, "De la Locomotion Aérienne," *RGA* IV (1843): 17. Quoted in and translated by Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment*: 176.
- 19 Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment*: 204.
- 20 César Daly, "Vue Intérieure d'un Tombeau Etrusque à Corneto (Paris: J. Claye, 1862): 8. Quoted and translated by Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment*: 253.
- 21 Aldo Rossi, *Architecture of the City*. Translated by Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984): 50–55.
- 22 Marcel Poète, "L'Évolution des Villes (1935–1936)" (Université de Paris, Institut d'Urbanisme, mimeographed notes located in Avery Library, Columbia University, New York); and Marcel Poète, *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris*, Vol. 1 (1906) and Vol. 4 (1909).
- 23 Tyler, *The Unspeakeable*: 205–207; and Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973): 381–382.
- 24 De Certeau, *The Writing of History*: 6.
- 25 Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985): 28, 48, 58, 201.

- 26 Quoted and translated by Marie Maclean, *Narrative as Performance* (London: Routledge, 1988): 52.
- 27 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*. Translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969): 83.
- 28 Ibid.: 89.
- 29 David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986): 261.
- 30 Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectic of Seeing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989): 278–279; Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*: 260; and Richard Wolin, *Walter Benjamin: An Aesthetic of Redemption* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982): 219, 221–222.
- 31 Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*: 261; Jennings, *Dialectical Images*: 82–83; and Wolin, *Walter Benjamin*: 226–230.
- 32 Burkhardt Lindner, "The Passagen-Werk: the Berliner Kindheit, and the Archaeology of the 'Recent Past,'" *New German Critique* [abbreviated *NGC*] 39 (Fall 1986): 45; Winfried Menninghaus, "Walter Benjamin's Theory of Myth," in Gary Smith (ed.), *On Walter Benjamin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988): 292–325.
- 33 Richard Terdiman, "Deconstructing Memory: On Representing the Past and Theorizing Culture in France Since the Revolution," *Diacritics* (Winter 1986): 13–36.
- 34 Michael S. Roth, "Remembering Forgetting: Maladies de la Mémoire in Nineteenth-Century France," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 49–68.

- 35 Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. Translated by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986): 29.
- 36 Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Zone Books, 1988): 22–24, 39.
- 37 Quoted by Deleuze, *Bergsonism*: 56.
- 38 Mary Douglas, "Introduction" to Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*. Translated by Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980; originally published 1950): 1–21.
- 39 Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective*: 167. Translated and quoted by Suzanne Vromen, "The Sociology of Maurice Halbwachs" (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975): 198.
- 40 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1 The Movement-Image*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2 The Time-Image*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); and Vromen, "The Sociology of Maurice Halbwachs."
- 41 Roth, "Remembering Forgetting."
- 42 Jean-Louis Comolli, "Machines of the Visible," in Teresa de Laurentis and Stephen Heath (eds.), *The Cinematic Apparatus* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980): 121–142.
- 43 De Certeau, *The Writing of History*: 79.

44 Roy Boyne, *Foucault and Derrida: The Other Side of Reason* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990): 90–122.

45 Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*. Translated by Sean Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986): 97.

46 Deleuze, *Foucault*: 107.

47 Ibid.: 119.

48 Deleuze, *Cinema 2*: 251, 277; and Terdiman, "Deconstructing Memory."

49 For the aporia of postmodern philosophy, see Alan D. Schrift, "The Becoming-Postmodern of Philosophy," in Gary Shapiro (ed.), *After the Future: Postmodern Times and Places* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990): 99–113.

Chapter 2

1 This book was initially inspired by the work of Marcel Poëte as referenced by Aldo Rossi, and of course by Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*. Translated by Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981). See also Marcel Poëte, *Une Vie de Cité, Paris* (Paris: August Picard, Editeur, 1924); and Marcel Poëte, "L'Évolution des Villes," (Unpublished lecture notes from the Université de Paris, Institut d'Urbanisme, 1935–36).

2 Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983): 96–97.

3 Michel Foucault, "On Governmentality," *l'ès C 6* (Autumn 1979): 5–22; Michel Foucault, "An Ethics of Pleasure," *Foucault Live*

(New York: Semiotext(e), 1989): 257–277; and Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Michel Foucault Politics Philosophy Culture*. Translated by Alan Sheridan and others (New York: Routledge, 1988): 57–85.

4 Jurgen Habermas, *Philosophical-Political Profiles*. Translated by Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983): 140.

5 Donald David Schneider, *The Works and Doctrine of Jacques Ignace Hittorff (1792–1867): Structural Innovation and Formal Expression in French Architecture* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1970; New York: Garland Press Inc., 1977); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture Romanticism and Reintegration* (New York: Payson & Clarke, Ltd., 1929): 32–33; and *L'Exposition Hittorff (1792–1867) Un Architecte du XIX^{ème} Siècle* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 20 October 1986–January 1987).

6 Unfortunately a technical fault occurred so that the obelisk on the day of its unveiling was actually raised by manpower, using ten different winches. Peter Tompkins, *The Magic of Obelisks* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981): 243–245.

7 Schneider, *Hittorff*: 431–493; and *L'Exposition Hittorff*.

8 Schneider, *Hittorff*: 494–565; and *L'Exposition Hittorff*.

9 Similar themes have been developed by Dolf Sternberger, *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Urizen Books, Mole Editions, 1977); and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Urizen Books, 1979).

10 Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*: 235.

11 Siegfried Giedion, *Architecture, You and Me* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958): 106–119, 178–199; and Siegfried Giedion, *Architecture and the Phenomena of Transition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

12 Blaise Cendrars, "La Tour Eiffel: A Madame Sonia Delaunay," quoted by Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Moment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986): 195–213.

13 Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983): 197.

14 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City* (New York: Orion Press, 1964 reprint of 1933 edition): 79.

15 Le Corbusier, *The Four Routes* (London: Dennis Dobson, Ltd., 1947): 97, 111.

16 Ibid.: 108.

17 Hubert Damisch, "Les Treteaux de la Vie Moderne," in *Le Corbusier une encyclopédie* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1987): 252–259.

18 Ibid.

19 Le Corbusier, *Concerning Town Planning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948): 72; and Damisch, "Les Treteaux."

20 Le Corbusier, *The Four Routes*.

21 Ignasi de Sola-Morales, "Nouveaux Espaces dans la Ville Moderne," in *Le Corbusier une encyclopédie*: 136–139.

22 Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow*. Translated by Frederick Etchells (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971): 287–288.

23 *Les Immatériaux Album* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1985).

24 John Rajchman, "The Postmodern Museum," *Art in America* (October 1985): 111–117, 171.

25 Hal Foster, "Wild Signs: The Breakup of the Sign in Seventies' Art," in Andrew Ross (ed.), *Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988): 251–268.

26 Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*. Translated by Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace, Inc., 1942): 14–15, 98–99.

27 Ibid.: 100.

28 Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983): 34.

29 Giedion, *Architecture, You and Me*: 125–137.

30 J. Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, and E. N. Rogers, *The Heart of the City Towards the Humanization of Urban Life* (London: Lund Humphries, 1952): 73.

31 M. Doublet, "Paris: Les Halles," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 132 (Juin-Juillet 1967): 23; Pierre Faucheux, "La Plateforme du XIX^e Siècle," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 138 (Juin-Juillet 1968): 54–58; and Jacques Herbert, *Sauver Les Halles Cœur de Paris* (Paris: Denöel, 1971).

towns," *NYT* (May 25, 1985): 40; and "Rouse Expands Grip on Harbor," *NYT* (Oct. 2, 1988): 32-33.

88 Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

89 Jurgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," *New German Critique* 3 (Fall 1974): 49-55; Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge, "The Public Sphere and Experience: Selections," *October* 46 (1989): 60-82; Peter Stallybrass & Allon White, *Politics & Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986): 80-100.

90 Raymond Williams, "Structures of Feeling," *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977): 253-301.

91 Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987): 125; and Timothy W. Luke and Stephen K. White, "Critical Theory and an Economic Path to Modernity," in John Forester (ed.), *Critical Theory and Public Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987): 34.

Chapter 8

1 Sergei Eisenstein, "Off-Frame" 1929; quoted by Jacques Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein*. Translated by Lee Hildreth, Constance Penley, Andrew Ross (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987): 40.

2 T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1985): 23-78.

3 Elizabeth Hawes, "The Greening of American Markets: Fresh Food and Constant Festivals are the Heart of Our Most Exciting Urban Renovations," *Diversions for Physicians at Leisure* (January 1981): 194.

4 Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1850-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

5 Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking, Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York: Methuen, 1985): 18-24; and Philip Fisher, *Hard Facts: Setting and Form in the American Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985): 133.

6 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Criticism of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984): 35.

7 Ibid.: 485-502.

8 Nancy Bloom and Jo Ellen Freese, "Planning for the Preservation of South Street Seaport," (unpublished term paper, Columbia University, 1977); *The Lower Manhattan Plan* (New York: City Planning Commission, 1966): vii; Hilary Silver, "The Last Frontier, Politics and Redevelopment on the New York Waterfront" (unpublished paper, 1988); and Harold R. Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities in Mixed-Use Development* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1984): 160-175.

9 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (Dec. 17, 1966): 66.

10 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (Oct. 15, 1967): Sec. 8, 4.

11 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (March 28, 1968): 51.

12 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (Dec. 18, 1968): Sec. 31, 1.

13 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (June 11, 1970): Sec. 38, 2.

14 Eventually 1,400,000 square feet of development rights were transferred to the Chase Manhattan Bank and a consortium of banks that it led. Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," and Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 160-175.

15 Reported by Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," from *NYT* (July 30, 1973): Sec. 31, 3.

16 Bloom and Freese, "Preservation of South Street Seaport," and Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 160-175.

17 Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 160-175.

18 "Seaport Market Place," *The Final EIS Statement* (prepared for the Rouse Company by The Erhrenkrantz Group, Sept. 1980); and Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 160-175.

19 Christopher Lowery was relieved in 1985 of his museum responsibilities in order to focus his entire attention on the museum's real estate ventures.

20 Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 172; and Meg Cox, "All at Sea: New York Museum's Problems Show Snarls in Mixing Culture, Commerce," *Wall Street Journal* (April 12, 1985). [Article without page reference taken from South Street Seaport Museum's history file.]

21 Lisa W. Foderaro, "At South Street Seaport, The Other Half Beckons," *NYT* (Nov. 28, 1986): B6.

22 Michael Quint, "Only the Fish are Missing at Fishport in Brooklyn," *NYT* (July 27, 1988): B1, B8.

23 David Dunlap, "Seaport May Regain Block City Excised," *NYT* (Dec. 20, 1987): Sec. 8, 24.

24 David Dunlap, "Wave of Growth Planned at South Street Seaport," *NYT* (Jan. 19, 1989): B1.

25 Shawn G. Kennedy, "Seaport Link for a Tower in Manhattan," *NYT* (Oct. 26, 1988): B6 and David Dunlap, "At Last, a Plan Wins in Landmark District," *NYT* (June 9, 1991): Sec. 10, 1, 13.

26 Quoted by Ellen Fletcher, "South Street Seaport Museum: Program Plan for 1984" (unpublished memorandum from the files of the South Street Seaport Museum): 5.

27 "South Street Seaport Museum Planning Conference" (unpublished reports from the files of the South Street Seaport Museum, Nov. 7, 1968).

28 Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987): 130-131; Sut Jhally, "The Political

Economy of Culture," in Ian Angus and Sut Jhally (eds.), *Cultural Politics in Contemporary American Society* (New York: Routledge, 1989): 65-81.

29 Michel Serres, "Turner Translate Corot," in Norman Bryson (ed.), *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 154-155.

30 Eric M. Steel, *Diderot's Imagery: A Study of a Literary Personality* (New York: Haskell House, 1966): 98-165.

31 James H. Bunn, "The Aesthetics of British Mercantilism," *New Literary History* 11 (1980): 303.

32 Fletcher, "Program Plan for 1984," and Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*.

33 Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984): 23, 135, 149-150.

34 Ellen Fletcher Rosebrock, "Walking Around in South Street: Discoveries in New York's Old Shipping District" (New York: South Street Seaport Museum, 1974); and John G. Waite and Paul R. Huey, *A Compilation of Historical and Architectural Data on the New York State Maritime Museum Block in New York City* (New York: New York State Historical Trust, 1972).

35 Bowlby, *Just Looking*.

36 Dora Wiebensohn, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): 108-121.

37 Jean Baudrillard, "The Trompe-l'Œil," in Bryson (ed.), *Calligram*: 53-62.

38 Bourdieu, *Distinctions*: 190-200.

39 Snedcof, *Cultural Facilities*: 60-175.

40 Smith, "Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space," in Neil Smith and Peter Williams (eds.), *Gentrification of the City* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986): 15-35.

41 Paul Smith, "Visiting Banana Republic," in Andrew Ross (ed.), *Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988): 128-148.

42 Neil Smith presents the same argument using the "pioneer" and the "frontier" as the metaphorical devices. Smith, "Gentrification," in Smith and Williams (eds.), *Gentrification*: 15-34.

43 Rosalyn Deutsche, "Uneven Development: Public Art in New York City," *October* 47 (Winter 1988): 3-52; and Silver, "The Last Frontier."

44 Felt and Co., Inc., Voorhees, Walker Foley & Smith, "Recommendation for a Redevelopment: Study of Lower Manhattan South of Fulton Street," (June 12, 1958).

45 David Rockefeller, John D. Butt, "Lower Manhattan Recommended Land Use Redevelopment Areas" (New York: Downtown Lower Manhattan Association, Inc., First Report, 1968).

46 "Back to the Waterfront: Chaos or Control?" *Progressive Architecture* 47, no. 8 (August, 1966): 128-139.

47 "The Lower Manhattan Plan" (New York: New York City Planning Commission, 1966).

48 "Manhattan Battery Park City," *Architectural Design* 39 (Dec. 1969): 673-676.

49 So it was projected, when Battery Park City was in full operation by the early 1980s, that the city would receive at least \$12 million a year in lieu of property taxes. By 1984 an agreement had been struck to use this leftover portion, after debt service on the Authority's bonds had been paid, for the development of low-income housing somewhere else in the city and at some future time. The first 1,600 units were developed in 1989.

50 Reyner Banham, *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

51 Emanuel Tobier, "Manhattan Emerges as 'World City,'" *Real Estate Review* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 47-49.

52 For the rhetoric of "New York Ascendant," see Alexander Cooper Associates, *Battery Park City Draft Summary Report and 1979 Master Plan* (New York: Battery Park City Authority, October, 1979). Between 1977 and 1987, New York City added 400,000 new jobs. Of these, 342,000 were in the private sector and 70 percent of these in the FIRE (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate) and Business sectors. Manuel Castells, "Social Theory and the Dual City" (unpublished paper written for the New York City Committee, Social Science Research Council, 1989).

53 Regional Plan Association, "New York in the Global Economy: Study the Facts and the Issues," Draft for Discussion (April 1987).

54 Stuart Hall, "Popular-Democratic vs. Authoritarian Populism," *The Hard Road to Renewal* (New York: Verso Press, 1988): 123-149.

55 Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989): 1-20; quotation on 14.

56 *Ibid.*: 2-3, 5.

57 Michael de Courcy Hinds, "Shaping Landfill into a Neighborhood," *NYT* (March 23, 1986): Section 8: 1, 18.

58 Richard F. Shepard, "Exploring Battery Park City: A Guided Ramble Around the Landfill," *NYT* (May 19, 1989): C1, C19.

59 Paul Goldberger, "Battery Park City is a Triumph of Urban Design," *NYT* (August 31, 1986): H1.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*

62 Michael de Courcy Hinds, "Vast Project Heads for '93 Finish," *NYT* (March 6, 1986): R18.

63 Goldberger, "Battery Park."

64 Paul Goldberger, "Public Space Gets a New Chance in New York," *NYT* (May 22, 1988): H35.

- 65 "What is American," *The Nation* 128 (June 26, 1929): 755. Quoted in Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, and Thomas Mellins, *New York 1930* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988): 15.
- 66 Stern, et al., *New York 1930*: 18.
- 67 Ibid.: 30.
- 68 Paul Monaco, *Ribbons in Time: Movies and Society since 1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987): 93–95.
- 69 Albert Scardino, "Big Baucery Park Dreams," *NYT* (Dec. 1, 1986): D1, D10.
- 70 Thomas Adams, *The Building of the City, The Regional Plan*, vol. 2 (New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 1931): 75–76.
- 71 William Paley, Chairman, "The Threatened City: A Report on the Design of the City of New York by the Mayor's Task Force," (February 7, 1967): 30.
- 72 Unknown source quoted by Alan Finder, "Developers Named for Hudson Complex," *NYT* (Feb. 11, 1987): B1, B12.
- 73 Stewart, *On Longing*: 151. Quotation: 165.
- 74 Bunn, "The Aesthetics of Mercantilism": 303–321; Quotation: 311.
- 75 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991): 399–418.

- 76 Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart*: Quotation: 16, 50–56, 170–171.
- 77 Anthony Vagnoni, "Here's Why You May Be Hearing, 'It's More New York New York'" *The New York Observer* (Nov. 21, 1988): 9.
- 78 Paul Goldberger, "Beyond Utopia: Settling for a New Realism," *NYT* (June 25, 1989): Section 2: 1, 30. Quotation: 30.

Epilogue

- 1 Charles Baudelaire, "Paradis Artificiels," Translated by Richard Terdiman, Richard Terdiman, "On Dialectics of Postdialectical Thinking," in Miami Theory Collective (ed.), *Community at Large Ends* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991): 118.
- 2 Charles Bernstein, "Artifice of Absorption," *A Poetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): 85.
- 3 Richard J. Bernstein, *The New Constellation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992): 310.
- 4 Terdiman, "On Dialectics": 118–119.
- 5 Christopher Norris, "Image and Parable Readings of Walter Benjamin," *Philosophy and Literature* 7, 1 (Spring 1983): 20.
- 6 Susan Buck-Morss, "Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered," *October* 62 (Fall 1992): n80, 22.
- 7 Walter Benjamin, "A Small History of Photography," *One Way Street*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (London: New Left Books, 1979): 243.
- 8 Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," *Illuminations*. Translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969): 160–161.
- 9 Ibid.: 160.
- 10 Buck-Morss, "Aesthetics and Anaesthetics": 22–24.
- 11 Ibid.: n80, 22.
- 12 Benjamin, "Motifs": 165, 168.
- 13 Akbar Abbas, "On Fascination: Walter Benjamin's Images," *New German Critique* 48 (Fall 1989): 51.
- 14 Benjamin, "The Image of Proust," *Illuminations*: 202.
- 15 Abbas, "On Fascination": 54.
- 16 Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," *Illuminations*: 255.
- 17 Benjamin, "Theses": 255.
- 18 Abbas, "On Fascination": 54; and Irving Wohlfarth, "On the Messianic Structure of Walter Benjamin's Last Reflections," *Glyph* 3 (1978): 164–165.
- 19 Miriam Hansen, "Benjamin, Cinema and Experience: The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology," *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987): 188.

- 20 Benjamin, "Motifs": 187–188.
- 21 Ibid.: 188.
- 22 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*: 221.
- 23 Ibid.: 223.
- 24 Ibid.: 224.
- 25 Hansen, "Benjamin, Cinema": 205.
- 26 Richard Allen, "The Aesthetic Experience of Modernity: Benjamin, Adorno, and Contemporary Film Theory," *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987): 234.
- 27 Hansen, "Benjamin, Cinema": 203.
- 28 Walter Benjamin. Quoted by Abbas, "On Fascination": 44.
- 29 Benjamin, "Mechanical Reproduction": 223.
- 30 Benjamin, "Small History": 250–251, 256.
- 31 Benjamin, "Mechanical Reproduction": 226.
- 32 Benjamin, "Small History": 250.
- 33 Ibid.: 253.
- 34 Benjamin, "Mechanical Reproduction": 234.
- 35 Ibid.: 234–235.
- 36 Ibid.: 240–241.

- 37 Bernstein, "Artifice of Absorption": 9.
- 38 Ibid.: 53.
- 39 Marjorie Perloff, *Radical Artifice: Writing Poetry in the Age of Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 18, 27–28.
- 40 Charles Bernstein, "Hot Circuits: A Video Arcade," cited in Perloff, *Radical Artifice* 2, 188.
- 41 Perloff, *Radical Artifice* 133.
- 42 William Chaloupka, *Knowing Naked: The Politics and Culture of the Atom* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992): 64–67.
- 43 D. N. Rodowick, "Reading the Figural," *Camera Obscura* 24 (1991): 12.
- 44 Ibid.: 14.
- 45 Ibid.: 35.
- 46 Alan Liu, "Local Transcendence: Cultural Criticism, Postmodernism and the Romanticism of Detail," *Representations* 32 (Fall 1990): 75–113.
- 47 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*. Translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Press, 1977): 148.
- 48 Omar Calabrese, *No-Baroque: A Sign of the Times*. Translated by Charles Lambert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 87–89.
- 49 Bernstein, "Artifice of Absorption": 31.

- 50 Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *Sequel to History: Postmodernism and the Crisis of Representational Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 166.
- 51 Jean Baudrillard, "Simulacres et science fiction," *Science Fiction Studies* 55 (November 1991): 180. Quoted in Istvan Csicsery-Ronay, Jr., "The Sentimental Futurist: Cybernetics and Art in William Gibson's *Neuromancer*," *Critique* 23, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 224.
- 52 Csicsery-Ronay, Jr., "Sentimental Futurist": 224–230.
- 53 Walter Benjamin, "The Destructive Character," *Reflections*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1979): 301.
- 54 Ibid.: 302.
- 55 Robert Alter, *Necessary Angles: Tradition and Modernity in Kafka, Benjamin, and Scholem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991): 84; Irving Wohlfarth, "Resentment Begins at Home: Nietzsche, Benjamin, and the University," in Gary Smith (ed.), *On Walter Benjamin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988): 242–244; and Irving Wohlfarth, "On the Messianic Structure of Walter Benjamin's Last Reflections," *Glyph* 3 (1979): 168–170.
- 56 Wohlfarth, "Last Reflections": 175.

Index

Adorno, Theodor, 61, 200–201
 Advertisement (billboards, publicity), 125, 126, 131, 283, 420
 architecture, city space and, 5, 47, 50, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 115, 126, 298–299, 321, 372, 426, 438–443, 448–449, 468–471, 472–473
 Alberti, Leon Battista, 73, 77–79, 80, 81, 83, 124, 204, 421
 Alphand, Jean Charles Adolphe, 240–241, 262
 Analogous city, 173–188, 192, 195–196, 197
 of Canaletto, 176
 definition of, 173–175, 178–179, 184, 187, 188, 192, 195–196, 197
 of Piranesi, 176–178, 182
 of the Venice School of Architecture, 178–181, 183–184
 Antiquities, 130, 155, 158, 378. *See also* Greece
 Appia, Adolphe, 107–108, 111
 Archeology, 167–168, 169, 239–240

Architecture. *See also* Advertisement, Commercialization, Greece, Language, Photography, Ruskin, Venice
 and the city, 1, 4–6, 6, 11–15, 16, 18–19, 31, 32–33, 131, 136–137, 178, 181, 183, 418
 and the Gothic Revival, 270, 271–276, 278
 Greek, 155–159, 170–171, 176, 246, 258
 history of, 59, 143, 155, 270, 276–277, 471, 474
 lithographic surveys of, 238–239
 national styles of, 176, 190, 194, 226–227, 229, 246, 249, 250–251, 258–259, 265, 268, 270, 276–277
 universal language of, 276–278
 Archive (collection, museum, library), 131, 223, 259, 290, 465–466. *See also* Foucault, Geddes, Museum, Ruskin
 ideology of the, 131–133
 memory, 174–175
 visual, 58, 69, 138, 230
 Artifice, 480, 487, 488, 491, 492
 Atget, Eugène, 16, 243–244, 485–486