

EXPLORING THE ARCHITECTURE OF CULTURAL MEMORY

Design for the Documentation and Conveyance of History in Verulam

By

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ABSTRACT

It would seem that it is in times of change and transition, when identities are being re-assessed or re-written, that society looks to the past for guidance hoping to gain knowledge of how to “go on in the world”; it is a search for some meaningful, useable past that can be used as a springing point for present and future development.

This dissertation forms a component of a similar search. It asks what the value of the past and cultural memory, a group phenomenon, is to present and future societies. Most importantly it investigates how architecture engages with cultural memory, asks what the nature of the engagement is and what the advantages of such an engagement are to people.

The investigation tackles the issue of architecture as a form of non-verbal communication and investigates how that communication is carried out and in particular the modes it assumes when communicating cultural memory – it asks where cultural memory is located in architecture.

The aim of this research is to formulate methods or professional attitudes which could obviate the role architecture could continue to play in the evolution of society.

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PART 1

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The celebration of that which is local, local belief systems as well as commercial, religious and political institutions has formed the foundation, on which societies all over the world have been built. Constructive use of the story of that process i.e. cultural memory has been vital in identity formation and the creation of unique cultural contexts (Eyerman, 2004: 161).

It would seem that the emergence of cultural memory as a dominant narrative comes about at times of great societal change at points in time when culture and identity are being reassessed at a grand scale (Eyerman, 2004: 160).

“If the changes that take place are genuinely threatening to cultural continuity, existing traditions often get strengthened or modified, and new traditions get invented by the deliberate preservation of customs, by the elaboration of existing traditions, or by the invention of something wholly new, presented as something old. The purpose is always to preserve whatever is considered distinctive in a cultural group. It is the means by which a society maintains its identity in the face of change. Change creates traditions, and the creation of traditions is most noticeable in times of the greatest change.” (Adam, 1995:5)

Furthermore the proliferation of optional identities (as was the case in the history of the U.S.A), results in individuals becoming more and more anonymous and isolated, causing anxiety about collective identity and in turn leading to the proliferation of origin myths and the production of ‘authenticity’ (Linholm, 2008: 53). A similar trend can be seen in South Africa where the emergence of the ‘new South Africa’ has resulted in a proliferation of optional identities and the concomitant emergence of memorialisation, the creation of ‘foundation myths’ (Marschall, 2006: 147) and the resurfacing of the names of old heroes, such as King Shaka in the search for a collective identity.

What role does architecture play in the development of collective cultural identities? Architecture is regarded as one of the many texts of cultural memory. It is said to be born of cultural memory and also to describe and dictate its further development (Parker, 1997: 151). The built environment could be said to be expressive of culture no matter what the context, politically, environmentally, climatically, economically or otherwise. Yet from a contemporary perspective there seems to be both architecture expressive of culture in an everyday manner (such as that expressed in the planning of Zulu villages or the streets of Italy) as well as a deliberate and institutionalised expression and conveyance of cultural memory through building typologies such as museums, libraries, monuments and memorials. It is these two forms of memory in architecture, which will be explored in this dissertation.

The advent of the industrial age and modernism had altered what Pierre Nora (cited in Kansteiner, 2002: 183) called a natural relationship between the past and present. Modernism aimed to focus on progress and the freeing of the individual and society from what was seen to be as the confinements of the past (Eyerman, 2004: 161). However the ideology was fundamentally flawed. As Maurice Halbwachs (1941: 188) suggested, a self-sustaining society requires a healthy dialogue between past and present. It is neither exclusively rational nor traditional, since a purely rational society would include only those things, which were serviceable under the present situation, and a purely traditional one would preclude any ideas, which were in disagreement with past beliefs.

Within the architectural arena adopting a stance against cultural expressions and discounting the lessons which the past had to offer, meant that modernist philosophy often produced architecture and built environments reflective of short sightedness and a shallow understanding of the complexity of the public realm (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007: 213-214). Modernism with a bent towards gigantism, impersonality (Velibeyoglu, 1999: 11) abstract rationality and change for its own sake has resulted in sterile and inhumane built environments globally (Adam, 2008: 1).

The ideologies, which succeeded modernism, seemed to demonstrate an increase in awareness around issues of culture and meaning in the built environment, however the dislocated nature of some of the most celebrated architectural achievements of the present day seems to tell a different story. In an ever-increasing globalised environment, homogenisation is on the increase. Everywhere everything gets more and more like everything else as the world's preference structure is relentlessly homogenized. The new homogenized architecture, has been dubbed "supermodern" (Adam, 2008: 74) as its ideals like those of the modernist movement are global, with the focus on individuality and "star architects" to create architecture which can display the latest trends in consumerism and conformity. To a large extent the new homogenized architecture demands that a building should be an iconic global product, where local distinctiveness is often not a desirable characteristic. Context in any form does not provide the inspiration for the architecture of these buildings (Adam, 2008: 74).

1.1.1 Motivation

The re-establishment of a collective pride in that which is local is the task. The heterogeneous cultural structures of our cities do not take away from the idea that culture as legacy gains credence from its origination in locale. It requires context in the form of the people, the land and the stories that shaped it (Rankin, 2006: 1).

Since being designated an Indian community, Verulam has suffered much the same problems both spatially and socially as other “fringe” areas in Durban. Within the present the impact of globalisation exacerbates the inequalities established by apartheid ideologies within the local context. Developing the best areas of Durban to attract foreign investment has meant further development and increased property value of the previously white owned areas and substantially less development for previously non-white owned areas. Although macro spatial limitations of these “fringe” areas such as Verulam are slow to change, unless they receive attention in social and spatial terms, their isolation will be perpetuated.

Verulam is an example of an evolution of places and people within an imperfect socio-cultural context as a result of apartheid policies. In societies where the cultural context has been constantly eroded away to be replaced by socio-cultural amnesia, the architecture of that society has reflected that disintegration. Within the local context of South Africa it may be truer to say that the architecture and planning contributed to the disintegration of identity and culture, which were important goals for the apartheid system – the group areas act based on racial segregation and decentralisation illustrate this (Schensul, 2006: no pagination). It is interesting to note that the architecture and planning of that period was manipulated to act as behavioural and socio-cultural inhibitors – the value of meaning and cultural identity in architecture was evidently well understood albeit to the disadvantage of the majority. Being familiar with the race of an individual in Durban pre-1996 and to a certain extent beyond, meant having a strong sense of that person’s education, access to services, location with respect to social mobility and their socio-economic status (Schensul, 2006: no pagination).

There now exists an opportunity to cast off preconceptions generated by negative policies. Instead the generators of community image both spatially and socially can now be people and places and the cultural memories generated by both. Within a new context, which is moving towards unification and equality, Verulam may be presented with the opportunity of re-evaluation and development, which is socially and spatially unrestricted. The inhabitants of Verulam have the opportunity to re-imagine themselves with new freedom as well as celebrate those remembered (and still employed) socio-cultural ideologies which have allowed for progress even under oppressive conditions. Furthermore the expression of those ideologies, which were completely suppressed before, may be rediscovered. This transformation could be reflected in architecture. In understanding the power of architecture as a modifier and regulator of society as well as a tool of expression several important questions arise which must be addressed: can the built environments of our communities today be appropriately rebuilt without the rebuilding of historical and cultural memory? Can communities be relied upon to preserve a built environment with which they cannot identify or understand?

It is up to professionals to rediscover ‘particularness’ in each environment of the world and humanity’s relationship to it; to help give everyone in society a physical sense of place, to find a locus for every individual in relation to the world (Davey, 2005: 30). In fact research has shown that a new trend is emerging parallel to that of globalisation and homogeneity – this is localisation. Globally people are growing disinterested in homogeneity. A 30% increase in the last 10 years has shown that urban tourism is the highest growth sector in Europe. Urban tourist's main demands are for high quality, cultural and “authentic” places (Adam, 2008: 75). This phenomenon could contribute largely to the development of architecture and urban places within communities.

Furthermore any architectural or urban intervention must contribute to the experience of the whole. For example an architectural intervention in one district may gain further relevance and importance and the history, which it envelops, may make more sense if it related to another architectural invention which described a similar history but which was located in a neighbouring district. Taking such a stance towards design, i.e. awareness of the greater socio-historical context could do much to combat the ever-increasing problem of competitive disorder, which is contributing to illegible built landscapes of disorder (Lipman, 2003: 8). Furthermore the commercial advantages of tourism may encompass a wider area if places were planned with other neighbouring places in mind.

1.2 DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Definition of the Problem

If architecture is to properly serve society, it must be concerned with the needs of people, and thus the mechanisms they use to meet those needs (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007: 217). This dissertation intends to address the problem of spatial and social sustainability by analysing the role of cultural memory and commemoration in society and its relationship with architecture. It has been postulated that architecture and cultural memory (this encompasses meaning) relate to each other in a manner, which facilitates social organization as well as identity formation. Analysing how this occurs will form part of the research problem.

1.2.2 Aims

In order to generate architecture which relates to local culture, people, places and stories, key focus points of investigation are outlined:

- Analysing the relevance of cultural memory as a form of communal knowledge.

- Examining the relationship between recollection and identity formation. What are the conditions, which give, rise to this self-conscious process?
- Analysing the methods used with which societies have remembered and commemorated the past and evaluating the value of commemoration and recollection.

1.2.3 Objectives

The primary objective of this dissertation is to develop a socially and culturally relevant framework built out of the research, from which to pursue the design project. This necessitates the derivation of key concepts and professional attitudes as well as theoretical guidelines, which may help outline or describe architectural methods or interventions, which will adequately deal with history, culture, identity and sustainability.

The issues, which arise from this dissertation, should ideally generate further discussion and healthy debate about the validity of the results achieved towards the end of this dissertation with regards to cultural memory as an architectural and social tool and whether it can be successfully used in pursuing socio-cultural and spatial sustainability.

1.3 SETTING OUT THE SCOPE

1.3.1 Delimitation of the Research Problem

There are many factors, which contribute to the development of culture and its relationship between the past and present. Commerce and politics, technology, climatic factors are all issues, which may provide enough impetus for individual research focus. While this dissertation duly acknowledges the importance of each of these subjects, the primary focus of this paper will be limited to issues concerning cultural memory, meaning, identity and architecture and how they inform one another. These issues will relate to the broader problem of socio-cultural sustainability.

1.3.2 Definition of Terms

IMAGEABILITY – That quality in a physical object, which gives it, a high probability of evoking a strong image in an observer. Within this dissertation it may also refer to the self-image of a community both socially and spatially.

SOCIO-CULTURAL SCHEMATA – refers to an organized current body of knowledge developed over time which is automatically recognizable to a group of people and which provides a framework for future

understanding as well. This body of knowledge consists of all social and cultural elements physical and non-physical, such as belief systems and commonly used signs and symbols with attached meanings within a given society.

EVALUATIVE IMAGE – LIKEABILITY – The degree to which something or some place is liked. This concept builds upon the concept of imageability and addresses the correlations between images and emotion.

ARCHITECTURAL MEMORY DEVICES – Refers to those architectural components within the built environment, which trigger memories relating to human ideas of place and people, local beliefs, events etc. Many of these devices are recognizable within a community since they have come to symbolize specific things and therefore contribute significantly to the clarity and meaning within a built environment.

1.3.3 Stating the Assumptions

People assign meaning to their environments in ways, which are not random but are governed by canons and are subject to historical change (Bonta, 1979: 226). In order for architecture to play its role as a social element and an expression and organizer of culture it must be understood by the people using it. Architecture need not only be designed in a language which can be interpreted by its users but its meaning must be understood as well. The "words" of architecture are less important than their meaning (Bonta, 1979: 46). The assumption that the social context which designers and planners of today must engage with is heterogeneous must be emphasized. Unlike the isolated architectural ideologies of the past, which related to largely homogenous groups of people, the architecture of today is required to address people from varying socio-cultural backgrounds. The need to find meanings common to people from varying backgrounds is important if the public environment is to function adequately. Identifying built structures, which represent those common social conventions, and codes will be necessary. These will relate to the broader context of human culture and meaning.

1.3.4 Key Questions

The main question, which this dissertation asks is: what is the nature of the dialogue between cultural memory and architecture and what are the potential advantages of this dialogue? Subsidiary questions, which support this investigation, are:

- How does architecture represent cultural memories in a heterogeneous society?

- Are there specific architectural devices, which are used solely in the communication of cultural memory and history? Can these be re-interpreted in the local architectural language?
- What theoretical and conceptual guidelines have informed design as it relates to the concept of cultural memory?

1.3.5 Hypothesis

The physical reality of a built environment consists of its fabric and material; however the cultural aspects of the built environment consist of the values symbolised in it, its historical significance, and ideological connotations in other words, its cultural reality (Bonta, 1979: 14). Cultural memory determines socio-cultural schemata and these in turn are the primary determinants of form and public structure. In turn the environment affects behaviour. Human reactions, behaviour and performance levels change according to stimuli from the environment. Therefore it is the environment which provides the "meaning" cues, which then dictates the social situation which in turn influences people's behaviour (Rapoport, 1982: 57). In the event that these triggers or cues are identified within specific contexts, the preferred cultural language with which the user can identify will be obviated. Sustainability of the built environment will be possible, as it will be seen as communicating cultural memories necessary for securing a strong social identity and community image.

1.4 CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

In order for the issues of cultural memory and architecture to be addressed the meaning of culture and memory needs to be defined. "Culture" is defined in the English dictionary as: the sum total of the attainments and activities of any specific period, race, or people, including their implements, handicrafts, agriculture, economics, music, art, religious beliefs, traditions, language and story (Webster Dictionary, Vol 1: 1992). This definition, although it lists a number of aspects of society as being intrinsically part of culture, may be looking at culture in retrospect. It is fairly uncomplicated to retrospectively identify cultural movements such as the Renaissance or the Middle Ages and find that there are things which typify the time and the aspirations and achievements of the age but how do we make sense of the word culture as it relates to the present day? The meaning of culture needs to be re-evaluated. It has been suggested that it is the:

"... learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day- to-day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is mankind's primary adaptive mechanism." (Damen, 1987: 367)

(Also) "... Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action." (Kroeber, 1952:42)

So culture describes the social schema of a community, and it evolves in order to adapt to changes within the context of that community. It is also an organisational tool, something that is defined by the many things, which give expression to a particular society. Therefore the particular ideologies and social constructs of a specific society in relating to a specific context (geographically, politically, and climatically) must necessarily provide that society with a unique identity. The language used to express a specific culture may have developed over a substantial period of time since the definition suggests that although culture is a tool of adaptation and it is constantly changing, it identifies and extracts over time those elements, which may be deemed useful to the specific society regardless of the age of the particular element. Culture also develops through the constant interaction between society and its context, both past and present. Most importantly culture is about the expression of a collective (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995: 128). As such in order for individuals to locate themselves within a social collective they must communicate in a common language. This has strong implications for architecture. If architecture is seen as the expression of culture and a society as well as an organizer of it then it is vital that architecture relate to the language of the culture it is expressing and addressing as well as its meaning. By cultural language we must look at the word definitions again. Language here means any form of expression and communication whether it is tangible or intangible. (Oxford Dictionary, 1991: 665) Already the word definitions for culture set up certain architectural guidelines.

The word definitions of "language" are extensive. One particular definition: the expression of thought by any means (Oxford Dictionary, 1991: 665) is particular relevant in considering the dilemma of the heterogeneous mix of present day societies. Homogenous groups of people all speaking the same language and coming from the same cultural background no longer typify our societies. Again this brings to the surface more questions. In what language do we build and whose meaning do we express?

The word "memory" is defined as: the faculty by which knowledge is retained or recalled, the mental process or faculty of representing in consciousness an act, experience, or impression, with recognition that it belongs to time past (Webster Dictionary, Vol. 1: 1992). The definition of culture partially covers the importance of memory in the continual development of culture. Cultural memory refers to the collective understandings, or constructions held by a people of a given context (Holthorff, 2007: 1).

Therefore cultural memory also relates to language and the meaning expressed through language. More importantly the concept of cultural memory deals with the constant re-evaluation of the constructs of the past so that they fulfil the needs of the present day both socially and architecturally. Cultural memory is a deliberate construction, which is validated through the institutional actions of the entire group it relates to (Welburn, 2009: 2).

1.5 RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS

1.5.1. Case Studies

In order to develop suitable guidelines for the design of places, which are expressive of cultural memory, history and its conveyance to local communities, examples of architecture, which have represented memory, history and culture, will have to be critically analysed. The analysis will be carried out in the form of case studies. This process should offer insight into both the successes and shortcomings of existing examples. Important to note is that a meaningful analysis of the case studies cannot be carried out without an extensive review of academic literature addressing issues of cultural memory and meaning in architecture since it is this exercise, which will provide the tools, by which existing examples may be critically analysed.

1.5.2 Observing Environmental Behaviour

It is assumed that there are physical cues and triggers within the built environment, which dictate how people relate to it. In understanding what it is specifically that creates memorable places the response of the users of these places is paramount. Discussion regarding culture, memory and history which is constantly influenced by the public must be located within the context of the public. As such observing the manner in which people engage with the public built environment is vital. How does the local environment affect the user's ability to see, hear, touch, smell etc (Zeisel, 1984: 111)? How do these things affect how users interpret the meaning in the environment and how do these interpretations affect behavioural response?

The author with an architectural background will observe built structures, which should be considered to be of social importance and note how people respond to them. It will be noted whether these structures have or have not particularly distinctive characteristics, which were identified through the review of precedents and literature. With the aid of maps and drawings these will be documented. Photography will be employed to capture the researched areas.

The tentative assessment of the targeted areas will be made, but will be tested by the interviews and questionnaires.

1.5.3 Standard Questionnaires and Focused Interviews

Standardized questionnaires and focused interviews will provide a means of ascertaining how people relate to their past, what that past means for them in the present and whether there is a perceived link between architecture, memory and identity. Are our built environments expressing meaning in a way, which is legible and easy to interpret? Does the “language” used relate to local culture?

The answer to these larger questions may be framed within less complex questions asked of users such as the extent to which things are memorable, what should be remembered, and how much certain elements or the structure of a built environment are liked or disliked. Regularities or consistency found in the answers may provide fairly truthful information about how people interpret the environment and what it is that they require of it for it to play a role in culture and identity.

Focused interviews will allow for further elaboration on responses, which were limited in the questionnaire. Photographs and drawings will facilitate this process. Documenting verbal response to non-verbal communication systems such as architecture is key.

1.5.4 Research Materials

Archives concerning local history in Durban will be used to provide any background information concerning the socio-economic or political factors, which may have influenced the manner in which the particular area of study was planned and structured. The cultural expression of the community, their needs may have been at odds with the political structures of power that were in charge of the creation of the built environments targeted for research. The background information of any of the case studies is paramount to understanding the meaning of culture and the manner in which it affected its context.

1.6 CONCLUSION

If architecture and planning do not represent a social structure of importance in a manner, which can be understood and interpreted by its users, it may be lost to society. To illustrate the point a building, which represents an important part of the history and socio-cultural development of a community, may not be maintained and may fall into disrepair and disuse if its location and the architecture, which describes it, does not communicate its meaning and importance in a manner which is understandable.

Finding an appropriate local architecture relies on evaluating those meanings, which have been identified as important over a period of time. The relevance of these meanings in the present day context relies on cultural memory and the way it is actively reconstructed to communicate with present day contexts.

CHAPTER 2:

MEMORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The age of Modernism saw a leap in technological advancement. The champions of the period sought to use this to formulate a new way of thinking, a rational and economical way of describing things including the built environment. However, the basis for their method, the ideology behind it all was fundamentally flawed. In attempting to deal with the built environment, neutrality and the stripping of needs to their purely functional aspects was the goal (Bonta, 1979: 20). This included people, the users of the built environment. Enamoured by the revolutionary impact that the “machine” had made on society the proponents of the Modern Movement strove to redefine human beings and cities in terms of the “machine” (Sharp, 1978: 35). But the basic needs of humankind had not changed entirely and the modern age public spaces were found to be lacking. Its claims of functionalism achievable through mechanical efficiency were largely misguided.

The irony is that the attempt to discount the valuable lessons, which traditional examples of architecture and planning offered as well as the endeavour for neutrality, economy, rationality and the avoidance of expression, was actually a strong stance concerning identity. The assault against self-expression and interpretation of meaning was in fact an emphatic interpretation and expression of the Modernist culture and its agenda. Even the Modernist could not avoid the expression of meaning (Bonta, 1979: 22).

It follows that functionality within the built environment relies on more than the economical arrangement of form and space – functionality relies firstly upon meaning and meaning is intrinsically related to the culture of the community at large (Rapoport, 1982: 15). As long as people remain responsible for the design and planning of the built environment, it will be imbued with meaning and culture, since imbuing the environment with meaning to order and organize it, is a human trait.

The issue therefore, is not a lack of meaning in the built environment, but rather the inability of those involved in the construction of the built environment to make the expression, meaning and culture of users/ people, the driving force behind design. In other words a dysfunctional built environment is often the symptom of architects and planners being at cross-purposes with the people using it (Carrera, 1998: 3).

Rapoport (1990) suggests that a specific point of view be taken when considering both the past and perhaps contemporary discussion, since it requires consciously raising specific questions about special topics or themes instead of the more traditional architectural historical approach which is about studying things chronologically (Rapoport, 1990: 81). Therefore, the starting point of this research attempts to

define the specific point of view of this research, namely cultural memory. This chapter will deal with the workings of cultural memory before identifying appropriate methods of using it for designing meaningful environments. An attempt will be made to assess the merits of reinstating the role of the past, history and memory in the development of society. The headings, which will be discussed here, were formulated to address specific research questions presented in chapter one:

- Is cultural memory relevant as a form of communal knowledge? How does it serve society?
- What is the relationship between cultural memory and identity formation?
- How do societies remember the past and what is the value of such recollections?

2.2 CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND MEMORY

An African proverb says, “When an elder dies a library burns” (Nelson, 2001: 38). The proverb reflects a certainty about the value of the past and its keepers and perhaps the importance of the communication of valuable and relevant past ideologies to abet the irretrievable loss of important cultural knowledge to present societies. The anxiety over a potentially irretrievable loss of the valuable ideas of the past may be said to be an inevitable reactionary response to the refusal of identity, and in consequence culture, heritage, history and tradition in the name of a universal ideology, namely modernism (Kluitenberg, 1999: no pagination). This could quite possibly explain the resurgence of cultural memory as an academic study in recent years (Dant, 1999: 1).

In the late 19th century and early 20th century Emile Durkheim and his understudy Maurice Halbwachs began academically discussing the concept of collective memory. Academic work in this field suggests that collective memory as a concept is concerned with a flexible connection between past and present. It refers to the collective understandings, or constructions held by a people of a given context while relating them to the past (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995: 128; Holthorf, 2007: 1).

This concept has given rise to the analysis of the manner in which individual memory functions, in an attempt to understand the mechanism of group or collective memory. In contrast to Freudian theory, which maintains that memory is the repository of all experiences in an individual, Halbwachs (1941) argues that over time, memories become generalised *imago*, and such *imagos* require a social context for preservation (Olick, 1999: 334). Laboratory studies have shown that recall is cue dependent meaning that should the prompts related to the memory be provided the memory will be recalled. Memory is also state dependent meaning that in the event that the original context of the event is closely recreated, the subject

is able to recall the item more accurately and easily (Olick, 1999: 340). Scientific research on the nature of human memory further emphasises its selectivity:

“People do not perceive every aspect of a situation, they do not store every aspect they perceive, and they do not recall every aspect they store. A neural network combines information in the present environment with patterns that have been stored in the past, and the resulting mixture of the two is what the network remembers ... when we remember, we complete a pattern with the best match available in memory; we do not shine a spotlight on the stored picture.” (Neisser, 1982 in Olick, 1999: 340)

Most important is that this process is heightened by the socio-cultural context and its variables, which create what Neisser (1982 cited in Olick, 1999: 340) refers to as the creation of “flash bulb” memories. He provides the example of individuals who claimed to remember a number of specific details about their surroundings when they heard that President Kennedy had been assassinated. Therefore memories in this context are presented as the symbols and narratives which are publicly available as well as the means for storing and transmitting them, as they are the possessions of individuals.

These discussions serve to legitimate Halbwachs (1941) claim that memories are recalled externally and that it is in societies that memories are acquired. Society provides the context, which enables recollection, recognition and spatial location of memories (Halbwachs, 1941 cited in Olick, 1999: 334). Individuals engage in remembering, even though much of this activity is conducted in groups, and the influence of group activity is considered to be great enough to produce memories in an individual of even those events, which that individual never experienced in any direct sense.

However, Olick (1999, 336) raises concern over what he calls the indiscriminate use of the term collective memory; in academic circles it has been used to refer to aggregated individual recollections, to official commemorations, to collective representation and shared identities. It has also been said to be located in reminiscence, personal testimony, oral history, tradition, myth, style, language, art, popular culture and the built world. In fact both Durkheim and Halbwachs, (more so the former) had been criticised for the lack of acknowledgement of difference and conflict when referring to the collective. However Halbwachs in his work “On Collective Memory” does argue that collective memory is plural and that shared memories can be effective markers of social differentiation between groups (Halbwachs, 1941; Wood, 1994 cited in Olick, 1999: 334).

Olick (1999, 338) puts forth two categories to highlight his argument: one he terms collected memory, the other, collective memory. The idea of collected memory places emphasis on the individual, by

maintaining that group memory is impossible without individuals and that public symbols or other memory mnemonics are only interpretable insofar as they are able to elicit a response within groups of individuals. Furthermore he proposes that even though most societies have a hierarchy which may dictate that the memories of some individuals are more important than others the researcher may choose to structure his methods to function democratically such as the case may be in a survey where the value of the input of each individual is held to be equal. The idea of collected memory is actually a reactionary response to the overarching tendencies inherent in the concept of collective memory. The risk is that the term collective memory begins to speak of the metaphysics of group mind (Olick, 1999: 338). He highlights examples of collectives on the scale of nations; and indicates that there is perhaps greater diversity and more chance of several collective memories and identities than just one national one. The collective memory and heritage of a country is far too complex to allow the lumping together of several local cultures and customs as local variants of national culture and customs no matter how tempting (Parsons, 2006: 681). Collected memory can avoid many of the potential reifications and political biases of approaches that favour the accounts of collective memory which are limited to those of a portion of the whole collective who may have access to the means of cultural production or whose opinions are more highly valued (Olick, 1999: 338). While this stance could be seen as appropriate it involves manipulation of the reality of the social structures being researched through the research method.

To deny the presence of a social hierarchy where one exists or the potential inequality inherent in a group structure which renders the input of one individual more valuable than the next is to deny, to a certain extent, the true socio-political and cultural context which gives rise to collective memories. Perhaps democratising the research method is not the answer but rather the focus of the exercise should be exposing this complex structure, which obviates the meanings of the collected cultural memories for different social sectors. The presence of many different kinds of collective memories produced in different places in society is perhaps more appropriate than the idea of one umbrella body. Another advantage of the collected memory approach is that it does not assume the existence of a collectivity, which has a collective memory. There is no collective memory without individuals participating in communal life. Where participation in communal life is stunted or suppressed the creation of collective memory would be equally stifled (Olick, 1999: 338).

The collective memory approach on the other hand, recognises that there is a collective mechanism, under which institutions function that cannot be explained by the interests of individuals (Olick, 1999: 339). It has been suggested that research which focuses on the individual misses the social aspect of collective memory; that collective memory benefits from the eradication of several divisive tendencies of research

in the social realm. The collective memory approach acknowledges the relatedness of things, as it is unable to isolate one aspect of society from another in understanding the process of creating collective memories from these complex socio-cultural, political and physical interdependencies.

Collectivist approaches to memory challenge the very idea of an individual memory. It is not just that individuals remember as members of groups, but that they also constitute those groups and their members simultaneously in the act, thus “re – member – ing” (Olick, 1999: 341). The reality may be that individual and collective memory work together and should be treated as such. It must be remembered that “memory” occurs in public and in private, at tops of societies and at the bottoms, as reminiscences and as commemoration, as personal testimonial and as national narrative, and that each of these forms is important (Olick, 1999: 346).

The cultural element of collective memory is not explicitly explained by Olick (1999), although he clearly defines the “individual-collective” dynamism. However, other researchers have undertaken to further define collective memory. Jan and Aleida Assmann (1995: 126) have, in their explanations of collective memory, divided it into two categories, namely communicative and cultural memory. Communicative memory is seen as embracing events and experiences that are recent and still have witnesses to communicate them. Cultural memory is seen to occur when events or experience turn into remote symbols and rituals that can become a part of identity and history of a particular community. It serves as a basic mental framework for interpreting day-to-day events and gives them meaning. It has been said that culture is the expression of a relationship with the past, be it through oral tradition, written history and collective expressions in architecture (Goucher, LeGuin and Walton, 1998: 1). If culture can be defined as:

“...embracing all the material and non-material expressions of a people as well as the processes with which the expressions are communicated ... (having) to do with all the social, ethical, intellectual, scientific, artistic, and technological expressions and processes of a people usually ethically and/ or nationally or supra-nationally related, and usually living in a geographically contiguous area; what they pass on to their successors and how these are passed on...” (Mbakogu, 2004: 37)

then communicative memory could be incorporated under the concept of cultural memory as even recent life experiences have the potential to become cultural memories through institutionalized action. Cultural memory and its various associations described above as opposed to social or collective memory better defines the realm within which it operates.

In order for the past to play a role in the present, the past is required to be presented as a meaningful story, which can relate to specific aspects of present day communal life. This suggests an interaction with the environment, where common needs and interests become what Halbwachs (1941) calls *les cadres sociaux de la memoire* (social frameworks of memory). Cultural memory makes use of these frameworks in order to construct the past, such that it aligns itself with predominant social thought. The past and present is connected through these mediating social frameworks (Manzuch, 2009: 4). In so doing it is able to create a meaningful link between past and present.

Cultural memory can be said to be mediated because in its most positive form it involves agreement and reconciliation (Manzuch, 2009: 4). As such dialogue between divergent perspectives is encouraged in order to reach and maintain a status quo. However, as the past is reproduced mentally, the imagination is constantly under the influence of present social frameworks (Halbwachs and Coser, 1992: 51). To illustrate the point, a man who remembers alone what others within his social group do not remember resembles somebody who sees what others do not see. It would seem that he suffers from hallucinations (Boyer, 1994: 26). Thus although divergence is probable, memories are constructed under the pressures of present day society (Halbwachs and Coser, 1992: 51).

Cultural memory underpins a dynamic social process, which does not aim to preserve or reproduce cultural knowledge without altering or shaping it where the need arises in order that it relates to current socio-cultural contexts (Goucher, LeGuin and Walton 1998: 1). Its correctness in terms of fact is not more relevant than its ability to construct the past so that it is convincing to a group of individuals, as an explanation of the world they inhabit (Holthorf, 2007: 1). Circumstance and time dictate the different ways in which society represents itself. Events are recalled only if they and their mode of narrative fit within the framework of contemporary interests. Again, society modifies recollections to address present needs and collective/ cultural memory adjusts to and shapes the systems of present day beliefs (Ben-Amos, 1999: 14). In view of the fluid nature of cultural memory, the question of whether history serves to preserve societies better than memory arises. It would seem that history is less likely to be distorted and cultural memory is inclined towards subjectivity (Umbach, 2004: 26). Yet to what degree does the traditional need for scientific proof and objectivity, as well as a search for authenticity miss the salient point of social functionality through adaptability?

2.3 CULTURAL MEMORY VERSUS HISTORY

“...Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. History is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a

perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past.” (Ben-Amos, 1999: 180)

History is defined as the remembered past to which we no longer have an “organic” relationship, a past no longer an important part of our lives, while collective memory is the active past that informs our identities. Historical writing and thought was transformed in the 19th century. One view constructed at that time concentrated on the privileged status of historical sciences. This way of seeing things depends upon isolating the practice of methodical understanding that takes place in the historical sciences from a more all embracing method, the processes of interpretation that occur implicitly and everywhere in the course of everyday life. This leads on to a sense that the practice of historical research is creating a new distance from the past by setting people free from the tradition that might otherwise have guided their assumptions and behaviour (Connerton, 1989: 16).

Cultural memory is particularly relevant to architecture since unlike cultural history, cultural memory provides meaning by relating those things, which are found to be culturally important by group consensus, to the culture and people of the present day. As history became a discipline its linkage with collective memory deteriorated as it became limited by the rules of evidence and science (Eyerman, 2004: 160). History seems to rely very little on people engaging with it, since it is a fixed entity and draws definition from its difference from the present. Instead it is characterized by categorization and delimitation through time frames and only describes social structures of the past as they relate to the past. Prior research has questioned the relevance of the rigid preservationist attitude of the past particularly towards history and historical artefacts. The compartmentalization of history dictated to a large extent the design brief of cultural centres. Museums as primary containers of history in the western world were internally oriented display houses and very little else (Buchanan, 2006: 44). The limitations of this mode of historical preservation have been discussed by other academics; however this mode cannot be discounted entirely. The “sign-posting” of a society’s history has contributed significantly to the establishment of the self worth of a community, not just within local environments but also within the global environment and has withstood the ravages of time and changing political environments relatively well. Being framed by a particular perspective, often to the exclusion of others and not requiring participation, history may not necessarily be more objective than cultural memory. Perhaps it might be redefined as a form of cultural memory, since neither memory nor history is really objective (Kansteiner, 2002: 184).

Collective or rather cultural memory on the other hand exists only as long as it is made a part of the living “present” of a group (Boyer, 1994: 66). As interpretations of the past constantly change, so do cultural

memories (Holthorf, 2007: 1). When history becomes so far removed from the meaning structures of society that the common man no longer understands it, it will become defunct and slowly become extinct. As such it would not outlast the usefulness of cultural memory in the preservation of valuable socio-cultural ideologies since cultural memory always conveys the valued structures of the past in a manner, which relates to the present. The mixture of history and cultural memory in the built environment could, however provide a richer context of meaning. It has been asserted that to neglect history and cultural memory within the built environment, that which is owed to our ancestors, is to deny oneself and it is a resignation to suicide (Boyer, 1994: 16). Historical buildings and monuments within a society play an important role in locating that society in time. Ruskin (1989: 183) puts forth an explanation for humanity's need to connect to the past by retaining the structures, which describe the past, such as historical buildings and monuments. He says that in the example of a home, it would be grievous to the individual who lived in that home, to see it destroyed and replaced by another – a home which had sympathized, seen his honour, his gladness and his suffering; that this home with all the record it bore of his existence, and all the material things that he had loved and ruled over was to be swept away. He indicates that an individual would fear this, and that a descendant of that individual would fear doing it to his ancestor (Ruskin, 1989: 183). Does this thinking not apply to whole communities? Have we not put in place certain traditions that stand testament to the value in such thinking? Traditions, which hold ancestral ground, to be sacred reflect this thinking – for people of the traditional Zulu culture, this belief system has direct implications on architecture and the positioning of new built structures.

Even common concepts such as inheritance of property are an expression of the desire of an individual to see his possessions valued in the lives of his successors. Indeed no community would feel that its existence had any meaning if it believed that future generations would destroy the structures, which marked its existence. Such may be the case in our efforts to preserve buildings of meaningful historical value. It is the socio-cultural schemata governed by memory, which determine the forms, we honour, those we reject and those we wish to emulate (Egan, 1996: 1).

2.4 CULTURAL MEMORY AND IDENTITY FORMATION

If, following the previous discussion, cultural memories are constructed through an interaction between the social collective and the environment, can cultural memory and the built environment assist in the development of social identity and cohesion? Furthermore can the destruction of cultural memory affect social identity and the built environment?

Although it was partly a response to social inequalities and excesses which had been perpetuated in the name of tradition, modernist philosophy did not seem to recognise that there was a historical pattern of social dependency on the past, which related to the socio-cultural knowledge of a particular society and was seen to aid beneficial social organisation. Instead modernisms definition of progress was the freeing of the individual from the shackles of the past (Eyerman, 2004: 161; Boram-Hays, 2005: 38).

Yet, cultural memory provides the individual with a cognitive map, which can help explain their identity, their location and purpose and provide direction (Eyerman, 2004: 161; Boram-Hays, 2005: 38). If personal identity is partly a function of an individual's memory; it follows that a society's identity may similarly be considered at least partly a function of its retrievable cultural memories (Ben-Amos, 1999: 219). However there exists a relationship between individual and cultural memory and identity as discussed earlier, making individual memory reliant on cultural memory to give it credence. Furthermore, a community is discerning about what is worth remembering and on this basis constructs its cultural memories and identities, carving out a particular place for itself within a larger context (Ben-Amos, 1999: 219). This selectivity inherent in the process demonstrates that collective identities are not static and pre-determined, but are complex and flexible since they are expressive of the collective's development and responses to change, yet also derive inspiration from societal traditions (Appiah, 1995; Mennell, 1994 cited in Boram-Hays, 2005: 38).

This flexibility of identity may be demonstrated in the example of Zulu bead art. Although beadwork was used and is still used as personal body ornament and part of the traditional Zulu dress, it was fraught with socio-cultural symbolism, which defined regional, geographical as well socio-political identities and relationships within the cultural collective of the Zulu. As an art form, which had been preserved over time, Zulu beadwork could be seen as a tangible form of Zulu cultural memories. The diversity and difference found in Zulu society is marked in these symbolic representations, which give meaning to social relationships (Boram-Hays, 2005: 39).

Glass beads started off as a rare commodity, which was bought from the Dutch traders. It was the privilege of a select few in the Zulu realm and distribution and usage was controlled by the royal household. High status was conferred on those who were allowed to wear them, thus visually differentiating the hierarchy and aiding in the construction of distinctly stratified identities. However after the defeat of the Zulu by the British the solidarity of the Zulu as a people suffered and regional identities became more important. These were expressed in beadwork, which showed distinctive variations in colour usage and patterns.

These new variations in beadwork conveyed the distinctions between the different political, cultural, socio-economic, religious and geographical identities of their wearers (Fig 1).

Patterns and colours and the quantity of ornaments used in Zulu beadwork played an important role in communicating social status as well (Boram-Hays, 2005: 40-44). Subsequently Zulu beadwork had been used as a tool to promote the unified collective identity (albeit composed of several regional identities) of the Zulu (Fig 2a & 2b) as well as an expression of a form of resistance to domination by colonial and past South African governments.

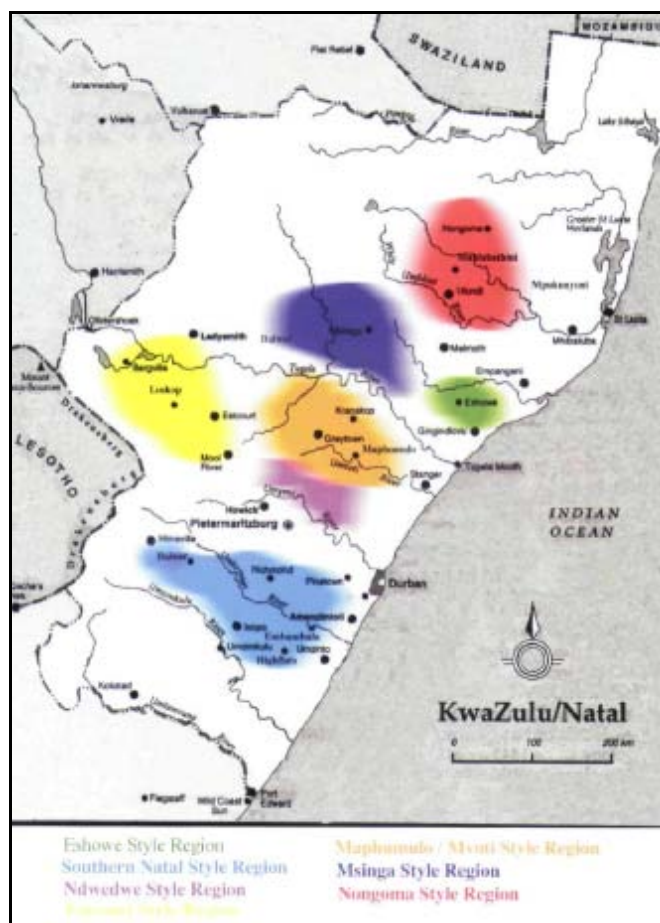


Figure 1 Map of beadwork style regions (Boram-Hays, 2005: 40)

As Barth (1969) notes, “if a person is dependent for his security on the voluntary and spontaneous support of his own community, self-identification as a member of that community needs to be explicitly expressed and confirmed (Boram-Hays, 2005: 49).” The formulation of a cultural identity is to a large extent an actively engineered process. It has been stated that the past does not just evolve to the present and it cannot be preserved merely through record keeping. Instead the evolution of culture involves the validation of memory through beneficial institutionalised action, which in turn leads to the concretion of group identity (Welburn, 2009: 2). The past is actively constructed by society through museums, archives, libraries, ceremonies, monuments, public displays and education. Identity and community cohesion and organisation requires the creation of stories, myths and history with which people of a particular community can identify (Osborne, 2001: 2-3).



Figure 1a & 2b Waistcoat from Escourt Region and waistcoat from Nongoma Region showing stylistic and colour differences (Boram-Hays, 2005: 47)

The self-image of a society is stabilised and conveyed through the cultivation of cultural memory, which comprises that body of reusable texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each epoch (Welburn, 2009: 2). Furthermore the ongoing process of commemoration, officially sanctioned social processes

which remember a group through calling upon a common heritage, with a shared past as a central component, reinforces identity (Eyerman, 2004: 16). When such institutions dedicated to the communication of cultural memory are missing in a society, there is an absence of mediating structures, which results in fragmentation and disappearance (Welburn, 2009: 3).

Cultural memory is seen not only as a concept, which gives the past meaning, and acts as a building block for identity, it is also seen as having the “capacity to aspire” (Rankin, 2006: 1-5). According to Rankin (2006:1-5) the “capacity to aspire” propels a community into the future because it provides the collective energy, will and creativity to be full participants in designing their future. Paul Rankin (2006:1- 5) writes in his paper about self-empowering narratives, that culture as a legacy originates in locale because it requires context in which to thrive; the context of the people who shaped it and the land that shaped them. This suggests that the destruction of the cultural landscape affects cultural identity and the ability of a cultural group to communicate cultural memories to future generations. In fact he further suggests that tangible and intangible heritage are mutually dependent and that architecture and the built environment provide the physical hooks for the intangible and the stage to shape the play of cultural life (Rankin. 2006: 1-5).

In addition a self-conscious awareness of place aided by various social institutions and social constructions facilitates the creation of a collective identity (Osborne, 2001: 2-3). In fact it has been posited that a place is “invisible” until it has been personified, can only be loved after it is symbolized and must be imagined before it can be conceived (Waltzer, 1967 cited in Zelinsky, 1998 cited in Osborne, 2001: 2). Herein lies the relationship between architecture, landscape (both natural and built) and cultural memory. Both social and spatial sustainability relies on the cultivation of a meaningful relationship between people and place developed on an awareness of that specific place and identification with it. Awareness of place depends on being knowledgeable about its history and the cultural memory from which it is created. This is achieved using various devices, references to the past, which are valuable to the present, which reassure members of a society of their collective identity. The success of these devices is in their ability to evoke feelings of unity by creating a shared story (Holthorf, 2007: 1).

Outside of a group’s original cultural landscape, it is interesting to note that cultural memory does not completely disintegrate. In its everyday form it may lose some of its materiality as Rankin (2006) suggests, since it is disconnected from locale, however through narrative and text cultural memory attains a degree of mobility. As individuals are relocated so can narrative. Since narrative can be embodied, written down, painted etc. it can be communicated and received in places removed from the original

locale. The people, to whom these cultural memory narratives are communicated, continue to form memories out of the mobile narrative and in so doing connect people who are geographically separated (Eyerman, 2004: 162). This can be seen in the example of descendants of indentured Indians in South Africa who, although a heterogeneous group, continue to share certain cultural memories, which organize the community despite physical distance between them and the land, which spawned the cultural memories that shaped their ancestors. Important to note is that the geographical change as well as the assimilation of foreign ideologies impact upon which cultural memories are perpetuated and the forms they assume, thereby forcing identity to be reconstructed.

The performing arts constitute an intangible form of cultural memory, which is adaptable and is as portable as recollection allows. It has also played a role in activating meaning in the built environment.

2.5 PERFORMING CULTURAL MEMORY

Performance describes culture and society as an unfolding rather than a fixed reality. Material culture studies have focused not on the fixity of structure and system but the fluidity of process, practice and performance which in turn brings to light transformation of objects and reciprocally persons (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 384).

Cultural survival relies on collectives debating their own developmental choices and interactions with the outside world (Rankin, 2006: 1-5). This ensures cultural evolution and is in keeping with cultural memory frameworks as a non-static concept. Cultural memory therefore, benefits from dynamic interaction and performance. Performing arts has been and continues to be used as a tool to de-freeze, re-discover, alter and shape memories (Lavanga, 2006: 2). The socio-cultural tool of storytelling is particularly noteworthy in discussions about cultural memory. Cultural memory in the form of storytelling is largely a commentary on the past and its relationship to the present. As a commentary certain social and political standpoints could be contested and the participation of the community in the evolution of socio-cultural schema and the creation of new cultural memories was more likely (Goucher, LeGuin and Walton, 1998: 3). This can be seen in some African examples. Under the Mande Empire - 1235, the status of the Mande *griot* was great. The *griot* was seen as a keeper of history as well as a messenger of wisdom (Fig 3a & 3b). *Griots* were traditional musicians, negotiators, praise singers and historians.

The socio-cultural role of the *griot* continues in contemporary Mande societies in countries such as, Mali, Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and Guinea Bissau, with smaller communities in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Niger and elsewhere. Despite differences in language, musical practices and social

realities between each community, the Mande people share a reverence for the past, remembered through the art and socio-cultural status of the *griot*. Similarly, the classical dance and music of Indians communicate memories of the political past as well as religion and stories about their cultural genesis as demonstrated in the classical dances *Bharatanatyam* and *Kathikali* (Fig 4a & 4b).

Performing cultural memory triggers a process of struggle within a collective, which forms new memories and perpetuates identity formation (Lavanga, 2006: 2).

Although the written word as well as video and flat images is important in cultural memory communication, stories, which are performed, have the advantage of immediacy of contact and response (Rankin, 2006: 4). The relationship between performer and viewer need not be passive but rather one where the viewer is equally active in the performance and is able to ask for what he wants of the performance via discussion or questions; there is an immediate emotional interaction, which shapes the process of storytelling.

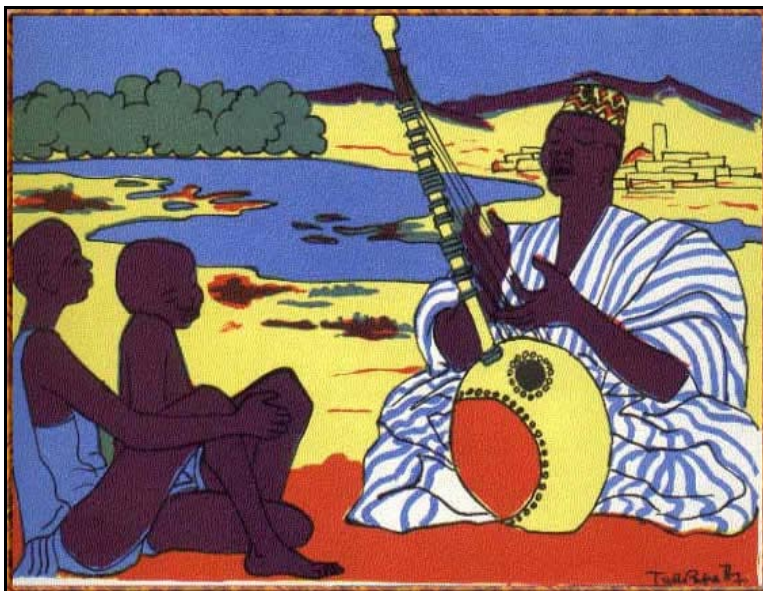


Figure 2a & 3b Artist Ibra Papa Tall's (1959) panel illustrating part of the Sunjata Epic of Mande and famous West African *griot*, Toumani Diabate` who comes from a long family line of *griots*, continues to practice his art (<<http://www.thelineofbestfit.com>>); (<<http://www.webafriqa.net>>)

Even with the tools of the written word at his service, Herodotus the “father of history”, who wrote the “Histories”, often performed his work orally, because he believed that his work would reach a wider audience (Goucher, LeGuin and Walton, 1998: 4). This active approach to cultural memory

communication ensures that it is always understood, and is meaningful within space and time. Eternal truths can be questioned, discussed and reinterpreted to address transition and evolution (Rankin, 2006: 3). Research into the cultural and information institutions of the EU (Manzuch, 2009: 32-32) has shown that memory institutions such as archives, libraries and museums were being treated as repositories of cultural heritage and that these were not self sufficient enough to communicate meaning without an attempt to orally communicate a coherent cultural story that would enable them to contextualise and interpret the past in the present. Other research that measured user response carried out through interviews and questionnaires at the Brambuk Cultural Centre in Australia, has shown that users preferred engagement and interaction within the cultural programme of the centre instead of a passive tour. Users associated heightened interaction and cultural engagement in the form of oral narrative, music and dance with “cultural authenticity” (Ali, 2009: 30).



Figure 3a & 4b *Bharatanatyam* classical dance enacting religious folklore and *Kathakali* folkdance of Kerala, India (<http://www.z.about.com>); (<http://www.bharatanatyam728.files.wordpress.com>)

Performance plays a part in ritual and ceremony as well. Ritual and ceremony have the power to alter physical space to establish and reinforce territorial claims, which continue to endure post performance (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 384). Mitchell (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 384) looks at the long-term effects of ritual performance on the everyday order of material things. Parades may establish spatial patterns through performances. Re-performances in subsequent parades may further entrench those spatial patterns in the context of the everyday thereby transforming the relatively neutral space of a lived environment to symbolically and often politically

charged space of performance. It has been argued that performances affect a sacralisation of otherwise profane space, through the manifestation of the sacred or the creation of presence; however there exists a mutually dependent relationship between sacred performances and spaces and the profane (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 394).

The transformation which space undergoes as a result of cultural performances, which involve legitimating both past and present ideologies, is often retained. In Ireland there is a religious performance that is also a politically charged cultural memory called the Orange Parade, which commemorates the triumph of Protestant Irish over the Catholics at the River Boyne. By the 20th century these parades became sensitive manifestations and consolidations of the Protestant community in Ireland. Space was claimed by one group by demarcating the boundaries of Protestant hegemony thereby symbolising that dominance as absolute. The parade in its processional pattern marks the extent of Protestant South Belfast as they walk to the boundaries that separate the adjacent loyalist communities from their nationalist neighbours (Fig 5a & 5b). These divisions are symbolically reaffirmed by the act of the procession or parade (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 394).



Figure 5a & 5b Protestant Orange Parade. Northern Ireland Protestants are able to make a "claim" to the environment which they trace through the procession and reinforce their Protestant identity in Northern Ireland (<<http://www.farm4staticflickr.com>>); (<<http://www.image63webshots.com>>)

Over time the route was further spatially demarcated by the incorporation of arches under which the procession could pass, conjuring up associations with the triumphal arch of roman times. Slowly the arches were replaced by murals some bearing Irish Catholic colours in Catholic ghettos within Belfast and

others using protestant colours, demarcating “no go” areas for the Catholic opposition (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 395). The spatial transformation, which this parade affected, was so keenly felt in the everyday context that it resulted in a violent confrontation between the two opposing groups resulting in much injury and even a death. Anthropologists have had a tendency to focus on the written in ritual however, Parkin (1992 cited in Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 395) advocates a partial change of perspective on spatiality, suggesting that “ritual is formulaic spatiality carried out by groups of people who are conscious of its imperative or compulsory nature.” Spatial transformation and the creation of identity through performance can be further demonstrated in the example of the Maltese Saints *festa*. Here the idol of St Paul is taken from the church to the street and is walked through the streets by the bearers called *reffiegha*. Its spiritual agency is confirmed by its “looking down” the streets it patronizes.



Figure 6 *Reffiegha* carrying the statue of St Paul through the streets of Malta (<<http://maltaproducts.com>>)

The bearers feel the responsibility as bodily and spiritually transforming and it is considered to be a privilege and a boost in social status to be a bearer. Concomitantly the streets, which are traced by the process, are seen as being part of an identified spiritual collective. At the end of the *festa* the bearers of

the statue allow others the opportunity to bear it, thereby democratising the process and unifying performer, space and audience. This demonstrates how performed events and activities, interact with everyday life to effect transformation. Space is no longer an object in this case but rather the subject through performance (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 398)

2.6 REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING - THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL MEMORY

The Egyptologist Jan Assmann (1995) puts forth the idea that the past is never remembered for its own sake, but rather that its main function is the maintenance of a sense of continuity so that generations are able to converse and understand each other. He also suggests that cultural memory is in fact a motor for development. In his explanation of cultural memory as a motor for development he states that cultural narratives motivate development and change by presenting the past as something which is inspiring, mythologically heroic and that its ideals provide a model enabling progressive development – truth in the literal sense is not necessarily a requirement (Kluitenberg, 1999: no pagination). In fact it presents a particular, constructed view of the future (built upon the usable elements of the past and the requirements of the present) as necessary and provides the impetus for collective action to pursue that goal. Present factors tend to influence, even distort our recollections of the past and again past factors do the same to our experience of the present (Connerton, 1989: 2). Thus cultural memory is manipulated and must often exert its inherently political nature to bring about socio-cultural balance and progression.

Society represents the past to itself in different ways i.e. context in terms of time, society, physicality impacts upon its conventions. As each member accepts these conventions, they inflect their recollections in the same direction in which collective memory evolves (Halbwachs, 1941: 172). In addition, explanations of cultural memory describe dependence on the continuous exchange between the memory devices of a given culture and their interpretation by its members. Changing contexts affect the consistency of the meaning of this exchange, which may render those devices seemingly inauthentic or even fraudulent to some; nevertheless it is the process, which is paramount, not the arbitrary fixation (Kluitenberg, 1999: no pagination).

In consequence cultural memory cannot be neutral. As a related process, the formation of identity is also subject to manipulation. For cultural memory to adequately serve society it must be born of and shaped by it, however cultural memory is also closely aligned with the current system of socio-political power and its processes and agendas (Marschall, 2006: 149). Because the communication of cultural memory is partly left up to institutions, the social institutions of power can exert a substantial amount of control over

cultural memory and therefore, identity and the cultural landscape. Politically the ruling group will use knowledge of the past in a direct and active way (Connerton, 1989: 18). Therefore the forgetting or deformation of certain recollections can be explained by the fact that frameworks of collective memory change from one period to another depending on the predominant social order and perhaps because attention is drawn away from superseded frameworks (Halbwachs, 1941: 172).

Therefore forgetting can be said to be as much a manipulated and dynamic process as remembering and there are different types of forgetting (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 319-321). As discussed earlier in the analysis of individual memory, a person only remembers those links to their past which are socially important. “Forgetting” can in some contexts constitute a loss; however certain types of forgetting such as those which help the positive formation of identity could be seen as advantageously providing space for new growth and development. There is also politically expedient forgetting, where it is seen to be for the good of all and in the name of reconciliation that past negative action should not be just forgiven but forgotten too (Milan Kundera, 1980 cited in Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 321). Aggressive forms of forgetting can manifest in the form of repressive erasure in situations where the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting (Milan Kundera, 1980 cited in Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 319-321). But it does not always become manifest in such an aggressive form although it may not lose all of its negative connotations in the non-aggressive mode. In its non-aggressive mode it can be prompted by, for example, in the way a museum manipulates artefact displays. Some artefacts may benefit from a conscious decision to display prominently while others may be less memorable because of relative invisibility. Important to note here is the vital role of spatial composition and visibility in forgetting and remembering.

Historically especially with regards to the scientific method, historical research or reconstruction has been independent of cultural memory (Connerton, 1989: 14). Despite this independence the practice of historical reconstruction can in important ways receive a guiding impetus from, and can in turn give significant shape to, cultural memory. Aggressive forms of such interaction have occurred where the state or political institutions are used in a systematic way to deprive citizens of cultural memory. Connerton (1989: 14) explains that all totalitarianisms behave in this way; and that they understand that the cultural and mental oppression of a people begins by the removal of all those structures, which allow cultural memory to be developed and transmitted. In colonial Africa Gbotokoma (1996 in Mbakogu, 2004: 38) reported that the colonialists categorically denied the existence of African cultural values and worse still, taught the Africans themselves to despise them. The destabilisation of cultural memory and consequently identity, social development and organisation as demonstrated in Africa could be explained by this

phenomenon. Cultural evolution had gone beyond the control of the people in the affected societies. President Seretse Khama (1970) in response to this phenomenon once said that a nation should write its own history books, because a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past are a people without a soul (Parsons, 2006: 668). Society does in fact re-write its own history using tangible and intangible forms to express a usable past in service to itself. Cultural memory has often been expressed in visual media such as emotionally charged photography and video, museum display, monuments and memorials the carefully selected memories as well as reinvented and usable pasts which can serve to legitimate a present social order and forge a collective identity (Marschall, 2006: 147). Therefore although the architectural devices of cultural memory such as monuments and memorials may be an expression of society's relationship with a past time, place or event, the form, which those devices assume as well as the discourse that accompanies them, says just as much about the present social status quo as it does of the past (Marschall, 2006: 149).

So, how do we negotiate cultural memory so that even though manipulation is unavoidable it continues to serve the greater population and not just the desires of the dominant group? Kluitenberg (1999: no pagination) suggests democratic participation, both in the act of creating memory and the formulation of plans for future actions, as well as their continuous revision. He further emphasises that this process requires public access and active communal life.

2.7 MEMORY AND TRANSITION - CREATING A FOUNDATION MYTH

“Change creates traditions, and the creation of traditions is most noticeable in times of the greatest change. It has been the sport of modernist historians to ridicule tradition by discovering the huge number of seemingly ancient, immemorial traditions invented only in the last two centuries. But the ridicule misses the point. We all live with many of these traditions: Christmas, Scottish tartans, American flag folding. The traditional Christmas is a hodge-podge of borrowed fables and commercial exaggeration. The much-loved code of Scottish clan tartans was invented by—horror of horrors—an Englishman in the early nineteenth century ... The function of tradition in bonding society and giving a sense of identity has (also) been used by ... new nations of mixed populations, such as the United States.” (Adam, 1995: 5)

The excerpt above from Robert Adam's article “Tradition and the Modern City” further underlines the argument that recollection is selective and that societies will distort or even re-create cultural memories in order to bring about social stability, collective identity and cohesion (Halbwachs and Coser, 1992: 172; Marschall, 2006: 149).

All beginnings contain an element of recollection for even in societies, which need to start completely anew and favour forgetting in the pursuit of reconciliation, the absolutely new is inconceivable

(Connerton, 1989: 6). More fundamentally, in hypothetical terms no absolutely new experience or order could be understood without a context and all social contexts make reference to prior experience to make it communicable or intelligible. Pre-existing frameworks based on recollection allow us interpretation and prediction in order that we are operable within the socio-cultural realms we inhabit. To perceive an object or act upon it is to locate it within this system of expectations (Connerton, 1989: 6). It follows then that there is nothing, which is completely original, new or authentic. Authenticity is socially constructed and is fabricated repetitively in order to fit the requirements of society (Welburn, 2009: 3). Sabine Marschall (2006: 147) further discusses the idea of authenticity in discussions about the concept of the “foundation myth”, which explains the existence of the traditions (or recreated cultural memories) of Christmas and Scottish clan identity, which Adam (1995: 5) speaks of. She explains that the creation of a foundation myth revolves around the idea that if many people believe in something then that something is true in a “special sense” (Marschall, 2006: 148). These dominant narratives often use prominent civic institutions or physical interventions to express these myths.

In South Africa the “Great Trek” was the foundation myth for Afrikaner Nationalists. The Voortrekker monument (which is discussed in more detail later in this dissertation) visualised this myth and perpetuated the cultural memory and the forging of Afrikaner unity (Marschall, 2006: 148).

Founding narratives and myths must be emotionally compelling in order to draw an “imagined community” together (Sudien, 2008: 211). However, in foregrounding only that which is most compelling, such as the extremes of the past (violence or political persecution) a fuller narrative is sacrificed. Taking such a stance towards cultural memory means that society is less likely to be given a chance to share in the less public miseries and celebrations of ordinary people attempting to make a life (Sudien, 2008: 214). Ronnie Govender in his books “Cato Manor and other stories”(1996) as well as “Song of the Atman” (2008) maps the space of Cato Manor (a community in Durban which was dismantled and relocated by the Apartheid government) in terms of memories turning it into meaningful place. The map commemorates the ordinary people who constituted the community of Cato Manor, but who are in reality the key players in the development and growth of a whole society and lifestyle and its cultural memories (Brown, 2006: 35). He takes a stance against “essentialising” public identity and dismisses a dominant hagiographic narrative of good over evil by telling a “warts and all” narrative instead (Sudien, 2008: 214).

This approach provides all groups, great and small, the potential to change how they view themselves and how others view them within a larger social context.

2.8 CONCLUSION

Understanding cultural memory, its flexibility and dynamism, means acknowledging that it is sensitive to most human interaction. Olick (1999: 346) makes an apt point when he says:

“... most important, it means remembering that our work as scholars plays a role ... like an atomic detector that changes particles in the very act of observing them, the various techniques we use inevitably validate or even constitute certain kinds of memory... the knowledge (which scholarly research) produces does have the potential to become part of it. Inquiring into the experiences of individuals may start out as an attempt to discover the role of memory in action, but it often calls up memories that would not have occurred without the researcher’s stimulus and then objectifies them as part of a collective record. That record in turn, becomes a point of reference for further remembering as well as for future perception, influencing down the road how new experiences will be coded, both neurologically and narratively.” (Olick, 1999: 346)

Neutrality even on behalf of the scholar is thus, unattainable. Neither can researchers in different fields operate in isolation from each other, as the very nature of cultural memory demonstrates that its expression is reliant on the dialogue between tangible and intangible things, such as performance, ritual, art, locality, politics, the written word, institutionalised action etc. Its study no matter the particular bent demands a holistic perspective, a consciousness of the complex framework in which the researcher is engaging.

Within the specific context and perspective of this research the outcomes of this chapter provide important information in terms of the derivation of a programme for a cultural institution, which uses cultural memory as the dominant concept. Moreover the key issues, which have arisen from the research into cultural memory, will provide a theoretical framework through which the following chapters may be evaluated. The value of cultural memory as a means of social organization has, within this chapter, been elucidated.

CHAPTER 3:

ARCHITECTURE AS A TOOL OF COMMUNICATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Cultural memory is located principally in the memory objects that hold the traces of the past, which act as triggers for human recollection. Although cultural memory finds its expression in both material and immaterial forms a seemingly stable container of cultural memory, which has been identified, is the built environment. The streets of cities and villages, the architecture of the buildings, the artefacts that inhabit the living space, they all testify to the persistence of a culture's and a society's memory (Kluitenberg, 1999: no pagination).

To a certain extent cultural memory can be said to be architectural in nature since when an individual or collective attempts to organize a body of thought it is executed in spatial terms and imagery (Parker, 1997: 151). Conversely architecture can be said to be the embodiment of cultural memory or collective thought. As such architecture is persuasively presented as social perspectives rendered in material form, which shape our view of the world, and acts as prompts for further thought and action (Parker, 1997: 151). This chapter will attempt to explore the interactive relationship between people, cultural memory and architecture. This will require reviewing literature, which discusses architecture as constituting suggestive devices or cultural signs and symbols in order to communicate.

3.2 CULTURAL MEMORY AND ARCHITECTURE AS A CYCLICAL PROCESS

The mind employs generic knowledge structures that guide the “comprehender’s” interpretations, inferences, expectations, and attention (Beaudry, 2002: 9). People engage the ability of recall to relate to the environment and to navigate it (Lynch, 1960: 40-47). Common human spatial concepts and meanings aid memory; but memory also provides the initial impetus in the meaningful construction of the built environment. Memory informs the socio-cultural systems, which in turn inform the creation of architecture and the built environment. As a cyclical process, however, it may be also true to say that the built environment and architecture abets the forgetfulness of the world and the loss of memory (Ruskin, 1989: 182).

In others words architecture is the product of cultural memory, it expresses what we still hold to be valuable, and in order that societies do not lose a sense of self-identity, time, location and context over the ages, architecture acts as a visual reminder. All the while the process of architectural development is stimulated repeatedly; it assimilates the changes in the evolving socio-cultural schemata, expresses it and again serves as a reminder of the identity, time, context, location and culture (Fig 7). Therefore cultural memory and the built landscape are constantly in the process of becoming (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 305).

It could be said that meaning does not exist without memory. Culture is a social structure that is constantly present yet, develops over time, retaining a link with the past and reaching out towards the future; and if it is culture that is the context of meaning, then memory underpins the process. Humankind must use memory to locate itself, to chart its cultural progress. Therefore memory is the context of culture.

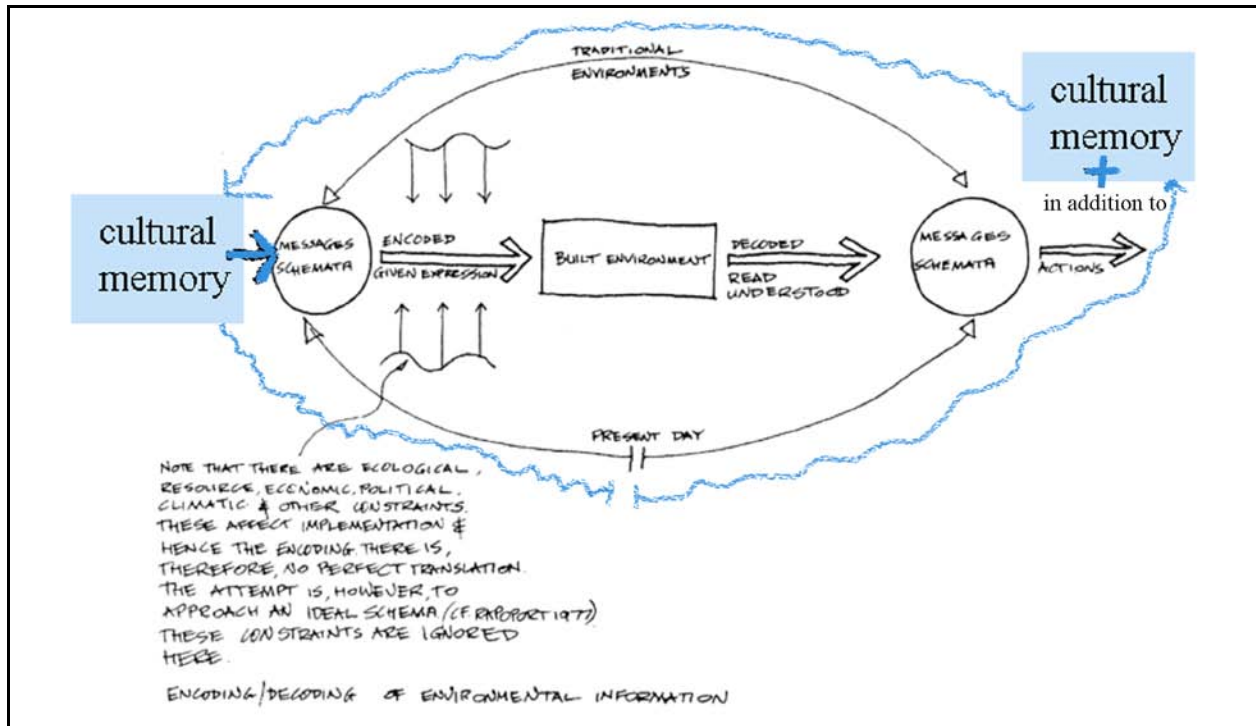


Figure 7 Rapoport's diagram showing the relationship between socio-cultural schemata and the production of the built environment (Rapoport, 1982: 82). The author's additions to the diagram are seen in blue.

Architecture may be said to act as a mnemonic device (Rapoport, 1982: 81). Cultural memory, the shared story (constantly being revised) and history are encoded in it. As such architecture must be decoded in order for it to be understood by users and this relates back to the concept of language. Discussions about architecture as a form of communication may impact on all building typologies, however the current discussion about the cyclical process of memory as it involves architecture makes the discussion about architectural communication specifically relevant.

In the discussion concerning cultural memory as a cyclical process we see that in order for the built environment to be appropriate it must express the socio-cultural schemata of a community and in turn it must guide the further evolution of those schemata. The architect here plays a crucial role since in order for architecture and social cultural schemata not to stagnate the architect must attempt to reflect the relevant architectural ideologies of the past, which provide a people with a unique identity, but he/she also has the unique opportunity to imbue architecture with creative interpretations of the past using the present context (including ideologies) as a reference point and making innovative suggestions directing the way forward in the language of the present. Appropriately cultural memory has been said to privilege the interests of the contemporary although it might relate to historically and socially remote events and perhaps modes of thinking.

If the premise that socio-cultural expression is an important goal in architecture (the primary goal being shelter), the manner in which architecture may communicate this story, the architectural devices used become important to analyse.

3.3 DENOTATION IN ARCHITECTURE

At its most rudimentary level architecture can be said to consist of a collection of signs (Broadbent, 1980: 15), each constructed to denote their own primary functions. These signs deal with primary meaning i.e. they supply the users of the built environment with an almost literal indication of what the function of a building or element of architecture is. The example of stairs illustrates the point. The basic form of stairs denotes its function of allowing one to change position i.e. from a lower level to a higher level or vice versa (Broadbent, 1980: 20). It requires no further elaboration in its form to communicate its function. This method of communication was seen to be both economical and rational during the Modern era. Since the influence of the designer's cultural or social background was seen as interference in the attempt to create a universally understood architecture, in the same way that the vernacular traditions and meanings were seen to be a hindrance to architectural progress, the reduction of architecture to a system of purely conceived signs suited modernist ideology. Stripped of ornamentation and cultural symbols, which will be shown to be important memory devices, the resultant architecture was expected to communicate pure meaning. If the reinvention of the house as a concept were the task of the modern architect, then he would seek to make it the most visually simple sign indicating "house". The objective would be to analyse how a house could be put together concentrating on allowing, for example, anthropometrical considerations to suggest pure forms as a result of those functions – form follows function. This would mean that should houses be designed as solutions to human anthropometrics devoid

of the personal style of the architect and without addressing the non-physical needs of the user, belief systems and cultural memory influences, all houses would look exactly the same.

The complex manner, in which people interact with the environment, emphasises the shortcomings of this method of designing. Architecture can indeed use signs to communicate function, and this should not be overlooked, however sign systems relate directly to the context in which they have been instituted and that designers have their own belief systems and ideologies cannot be overlooked as impacting on architecture. Therefore architectural sign systems rely on contextual systems of symbols and meaning and this is intrinsically related to culture. In the case of a house, in order for it to be used in the manner the architect intended, the architect would have to display some knowledge of the user's cultural background so that he may successfully encode in the architecture "instructions" based on the user's culture that will facilitate the usage of the house as intended by the architect. The architect can explore new ways of conceptualising house design, which might bring greater satisfaction to the client; however the new code which the architect uses will not be understood without the architect also making reference to the client's existing socio-cultural code relating to ideas of house and home (Broadbent, 1980: 20).

Besides being able to interpret the basic function of an object via socio-cultural codes, architectural signs may also express secondary meanings. A doorway by its structure and form indicates its basic function of allowing passage through a barrier, however if that doorway is ornately carved and is of greater dimensions than the rest within the context, that doorway suggests that the space about to be entered is more significant than others are. Such architectural connotations supply the user with additional information, which bears directly upon the behaviour of users as well as communicating information such as status, cleanliness, neatness etc.

3.4 CONNOTATION IN ARCHITECTURE

For the architect such a distinction, as in the example of the doorway above, if found to be prevalent in a particular vernacular architecture is extremely significant since it also indicates that people within that society believe important spaces should be entered through well-defined and distinct doorways. Designed contrarily a potentially important space may not be recognized as such, simply because the architect has not considered the existing socio-cultural architectural code. The architect, therefore, must attempt to engage with the cultural reality of people and their spaces. It has been asserted that the physical reality of a place consists of the fabric of the built environment and its users. This physical reality consists of two parts, the scientific conceptions of architecture such as building science, environmental science etc and that the non-scientific conceptions encompass the values symbolized in the building, its historical

significance and the ideological connotations behind it – non-scientific conceptions constituting cultural reality (Bonta, 1979: 14). However, the reality might indicate that both the non-scientific and scientific conceptions have been very much a part of the cultural reality of pre-modern societies. Societal values expressed in architecture also included a concern and deep respect for the natural environment.

The dominance of connotative meaning in architecture may be most convincingly explained through the description of architecture of the Modern Movement since this form of expression was discouraged. It must be reiterated that form was supposed to develop purely out of function and as rationalist Munari (1966) expounded; an architect's sole concern should be to arrive at a solution only through the suggestion of the thing (function) itself and its destined use (Bonta, 1979: 33). Self-expression was denied, so was interpretation on the part of the architect. This meant that the architectural ideologies developed over time, representative of cultural ideologies were partially lost in modern architecture, since architecture was not a properly functioning cultural memory device.

Yet it is surprising to note that although many architectural examples from the Modern Age suggested rational and economical design in the architecture they pursued, upon rigorous scientific investigation, these same examples of architecture were found to be far from economical and certain decisions to have been made purely from an aesthetic point of view. Pevsner (1967) indicated in his critique of the Faculty of Arts, Economics and Social Studies building, University of Sheffield (Fig 8) that it was a clear and neutral expression of functionality. Yet Broadbent (1975) who regularly used the building at the time complained of its difficult circulation, poor response to climate and comfort levels, noise transmission and glare (Bonta, 1979: 17-19). It would seem that certain architectural devices through repetitive use and substantial academic and theoretical discourse came to represent the identity of a specific community i.e. Modernists. One might conclude that these devices, consisting of glass walls and hard lines, suggested economical design i.e. they connoted ideologies of rationality, functionality and economy even though the reality was quite the opposite (Bonta, 1979: 20-33). From an anthropological point of view, the conclusion reached upon analyzing this form of architecture would be that in the 20th century certain architectural constructions, use of material, forms etc conveyed an image of functionality merely because of the architectural convention of the time (Bonta, 1979: 16-19). Again, even though it was contrary to the ideology that was pursued, architects of the Modern Age made use of the powerful tool of connotation. It was unavoidable since the use of connotation is a human characteristic.



Figure 8 Faculty of Arts, Economics and Social Studies Building, University of Sheffield (Bonta, 1979: 17-19)

Understanding that they could manipulate the meanings associated with modern architecture, they repeatedly made use of rectilinear forms, mass produced features and glass, thereby entrenching the idea that these features represented functionality and economy even though the use of traditional material would have been far more economical and rational in many cases (Bonta, 1979: 20-33). The architecture was an interpretation of the age. They were reflections of the aspirations and ideologies of the time, unfortunately more often than not these did not coincide with the needs or expressions of the greater masses.

3.5 DECODING ARCHITECTURE - THE ROLE OF CONTEXT

It has been demonstrated that both denotation as well as connotation facilitates communication between architecture and user, but how do people read these architectural communications, in other words what are they using to relate to architecture? How can the process of communication be decoded?

In order for architecture to function as important socio-cultural constructions, it needs to recognize the important function of meaning within the environment. Meaning is not apart from function; indeed it is a

key aspect of function (Rapoport, 1982: 15). Rapoport (1982: 19) asserts that built forms are physical expressions or impositions of meaning on the world and that these built forms make socio-cultural schemata visible. In the event that the ideologies expressed in the architecture match the socio-schemata or expressive systems of the people it serves, the architecture may be decoded (Bonta: 1979: 28). This does not mean that in obeying the socio-cultural schemata of a community, architecture is a slave to expectation. It must be reiterated that the architect armed with the knowledge of the context within which he operates, may allow himself the expression of a “reading” or interpretation of an architectural concept. The result may be a refreshing inclusion of new ideas based on a respect for meaningful existing ideologies (Broadbent, 1980: 40). Environmental evaluation or the evaluation of the built environment by the users of a specific context arises from decoding the content meaning of architecture. In order for this process to take place the user must be able to recognize the content and then draw inferences about it thereby evaluating it (as demonstrated in the example of the ornate and grand doorway socio-cultural knowledge was important) (Nasar, 1998: 4). Therefore, socio-cultural schemata determine urban and architectural forms. This explains the great variety that people enjoy in architecture and urban form when moving from one geographical place to another where the architecture and urban form has been determined by the socio-cultural schemata of a society. To further illustrate the point, people of similar climates in different parts of the world do not create identical built environments although there may be certain common elements (Fig 9). These differences, which relate to the socio-cultural context, are what make places distinct from others and represent cultural identity and memory. In the Middle East the traditional flat roof construction is now considered a mark of poverty and is largely associated with the Arab community whilst pitched tiled roofs are a sign of affluence and are associated with immigrants and people of higher status even though this design solution means sacrificing certain important spaces that the flat roof design offers (Hodges, 1972 cited in Rapoport, 1982: 139-140). These associations do not have fixed meanings within other contexts. Within “modern” contexts flat roofs are associated with progress and technology whilst pitched and tiled roofs are associated with past architectural trends and tradition.

Semiotics i.e. the study of signs and cues in the environment is important, however the study of the context in which those signs appear is vital. The visual cues and signs within a context can be said to be comparable on some levels with words in a sentence. Words are less meaningful without the structure of a sentence similarly semiotics relies on context. It is important to note that archaeology; the study of ancient cultures through the “reading” of their remains relies entirely on contextual analysis to provide useful knowledge of ancient societies and their cultures.

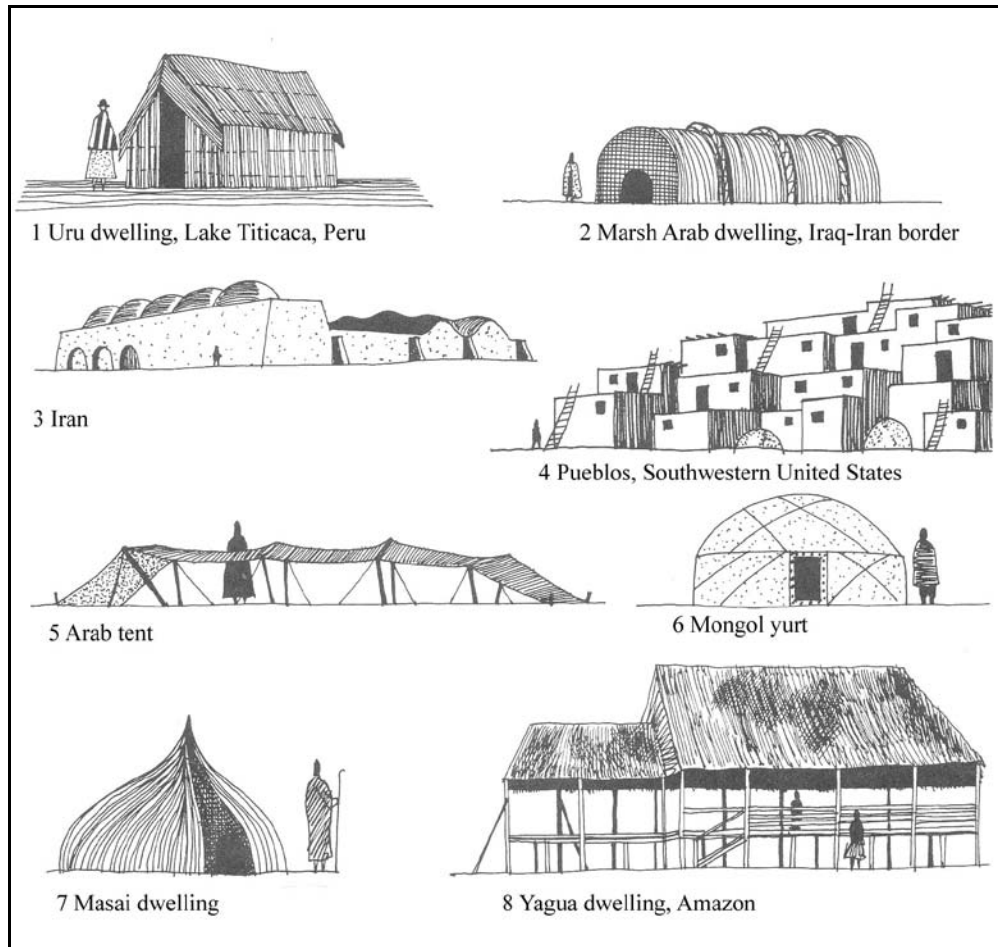


Figure 9 Each row illustrates dwellings from similar climates and constructed of similar materials. The forms vary (Rapoport, 1969: 27)

Thus, the meaning of archaeological elements can only be ascertained in the event that the context is known (Rapoport, 1982: 83). This may be illustrated through the example of signs of settlement. Signs of settlement would depend on the context. It may be that in a densely forested context the sign of a settlement would be a clearing in that forest however in a context characterised by open plains the signs of settlement might be the presence of trees and greenery (Fig 10a & 10b). Archaeologists are required to read the visual cues, symbols and signs. History and its artefacts also make better sense within the context in which they existed. This method of thinking is useful when addressing issues of meaning and the manner in which societies engage with architecture. In the event that the environment is found to be difficult to read because the code is not understood, with the result that the visual cues and signs in the

environment do not communicate, the experience of the user of that environment may well be likened to cultural shock (Rapoport, 1982: 57).

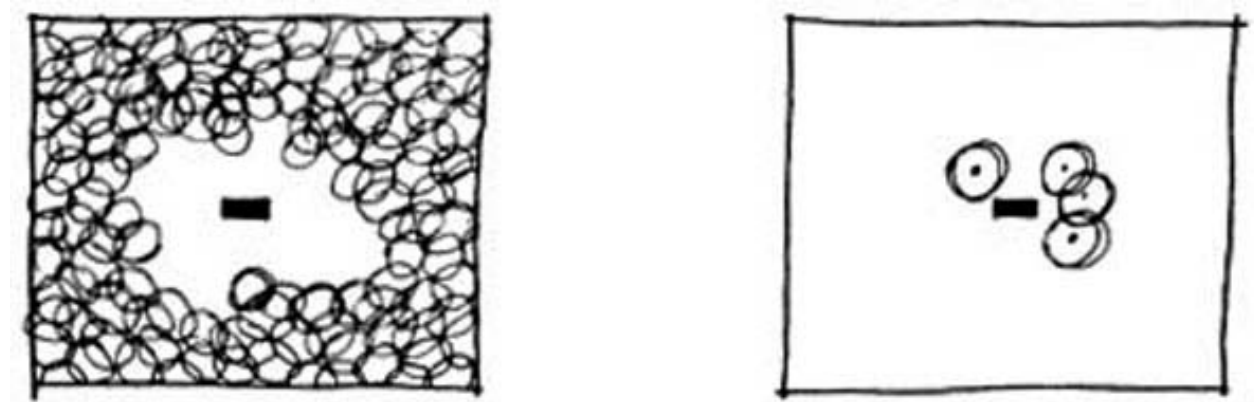


Figure 10a & 10b Signs of settlement - a clearing on the left and trees around a dwelling on the right. The responses are context related (Rapoport, 1982: 40)

The success of visual cues and the meanings they elicit depend largely upon familiarity as well. The more regularly a visual sign or symbol is used to express a specific thing, the more often that sign will be decoded as the designer intended. The result is that the behaviour it intends to encourage in the user will be consistent with what is expected by the designer and the cultural context more often. Rapoport (1982: 78) uses the example of the McDonalds food outlet to illustrate the point (Fig 11). The outlet has become so familiar throughout the USA and even in other countries that it has begun to behave as a sign which is easily interpreted. Furthermore there is a degree of behavioural uniformity displayed by the patrons. Limiting the variance of use of an architectural visual cue or sign restricts the range of behaviour (Rapoport, 1982: 78). In fact these entrenched culturally related constructions of perception (being able to identify something) and association (making inferences about the identified visual cue or sign) are powerful tools in the formation of identity. There are some socio-cultural categories, which can still be identified even within the heterogeneous societies of today. When people can be identified as a type, those people are no longer fully strangers since as a result of being identified as a type certain associations are made and the engager's behaviour can be modified easily in order to meaningfully interact with those people. This can be illustrated with groups such as the police or the clergy – upon being identified; there is a certain amount of information, which is already known about them (Rapoport, 1982: 63). The same process can take place between user and built environment.



Figure 11 McDonalds food outlet - a familiar building with its globally recognised double golden arches (<<http://www.cleavlin.net>>)

In colonial architecture or immigrant architecture familiarity and cultural memory play a great role in making foreign places habitable. Landscapes, which relate to cultural memories of their homelands, are usually chosen as settlement areas since they are remembered to have been supportive of habitation “back home” (Rapoport, 1982: 139-140). The built environment, which they develop although often responding to climate, still bears visual resemblance to those from their motherlands since familiar socio-cultural schemata inform them. The built environment has meaning for them. In the Middle East where a variety of cultural groups from different countries have converged, the German and Bosnian settlers make use of red tiled roofs, imported architectural elements from their motherlands, even though the local Arab architecture makes use of flat roof construction for their homes (Rapoport, 1982: 140). Similarly in South Africa and Australia the colonial styled dwellings of British settlers were imported since they were familiar typologies of what those settlers understood to be “home”. These imported typologies were soon adapted to the foreign climates in order that they could continue to be functional (Fig 12a & 12b). So socio-cultural familiarity in architecture is what makes places habitable for people.

In situations where the socio-cultural context is homogenous such as in traditional contexts the visual cues and signs are more fixed and so the meaning people derive from the built environment are restricted. Here cultural memory is reinforced through the reuse of texts, images and rituals to emphasize those visual cues and signs, employing the landscape to lend further meaning. The cultivation of these cultural memory devices serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self image (Kansteiner, 2002: 182).



Figure 12a & 12b On the left a traditional English house and on the right an adaptation - a colonial style house in Durban. Note the symmetry in both, the same attitude to entry but change in climatic response with the extension of eaves and roof overhangs, roof vents and a verandah on all four sides (nichecom.co.uk); (Kearney, 1973: 170)

In addition, the predictable interpretations of those devices enable those people to behave more constantly (Rapoport, 1982: 80). Socio-cultural schemata are developed by group consensus over time. Therefore architecture, especially public architecture should express the group values and socio-cultural content, and not just that of a select few. The focus should be on perception of meaning not of a single individual no matter his/her status but rather with perceptions of meaning as shared by a whole community and as reflected in that community's shared behaviour (Bonta, 1979: 65).

In attempting to express the socio-cultural schemata of a group of people, it must be emphasized that assumptions should not be made regarding what identifies a particular group of people. This information must be derived from careful observation of those people, their behaviour, rituals, routines and the various contexts with which they engage and the quality of those interactions. The architect needs to identify and observe the visual cues and signs present and ascertain how they are interpreted by users i.e. what meaning they have for them by observing behaviour.

This method is especially important in our current contexts where most societies are forced to engage with a variety of coding systems and societies are heterogeneous. There are likely to be far more idiosyncrasies in meaning and behaviour in our present day environments than their traditional counterparts. As such, the designer must first ask, are there visual signs and cues (codes) which first relate to the schemata of humanity as a broad social group before architectural elements of specific socio-cultural groups within this broad domain, are used?

3.6 GLOBAL CONCEPTS IN THE MAKING OF PLACE

3.6.1 Finding Common Ground

It has been asserted that architecture, as a construction is not as important as the interpretations, which people read into it (Bonta, 1979: 66). This seems to hold true particularly in examples where the meaning has changed even though the architecture has not. In the case of rectilinear, all-glass towers the examples of the John Hancock Tower in Boston and the Leicester Engineering Building serve to illustrate the point. Critics, Pevsner (1967) and Goldberger (1976) agreed they liked the architectural language, but for quite opposing reasons. For Pevsner glass towers meant economy and avoidance of personal expression and for Goldberger, less than ten years later, the same architecture meant extravagance and powerful aesthetic self-expression (Bonta, 1979: 20). Rapoport (1982: 80) concurs to a degree when he asserts that cues are clearer and meaning more widely shared in traditional contexts compared to those, which are contemporary. One might conclude that within the contemporary situation and indeed in future contexts all visual cues and signs could well become useless since the meanings associated with these elements are in a constant state of flux. This is also particularly noteworthy when one considers that culture, which informs these architectural elements, is also constantly changing.

However, recent research has shown that there are common methods employed globally in the construction of place, i.e. regardless of geographic location. Furthermore studies have confirmed that there is strong consensus in environmental preference across cultural lines providing a quantitative basis for design decisions (Nasar, 1998: 27), which is particularly relevant in multi-cultural societies. These research outcomes resonate with the statement that man's heritage may be said to consist of two categories: one has developed over two billion years of evolution and is encoded in his molecular structure and his genes. The other has developed over one million years of communication and is encoded in the symbolic structure (meaning structure) of his knowledge (Kepes, 1966: 42). Certain global or human architectural concepts have elicited fairly consistent responses regardless of geographic location and culture. These structures of meaning relate to the greater context of humanity, but it must be emphasized that they are human concepts and that their physical manifestations may vary from place to place.

3.6.2 Common Physical Concepts

Logic may dictate that for public spaces to have a human identity it must be constructed to suit human spatial concepts. The human body physically, emotionally and mentally is the vehicle of experience and “human” should be the scale in which the built environment is constructed (Bloomer, Moore, 1977: 51).

Architecture as it relates to the human scale and perception serves to underline the existence of common human concepts, which describe human preferences as a beginning point for the development of appropriate architecture especially public architecture. Research conducted through direct contact with users of public places, has determined that there are particular visual cues and signs within the public environment which are favoured by people navigating the public domain. Visual quality and legibility in the built environment was found to be extremely important in making public places navigable and related directly to the ease with which the parts of the built environment could be recognized (Lynch, 1960: 2-3). It was found that people, in trying to recall parts of urban environments, organized their mental picture of the environment into coherent patterns referring to specific basic elements to describe and interpret it.

Addressing the issue of architecture and planning for heterogeneous societies means identifying those elements (visual cues and codes) which even seen for the first time may be identified and related not because of their individual familiarity but rather because they conform to stereotypes already familiar to the observer (Lynch, 1960: 6). Structures relating to human body spatiality conform to this idea in addition this familiarity or “routinization” (Rapoport, 1982: 59) might be likened to conditioning. Over a great expanse of time behaviours and associations, which are not inborn, may be learnt, such that they become second nature (Kepes, 1966: 1-3). Therefore certain concepts of space, which have become familiar human concepts over time, can be utilized to reinforce meaning. In his research regarding “imageability” (the ease with which the environment could be understood), Lynch (1960, 40-47) concluded that in those places where these common visual cues and signs were missing or not prominent, people’s memories floundered. Also the importance of memory as a space and place-defining tool was uncovered.

The predominant markers or features identified by Lynch were: paths such as roads and pedestrian pathways; edges, which are boundaries or breaks in continuity; nodes, where activity is concentrated such as junctions or where routes converge; and landmarks, which are points of reference which often operate as symbols (Lynch, 1960: 40-47) (Fig 13). These elements were found to provide structure, not in isolation but rather through interrelatedness with each other and the greater environment, as a whole boosting clarity and legibility in the public realm.

The architectural code of a built environment, its visual cues and signs will not be interpreted and in turn fail as meaningful structures if it is not visible. In other words for the language of the built environment to be decoded, it must first be visible. Nasar (1998) through an elaboration on Lynch's research proved that besides affording legibility and clarity, these elements greatly influence emotional response, described as the "likeability" (Nasar, 1998: 3) of a place.

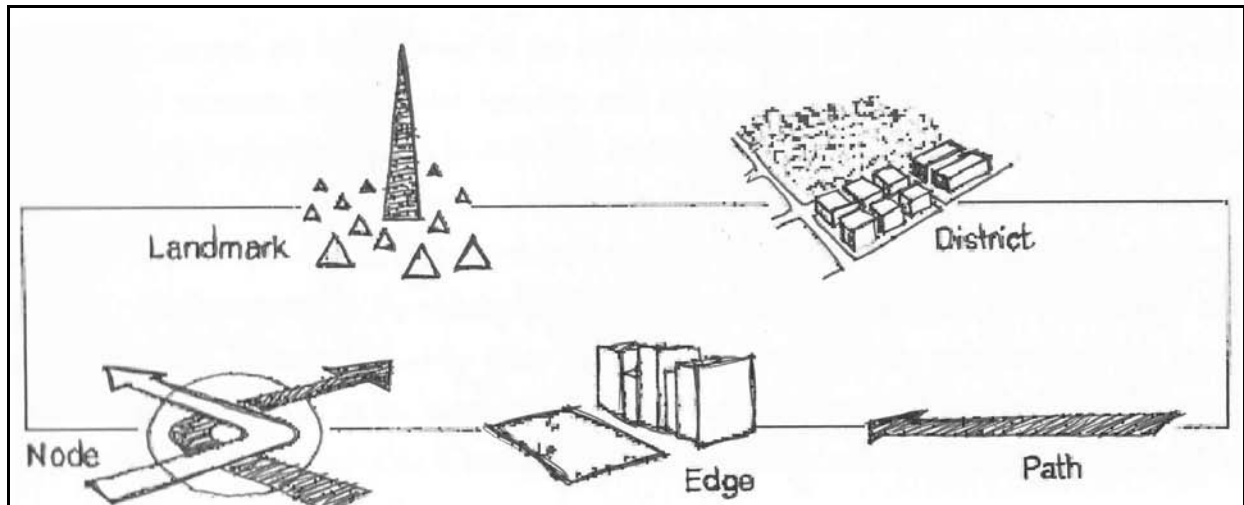


Figure 13 Global spatial concepts identified by Lynch (1960) as playing a role in facilitating memory and orientation (Lynch, 1960: 47-48)

3.6.3 Common Behavioural Responses

More importantly Nasar (1998) discovered that these common visual cues encoded in the architecture of the built environment elicited common and predictable responses and behaviour from people engaging with it, regardless of differences in socio-cultural schemata. This has great implications for architecture because it proves that although socio-cultural schemata dictate how architecture and the built environment is encoded and decoded and what the nature of the behavioural responses are expected to be, there are certain elements in the built environment, which work outside of the realm of the particular or specific.

Furthermore, these responses are measurable. Nasar (1998: 3) primarily measures peoples responses to places by asking how much people like or dislike a certain place and why? Research has proven that aesthetic or style is not a major factor in whether a building is liked by the public, and it explains why the public can agree about the "likeability" of two buildings of greatly divergent architectural styles (Nasar,

1998: 3). There are also strong consistencies in what people like and dislike in the environment. He also stresses the value of responding to the inferences, which the public make about aspects of public architecture. What features in public architecture are associated with favourable meaning? For example, a person may identify a road as a path of movement however, spatial qualities such as width and narrowness, through association, may decide whether that space is viewed negatively or positively (Lynch, 1960: 47-50). Some historical examples that have been rated amongst the most likeable places in the world even in the present day by people from all over the world may reveal important clues to successful public architecture. One such example is the Piazza Della Signoria in Florence. Here is demonstrated the spatial clarity achieved and the creation of memorable place through the definition of edges, landmarks, paths and nodes.

In order to fully appreciate the architecture of this series of public squares, which historically was the centre of politics in Florence, the history of its development must be briefly described. Sangallo's design of the Piazza Della Signoria stemmed from his design response in the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata. Resisting the urge to create something completely unique he instead responded to the existing building context within the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata, i.e. the Foundling Hospital designed by Brunelleschi. In fact Sangallo who was commissioned to design the building opposite the Foundling Hospital, adopted in his project the precise rhythm, and detail in Brunelleschi's (Bacon, 1959: 94-95). The result was a space with a strong architectural character, a zone, reinforced by the fact that it was all contained within the piazza, the square a definable space. Here is a demonstration of a strong edge character peculiar to a specific space and yet at the same time belonging to the greater urban context through its interrelatedness with it. There is no over-emphasis of a particular building at the expense of the larger context; as a result the clarity of the experience is intensified (Fig 14)(Cohen, 1999: 81). In the centre and marking a physical and visual link to the Piazza del Duomo occupied by the grand landmark Cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore, are statues and a central fountain. These guide the eye down the axis to the next piazza, Piazza del Duomo. The axes which link the Piazzas together have not been constructed along a straight line, neither are the piazzas which follow the first completely visible. This is deliberate. Here is demonstrated the element of visual interruption (Jacobs, 1961: 393) which is a development upon the elements of landmark, path and nodes. Visual interruptions prevent an endless long view of use and space intensity. One of the shortcomings pointed out in modern cities and public spaces especially where the topography is flat, is that the long distance views afforded by main streets such as those in Manhattan, become an endless repetition of intensity, which results in anonymity. There is a lack of spatial character and atmosphere, which defines the "here" from "there".

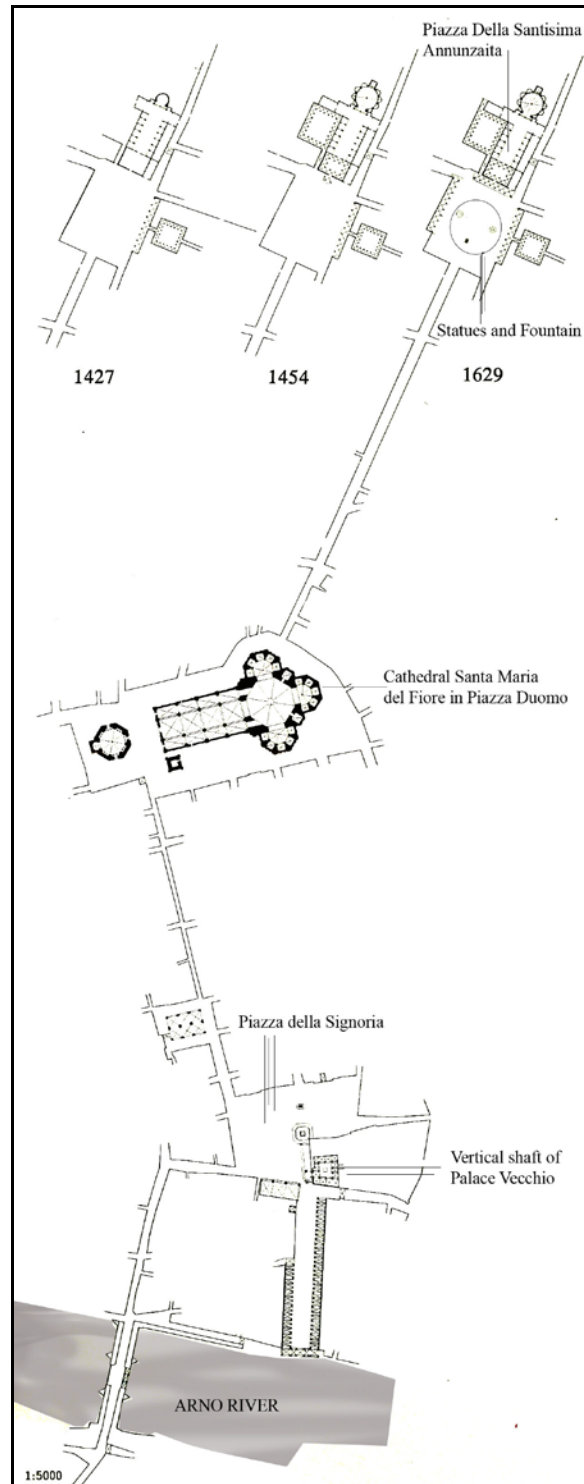


Figure 14 The plan (top left) shows Brunelleschi's Piazza della Santissima Annunziata, and the Foundling Hospital, the second shows Sangallo's response to the context of the first plan and the third plan completed shows how Piazza della Santissima Annunziata, Piazza del Duomo and Piazza della Signoria were linked by axes (Bacon, 1959: 94)

These endless streets are a modern urban intervention, which makes sense from a bird's eye view but not from close quarters and results in a loss of place (Schultz, 2000: 36) because it does not respond to human scale and therefore does not contribute to urban space. In being placed at different angles to the Piazzas the paths or axes linking the piazzas contribute to the creation of zones with specific character. Also they focus on only parts of the piazzas – focal points or landmarks, inviting people to explore further, to walk down squeezed narrow paths and to experience the release and delight afforded by the large spaces which open up before them upon arrival (Lynch, 1962: 58) (Fig 15). Furthermore the Piazzas are not dead-ends but provide the user with even more avenues and vistas of explorations – so they are nodes, pauses in the



Figure 15 Focal points or landmarks, inviting people to explore further
(<http://www.ianandwendy.com/italy/florence>)

process of navigation and spatial experience, in order to orientate and acquaint oneself in and with the place. These interconnected spaces both in plan and in three-dimensional visual details, are particularly inviting because they are a succession of arrivals, rather than an undifferentiated single protracted approach. Each arrival or pause in the spatial experience prepares and anticipates the next without revealing all, with the result that the observer receives an ever fresh yet coherent development of space (Lynch, 1962: 81). The final piazza linked to the first two, Piazza della Santissima Annunziata and Piazza del Duomo is the Piazza della Signoria. The tall vertical (Fig 16) component of the Palazzo Vecchio

which contrasts with the distinct horizontality of the Uffizi buildings stands apart from its surroundings performing the role of an effective landmark. It pierces the skyline and in plan, forms a hinge between two intersecting spaces. The statues located within the piazza are not arbitrarily positioned in relation to their surroundings. They form focal points in the foreground from the various entrances from which the piazza can be entered. Cossimo I points in the direction of the central arch framing the Arno River and the white statue of Neptune stands boldly against the shadowed north facing wall in the background (Bacon, 1959: 97) (Fig 16).



Figure 16 The vertical element of the Palazzo Vecchio forms an effective landmark
(<http://www.ianandwendy.com>)

The space then narrows and elongates, drawing the eye towards the central arch, which frames the Arno River. The architecture uses the Florence landscape to further beautify the atmosphere of the place. Here is the final termination and it is not a static entity but one, which is in constant motion. Looking back through the arch (Fig 17) from the point of the Arno River the tall vertical component of the Palazzo Vecchio marks the position of the Piazza della Signoria. Further down the line the statues appear in such a

way as to lead the eye beyond still further, with the dome of the Florence Santa Maria Cathedral as the furthest point (Bacon, 1959: 98).



Figure 17 Looking back from the arch framing the view of the Arno River (Bacon, 1959: 98)

The buildings, which create the edge of the Piazzas, have a horizontality and repetition of small detail, which relate well to human scale (Fig 18a & 18b). Also the repetition of little details increases the uniqueness and speciality of the atmosphere within the Piazzas. All the parts contribute to the expression of the whole. It was an expression of civic unity connected to the natural features of Florence. The visual climaxes correspond with the importance of the use of the space as the former centre of politics. The space is scaled not only to suit humans physically and intensify the beauty of universal sensations of

constriction and release but also to scale the intensity and type of activity, which these spaces envelop (Lynch, 1962: 86).



Figure 18a & 18b Show the repetition of little details which relate well to the human scale and increase the unity of the space (<<http://www.sights-and-culture.com>>; (<<http://www.farm3.static.flickr.com>>)

There are many cities and even smaller public spaces less grand than Florence, which may provide insight into the nature of good public space through the use of the spatial elements discussed above. One such example is Boston's North End, a traditionally historic part of Boston.



Figure 19a & 19b Red brick buildings, a common characteristic of Boston North End as well as the presence of small scale mixed use buildings (<<http://inthe pantry.blogspot.com>>; (<<http://www.cooltownstudios.com>>)



Figure 20 Aerial view of Boston North End with Charles River along the top edge. The crooked streets and small city blocks are apparent here (<<http://www.google.earth.com>>)

The North End is made up mostly of a community of Irish, Jewish and Italian immigrants – a socio-cultural mix, yet the district certainly has a distinct character. In fact it was the Jewish community that settled in the North End that is to be credited for most of the building in the district. The socio-economic order of mixed-use within the community has impacted upon the structure of the place. There are rarely commercial monopolies such as large chain stores, instead many of the little restaurants (for which the north end is famous) and café's etc are owned by residents of the north end (Fig 19a &19b).

The north ends transformation from squalid beginnings can be credited to its community – little municipal funding has been provided by the city for the upliftment of this area. So in effect Boston North End provides a good example of a place shaped and maintained by its own community largely without the help of urban planners and architects (Jacobs, 1961: 18). The architecture of this community is not of heroic proportions yet is has been found to be an “imageable” i.e. an easily identifiable and visually a legible district (Lynch, 1960: 9). In plan the district is made up of small blocks (Fig 20) as compared with greater Boston. Narrow crooked streets bisect blocks creating many interesting visual interruptions often bringing intimate spaces and historical buildings into focus. Wider main streets are few and therefore more prominent. Research has indicated that residents have identified this pattern – an indication of its legibility. In the north end a mixture of uses means that most of the public spaces are also part of the residential spaces. Apartments overlook little Italian street restaurants increasing the impression of community and openness (<<http://www.TripAdvisor.htm>>).



Figure 21a & 21b Old North Church dominates the skyline and forms a focus at the end of the street
(<http://www.google earth>)

A greater human presence, a result of this mixture of use, also contributes to the visual inference of safety – the crime and violent mortality statistics is an indicator of the success of this type of planning. The statistics are considerably lower here than in other places not considered to be slum districts, yet planners are "blind" to them (Jacobs, 1961: 18). Although the users, the greater public of Boston North End show a great "likeability" for it, city planners out of touch with the public feeling have recognised it as a slum.

The narrow streets and small buildings of multitudinous layers of function (residential, office, commercial) as well as repetitive details in the buildings work to create an environment of human scale (Jacobs, 1961: 155). Street cafés and restaurants are pulled in towards the pedestrian using the narrow streets – the spatial experience is intensified. Redbrick buildings and cobblestone streets form an integral part of the architectural identity of the place – making the little pieces part of the whole entity.

The Old North Church, also known as the Christ Church is a good example of a landmark within the community (Fig 21a & 21b). The church played a small, but pivotal role in the American revolution and so is a celebrated monument. As a monument the church forms a part of the rich texture of old and new in Boston North End, a "likeable" feature according to research done in the neighbourhood. (Lynch, 1960: 16). The church is located along Salem street one of the North End's main wide streets. Built of the local red brick at its lower half and white at the top, the church architecture ties in with the language of the local architecture. Hull Street terminates with the Church as a focus. As an entity, the church is made up of four parts (Fig 22). The steeple of the church (1) dominates the skyline of the district forming an effective landmark (Fig 21a). An axial relationship is set up by the use of a fountain (2) surrounded by

linearly arranged trees. The garden at which the church forms the head is arranged in a rough cross formation.

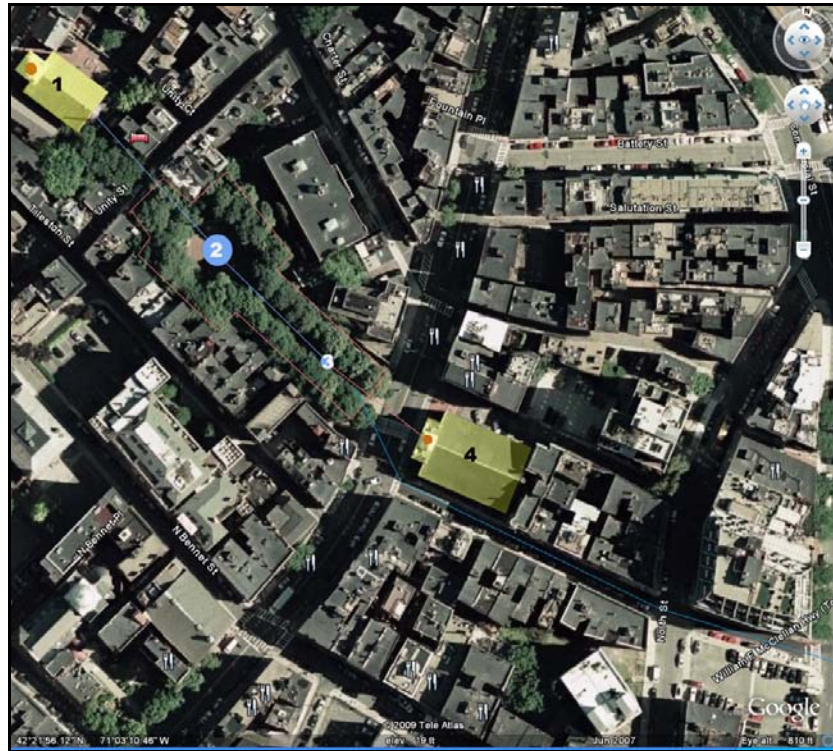


Figure 22 As an entity, the church is made up of four parts (<<http://www.google.earth>>)

1. The steeple of the church
2. Fountain
3. Statue of Paul Revere
4. Saint Stephen's Church

At point (3) a statue of Paul Revere on a horse while further emphasising the axis, points in the direction of Boston's most dominant natural feature, the Charles River (Fig 21a) (<<http://www.gone.wen.gland.about.com/cs/bostonattractions/1/blfreedomtrl21.htm>>). The termination of this space is marked by the lesser steeple of St. Stephens Church (4), also red brick base and white above. However, it is not a real dead-end; a street just off the axial path in blue, leads the eye to the Union Wharf on Charles River. Unity Street and wider and more dominant Hanover Street bisect this arrangement; however it does not lessen the spatial dominance of the Church composition. In fact it emphasizes it.



Figure 23 A statue of Paul Revere on a horse accentuates the axuality of the Church behind it while facing the direction of the Charles River (<<http://www.1164.com/bostonold-north-church>>)

Hanover Street affords St. Stephens Church, a prominent path from which to be viewed and little Unity Street allows a link between neighbouring blocks and the garden behind the church – increasing its usability and pedestrian presence.



Figure 24 The termination of the Church space is marked by the lesser steeple of St. Stephens Church on Hanover Street (<<http://www.google.earth>>)

The architecture of this Church and its location is certainly not as heroic as that of the Florence Piazzas, however, the elements of landmark, node, visual interruption and path used there are repeated here and used in different form to constructive effect.

It must be emphasized that although the elements identified seem to be universal concepts the manner in which these concepts are implemented in the built environments of various communities will differ. Socio-cultural schemata of particular societies will inform the physical manifestations of universal concepts such as landmarks, paths, boundaries etc. and what they mean and symbolise. This facilitates the creation of “particularness” and identity. Like culture, the built environment especially those developed from local culture, have traditionally performed the role of aiding people in interpreting appropriate behaviour, which conforms to the norms of the particular group. Without such visual reminders in the built environment, behaviour becomes more difficult and demanding. By understanding this process, better use could be made of the environment. Moreover, when space organization, form, signs systems and visible activities coincide, meaning is much clearer and urban form and architecture is more legible and memorable (Rapoport, 1982: 64-84).

3.7 CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated that to a large extent cultural memory is the organ relied upon to provide clarity and legibility in architecture and the built environment. Architecture and cultural memory are part of a dynamic cyclical process, which aids social organisation, and provide the necessary supportive social frameworks. This does not mean that it is an unchanging cycle. Developments in society are continually informing the process. The importance of architecture as a culturally related communicative device has been obviated.

The discussion regarding architectural communication has provided a broad base for architectural direction with regard to civic architecture steeped in culture and the creation of distinct space. Furthermore the importance of context and the understanding of it are vital to the understanding of socio-cultural ideas, memories and behaviour active within a place and the correct decoding of the built environment in which that socio-cultural schema is inscribed.

The investigation into global concepts and human memory at play in the built environment partly addresses the first tentative steps which the architect may take in designing a built environment for a heterogeneous society in order to attain a degree of functionality in the built environment.

However in tackling the issue of architecture, which focuses on expressing usable narratives of the past mediated and selected via the present requirements of society, it may be interesting to ascertain whether history and memory have their own specialized architectural communication devices i.e. has the architecture representative of culture been further defined when dealing specifically with the past and cultural memory?

CHAPTER 4:
ARCHITECTURE: A MANIFESTATION OF MEMORY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Pierre Nora (in Kansteiner, 2002: 183) has asserted that in pre-modern societies there existed a natural, unself-conscious relation between the past and the present. Pre-modern societies did not demonstrate a compartmentalization of everyday living. Belief systems impacted on work, home, social relationships, spiritual matters etc. This holistic view of life and its important relationship to past traditions and relevant ideologies was committed to architecture in all its forms, as can be seen in pre-colonial Africa for example (Adebayo, 2006: 1-29). Therefore attempts to identify a specific architectural building typology, as a “container” of cultural memory and history in pre-modern societies will be thwarted. This does not mean that the architecture of this period is irrelevant in informing architecture representative of culture and memory of today. On the contrary, certain examples of architecture from pre-modern times will demonstrate how specific architectural modes and devices were vital in the conveyance of history and the evolution of cultural memory and at least one example will be explored in detail within the conceptual framework of architectural language and communication, encryption of belief systems within the architecture, performance and ritual and identity and transition.

Nora (in Kansteiner, 2002: 183) intimates that the alteration of this natural relationship between the past and the present occurred in the 19th century with the advent of industrialization and the accompanying changes in the mode and pace of living, social relationships etc. The progress of modernity introduced a partial functionality through advances in production and greater standardisation however this occurred at the expense of local material expressions in the fabric of the built environment (Dant, 1999: 69). The attempt to rectify this upset in social balance resulted in deliberate reconstructions of the past to reinstate social cohesion and group identification.

Architecturally this resulted in the creation of specific building typologies and other architectural devices, such as heritage sites, museums, monuments and archival repositories made available to the public at large. This tradition continues but, with a re-establishment of focus on cultural memory and its ability to relate and give expression to the greater masses, where they have access to the process. These institutions have changed and the architecture which describes them has adapted accordingly – contemporary culturally related buildings have embraced groups of activities such as documentation, display in museums as well as education and performing arts to replace each of these occurring in isolation (Buchanan, 2006: 44). Contemporary discussion suggests that the architecture of cultural centres is no longer a formal response to a particular brief such that the building sits as an inexplicable object within the context but rather where the brief and resultant design is an expression of contemporary attitudes

towards the context and content (Finch, 2006: 35). Analysing examples of contemporary building typologies which address the past will provide guidelines for a contemporary perspective of history and cultural memory and the value of these social constructions in the present day context.

4.2 THE LANDSCAPE – MACRO CONTEXT OF CULTURAL MEMORY

The landscape itself can be considered a material entity, a palimpsest that communicates (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 304). It sets up certain rules of engagement. That it has a relationship to memory is once more illustrated in the common occurrence of landscape metaphor in our everyday communication, such as the phrases “unknown territory”, “difficult road” and “moral high ground”. The mind employs prominent yet common landscape imagery to communicate meaning (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 304).

Parker (1997: 150) makes a similar point when he says that the urban environment or in more incorporative terms the landscape, is a large cognitive map, which when well ordered and structured facilitates the process of remembering and recall. He further suggests that even if the little things such as specific buildings within the larger cognitive map change, extra effort will often help the mind retrieve the information needed however if the principle organizing structure, the large cognitive map of memory loci is destroyed, its contents falls into oblivion (Parker, 1997: 150). The landscape is not just about physicality – it is fraught with cultural meaning, which forms yet another layer aiding social organisation and functionality. It has been said that the physicality of the landscape cannot be divorced from discussions about the ways in which its topography of place are creative of as well as created by human society and that such landscapes empower people. Moreover sheer physicality and geography can be transformed by empowering social acts such as mapping and naming which transforms it into something, which is socially experienced and becomes a part of social discourse. (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 305).

Space cannot exist apart from the activities, events and rituals with which it is involved, and becomes distinct and meaningful place or rather landscape through those activities, movements and narratives. In talking about the constant dialogue between the built environment and cultural memory, academics caution against a “timeless” perspective which focuses too acutely on practical activities and not enough on the power play inherent in places. Instead they emphasise that representations of space and time arise out of social practices but then become a framework for the regulation of those practices and that place comes to be a material reproduction and articulation of power and political relations (Harvey, 1996: 212; Harvey and Haraway, 1995; Massey, 1995 in Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 307).

Furthermore, although familiarity through the repetition and evolution of time-space patterns is usually socially desirable and allows people to understand “how to go on” in the world, people are forced to engage with both familiarity and unfamiliarity.

Within the context of the city, the sum of its objects and practices enable recollections of the past, which embody the past through traces of the city’s building and rebuilding (Crimson, 2005 cited in Rambhoros, 2009: 30). As material constructions of urban cultural memory the city may be read as texts, which document and generate information about that specific context.

The process of getting to a place, arriving, entering can be described as a composition of “moments” (Schultz, 2000: 35), read in the fabric of the landscape as the viewer navigates it and participates in its performance re-enforcing the cultural memory narrative and the efficacy and meaning of the built environment. The designer’s problem is not to create facades or architectural mass; or fuss about aesthetics and style, but to create an all-encompassing experience, to engender involvement (Bacon, 1959: 23). In order to do that the smaller cognitive pieces such as individual buildings or groups of buildings of the large cognitive map, which is the landscape, must reflect a relationship with the past, which justifies its inclusion in the landscape, but describes invention and progress as well as the familiarity of the present (Rambhoros, 2009: 29). This conjures up images of a heterogeneous urban landscape or “heterotopia” a concept coined by Michael Foucault (1967 in Rambhoros, 2009: 30) as opposed to the modernist ideal of utopia where it was desirable for memory to be erased from the urban landscape. Heterotopia instead includes expressions of the past, experienced in the present, manifested in architecture which gives meaning to and constitute our memory of the city (Boyer, 1996 in Rambhoros, 2009: 31).

4.2.1 Cultural Memory and the Geography of Identity

Conflicts centred on landscape often arise out of the differing views and understandings between people, their preoccupations and nature of engagements with places (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 308). Power and politics often determine who mapped and thereby controlled the landscape with the losing society often suffering dismemberment, dispossession and a negation of identity, as can be illustrated in the case of Palestine, and Northern Ireland as discussed in chapter two. (Selwyn, 2001; Said, 2003; Bargouti, 2000 in Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 308).

Some of the most unequal confrontations have occurred as a result of colonialism. Confrontations often brought to light the mutual incomprehension of social, cultural, political, religious and economic practices and intolerance for a completely different understanding of place and landscape. However, equally

destructive acts, such as described in apartheid policy in South Africa, have resulted from a good understanding of the value of these social aspects to people. Many pre-modern societies have displayed an intense relationship with the landscape, so much so that place and people were seen to be virtually one and the same, where identity consists of landscape. This occurs especially when all significant parts of a society and its practices are committed wholly to the landscape (Osborne, 2001: 5). In other words the landscape is a cultural memory device, the destruction of which would mean the erasure of a people.

Space can be said to be as neutral as time. It is man's interaction with the natural landscape, which provides it with meaning i.e. the performance of rituals, body spatial relationships to scale, commemorations, preservations etc. As such "place" is made to relate to self within the context of a society. The removal of people from such places dissolves the identity of those people. The history of colonization of the Aborigines of Central Australia is a case in point.

4.2.1.1 Cultural Memory Invested in the Land – the Australian Aborigines

As a nomadic hunter-gatherer group, they demonstrate in their way of life an intense relationship with the landscape. As a nomadic society, building is not particularly important, however studies carried out concerning the way the Aborigines of Central Australia structure their environment reveal that they definitely establish a sense of place.

Aboriginal cultural memory structures society, and the land plays a large part in making visible Aboriginal cultural memory. Therefore aboriginal explanations for their social structure and patterns of movements always refer to the land as the primary determinant. Aboriginal landscapes are said to have been created in the "Dreamtime" by ancestral beings, on which human beings were dependent for their survival. Conversely humans equally nurtured ancestral beings. This process is facilitated directly by the landscape. The landscape and indeed even aboriginal paintings were not seen as separate from these ancestral beings but actual manifestations of them. As such in aboriginal thought there could be no separation between land and people without both suffering (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 308). Material expressions of this relationship can be illustrated in the example of the Yolngu paintings which are topographical maps and at the same time, mythological maps, maps of sacred knowledge and maps of social relationships. Yolgnu paintings are mnemonic devices for stories of the past and ancestral activity and refer to rituals and ceremonies, which must be performed in order to maintain their existence.

Important to note is the incorporation of the ideas of cultural continuity, flexibility and evolution. The Dreaming or Creation Time is understood to be a continuing process. The landscape is re-imagined using myth and story to explain this society's existence.

The Central Australian Aborigines structure their environment, large tracks of land traversed by generations, by imbuing the natural, memorable and striking elements of the environment with meaning and using ritual to reinforce those symbolic meanings. In this instance ritual emphasises the environment to ritual efficacy and the environment acquires meaning through these performances (Lawrence and Low, 1990: 474). Environmental features act as symbolic elements during ritual performances prompting collective ritual performance (Lawrence and Low, 1990: 474). So in arid and flat landscapes prominent natural elements such as trees, hills, stones and rocks become markers, signifying specific things. They reinforce and reaffirm social relationships and provide meaning to cultural symbols and other aspects of everyday life (Fig 25). Furthermore they reinforce membership within the group.



Figure 25 Aboriginal mystic ceremony with the land being inscribed on directly for ritual ceremony
(www.janesocean.com)

Here in the absence of intense man-made structures and cities, the concepts of landmark and scale are still found to be significant in the delineation of the environment. There is a clarification between places some of which are more significant than others. It is the making visible of special places and the breaking up of the homogeneity of undifferentiated space – the making of place (Oliver, 1975: 49-50). The natural elements of the Aboriginal physical landscape are made important and preserved by its people because they are endowed with the symbolic meaning which structures the social and cultural landscape of the Aborigines. This method of relating to the environment can be compared to our protection of historical monuments and civic buildings, as these are physical structures, which are also expressive of cultural and socio-political institutions and are often preserved in the form of landmarks.

Stories such as those told by people forcibly removed from places such as District Six, in Cape Town also bring to light the relationship between place and people. They reveal a trauma and a crisis of identity since race and creed was not adequate identification, instead the relationships between people that the unique cultural setting of District Six supported, afforded a sense of identity. It is just such events that spur the creation of monuments, memorials, museums and other structures of cultural memory as affected people attempt to maintain such preferred identities and connections to place (Osborne, 2001: 6). Here the actual landscape of that time and culture becomes commemorative and is punctuated by monuments and other memory devices to allude to events and people with a strong identity. It could be said that such exercises are about locating in time a moment which seems to capture the sense of a people, their best cultural expressions as they see it and making it real and concrete by locating it spatially. This does describe something trapped in time however, the meaning of those remembrances, the value they have for the present context is what makes their expression worthwhile.

4.2.2 Landscapes of Inclusion

It has been posited that experiencing the context of a place before reaching the intended destination intensifies both cultural and spatial experience. A functional built environment, as has been discussed previously requires a mixture of celebrated historical buildings or related structures as well as a generous proportion of re-imagined culturally relevant architecture which builds upon the lessons embodied in those historical structures. The spatial dialogue, which these relationships construct, gives rise to a landscape, which can be called a “diffuse text” (Dickinson, 2006: 29). The concept of diffuse text describes a way of experiencing cultural landscapes, which is holistic and breaks down the compartmentalization of space and competitive disorder (Lipman, 2003: 8). This does not mean indistinct space, but merely attempts to describe an experience, which makes visible the landscape and its

memorable and distinct parts. Rambhoros (2009: 29) refers to Aldo Rossi's (1982 cited in Rambhoros, 2009: 29) concept of "time-place" continuity, when she states that time connects material expressions of cultural memory from different periods and in so doing, the landscape, especially the urban landscape retains the marks of the passage thereby expressing the culture and society of a place, as well as steering consciousness within the landscape through memory (Rambhoros, 2009: 29).

This is particularly valuable in tackling the issue of architectural interventions, where their content and architecture is afforded greater meaning by acknowledging their position within the texture of a larger landscape steeped in cultural memory. Such a perspective accepts that places have a biography much like the people they serve and stories relating to a community acquire greater value if they are rooted in a tangible landscape which, can be seen, touched and felt (Osborne, 2001: 8). The emphasis is on the journey to and through sites of cultural and historical significance. This experience, which allows a holistic way of "looking", encourages a personal interpretation of the landscape within a diverse context (Dickinson, 2006: 29). Therefore the cultural experience of the individual making the journey, although framed to a certain extent by the architect is not restricted to that of the architect exclusively. The decoding of the built environment and the meanings intended to be communicated is made more complex as the larger context provides a background which has developed over a great period of time and consequently expresses complex cultural memories and stories of both the distant and recent past.

In addition there are elements, which are memory land markers such as monuments, and memorials that are visual signs or cues, which are familiar as spatial concepts to most people and therefore easily decoded, will communicate concepts of reflection and commemoration (Rappoport, 1982: 63). This mode requires greater reflection, which might be more valuable to the reviewing of the past and its place in the present.

Making the landscape of cultural memory visible requires adapting the built environment such that it alludes or directly refers to other significant structures of memory such as monuments and specific buildings; natural elements which are part of a specific story of a community such as hills, mountains, rivers; as well as community activity, ritual or routine which draws attention to that community's identity. This perspective regarding landscape focuses on the importance of positioning or locating the viewer – a process which shapes the viewer's practices of looking (Dickinson, 2006: 30). In the event that the socio-cultural schemata of the community in question is relatively well expressed in the built environment, a tourist to that community might then be possessed of a set of codes which might make that community's identity more visible and provide a truer reflection of that community. Again this alludes to issues of

imageability tackled by Lynch (1960), and inferences one draws from the environment about people, their status, cleanliness and value in a greater social context addressed, by Rapoport (1982) and Nasar (1998).

4.3 CULTURAL MEMORY IN THE EVERYDAY BUILT ENVIRONMENT

In most pre-modern societies the synthesis between socio-cultural schemata and the built environment was particularly noteworthy. A compartmentalization of time did not exist and there were no buildings designated as containers for culture which has become so necessary in the fast pace present day of an ever increasingly dislocated society (Buchanan, 2006: 44). As such the architecture of the everyday performed the role of cultural memory texts. Several examples in Africa are particular noteworthy for the holistic nature in which the concept of cultural memory was addressed. The socio-cultural schemata informed the planning, shape and form of space, art and sculpture of architecture and all these various components made reference to the natural landscape as a starting point for their genesis.

4.3.1 Cultural Memory Symbolised in Architecture - Dogon Society

The socio-cultural ideology of the Dogon of Mali is just such an example (Fig 26a & 26b). What seems like a lack of planning to an observer unfamiliar with Dogon socio-cultural schemata, upon closer inspection and analysis reveals a detailed and highly organized and structured built environment. A layer of human symbolism dictates the positioning of the village as well as house functions thus impacting on social interaction and organisation (Adebayo, 2006: 36). The planning of the Dogon village is based upon reproductive symbolism. Villages occur two at a time, one representing heaven and the other earth (Denyer, 1978: 25). Each house represents in its architecture both, a man lying on his right side in a foetal position and in the marital bed, and the component parts of the house represent various body parts (Denyer, 1978: 25). This human form is oriented in a north south direction.

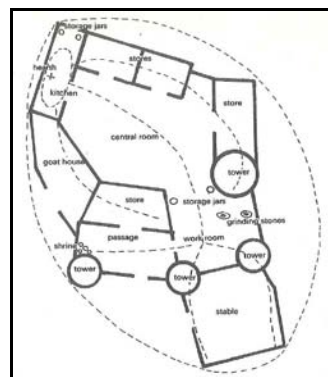
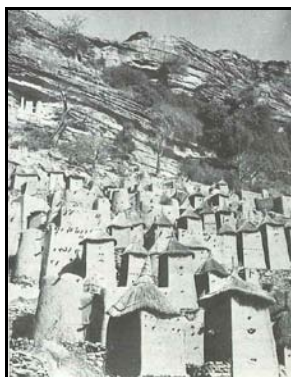


Figure 26a & 26b Dogon settlement, Mali. The dwelling plan reflects the socio-cultural ideologies of the society. The architecture is rendered meaningful (Denyer, 1978: 24-25)

The men's assembly hall or Toguna is the focus of Dogon society and this is reflected in both the process of creating the built environment for it is the first building to be built on a village platform, and the central position it occupies spatially and socially. It functions as a place where civic meetings may be held concerning economic and political stability within the community. This cultural memory is thereby enforced through practice, position and function. The Toguna is made of carved wooden columns roofed with wooden poles and covered with vegetable matter. The columns of the structure symbolise the eight primordial ancestors of the Dogon (Adebayo, 2006: 37). The shared meaning systems of the Dogon result in architecture, which is easily interpreted by Dogon society.

4.3.2 Cultural Memory in Planning Concepts - Zulu Society

Zulu architecture in South Africa makes extensive use of symbolism especially in planning to express its socio-cultural schemata (Whelan, 2001: 51). Hierarchy was a particularly important organisational tool in Zulu society possibly because of the social preference for communal living and reliance on the security offered by clan structure and numbers. This pattern of living was made visible on various spatial levels such as the siting and planning of the settlement, hut plans as well as form and detail (Whelan, 2001: 9). Marriage status, sex, clan name, political position, public and private etc were described in the planning of Zulu villages.

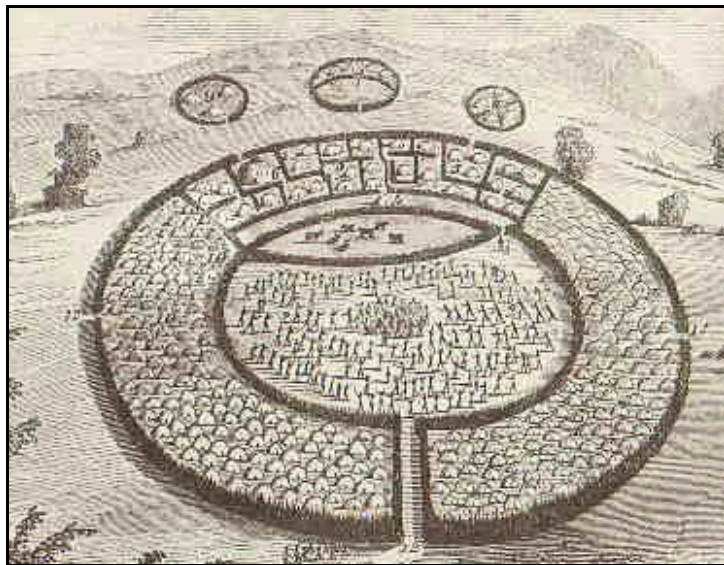


Figure 27 Royal Palace at Umgungundlovu - note the circular or rather oval form, the defined perimeter, narrow entrance, axuality and use of topography to emphasise hierarchy. People are gathered in the central space (<<http://www.warthog.co.za>>)

The homestead or *umuzi* comprised not just one individual building but rather a group of dwellings occupied by the clan grouped around a shared space (Fig 28a & 28b). This grouping was usually executed in a roughly circular form. As a circular settlement form emphasis was lent to the centre at the same time circumscribing a perimeter. Weight was given to this perimeter by the establishment of a boundary wall or *uthango* of carefully placed logs which echoed in their pattern the identity of the clan (Fig 29a & 29b). Clan territory was thereby strongly demarcated creating a clear outside-inside relationship.

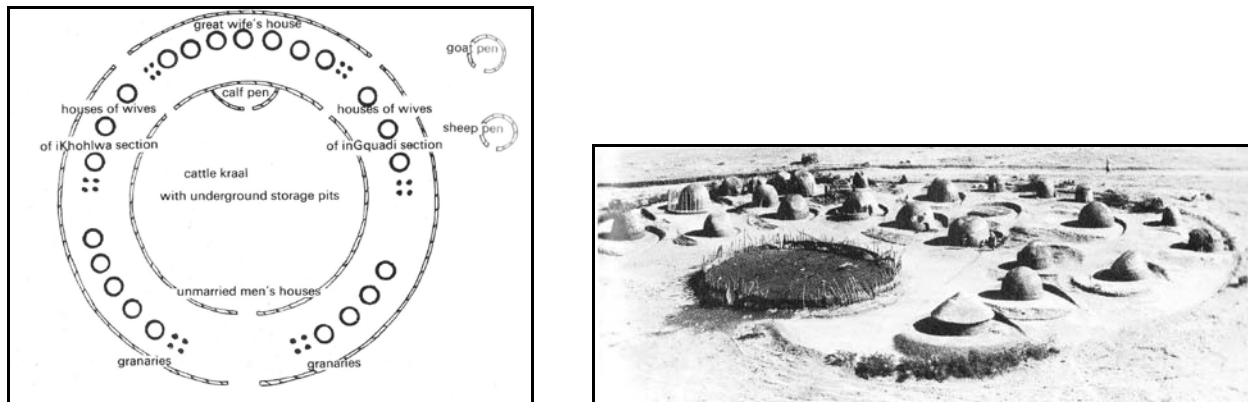


Figure 28a & 28b Zulu Settlement illustrating typical layout and specific positioning of functions according to social convention (Denyer, 1978: 112 - 113).

The centre of the circular settlement was spatially dominant and was the location of socially dominant elements. The wealth of the clan in the form of livestock was positioned here in the cattle kraal or *isibaya* (Whelan, 2001: 9). This was also the cultural centre of the settlement as it was the venue for performance, political oratory, storytelling, dancing and singing. The ratio of the public to private space and its arrangement demonstrated the central role of the public domain in Zulu society as well as the preferred methods for conveying culture to future generations. It is also illustrative of climate being a modifying factor in culturally derived built settlements since most communal activities took place in the open due to the warm and relatively predictable climate of Kwazulu Natal.

The siting of the *umuzi* is often seen to maximise on the natural topography to emphasise the overriding concept of hierarchy and formality. As seen in the case of King Dingane's royal palace at Umgungundlovu, Kwazulu Natal, the settlement is positioned on a slope (Fig 27). The entry point is located at the lowest point along an axis cardinally aligned. This point is usually at the northern end. The

entry itself is a narrow and constrictive space, enforcing a humble and carefully monitored entry by a visitor.



Figure 29a & 29b Controlled entry through the perimeter wall surrounding a homestead in Msinga and picture on right shows a close-up view of the log perimeter fence in a more traditional setting (Whelan, 2001: 77); (<<http://www.artesia.si.com>>)

This sets the tone for the behaviour expected upon entry. The highest point of the settlement is positioned directly opposite the entrance along the cardinal axis and is the location of the King, chief and in the Msinga examples the principle grandmother or wife; all the most important people in the clan (Whelan, 2001: 9). Social gradation works down the slope to the gate keeper at the entrance. Hierarchy is expressed spatially and socially. Traditionally patterns woven into the grass beehive huts differed from one clan to another providing a non-verbal and easily readable identity. Therefore, without actually being told a verbal description of the social hierarchy, ritual traditions and other complex relationships, which governed a specific clan, if the socio-cultural schemata of Zulu society were already familiar, the location of specific people, their status as well as the position of certain public or private functions would be easy to distinguish. The apportioning of space between public and private functions reveals much about the preferred way of life for Zulu people.

Many of the key principles of traditional Zulu architecture still find expression in areas such as the Msinga District, KwaZulu Natal where Zulu society is still semi-rural and organised to some degree by certain traditions. The selection of those cultural memories which are retained can be said to be politically driven in some ways. This district is predominantly an IFP stronghold. As an IFP stronghold they derive their identity from being traditionalists (Whelan, 2001: 51). Examples of homestead design in this area

show the use of topography, axiality, focus, cardinal direction, node, path and boundary, which can be seen in the most traditional Zulu settlements such as that at Umgungundlovu (Fig 30a & 30b).

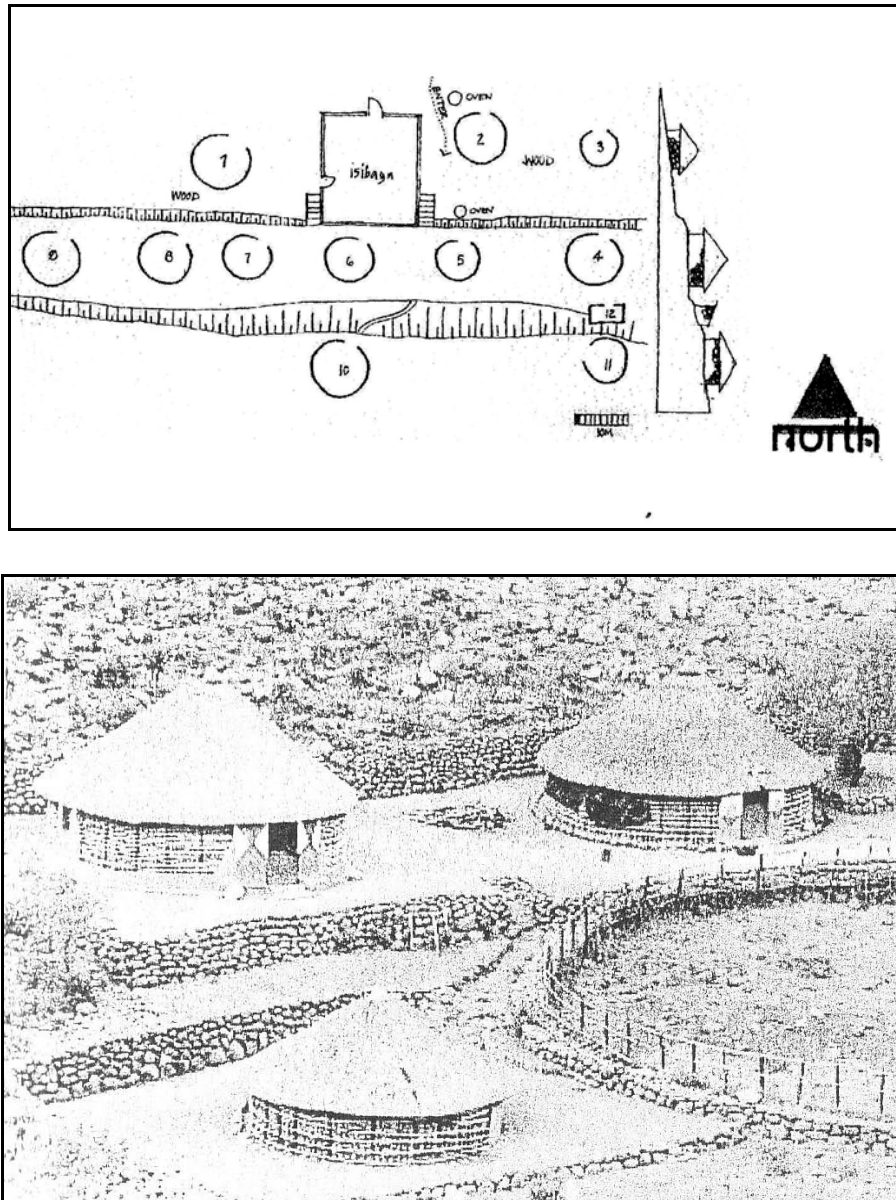


Figure 30a & 30b Homestead or *umuzi* layout in the Msinga District, KwaZulu Natal on top illustrating the retention of social hierarchy and the concomitant architectural response despite the change in form from circular to long and horizontal planning and at the bottom a perspective of a Msinga *umuzi* (Whelan, 2001: 75 & 103)

The individual buildings themselves also exhibit architectural innovation and are perhaps material expressions of an evolving culture and society. Although Zulu architecture has traditionally not made use

of extensive ornamentation or decoration in architecture, geometric patterns, ornamentation, decoration and the use of colour has been used extensively in garments, jewellery, woodwork and clay work. Recent architectural developments such as those seen in the Msinga District indicate the use of decoration to emphasise certain architectural elements. Historically the entrance into a hut was an important and formal process. The entrances to contemporary homes have been highlighted through the use of geometric detail and decoration often seen in beadwork and textiles (Fig 31a & 31b).

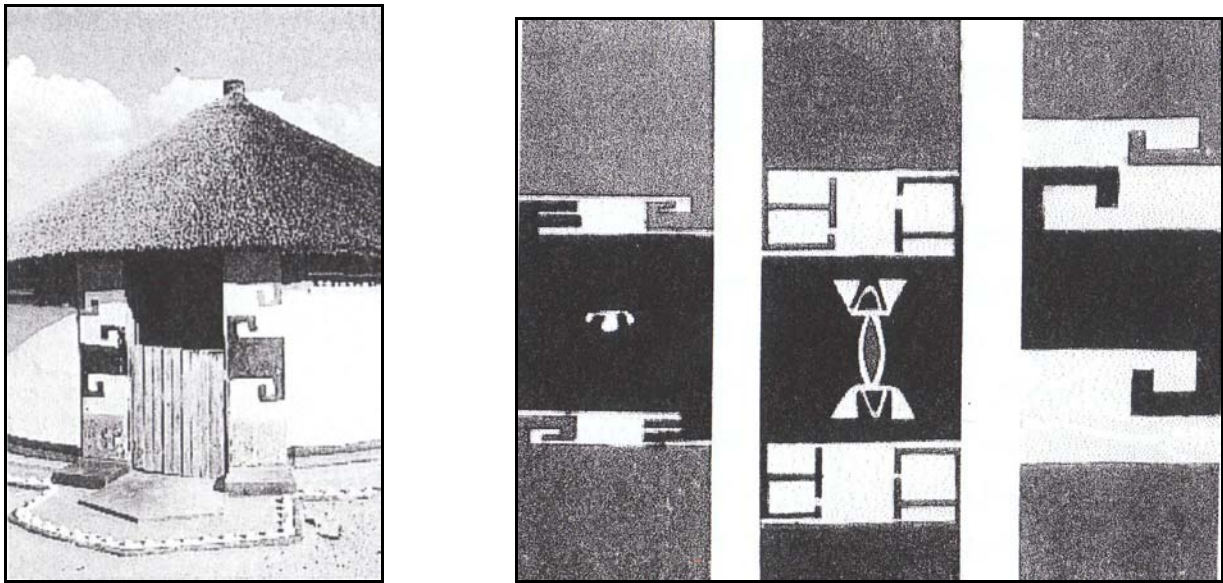


Figure 31a & 31b Decoration around the entrance of huts (left) are a fairly recent development in zulu architecture. Note the plinth around the perimeter and the decorated steps to the doorway. Plate 2 on the right illustrates some typical geometric patterns applied to huts in the Msinga area, KwaZulu Natal (Whelan, 2001: 105)

Also other stylized images, commentary about modernity, adorn these homes such as painted-on air vents and casement windows. Base and apex is also highlighted in cone on cylinder huts. Around the perimeter of houses is built a “skirt” or *isitupa*, which is a protective plinth and also a seat in the shade provided by the roof eaves. This is usually decorated. The cone capping for the thatch roofs, highlighting the apex, is often made of metal some of which are topped by artistic metal sculptures (Whelan, 2001: 81-100).

The analysis of Zulu architecture illustrates the expression of Zulu socio-cultural schemata in everyday architecture. Contemporary Zulu settlements express in tangible form which aspects of Zulu culture are

still seen to be useful in the further evolution of Zulu society. They also describe innovation and change through personal interpretations of the present time and context.

4.3.3 Cultural Memory in the Arab Urban Environment

In Arab society Islamic tenets bear directly on social relationships and attitudes to life and govern the expression of Arab culture. Islam has given rise to a comprehensive and integrated cultural system by totally embedding the religious practice in the daily life of the individual and society, thereby generating correlated physical patterns (Bianca, 2000: 23).

Some issues which have both directly and indirectly structured the built environment are:

- *“Allah is beyond the limited human capacities of imagination therefore nothing should be associated with the idea of God.*
- *God is transcendent, i.e. above all rational and material explanations; and immanent, inherent to his creation and therefore perceivable by virtue of symbolism and analogy.*
- *Yet it emphasises the oneness of his creations: the interconnectedness of both worlds, the timeless realm and the temporal realm.*
- *The Koran prescribes daily life.*
- *The prophet Mohammed’s character and daily earthly life is described in the holy book and therefore provides a perfect example of “man of God”. This affects the routines and character of Muslims even today.*
- *The Ka’aba is the symbolic representation of the axis joining this world to the other in Islamic cosmology.*
- *Shari’a law establishes a unified collective with a strong identity and cultural coherence.*
- *The rigid attitude to religion and the strength of ritualised patterns of living dispensed with any need for other structuring institutions. These were replaced by civic meetings in the form of Friday mosque, where the socio-cultural guidelines were regularly and repetitively reinforced.” (Bianca, 2000: 24)*

Furthermore the lack of many other civic institutions besides the mosque meant that in the early built environments of Arab society there were no buildings such as city halls or government buildings. Politics, religion, commerce and social interaction were integrated. Also there was no rigid planning in the modern sense of the word and Arab cities reflect organic growth structure (Fig 32a & 32b). The rigidly internalised codex for behaviour, made central planning unnecessary (Bianca, 2000: 30-31). These guidelines for living, (cultural memories) had been passed down from generation to generation mediated

by rigid social frameworks and had given rise to distinct and relatively stable spatial expressions. Because of Islamic belief about the interconnectedness of the world, sacred space was not limited to a specific building typology. In fact the home as the focus for the model way of living has acquired a degree of sacredness, such that sacredness spreads over the whole urban fabric and is not isolated and concentrated in the form of the mosque alone.

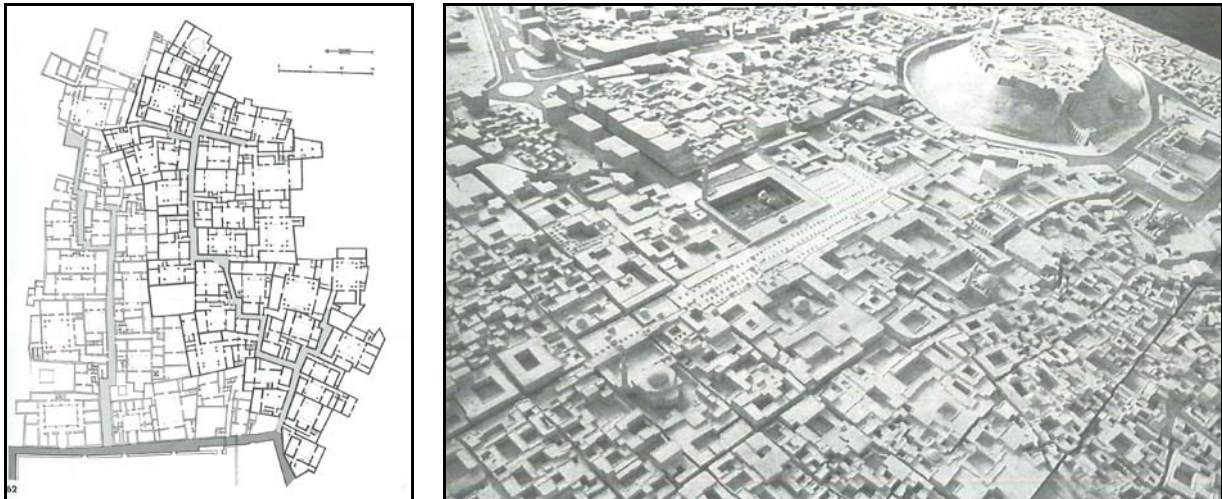


Figure 32a & 32b Urban plan showing residential quarters in Fez, Morocco. The internal courtyards are clearly visible as well as the organic structure of the plan. The model on the right is of the city of Aleppo. The residentially dominated plan is evident (Bianco, 2000: 57 & 83)

The expression of the divine and of Islamic culture imbued the built environment (Bianca, 2000: 34). Clans and tribal groups were still the dominant unit of social organisation and they dictated the manner in which the residential quarters grew. Because Islam placed all followers on fairly equal ground some of the only important leaders in daily life were religious leaders. The headman of each clan was seen to be a religious leader, enforcer of Islamic codes of behaviour and therefore responsible for the organisation of his clan. Thus clans could function fairly independently of any other governing institutions, which were few. Because of the acutely private nature of Islamic households in accordance with Islamic socio-cultural tenets, access from the unstructured public places such as the market and mosque to the residential quarters was tortuous and broken into successive hierarchical sections in increasing degrees of privacy. The houses themselves were shielded from the street perspective and are oriented internally looking onto courtyard spaces (Fig 33a – 33b). Street space is made part of the maze of narrow and

private access corridors to residences (Bianca, 2000: 38). Open space was minimal and taken up instead in the form of courtyards, revealing them to be the point of greatest social interaction other than at markets and mosque. Because of a lack of institutions to govern spatial organisation, there was minimal anonymous space to be taken care of (Bianca, 2000: 38).

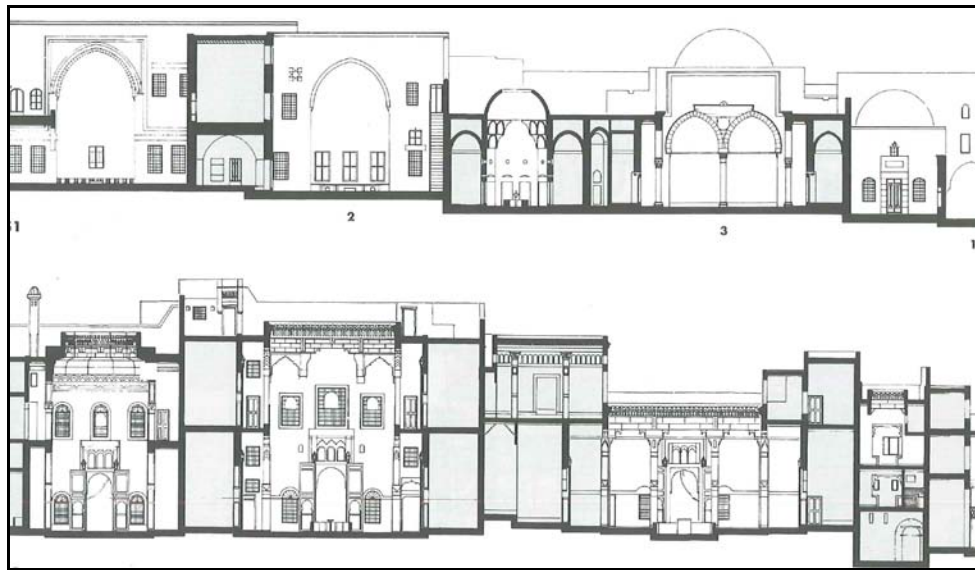


Figure 33 Section through the residential quarter of Fez, Morocco. Inward looking residences are evident as well as the series of courtyards (Bianco, 2000: 152)

The lack of large avenues and a path-dominated environment reflects the dominant social role of clan groups in the built environment. The residential unit was autonomous meaning that the development and growth of the residential unit dictated the pattern of circulation space.

The effect of Islamic culture on pre-existing Roman-Hellenistic towns such as Damascus most convincingly reflects how strongly inscribed Islamic cultural memories are in architectural practices. The mosques were positioned in the old temple square, which could thereafter be used as prayer and audience space. Therefore the previously separate functions of forum and temple were merged to suit Islamic rules of social-cultural organisation. Orthogonal Roman grids in residential districts became irregular, as they were adapted to the internal and social organisation of Muslim family life.

In terms of decoration, Islamic law limited it to highly abstracted plant themes or even complex geometric patterns. Symbolism of the divine was used through the incorporation of the walled garden, which sometimes had a fountain as a focal point – a reference to the idea of paradise and water as a symbol of eternal life.

The analysis of early Arab built environments show how continuous daily practice, rooted in ancestral customs, shared religious values and corresponding social rituals shaped and transformed the built environment. In Europe during the Middle Ages, the church was the focal point of society. Churches built in the Middle Ages are the oldest in present day. From 1066 – 1534 church building was the most significant cultural as well as architectural production. Over the ages they have functioned and been interpreted in different ways, understandably because of the changing social frameworks and therefore cultural frames of reference. The existing churches as objects are rarely the same as when they were first built, having been altered over the years to fit within the current social frameworks (Borden and Dunster, 1995: 78).

However it would be interesting to reveal the meaning, which the medieval urban plan had in its own time and whether it adequately narrated and communicated the cultural memories of the societies to which they belong in the present. Is the meaning apparent? Is cultural memory clearly inscribed and available publicly? What were the people of the time trying to express and why?

4.3.4 Medieval Cultural Memory in the Urban Landscape

In order to analyse these churches one would have to look at the society at the time, their belief systems and cultural values. How did various collectives engage with religion and its expression at the time? The clergy who gained their knowledge from the Bible controlled medieval intellectual thought. The Bible itself had many contradictory passages about building, the use of symbolism and ornament (Borden and Dunster, 1995: 79). This gave rise to variations on a theme.

The association between the clergy and its secular power relations with the lay patrons was always strong and expressed in the stained glasswork, which often described financial donors. Furthermore the importance of a strong cultural presence reflected in the splendour and scale of churches was not lost on the clergy. As centres of pilgrimage they had to advertise the power of the resident saint. Written records from that period explain a belief that information regarding how best to construct an earthly world that would be connected to the spiritual realm was handed down to people by angels or dictated by Holy Scripture (Borden and Dunster, 1995: 83).

The eventual design decision still rested with the mason. Although church design was prescriptive the masons hardly ever built duplicates, which showed a desire to innovate. The mason was likened to God, as design was the most prestigious act in the process of building. God was described in the book of Wisdom in the Old Testament Apocrypha, as disposing of all things in measure, weight and number (Borden and Dunster, 1995: 86), and measure and number were of particular relevance to masons. Each number had a sacred significance, for example the number three recalled the Trinity. Shapes and their mathematical construction too were symbolic. Geometry played a large part in symbolising beauty, which was equated with holiness (Borden and Dunster, 1995: 86).



Figure 34 City of Medieval Chester. The intersecting main roads can be seen in plan as well as gateways to mark them. A circular wall surrounds the settlement (Morris, 1979: 91)

Lilley (2003) in his article “Cities of God?” illustrates that symbolism was extensively used in material form in the urban planning of medieval cities. He suggests that the use of such symbolism imbued the earthly landscape with mythical forms. Medieval life was rooted in a Christian view of the world, where material expressions signified spiritual things, even God (Lilley, 2003: 298).

By embedding holy symbolism in the urban plan, the city could be seen as a microcosmic construction of the cosmic (Lilley, 2003: 300-301). The idea of the microcosmic city was being widely circulated amongst academics, clergymen, nobles and citizens in Europe especially in university and cathedral

towns, where much of this knowledge was being produced and consumed. Furthermore the idea that the human form was sacred emerged in 12th century academic writing, which discussed the spiritual and symbolic advantages of using divine human form in the arrangement of the city. The symbolic similarity between human form and city plan would then point to the same hand in their creation (Lilley, 2003: 302).

A positive description of the city of Padua (1318) from the Middle Ages reflects an emphasis on certain urban elements considered to be necessary in the “city of god” – a fine city wall curved around it for a mile like a horseshoe. Royal gates corresponding to cardinal directions in the wall as in Chester (1195), “four gates to the four winds” (Lilley, 2003: 300-301), two straight streets in the form of the blessed cross, with four out of the two each ending in four gates. The intersection of these two straight streets in the form of a cross was required to be a place equal for all, where God had willed a market for the sale of goods (Lilley, 2003: 300-301) from which if one looked down these streets “Gods watchmen would be seen upon thy wall as in Scripture [Isaiah 62:6] (Lilley, 2003: 300-302) (Fig 34). Many of the elements, which are mentioned as requirements for the creation of a sacred city, are to be found in descriptions of the heavenly Jerusalem. It seems therefore that parallels were being made in order to connect the earthly and heavenly worlds.

Sacred geometry especially the four square became a prominent form. Even circles were squared off by the positioning of towers in the four cardinal directions. Again the use of circle and square denoted city and cosmos fused together. Harmony, proportion and order in the material world were associated with God’s immaterial beauty. As a result in places such as Florence, civic improvements were being made to align the urban landscape with the cultural ideas of the day. Organic street and plot patterns were being straightened.

The sacred symbolism embodied by the urban environment was experienced by the commoner through performance. Ritual and ceremony as seen in the Maltese *fešta* and Orange Parades allowed people to both mentally and bodily engage in tracing the sacred geography into the landscape thereby making an indelible print on the memory as well (Lilley, 2003: 304).

Furthermore these sacred performances reinforced group membership, collective memory and identity. It helped to organise society and allowed the institutions of power to display their splendour and might (Lilley, 2003: 305).

The example of Indian built environments, as a reflection of ancient cultural memories will be dealt with in detail in order to highlight the key concepts touched on in the previous examples.

4.3.5 Indian Cultural Memory in the Built Environment

India is a country of great cultural diversity. As such many architectural traditions and modes of production have developed as expressions of this diversity. In line with the concept of cultural memory, it would be paramount to have some understanding of Indian society in order to understand how Indian built environment functions as a cultural memory mnemonic device.

The ancient ancestral ruins of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro still retain links with the cities of its descendants (Fig 35). Analysis of the city plan shows an emphasis on cardinal axiality i.e. north-south axis and east-west axis. The urban plan is a roughly gridiron layout. Ruins show evidence of a great water tank or bath in the city of Mohenjo Daro a feature that can still be found in South Indian temple towns (Morris, 1979: 14-18). The residential quarters were much like those still found in India today – inward facing around a courtyard with very few openings facing the street. Commercial activity was concentrated along the main streets. Many were a combination of commercial ground levels and residential upper storeys (Morris, 1979: 14-18).

4.3.5.1 A Hybrid Society

A comprehensive review of Indian society is not possible here; instead some interesting facts will be brought to light, which makes the local architectural developments comprehensible. Hinduism has been identified as India's most dominant religion; however it is in itself composed of diverse and not always clearly defined sects. It is more than a religion, and is perhaps closer to being a way of life which has developed and evolved over time, incorporating even foreign ideologies where they facilitated socio-cultural evolution (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 5). As such it is rich in the cultural memories of the Indian people of all sects and religions as is reflected in the urban landscapes, architecture and detail of Indian cities as well as ritual, ceremony, writing, language and performance. It does not have a founder and can perhaps be traced all the way to the Harappan civilisations and the way of life and philosophy, which those ancients practiced. There is evidence to suggest that the nomadic Aryans assimilated much of the advanced culture, which they found flourishing in India, enabling them to settle and form urban communities, and renewed identities (Michell, 1977: 16).

Therefore changes in socio-cultural schemata and living patterns brought changes in other aspects including the built environment (Michell, 1977: 16). In the main Hinduism is thought to be a fusion of the

socio-cultural schemata of the Aryans invaders from Central Asia and the indigenous people the Dravidians. The Dravidian idea of the world revolved around nature, animals and human creativity, self-renunciation and ascetism, whilst Aryan ideas centred on more forceful elements such as fire, water, the sun etc. Eventually the divisive elements of the two schools of thought were reconciled and expressed in religious texts and the development of common architectural expressions.

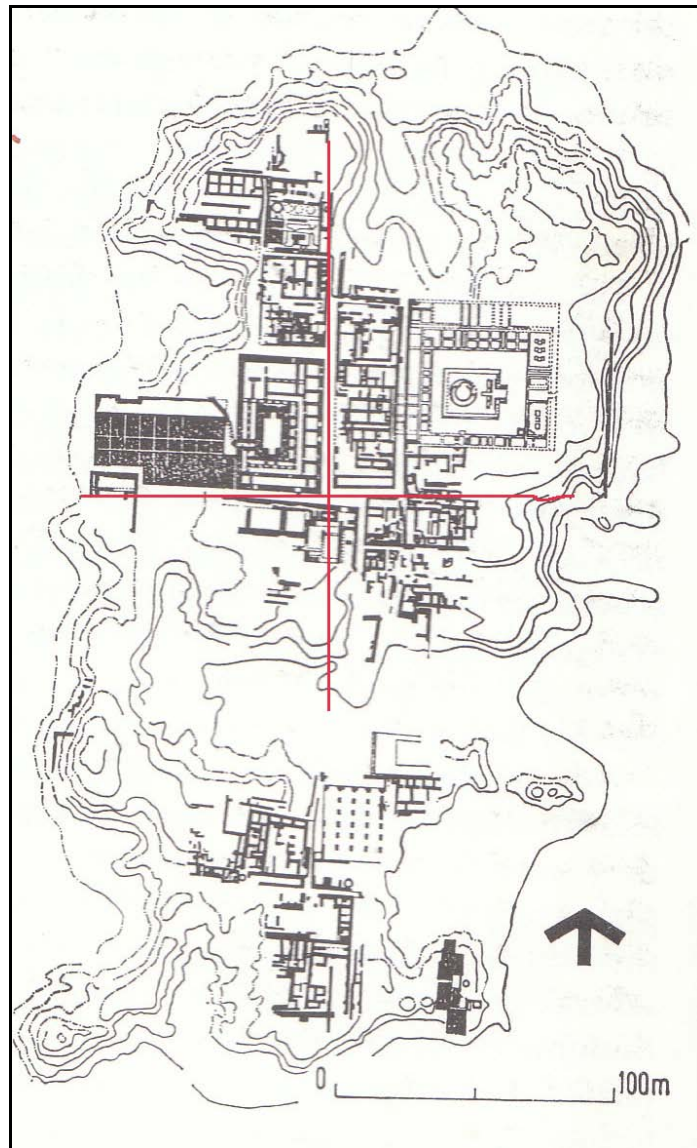


Figure 35 Site plan of Mohenjo Daro, showing axial alignment with cardinal direction as well as features of the natural landscape. Grid-iron arrangement is also evident (Morris, 1979: 16)

Hinduism views all forms of life as related but organised by a hierarchical framework. People form part of this hierarchy with Brahmins or the priest caste forming the topmost human level, followed by warriors, merchants, farmers and tradesmen, and finally the menial trades followed by the untouchables. The Brahmins themselves who were at the beginning, Aryans rulers, benefited from this manipulation of socio-cultural schemata and the creation of foundation myths made “authentic” to the local population by the inclusion of local ideologies (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 5). Over time however, the inequality of the system was challenged which gave rise to breakaway divisions such as Buddhism and Jainism and further democratisation of the system. However, Hinduism re-emerged as a dominant religion in about 1000 AD (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 5). British rule later re-emphasised the social divisions of the caste system to serve its own purposes (Metcalf, 1982: 40).

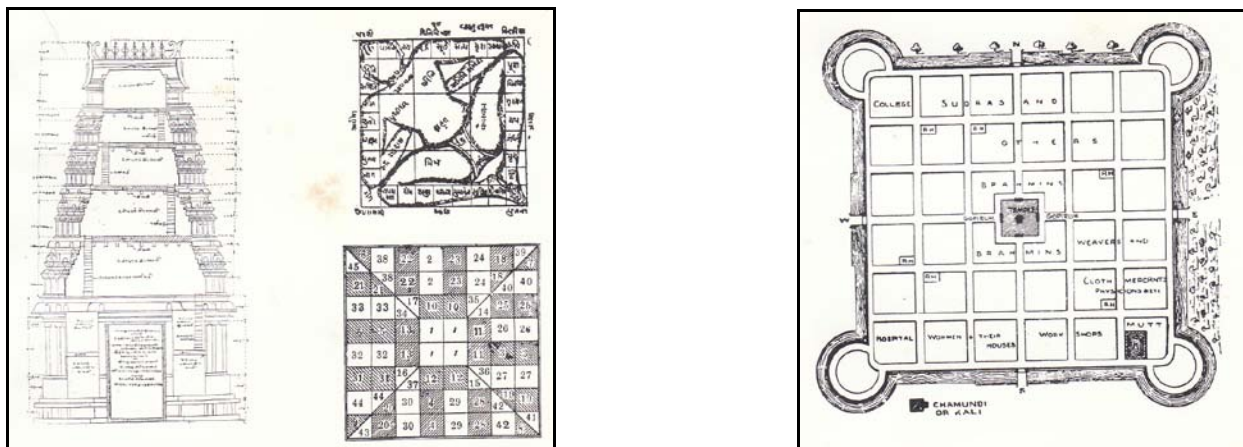


Figure 36a & 36b *Vaastu Shastra* guidelines for social organisation and the related expression in architecture and the built environment. The mandala composed of squares can be seen as well as the concept of the “Supreme Being” residing therein (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 7)

4.3.5.2 *Vaastu Shastra* – A Cultural Memory Text

One of the architectural treatises, which has been developed and used in the construction of cities in India, is *Vaastu Shastra*. It is a school of thought, which has developed from Hindu belief systems and cosmology which organise and structure society and the landscape. As such the landscape is a carefully constructed material expression of an Indian idea of the world. The *shilpa shastras* of which *vaastu* is just one category is a reflection of Indian cultural memory as it expresses the oral and textual traditions of the Indian people dating back to antiquity (Sinha, 1998: no pagination).

The very act of building using *vaastu shastra* guidelines is considered to be an important ritual and is actually a metaphor for the primordial act of creating the universe. Invention by the architect within this framework is considered to be an important part of the “creation” process. Important to note is that Indian concepts of time are cyclical and will be seen to be reflected in the concept of the *mandala* with its emphasis on repetition and the focus on a central core. Furthermore the socio-cultural philosophy places emphasis on person-place identity (Sinha, 1998: no pagination).

The design guidelines are based on an abstraction of an anthropomorphic form called *purusha*, both the form of a supreme being as well as a symbol of self. This form is contained within a group of concentric sacred squares called the *mandala* (Fig 36a & 36b). The *mandala* is a symbol of the microcosm; therefore the act of planning a city or designing a single temple was seen to be the renewal of cosmic creation (Sinha, 1998: no pagination). However, the *mandala* also comes in different variations on the basic module.

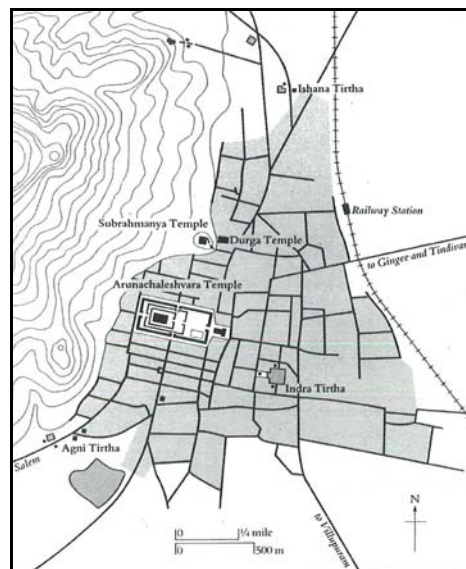


Figure 37 Diagrammatic site plan of Tiruvannamalai, South India showing axial roads intersecting with the temple and aligned with dominant topographical landmarks in view. Temples are also positioned to relate to each other. The concentric squares in the temple plan are visible (Michell, 1993: 6)

Vaastu makes use of modules based on the human body as Hindu thought views the human form as sacred. The basic unit for this expression is the square, which also describes the circle and is congruent

with the human form. This conceptual form i.e. the *mandala* and the *purusha* manifests itself in urban plan, building plan as well as three dimensional forms and detail. The Supreme Being is seen as occupying an area made up of 7.5 squares, the side of each square being equal to the height of a human figure with uplifted arms. Each body part of this being corresponds with aspects of Indian cosmology such as the cosmos, the moon, sun, stars, cardinal directions etc. (Sinha, 1998: no pagination).

4.3.5.3 The Hindu Cultural Centre – the Temple

In order to analyse Indian built environment one must align oneself to the pattern of Indian thought. In Hinduism the attainment of spiritual enlightenment is likened to a journey, a progression upwards through various stages of the Hindu socio-cultural hierarchy. This concept is symbolically expressed both in the urban fabric as well as the centre of town culture, the temple. With the centre viewed as the beginning point of all socio-cultural and architectural and urban development, the analysis must start there. The *vaastu shastra* states that all urban plans must start with the establishment of the sacred centre by the positioning of the “Supreme Being” there, in the symbolic form of the temple (Fig 37, 36a & 36b).

The temple site itself, the most important in the temple town, was composed of a *mandala*, again made up of squares. Each square was seen to be occupied by a particular deity with the most important being in the middle. The *garbagriha* was the most sacred central building; dark, enclosed, and of intimate scale on the



Figure 38 Tiruvannamalai Temple showing clearly the concentric squares and towering gateways (*gopurums*), which mark the axes and the cardinal directions (www.rkris.com)

inside – a symbol of the ascetic’s cave, a sacred symbol, of one of the most important deities, *Sivan* (Fig 39b). On the outside this space was landmarked by the *sikhara* tower which was an extrusion of the *mandala* plan and symbolic of the mythological Mount Meru the centre of the universe where *Sivan* resides (Michell, 1977: 69). The natural landscape of South India with huge contrasts between flat fertile plains and mountains would have provided inspiration for such symbolisms and repetition in architecture (Fig 38). From this, the most sacred space the surrounding universe in symbolic form radiated (Fig 39a – Fig 39c). The positioning of deities at the corners or four walls of the central building further marked the four directions emphasized by the square plan. Sometimes the eight cardinal directions were concretised by the positioning of eight deities around the temple (Michell, 1977: 66) (Fig 39a).

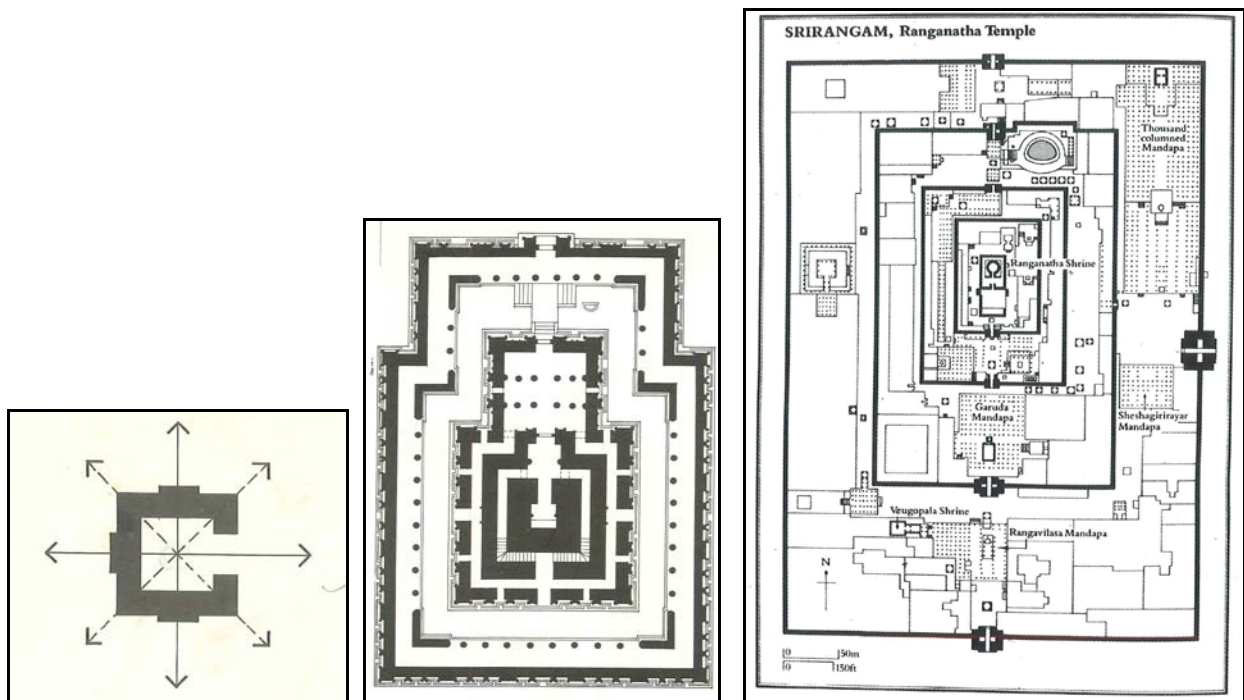


Figure 39a, 39b & 39c The first image indicates the preoccupation with the eight cardinal directions. The second shows a typical plan of the main temple building, reflecting the mandala concentric squares. Notice the transition from “light-outer- bigger” to “dark-inner-smaller”. The third image shows a temple complex a macro version of the main temple building plan (Michell, 1977: 66 & 135; Michell, 1993: 79)

In urban design a powerful centre both socially and architecturally was established by the building of a temple, thereby positioning the Supreme Being at the core of all activity, thought and spatiality (Fig 37 & 38). Temples were places of learning and education as well as religious and commercial activity and so,

dominated the landscape. Street patterns were predetermined with the main streets differentiated by width and usually intersecting at the point of the temple complex as well as relating to the major cardinal directions a reference to the sun and the passage of time. Therefore the main street in the urban fabric marks the east-west axis but it is also the main path on the journey to the centre of the temple and the self-realisation of the devotee (Sinha, 1998: no pagination).

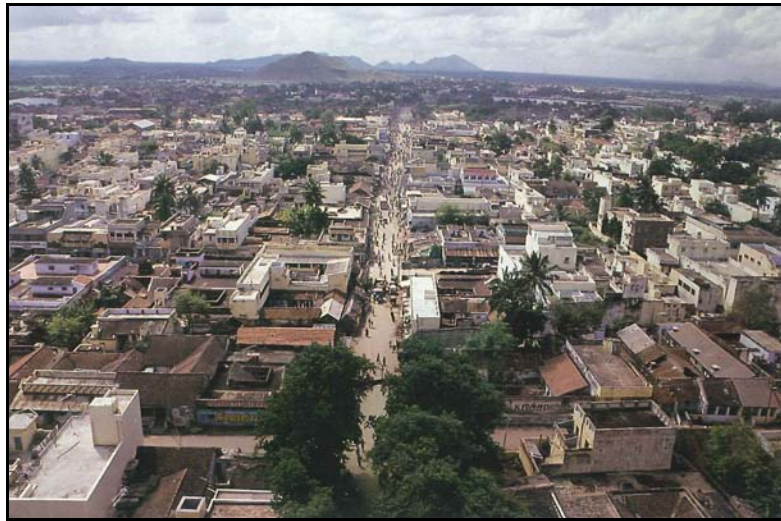


Figure 40 Main street in Tiruvannamalai which leads to the main temple and terminates in a view of the mountains (Michell, 1993: 11)

From the perspective of the devotee, the journey starts outside the temple complex (Fig 40). However as the urban design is also a symbolic microcosm there is little definition between secular and sacred. Via one of the main street axes the devotee is able to attain the soaring gateways or *gopurums*, which further mark the cardinal directions. The participant or devotee then makes his way in a clockwise direction, circumambulating the temple complex via pillared passageways tracing concentric squares and moving through multiple doorways along the journey. The progression is marked architecturally from a movement from the light outside, jostling crowds, market stalls and shops (Fig 41a & 41b), open spaces within the complex and towering, highly ornamented architecture; to a progressively darker, quieter, and smaller scale as the participant moves closer to the centre and end of the journey (Fig 39a – Fig 39c). In three dimensions the tiered *sikhara* (tower over the sacred central building) – echoes this progression, with the square tiers progressively getting smaller as the top and centre is reached. Geometry and

proportion are linked to the sacred and dictate the urban layout, the plan, section and elevation as well as ornament, sculpture and decoration. Features such as the water tanks and ponds, axuality and a gridiron layout are architectural components of the present landscape as expressions of Indian beliefs. It is interesting to note that these same features could be found in the ruin cities of Harappa – evidence of cultural memory at work perhaps? The Indian social structure was organised by the *mandala* as well with the upper echelon of Brahmins at the centre of the urban plan, closest to temples and other castes radiating outwards according to importance (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 7).

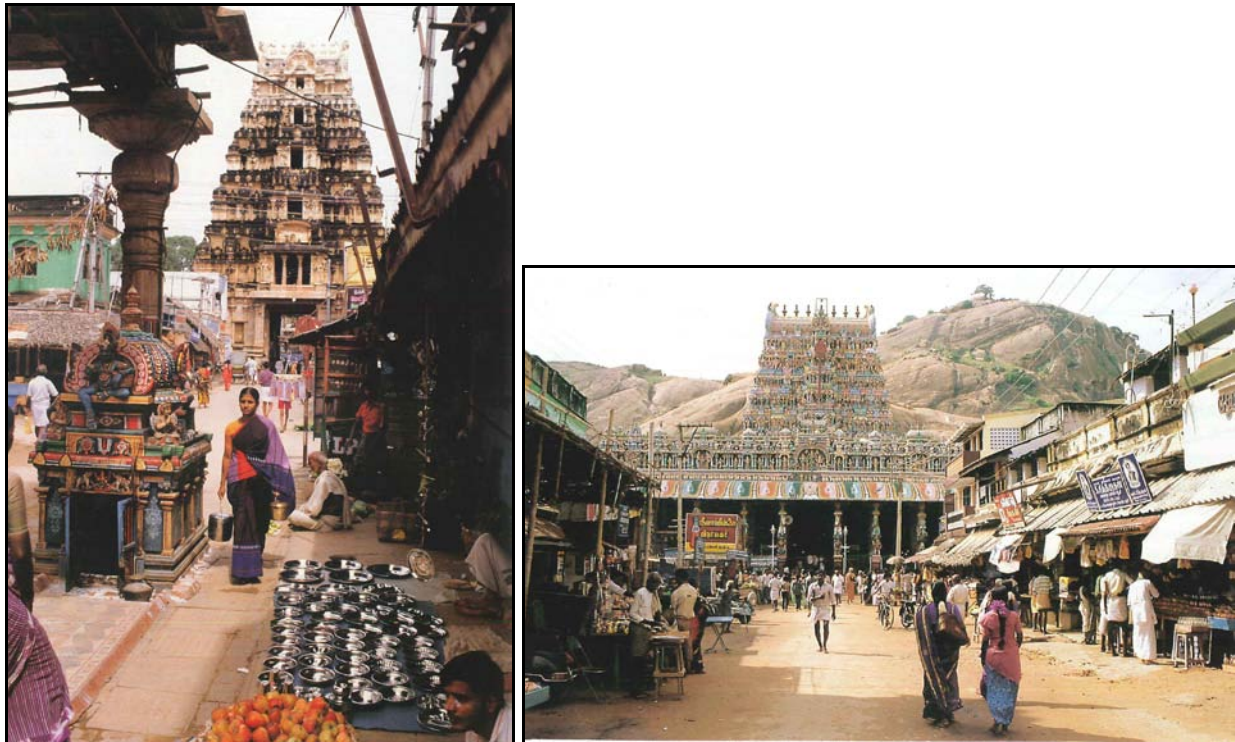


Figure 41a & 41b Main street leading into outer edges of Ranganatha temple complex is occupied by shops and stalls. This is equally true of the Tirupparankundram temple on the left. Note the alignment of natural topographical features with manmade landmarks such as the towering *gopurum* seen here in background (Michell, 1993: 86)

Ritual and ceremony, very much like the *festas* of Malta, extend from the temple at the centre into the urban fabric. The religious idol is removed from its position in the temple and is carried by a procession. This procession traces out the *mandala* plan of the urban fabric thereby emphasising the belief system spatially and reinforcing social relationships. The identities of groups are thereby reinforced. It also links the secular with the sacred and traces out the boundaries of the town. Furthermore epic stories are re-enacted through this procession, moving from one sacred spot to the next as legendary figures were

purported to have done. A link is formed between sacred centre and other religious sites to narrate a comprehensible story and to connect the periphery as well.

One is able to see that the parallels reinforced between the social structure and the religious structure through spatial delineations would have served the upper castes well in reinforcing their dominion. Certainly the scale and splendour of Hindu temples was not just a symbol of the ruler's devotion but also a concretisation of identity and power. Narratives about wars and conquests of rulers were mythologized by the inclusion of godly intervention. These found expression in complex layers of architectural detail found on temples. It is interesting to note the emphasis the *shilpa shastras* place on architectural endeavours as ensuring cultural continuity, as it states: "everything vanishes with time, only a monument lasts forever" (Michell, 1977: 50).

4.3.5.4 Cultural Memory in Urban Plan - Jaipur

The basic principles, which guided the design of temple towns, continued to be used in other cities such as Jaipur. What is particular interesting about Jaipur is that although it was not built all at the same time, the evolution of the plan shows an attempt to stick to *vaastu* planning principles for each new development phase (Fig 42 & 43).

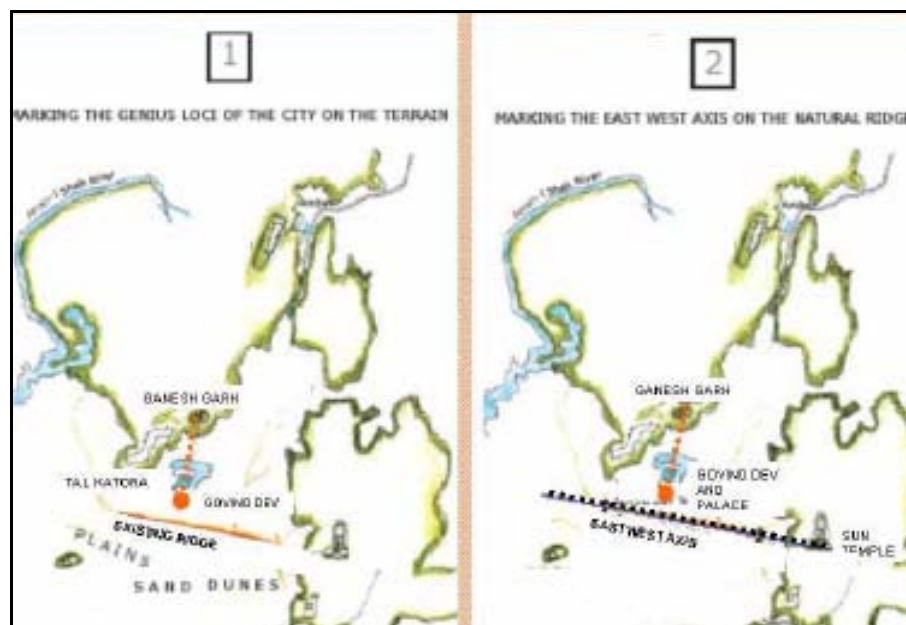


Figure 42 Evolution of the Jaipur plan - 18th Century (Jain, undated: no pagination)

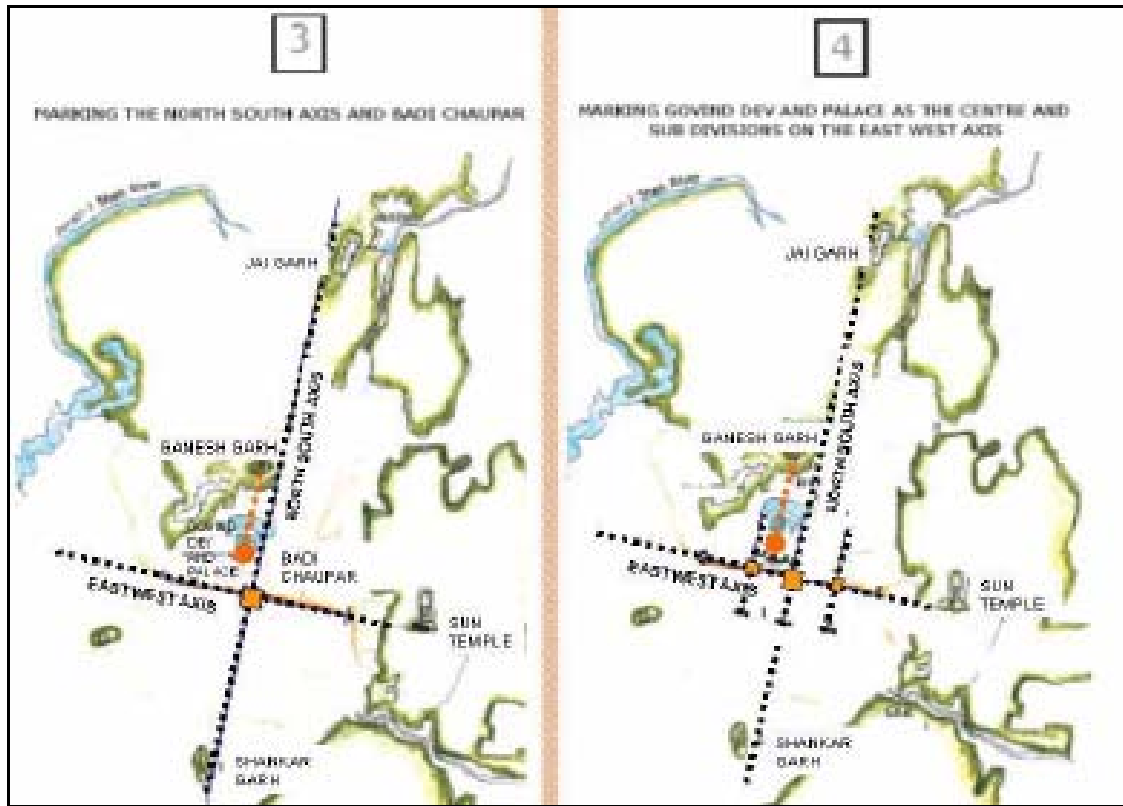


Figure 43 Evolution of the Jaipur plan - 18th Century (Jain, undated: no pagination)

The city is located on a plain, which made it possible to use the *mandala* grid. The plan was begun by marking the loci. The water body of *Talkatora* was aligned with the temple of *Ganesh Garh* on a hill in the north. The centre was already established with the installation of a deity, thereby consecrating the site and establishing the location of the minister's residence and the *havelis* (homesteads) of all the most important merchants and tradesmen (Jain, undated: no pagination). According to *vaastu* planning principles many of the *havelis* (which also expressed the integration of Mughal and vernacular style) were courtyard complexes with shops on the ground level facing the streets and domestic units above. Smaller streets, which were access routes to lower class homesteads often terminated in a dead-end.

The sacred axes of the city were marked by *Galtaji*, a sacred pilgrimage site along the east-west axis. This was emphasised by the natural topography of the site in the form of a ridge. The north-south axis was delineated with the highest point in the north being the location of the *Jaigarh Fort* and ancient temples, and the south with a hillock and Sivan temple (Fig 42 & 43) (Jain, undated: no pagination).

The crossing of the two cardinal axes marked the centre of the city, defined by a public square. Subsidiary squares were created by the intersection of the east west axis by three perpendicular roads creating eight subdivisions. The city was divided into seven sectors, on either side of the axis – echoing *vaastu* proportions (Fig 42 & Fig 43).

The persistence of cultural memory as a direct expression of the socio-cultural schemata of Indian society has been demonstrated in the city of Jaipur and in other Indian cities. The social structuring principles were clearly inscribed in the built environment and the built environments both old and new interacted to ensure the continuation of the social organisation laid out in the *shilpa shastras*.

4.3.5.5 Transition and Identity – British Colonisation

India had been colonised by many foreign groups, but the transition in the form of colonisation by the British, which India underwent, is relatively recent history, the effects of which are still evident. British occupation wrought change to the social hierarchy seen to be so important in Indian society as well as the economic and cultural condition. The architecture of those most recent colonisers is a representation of India's British colonial memories.

When India was colonised by the British, the conquerors had the power to write history to serve them. One way of achieving this was through architecture. The building work, which occurred under British control, said much about how they shaped the indigenous people's conception of their own past and culture and how this 'heritage' work served the British Raj (Metcalf, 1982: 40). British architects in India sort to recreate an architecture which was Indian in aesthetic but which had the classical ordered beauty of European buildings to organise it and reflect the values of British law, order and good governance. An attempt was made to re-create the familiar in a foreign conquered land. Familiar British building typologies, manifestations of their own cultural preoccupations, in the form of town halls with clock towers (Fig 45a), banks and railway stations in an architecture that was not wholly unfamiliar as well were constructed. These made references to Gothic Christian architecture and its associated British values (Metcalf, 1982: 40).

By expressing a liberality and tolerance for the local culture, which they hoped, would facilitate their dominion they decided to incorporate a local aesthetic in all their building work. In order to do so, they had to understand the Indian. Understanding the Indian, as they saw it, would mean complete dominion over them (Metcalf, 1984: 41). The categorization of Indian society, into castes, tribes, martial races and religious groups influenced and guided by British cultural frameworks and definitions was commenced.

The same process was started in British evaluation of Indian architecture. Indian architectural styles from various epochs were documented and indiscriminately catalogued into an Indian “hodge-podge” heritage style (Metcalf, 1982: 43) (Fig 44). The socio-cultural processes behind their evolution were not seen as important or necessary.



Figure 44 Mayo College, Ajmere, India built for the Indian princes' education shows an eclectic mix of Indian and gothic components. Note the tower clock on the left (Metcalf, 1984: 46)

India is a country, which is home to a multitude of regional cultures and their expressions both tangible and intangible, yet the British, narrowed this diversity down to two main streams. These were two religious divisions, namely Hindu and Mohammedan (Metcalf, 1982: 43). All of Indian society and culture was expected to fall comfortably within these two categories and the same was expected of the indigenous architecture. Society as well as architecture and its expression of heritage were being re-constructed by the new political power. The colonial ruler could tell the Indian what his heritage consisted of (Metcalf, 1982: 44). The architecture which resulted from this exercise was labelled Indo-Saracenic, a combination of what was seen to be Hindu and Mohammedan architecture. Wider cosmological or indigenous symbolism was dismissed in the face of what the British deemed to be the dominant Indian themes – Hinduism and Islam. Associations of power, progress and elitism with Indo-Saracenic architecture meant that the Indian princes were eager to adopt this style in order to be regarded as

advanced or modern and worthy of association on near equal terms with the colonial ruler (Metcalf, 1984: 56). The colonial rulers insisted that this architecture was in fact part of the princes' cultural heritage and therefore they could not disown the architecture as it would mean that they would be disowning themselves to a certain degree. Indo-Saracenic architecture was widely used in the design of buildings for Indians, however the content and meaning of these structures were defined by the colonial ruler and embodied British definitions of appropriate behaviour (Metcalf, 1984: 50). Buildings for exclusively British use such as the Central India Railway Offices, Chennai were essentially Gothic buildings with minimal Indo-Saracenic motifs (Fig 45b) (Metcalf, 1984: 57).



Figure 45a & 45b Corporation of Chennai on left and on the right Chennai Central Train Station. Note the presence of clocktowers and colonial architectural details (author's photos)

Such spatial division emphasised the presence of the new political hierarchy. The enforced cultural amnesia upon India's ex-elite changed society and the way they viewed themselves. Indo-Saracenic architecture in being constructed as a marriage between Anglo and Indian, created for Britain in India a secure and usable past. Yet at the same time unlike the Mughals the British always set themselves above and apart from the indigenous people (Metcalf, 1984: 57).

The socio-economic situation in India had become difficult for the average person when the first ships carrying indentured Indians reached South African shores. The Indians sought an improved life; however the conditions of their indenture were difficult. (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 9). They sought reprieve

from their hardships by establishing a familiar landscape guided by their memories of their way of life in India.

4.3.5.6 Migrating Cultural Memories

It is interesting to note that many of the cultural memories, which were embedded in Indian architecture, particularly temple architecture, were carried into other countries such as South Africa. The basic religious and cultural ideologies practiced in dance, rituals and ceremonies and other forms of performance were committed to memory and helped reshape architecture there in order to create a socially structuring familiarity (Rapoport, 1982: 139-140) and cultural record in another country for subsequent generations. Indians used cultural memory to create supportive environments to perpetuate their way of living. The temple examples, which are to be found in South Africa, are much simpler due to economic and social restrictions. Differences in material as well as availability altered the forms, which were developed. Wattle and daub and corrugated iron (Fig 46) was used in the first simple temples in Durban and later more elaborate temples were undertaken with the incorporation of colour, sculpture and decoration in plaster and brick. The basic ideas of the *mandala* and square geometry, ideas of progression and journey, axis and focus as well as circumambulation were retained. The change in the social structure and the new encounters between people who had previously been divided geographically in India resulted in hybrid expressions in the architectural material culture. This resulted in the formation of new memories and identities, which would facilitate the new lifestyle in a foreign setting. Colonial architectural expressions were also incorporated into the early temple architecture in South Africa, showing innovation and an ability to adapt culturally relevant and most importantly socially supportive cultural memories in new ways, thereby constructing new identities (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 11) (Fig 46).

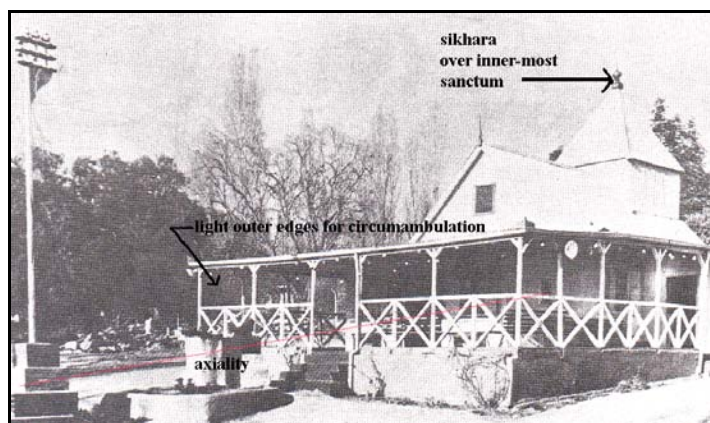


Figure 46 Basic *Vaastu* concepts were retained in South African Indian temple building, but in different materials and sparing forms (Mikula, Kearney, Harber, 1982: 7)

4.4 MEMORY LANDMARKS – MONUMENTS

It has been demonstrated that society has used tangible forms to express its past to itself. Cultural memory has been expressed in visual media such as emotionally charged photography and video as well as museum display. The carefully selected memories as well as reinvented and usable pasts, which can serve to legitimate a present social order and forge a collective identity, have been cast in the stone of monuments and memorials (Marschall, 2006: 147). Therefore although the architectural devices of cultural memory such as monuments and memorials may be an expression of society's relationship with a past time, place or event, the form, which those devices assume as well as the discourse that accompanies them, says just as much about the present social status quo as it does of the past (Marschall, 2006: 149). Concerning social memory in particular, we may note that images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order.

Many researchers of cultural memory and its impact on physical structures have emphasized that almost from the beginning of civilization cultural memory has found expression visually. Visual media seems to provide stability and a degree of permanence through the collective remembering of an event, person or achievement further emphasised by the organisation of ritual, celebration and public commemoration around it. This allows society to believe in the permanence of identity, and although identity may not be so fixed and rooted it is the idea of rootedness which might provide a sense of stability (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 500).

That the power of the visual structure of memory has greater impact than other memory devices such as archives is widely supported (Hodder and Hutson, 2003: 67). The powerful sense of vision has been said to have the capacity to bridge the gap between those who experienced a particular event or time directly and those who are spatially removed yet see the significance of sharing that memory (Marschall, 2006: 155 – 156). However visual communications of memory do not operate in isolation, instead they gain clearer meaning within the socio-cultural and physical context as well as the context of the written word, such as archives (Kansteiner, 2002, 191).

Monuments are a specific kind of memory device since they focus attention on particular events or people within a given location. Where an ordinary landmark only remarkable for form or scale is replaced by something with cultural and historical significance as well, that space is intensified as a node – it is not just visually important (Jacobs, 1961; Lynch, 1960). Monuments are often the embodiment of a particularly human value. That partially explains the representation of heroic figures and the creation of strong physical structures made to last – it could be said to be an expression of a desire to see a valuable

human characteristic such as bravery or courage, endure the passage of time. Of course the merits of such positive values embodied in a representation of a person with whom a specific community identifies with, are obvious. This statement by the Hon. Mr. Lemieux (cited in Osborne, 2001: 12), a member of parliament in Ottawa, Canada illustrates the value monuments are seen to have for present day societies at the unveiling of a new monument on Parliament Hill:

... “(they) are reminders of a past which Canadian youth should ever keep before their eyes; they would serve to rekindle in their souls memory’s flame whereby great teachings and profitable lessons were retained. Landmarks of Canada’s onward march, they proclaimed that at every turn in history, in every crisis, there emerged a man who, embodying the soul of the anonymous and collective masses, championed an essential right and indispensable liberties.” (Osborne, 2001: 12)

Although academics have come to question the value of monuments, as they are seen to be an attempt to stop the passage of time (Levinson cited in Osborne, 2001:12) or worse still can be viewed as a form of hegemony or the subjective privilege of those in power (Mare, 2004: 74), it may also be seen as an attempt to capture for posterity a worthy human value. The power of identification i.e. when a community can identify with a person immortalized for positive reasons in a monument, as someone belonging to that community, the space which that monument occupies can become a focus of community pride. Neutral space becomes subjective space.

However, many monuments have fallen to ruin as a result of a perceived lack of relevance. As such the importance of tackling issues of cultural memory holistically must be emphasized. Archival documentation, ritualized performance etc all serves to highlight the cultural memories which monuments express. Moreover there is room for alteration of a monument, which introduces the next point.

Perhaps more important than a representation, a monument, especially its preservation, alteration, destruction or neglect is an important expression of the socio-cultural sentiment of the time. That monuments are political in nature is unquestionable, as expressions of cultural memory that is unavoidable; however this is just as it should be since both cultural memory as well as history depends upon perspective often reliant on power structures to give them credence. Both cultural memory and history are subjective. Making it relevant to and supportive of the population at large requires providing them with access to debate issues around monument making. It should be recognised that monuments do not passively reflect changing social frameworks but actively produce them and bring them into being (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 511). As being representative of an event, they must more often than not fall short. Several academics have criticized the attempt to represent events such as the Holocaust in monuments, stating that evil and destruction of that complexity defies representation.

However, assessed slightly differently outside the context of representation, the biographies of many monuments would reveal a concise expression of the attitudes developed over time of the societies, in which they are located. In the case of the Holocaust Monument, Berlin the monument could be seen as a commentary on contemporary attitudes on the representations of evil of the Holocaust and not an attempt to represent or encompass the entire event.

To further illustrate the point many monuments such as those dedicated to the triumphs and power of Lenin and Stalin in Russia have been capsized or defaced and kept as such. The behaviour which monuments inspire illustrates the enormous social importance they have. The destruction of a monument may be seen as an attempt to symbolically destroy the institution, which is being expressed. In fact monuments which have undergone such change are important narratives of a society, the political and institutional changes, the contemporary attitudes to the event symbolized and the extent to which the role of the event has declined in the eyes of present day public.

In the case of the ANC government's plan to appropriate the lower level of the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria to commemorate the struggle (Fig 47), the move could be seen as appropriating for them the very thing they oppose – Afrikaner domination (Mare, 2004: 36). However viewed from a slightly different perspective the move could have been seen as the commemoration of a concept which had transcended race and time lines – that of courage, strength, endurance and the fight for freedom. It would be symbolic of the creation of a unified pride out of a divided history – a commentary concerning the supposed goals of the current government.

The appropriation of the lower level of the monument would have been a more continuous reading of South Africa's past as it connected to the present – a physical and monumental palimpsest.

The inclusion of the Ncome Monument at the Ncome/ Blood River Heritage Site in South Africa is seen to be an attempt at the re-construction of Zulu identity in a post-apartheid South Africa via the reconstruction of South African collective memory. Although the intended goal of this cultural inclusion was to advocate reconciliation and unity critics suggest that the monument, through the manipulation of space and imagery and the manner in which it relates to the existing Blood River monument (erected by the Afrikaner government) fixes Zulu identity and culture within warrior imagery (Schonfeldt-Aultman, 2006: 215). The Afrikaner government ritualised the Battle of Blood River. It was put forward as an Afrikaner "holy" day and a key commemorative event in the forging of Afrikaner nationalism. The day, December 16, had been declared a holiday and named and renamed the "Day of the Covenant" and the "Day of the Vow". The symbol of the covenant the Voortrekkers made to God before the battle elevated

the event and bound all Afrikaners and was seen as the birthplace of the Afrikaner people. It also marked the triumph of Christianity over “barbarism” (Schonfeldt-Aultman, 2006: 216).



Figure 47 Voortrekker Monument, South Africa (<<http://www.southafrica-toursandtravel.com>>)

What this particular Afrikaner construction of memory omitted was that others participated on the side of the Afrikaners at Blood River. These included amongst others approximately 120 Port Natal Africans and other servants (DACST 1998; Laband, 1998: 28 in Schonfeldt-Aultman, 2006: 216). The role of the Zulu in the battle was “forgotten” and the heritage site expressed this amnesia. Only Afrikaans representations and symbols were presented there. This was a distortion, a reinvention presented for years as the truth to the Afrikaner collective however, that does not mean it was factual. It merely served to achieve the goal of securing for a group a strong and central identity in the national memory. The narrative then was an accurate expression of the socio-political s



Figure 48a & 48b Battle of Blood River Monument on left with later installation, Ncome Monument showing Zulu imagery on right (<<http://www.ncomemuseum.org.za>>)

Under the post-apartheid government the collective memory of the Battle of Blood River had to be reconstructed. The commemorative holiday was renamed the “Day of Reconciliation” thus underlining the goal of remembering and reconstructing this particular national memory. It was seen as an opportunity to:

“re-imagine/ re-image the nation, and provide a new sense and re-affirmation of Zulu ethnic identity along with racial black identity ... the previously absent other could be made more visible and more clearly heard. Black South Africans are now empowered such that they can name themselves, make themselves more publicly visible, and practice self-representations that challenge simplistic stereotypes” (Schonfeldt-Aultman, 2006: 219-220).

The new Ncome monument contrasts in colour to the existing monument consisting of a laager of life-size bronze wagons. It is positioned such that it dominates the perspective from cars passing by. The material and architectural style contrasts dramatically with the existing monument rendering the Ncome monument very visible and emphasising the difference between Afrikaner and Zulu identities (48a & 48b). The imagery of round building and extensions could be seen as head and horns – symbolic of Shaka’s military attack formation. This architectural and symbolic entity faces the laager, thereby eluding to the battle, which took place, and constructing certain identities. In constructing a Zulu warrior image, the opportunity to express the multiple Zulu identities is lost (Schonfeldt-Aultman, 2006: 223) so is the acknowledgement of socio-cultural heterogeneity. But perhaps forgetting other aspects of Zulu identity is

the point. Perhaps re-enforcing cultural memories of power and prowess achieve the real socio-political goal i.e. reflecting a major shift in power.

History contained in books could be a lasting memorial as Mare (2004: 95) states; however it would be no less politicised or exempt from distortion or even re-invention. The opportunity to utilize the dominance of the visual to intensify public space would certainly be missed. Moreover to ignore the value of a human concept, which has endured the passage of time, might be short sighted. Monuments can be fundamental to the persistence and direction of cultural memory, and provides the materiality for the encryption and reproduction of socially relevant ideologies. In addition they can be a means for actively forgetting and reworking social relations (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 511).

Verbal and written narrative cannot be ignored as a viable method of conveying history either and must surely be considered important to include in the schedule of accommodation of a cultural centre. However the discussion must return its focus to architectural devices of cultural memory and history as they relate to the concept of narrative.

4.5 MUSEUMS – NARRATING CULTURAL MEMORY USING ARCHITECTURE

Many civic buildings, especially cultural centres, and those dealing with history and memory have used spatial and cultural context to make visible the relevance of the cultural discourse expressed in the architecture and content, as discussed under the heading of “landscapes of inclusion.”

Contemporary examples of civic buildings demonstrate an extension of that concept within the confines of their design briefs. Still other designers as well as academics have advocated the use of neutrality as a concept for civic buildings, favouring the idea of “blank canvas” on which the art of collective memory can be expressed and the everyday can take place. Earlier discussions have demonstrated that designers can hardly play the role of “fly on the wall” as they have socio-cultural “baggage” of their own. As such an attempt at neutrality cannot succeed in real terms, since expression is a human trait and it is inevitable on the part of the architect. A neutral box for the containment of cultural and historical memories would be just another acontextual art object not very different from the Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao for example although quite different in form (Buchanan, 2006: 44). In fact, within the context of the concept of storytelling and narrative, the Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao might be considered a more successful design solution, since it is telling the story of contemporary art (the subject of its contents) even though its functionality as an art museum might be questioned and it hardly relates to the socio-cultural context of Bilbao.

Accordingly, civic buildings that do not engage the context (socio-cultural, physical, natural) are not seen to be functional. Indeed if architecture is an expression of socio-cultural schemata and an identity developed over time then the architecture of the built environment, especially civic buildings and more especially buildings the content of which deals with cultural memory and history directly as a subject should allude to context and subject in the form of a narrative constructed in a language which can be decoded by the user.

Contemporary examples of civic buildings dealing with history and cultural memory are forced to use global architectural concepts of memory while expressing them in the language of local dialects to create context related places. This is unavoidable given that most urban societies of today are heterogeneous and meaning structures are less stable, also the mobility of people across the globe necessitates such a stance towards civic architecture.

In the architecture of some of the most celebrated historical museums, broad concepts such as those outlined by Lynch (1960) and Nasar (1998) which relate to body spatiality and human scale are used to create spaces which can be decoded such that the intended behavioural and psychological response complies with the architectural “instruction”. This is clearly displayed in the example of Libeskind’s Jewish Museum in Berlin, since the expression of the tragic history of Jews in Germany was attempted by the building alone as this museum functioned as an empty shell for nearly three years. The language of the architecture, the signs and symbols inherent in it were to communicate the subject without the help of contained display. This example serves to underscore the radical change in the conceptualisation of historical museums, no longer as the neutral “white box” but as allegory (Stead, 2000: 1).

4.5.1 The Jewish Museum, Berlin

The context of Berlin where the Jewish Museum is situated does not provide any architectural ideologies on which this museum builds. This was a deliberate stance by the architect Daniel Libeskind. Due to the overriding dominance of neo-classical architecture in Berlin, an architectural style with its concomitant ideologies of transcendence above the individual and monumental unity (an architecture which Hitler favoured in his civic building work); the architecture of the Jewish Museum had to stand in direct opposition to it. Interesting to note is that Hitler’s pursuance of national unity and the transcendence of the individual seems to describe an emphasis on the collective and a collective identity, but paradoxically it has been stated that in pursuing the expression of a collective memory of so vast a scale, the ability to express collective memory becomes thwarted and non-particular – quite unable to provide a distinct identity or relevant expression of people.



Figure 49 Aerial photograph showing the Jewish Museum, Berlin sitting uncomfortably within the existing context (<cs.utsa.edu.com>)

The building has been described as monument, memorial and museum in one. Its scale although described as modest in comparison to its neighbouring buildings, does not inhibit its ability to be monumental and provide focus for musing. The architect achieves this through the great contrast between his own design and that of the surrounding built environment (Fig 49, Fig 50a & 50b). Moreover it engages the visitor, those who reveal a desire to share the cultural memory, through its function as a museum, allowing an exploration of the internal spaces. Furthermore the building is not merely a container for objects but is primarily a symbolic narrative. So how does this museum manage to communicate Jewish identity in Berlin? It does not.

It performs primarily as a memorial or monumental reminder of the distinct absence of Jewish identity in Berlin. All built traces of Jewish culture have been erased and in fact most of the architecture replete with signs and symbols of the Third Reich have been removed as well. As such there is very little in the surrounding built environment, which lends visible credence to this momentous story.



Figure 50a & 50b The Jewish Museum, Berlin was designed by architect Daniel Libeskind to direct attention to the absence of a Jewish cultural context. The building sits in juxtaposition to the neo-classical aesthetic of its neighbour (<commons.wikipedia.org>; <cs.utsa.edu.com>)

The narrative therefore begins, at the entrance of the building. The museum is actually entered through an underground staircase and continues through a series of disjointed, empty, vertiginous spaces (Fig 51a – 51c). There is a distinct lack of spatial sequence that according to non-verbal communicative theory [Nasar (1998), Lynch (1960), Rappoport (1982)] necessarily provokes disturbed emotions and disorientation, which is what the architect aimed to elicit. The architecture does not resolve itself into a conclusive end either, since the architect aimed to show that so many Jews of that time period did not emerge at the end. An attempt is made to express the state of cultural memory in Berlin rather than a representation of the historical event (Stead, 2000: 8).



Plate 51a, 51b & 51c The Jewish Museum, Berlin, Germany by Daniel Libeskind. The spaces created by the architecture are often tortuous, commenting on the horror of the holocaust (<<http://www.daniel-libeskind.com>>; <<http://www.mimoa.eu.com>>)

The architecture of the Jewish Museum illustrates the advantages of using building as narrative. Furthermore, being cognizant of the manner in which humans navigate space; the architect demonstrates the value of manipulating behaviour and response to enhance the narration of the story. Although the building has become one of the most recognizable contemporary buildings and certainly a global icon, it manages to function well as a space, which encourages reflection rather than objectification. Also Libeskind asserts that the contemporary aesthetic of the architecture, the use of new building technology, media and materials is a declaration that it belongs to the present. One point emerges, however, which remains unresolved: could this building not equally describe other moments of human genocide in other locations? What makes the architecture of this museum descriptive of the absence or ruination of German Jews in particular?

A local example of a cultural building addressing the memories of a negative past is the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum, Soweto, South Africa. Again the overlapping of concepts of memorial and museum emphasize a change in the way both museums as well as memorials and monuments are viewed within the contemporary context. In fact this blurring of lines begins to resonate with non-western modes of imbuing architecture with cultural memory (although this mode is not necessarily building specific), which acknowledges the communicative advantages of storytelling through expressionist architecture.

using sculpture and decoration. The methods behind these modes of cultural memory embodiment will be discussed in later chapters. Within the context of a new South Africa museums, can be seen as potential agents and products of social and political change, allowing the post-apartheid South Africa to represent and reconstitute itself anew (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 480).

4.5.2 The Hector Pietersen Memorial Museum, Soweto, South Africa

The Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum forms part of a heritage precinct, which serves to commemorate Hector Pieterse and all the other students who lost their lives and played a role in the struggle for liberation (Rambhoros, 2009: 118).



Figure 52 Hector Pieterse Memorial - the first piece in the process of official commemoration
(<http://www.trtravels.com>)

The site stands out in the memories of many as a site of significance, memory loci as a result of a key event, thus giving it both a social as well as an architectural presence (Marschall, 2006: 146). The first step in the act of commemoration was the marking of the site by the erection of a memorial stone (Fig 52). The creation of a national holiday on 16 June, namely Youth Day, served to ritualise the commemoration of the day nationally.

The museum, which eventually followed serves as a site where memories can be shared and contested, identities reformed and renewed all within a new mediating social framework of healing and

reconciliation (Rambhoros, 2009: 118). The narrative of the infamous Soweto riots in 1976 begins outside the memorial museum, thereby setting up a “diffuse text”. The architecture employs the location of the event to give it credence and greater meaning as well as making visible the history of the landscape (Fig 53a).

Building materials commonly used within the context are employed in the museum design allowing it to fit in with the existing fabric and re-create the architectural atmosphere of the event. Although visually commanding, the museum is of the scale and proportion of the surroundings (Rambhoros, 2009: 119). Marschall (2006: 155-156) says of the design concepts employed, that the architecture is “generalisable”. A specific type of symbolism is used which can be found in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC, as well as Holocaust Memorials in other parts of the world. There are common elements between these, such as the “wall of memory” (Fig 53b), “gardens of contemplation” and other types of symbolism which rely upon association.

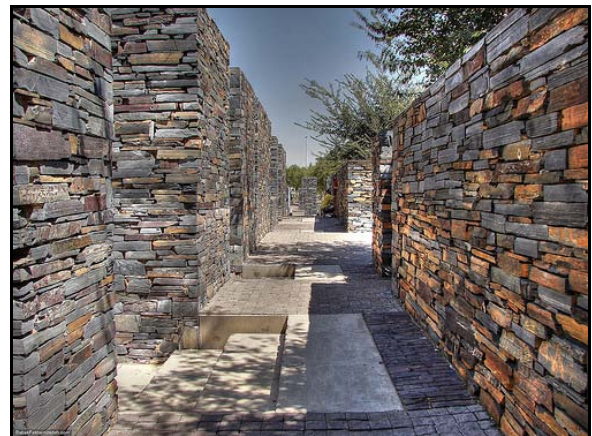
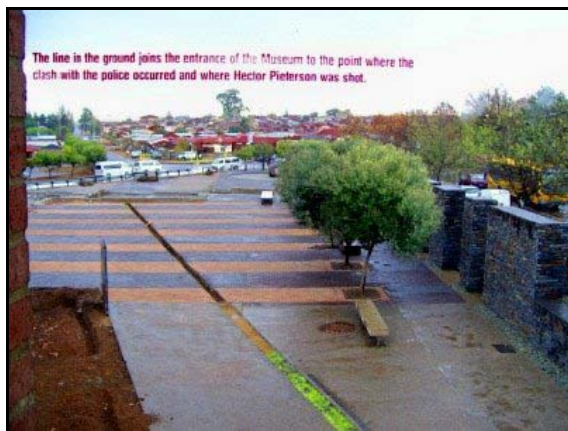


Figure 53a & 53b Urban components, landscaping and architecture was used to bring attention to the surroundings linking them to the history of the place (picture on left) Walls of memory on the right – an emerging global symbolism (<<http://www.flyafrika.com>>); (<<http://www.flickr.com>>)

The presence of rust in the museum structure conjures up images of blood, small elements like cobblestones and curbs make reference to the street and small rocks in the “wall of memory” symbolise the crowd of students that marched on the streets on the day of the event and provide a backdrop for Sam Nzima’s famous photograph of Hector Pieterse dead in the arms of Mbuyisa Makhubo running with Hector’s sister alongside (Fig 54a & 54b). The use of water is another element found to be common in

museum and memorial architecture, as a symbol of healing, calm and rejuvenation (Marschall, 2006: 154). The austere aesthetic, which has been employed, symbolises the oppressiveness of apartheid (Fig 55a). The lack of roof or base to break the solidity of the “box” increases its severity. It has been suggested that reference is also being made to the “faceless”, boxes set up in the neighbourhood as homes for blacks by the apartheid government (Rambhoros, 2009: 122), thereby extending the narrative outwards into the surrounds. Marschall (2006) suggests that because this type of universal symbology, certain elements grouped together have begun to signify memorialisation and commemoration. Different viewers are able to connect with the image because it is interpretable and familiar (Marschall, 2006: 155-156; Rapoport, 1982: 130-140). The repetitive use of these symbols begin to trigger predictable emotional responses in people engaging with the Memorial Museum as discussed by Nasar (1998), Lynch (1960) and Rapoport (1982). As such although the narrative is South African, the architecture does not reflect any attempt to develop a uniquely South African solution to commemorating the past (Marschall, 2006: 164-165).

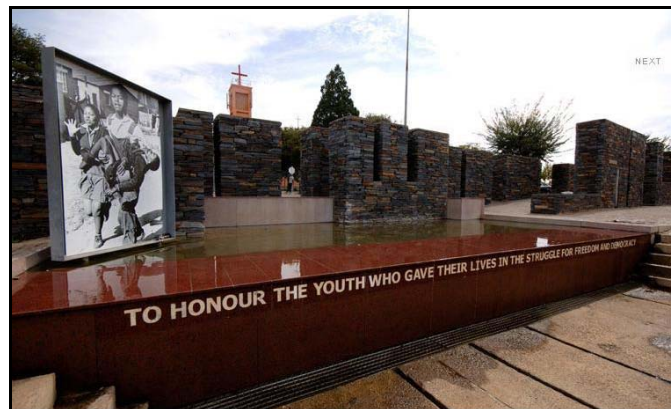


Figure 54a & 54b Picture of Makhubo running with Hector's limp body in his arms and Hector's sister running alongside. The second picture on the right shows the use of stones and walls to symbolise the crowd (<<http://www.sankofaworldpublishers.com>>); (<<http://www.travelpod.com>>)

Through the creative use of landscaping and abstract structures the social milestone of the Soweto uprising was spatially landmarked, thereby committing a significant cultural memory to physicality. Physically the museum sits 800m from the location of the actual event. However the spatial distance is bridged by the use of symbolic linking structures in the form of steel plates, which run from the entrance of the museum, across the public space and past the site of the original memorial. This wall element

visually links the museum and its related spaces to the actual site of the event providing the viewer with direction and spatial coherence. Natural elements such as trees are used to continue this line (Reilly, 2003: 14).

The original location of the first memorial has been given further spatial emphasis by its conversion to a square located close to much human activity. The use of natural elements of water and landscaping intensifies the visual prominence of the space, preparing the visitor mentally as well as spatially for a reflective museum experience.

The internal architecture of the museum makes use of ramps to connect different levels. As such the unfolding of the narrative facilitated by multimedia occurs fluidly. The careful and deliberate location of openings in the architecture creates sight lines from the inside of the building to other significant sites such as a shooting site and the Orlando Police Station, where the police force mobilized to stop the students (Fig 55b). Around these openings are pictures of the police force at the time of the event, enabling the viewer to imagine the event in a tangible landscape and therefore identify with the various characters more easily (Reilly, 2003: 15).



Figure 55a & 55b Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum – an austere façade broken up by viewing slots (<http://www.mashabanerose.co.za>)

Hector Pieterse was one amongst three hundred and fifty students who lost their lives in the uprising, yet the power of an individual name and face, which embodied the tragedy of the event, was not overlooked. This concept relates back to that of monuments. The impact of a momentous historical event is somewhat lost when it is memorialised or commemorated by a generalness or anonymity. Putting a name and face to triumph or tragedy allows individuals to identify parts of themselves in the story of another individual.

Furthermore the human concepts of suffering, tragedy, endurance and triumph are being immortalized in the story more than the actual character of the individual.

The architecture of several non-western societies demonstrates adeptness at imbuing the built environment with cultural memory which structures social organization in relation to the environment as well as belief systems.

4.6 CULTURAL MEMORY IN ARCHITECTURAL DETAIL

Hodder and Hutson (2003: 67) state that inscribed practices such as sculpture leave material traces that transcend the spatial and temporal context of their original performance and is a form of materialisation. For many pre-modern societies decoration was not seen as a luxury but rather as a medium for making visible the value systems of the people who created them. Decoration was seen to help establish a sense of community identity as it developed over a period of time and became expressive of the collective or cultural memory. Often sculpture and decoration connoted things such as function of a space or who was allowed in particular spaces and who was not.



Figure 56 Yoruba door depicting pathfinders and godly communicators (Denyer, 1978: 112 - 113)

Entrances, granaries and sacred and ceremonial buildings and public places; places of intense focus for the community were commonly adorned in decoration. Spatial boundary points such as thresholds were decorated to visually explain their function and ritual connotations to a community or individual. Low relief sculpture on doors created by Nigerian artisans reflected allusions to the Yoruba gods *Eshu* and

Ogun – both the gods were considered to be pathfinders and communicators who cross over between the spiritual world and the material one (Fig 56). As such they are appropriately expressed in doors. Demonstrated here is the embodiment of an important cultural memory in the everyday architecture. In the palaces in Benin in Nigeria, the functional structural columns holding up roofs over verandas were elaborately sculptured to reflect socio-cultural organization and the functions taking place within certain spaces (Fig 57). Within the Yoruba woman's courtyard fertility statues denote that the space is reserved for women (Adebayo, 2006: 33).

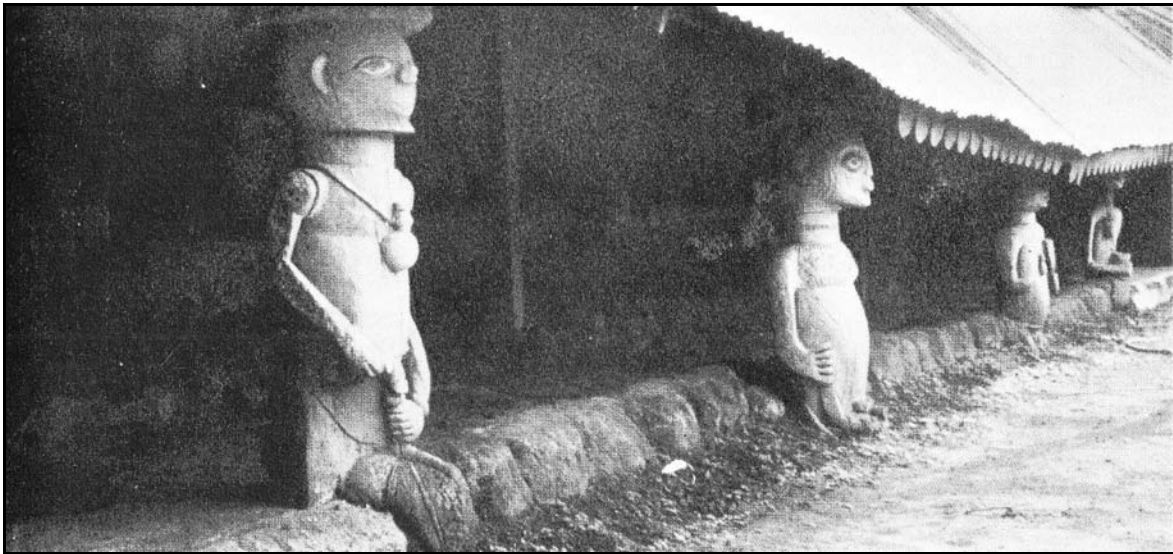


Figure 57 Sculpted structural columns in a Nigerian palace courtyard (Denyer, 1978: 112 - 113)

Doors were adorned with cast bronze plates depicting in low relief the war deeds and battles of past *obas* or kings (Denyer, 1978: 119).

In Indian temples, sculpture formed a large part of the architecture. Legendary stories and religious epics were inscribed using sculpture, painting and ornamentation as seen on temples. They were visual records of Hindu belief systems. An example of this is one of the largest bas – relief compositions in Mahabalipuram, South India. It is a composition called *Arjuna's Penance* (Fig 58) and describes one of the episodes in the religious Hindu epic text, the *Mahabharata*. Therein various gods and demigods are depicted as well as a figure of an ascetic and his pupils (Michell, 1977: 133).

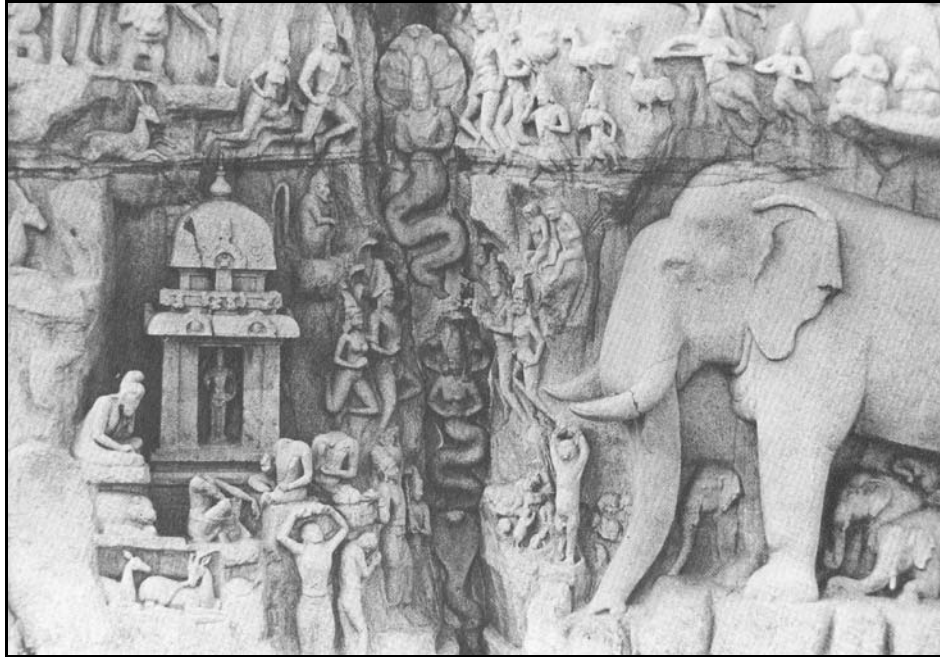


Figure 58 "*Arjuna's Penance*" - a bas relief sculpture telling a mythological Indian story (Michel, 1977: 133)

South Indian scenes of king's coronations and other ceremonies often formed detailed relief panels on temple buildings, inscribing the history and cultural memories of Indians thereon (Michell, 1977: 52). In temples such as the cave temples near the rock fort in Trichy, South India difference in sculptural style represent the different dynasties. Therefore the temple acts as a palimpsest conveying the history and chronology of Indian dynastic rule visually.

The ability of decoration, ornamentation and sculpture as an integral part of architecture to communicate belief systems, values and spatial rules cannot be ignored in the creation of cultural centres which use storytelling and narrative as concepts. Their inclusion intensifies the richness of the physical text of cultural memory.

A building typology has emerged as a response to changes in society concerning the way culture is viewed. A more holistic way of expressing cultural memory is growing popular. It is able to accommodate ideas in traditional museums, monuments, and landscapes, written texts, performance and art under an umbrella building typology called the cultural centre.

4.7. CULTURAL CENTRES – HOLISTICALLY ADDRESSING CULTURAL MEMORY

4.7.1 Uluru National Park – Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, Australia

The Aborigines people of Australia have traditionally invested all their cultural belief systems in the landscape. Their connection to the land was central to the functionality of their society and existence as a people. White domination had changed that. The cultural clash resulted in a break in the connection between land and people and the decimation of Aboriginal culture and memory.

Much is being done to re-educate people about Aboriginal culture and to create built environments which appropriately express Aboriginal belief systems and cultural expression. In fact architects are beginning to see that their role is not passive and that as designers architects can be proactive and encourage the maintenance of culture wherever possible (Macdonald, 1996: 104). Although Aboriginal cultures did not place much emphasis on built fabric, the amalgamation of European and Aboriginal practices has resulted in a new architecture, which is representative of this cultural amalgamation. The cultural centre was created to be a meeting place where the Anangu people of the western territory could share their culture and traditional stories with people unfamiliar with it.

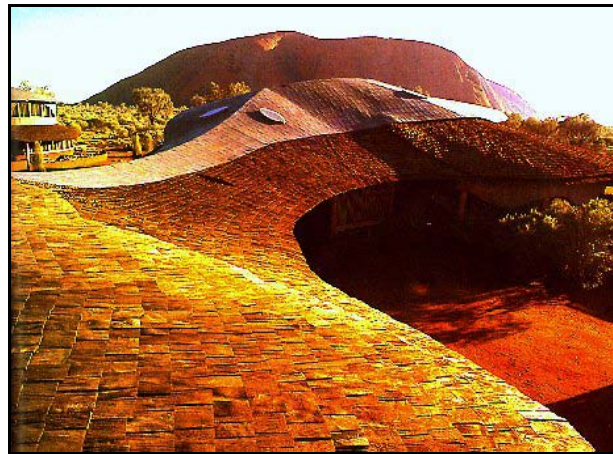
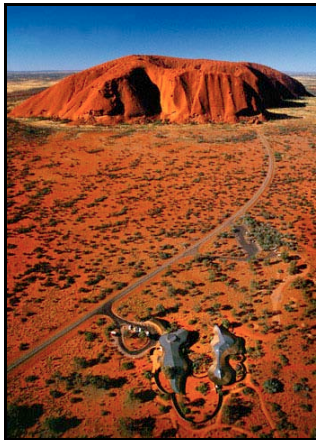


Figure 59a & 59b Uluru or Ayre's Rock as it is better known is an important cultural focus for the Anangu people of Australia. The natural rock formation dominates the landscape (<http://www.corbisimages.com>) ; (<http://www.timberbuilding.arch.utas.edu.au>)

The context of the Uluru Cultural Centre is dominated by Uluru, commonly known as Ayers Rock (Fig 59a). It is an authentic cultural, and strong natural visual landmark for the Anangu people of this region;

and its position in relation to the Centre cannot fail to connote the importance it has in Aboriginal cultural memory to tourists. The architect, Gregory Burgess together with other professionals placed emphasis on spending time learning about the relationship between land and people. The story the Anangu people told of themselves through tales, song and paintings provided the impetus for the design brief to which the architect responded. The Anangu were given access to the process of cultural memory and identity formation, thereby writing their own history (Underwood, 1996: 46).

The design team had to learn the Tjukurpa (religious law and philosophy) of the Anangu people before they could proceed to create a building, which adequately expressed their belief systems. As such the Anangu people had a direct part to play in the manner in which their cultural memories were committed to architecture (Underwood, 1996: 46).

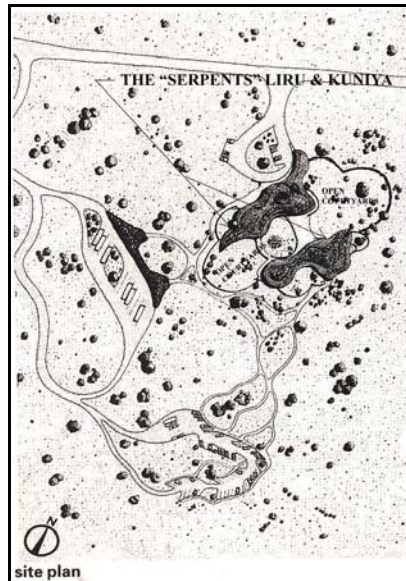
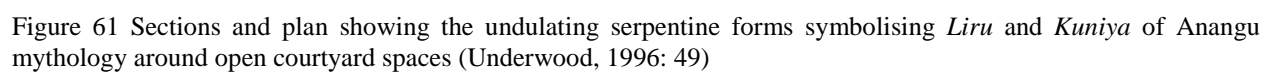


Figure 60a & 60b Site plan and aerial view of the Uluru - Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre showing the two serpentine buildings around courtyard space (Underwood, 1996: 49); (< <http://www.copperperform.com>>)

The form of the cultural centre relates to Anangu mythology surrounding the story of Uluru. The centre comprises two parts, which have come to represent *Liru* and *Kuniya* – serpents from Aboriginal mythology around a central courtyard (Fig 60a & 60b). The courtyard was designed to be used as a space where a range of performing arts and other cultural gatherings could take place. Furthermore the mythology was derived from the natural contours of the landscape with the result that the buildings mimic

The copper roof tiles and wooden shingles on the edges add to the serpentine expression of the architecture and ornamentation and architectural decoration is achieved through patterned perforation in the walls.



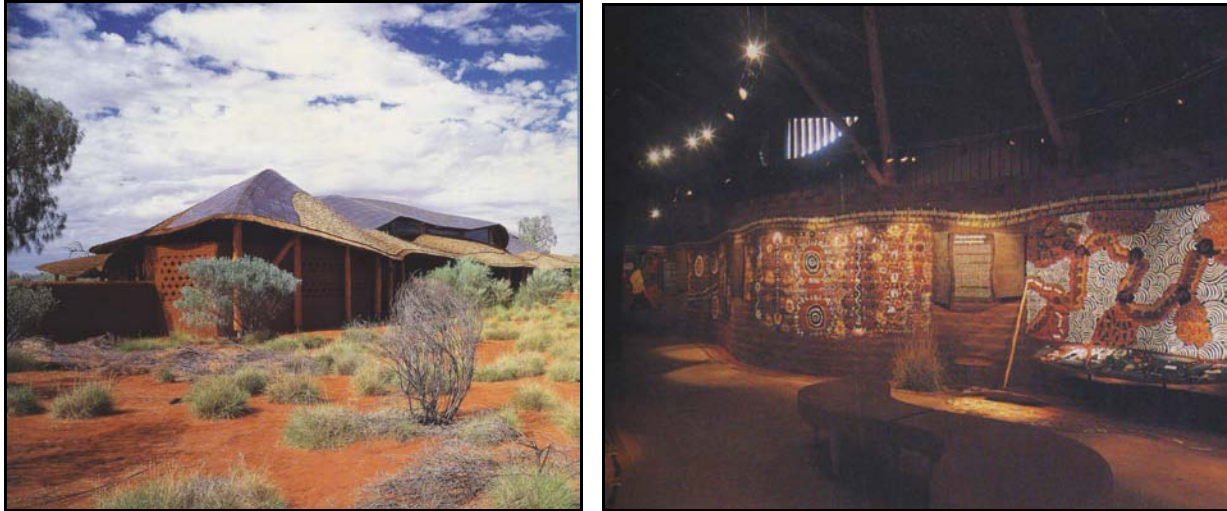


Figure 62a & 62b Roofing materials and architectural detail add to the sinuous, serpentine expression which the architect was pursuing in this design. The picture on the right indicates how the content in the form of art relates to the architectural container as well as the natural context (Underwood, 1996: 51)

The visitor is constantly made aware of the significance of the container and content in relation to the context. It acts as a narrative (Fig 62a & 62b). Perhaps the most successful aspect of this centre is that it is not a literal attempt at traditional Aboriginal built form, but rather acknowledges the 200 years of transformation the culture and lifestyle the Anangu people have undergone since the arrival of Europeans in Australia. The cultural centre is a contemporary expression of what is an evolving culture and not what was in the past. It is an expression of Anangu cultural memories important to the Anangu and other Australian people within the context – the memory of cultural events, relationships with a tribal place, and identification with a tribal network (Macdonald, 1996: 104).

4.7.2 Bopitikelo Molatedi Community and Cultural Centre, South Africa

The Bopitikelo Cultural Centre serves much the same purpose as that of the Uluru- Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre. Its South African context has many parallels with Australia – both have undergone substantial socio-cultural change since the influx of colonists and other immigrants. Like the Uluru Cultural Centre, which is located within a national park, the Bopitikelo Cultural Centre is located near the Madikwe Game Reserve and therefore stands to gain much exposure due to tourism. The two overriding design influences was the local culture, which influenced the accommodation schedule and the site and surrounding landscape as being intrinsically related to people and culture . The cultural centre was designed as a venue for local theatre, storytelling, food and song. Traditional and more importantly context related methods of

conveying cultural memory and history are employed. These have informed the design brief and the manner in which the basic schedule of accommodation was addressed. Consequently provision was made for an outdoor amphitheatre where the oral tradition and performing arts could be practiced providing the local people with a means of remembering and celebrating events, and the circumstances of their history (Darroll, 2001: 38).

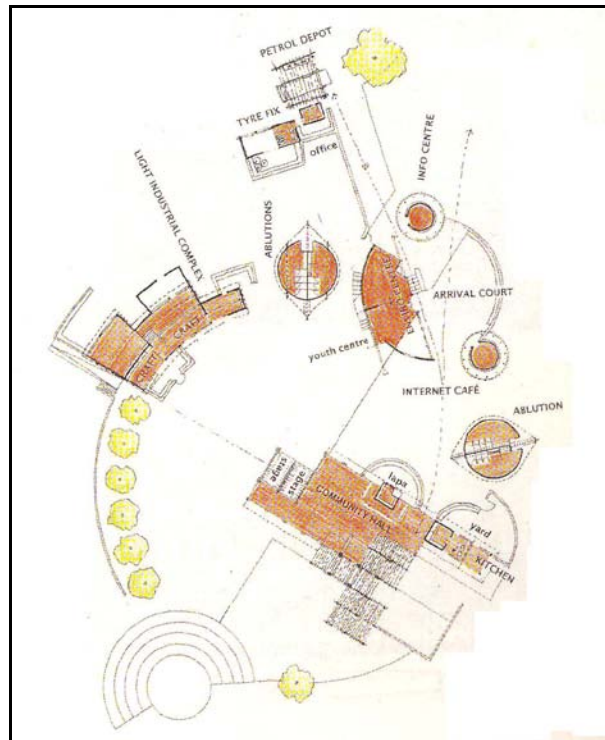
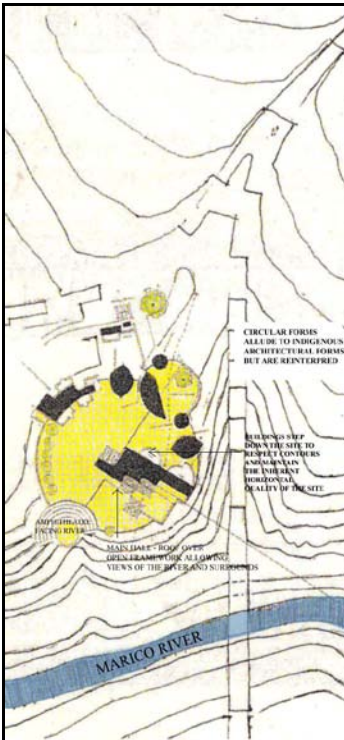
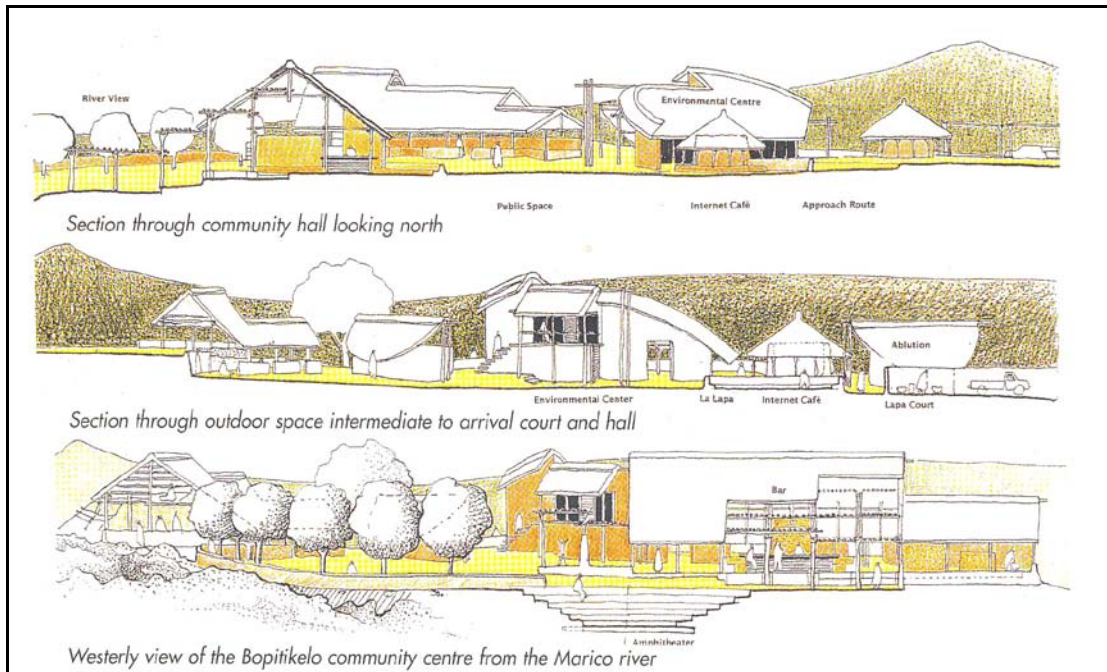


Fig 63a & 63b Context plan of the Bopitikelo Molatedi Community and Cultural Centre showing relationship to natural focal points and contours (left). Plan on the right illustrates the proportion between enclosed and open space and plan forms (Rich, 1996: 16)

More importantly theatre allows the local people to address current cultural issues using valuable remembered methods of social education and communication. As such the Centre plays an important role in the everyday lives of the local people and supports everyday activities whilst re-educating both locals and visitors about the value of some particular modes of socio-cultural interaction in the contemporary context and the architecture to which it gives rise.

The river, which runs adjacent to the Cultural Centre, underpins the total experience of the Centre.



The Centre brings into strong focus the river's importance to the locals as a natural junction and meeting place by framing it using the architecture of the building, and the river equally lends visual weight and beauty to the centre (Fig 63a – Fig 65). There is constant visual reference made to the natural landscape via the manner in which the architecture engages with it. The natural contours of the land are employed in defining spatial hierarchy and the places between buildings (Fig 64 – Fig 66b)). The buildings is designed to “touch the ground lightly” (Rich cited in Darroll, 2001: 38) and in respecting the contours of the site it emphasises a natural horizontality. This is further highlighted by the use of horizontal shading devices under which people can gather to sit, eat and converse (Darroll, 2001: 38).

Circular forms allude to indigenous architecture but the architecture is a refreshing improvisation on those forms instead of a duplication of the architectural traditional (Fig 63a & 63b). The main hall which is central and highlighted as such through its verticality, frames the view of the river. Relative to its surrounds it is the most imposing spatially yet does not negate the landscape. Its bare framework allows the user to look through it instead of forming a solid barrier against it, making the natural landscape the object of focus.

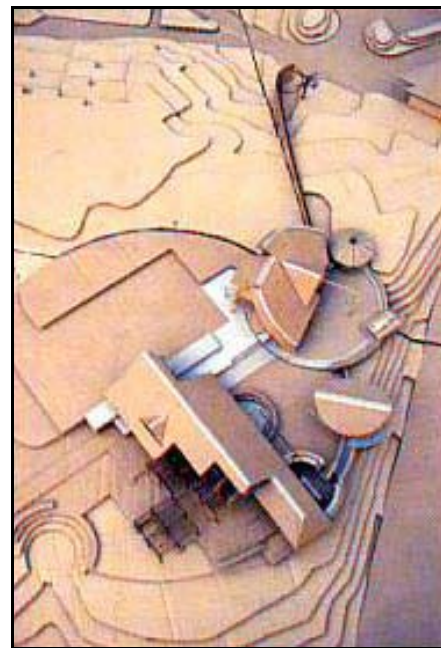


Figure 66a & 66b A view of the surrounding landscape through the main hall (left). The model (right) effectively shows the use of contours to define spaces between buildings and also evident are the circular forms re-interpreted (Darroll, 2001: 38)

The hall entrance is located at the intersection of existing cattle paths - a social and spatial node. As a result the building connotes importance, which can be easily understood by both locals and visitors. Changes in level and thresholds are expressed in the language of the local people – the use of plinths around certain walled buildings and emphasised changes in level at entry points and thresholds are in keeping with the local architectural expressions. Proportion and construction methods were derived from cultural ideologies. The use of outdoor space resonates with cultural practices, which relate to the local climate – most cultural and social activities take place outdoors making the requirement for fully enclosed spaces substantially less (Fig 63a, 63b & Fig 66a). Mud seats have been created in courtyards spaces as well as in the main hall, which is a common architectural element in Tswana homes (Fig 67b & 67c). These form the visual boundaries which define inside from outside especially where the role of walls has been underplayed to allow an uninterrupted view of the surroundings. Decoration in the local vernacular has been used to lend visual weight to thresholds and outdoor spaces. Materials used were sourced locally. Gum poles, stones and thatch from the site and surrounding areas were used and earth-cement blocks were made on site for the purpose of the building.

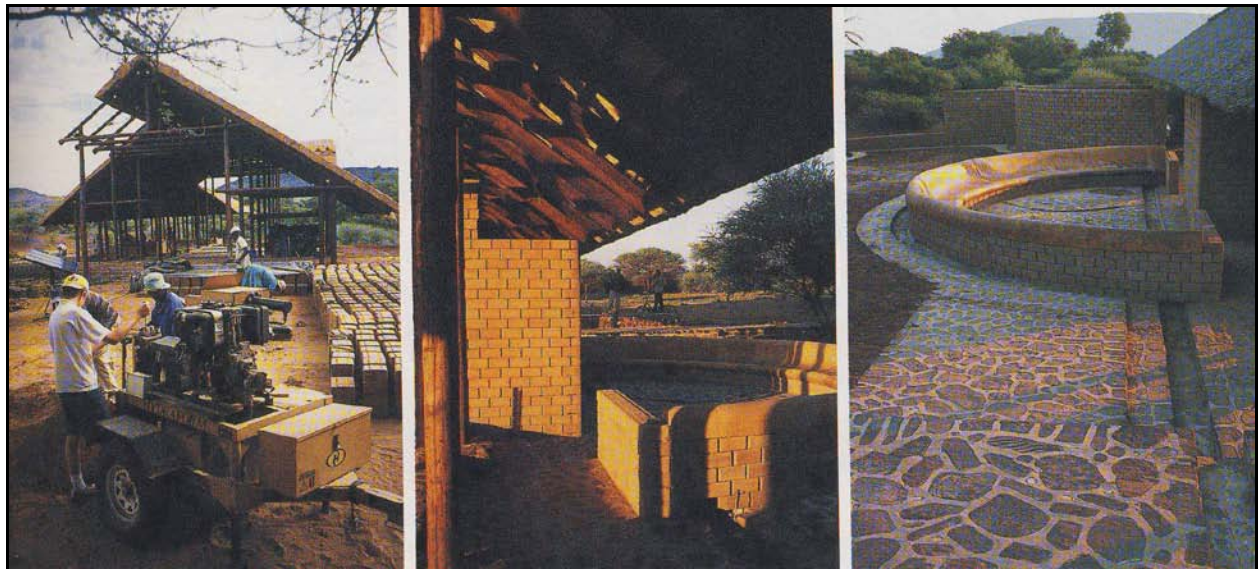


Figure 67a, 67b & 67c Picture on left showing the main hall with its “transparent” structure. Picture in the middle and on right show the mud seats common in Tswana homes (Darroll, 2001: 41)

The downfall of this project is that although many parts of the Cultural Centre make use of traditional forms of the Tswana people the symbolic meaning of local architecture was not explored. To illustrate the point, the main hall, which adequately expresses its importance through its verticality, scale and position within the whole complex, is said to have derived its form and scale from the men's initiation huts in a traditional Tswana village. The function of the main hall is clearly different.

Meaningful and socio-culturally functional contemporary space would be better created if the symbolism and meaning behind traditional forms were understood.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Various architectural devices used to address cultural history and memory have been identified in the form of museums, monuments, planning strategies, sculpture etc. Changes in the way society views cultural memory has resulted in a change in the design brief of the buildings, which contain it. This change has resulted in mixed-use buildings, which are able to encompass the variety of methods used separately, and in separate buildings to address cultural memory and history. These mixed-use buildings may be termed cultural centres, an umbrella concept simultaneously used to describe museums, libraries performing arts venues etc. as well. Through the review of literature and the study of precedents from different parts of the world specific methods and devices for communicating cultural memory has been obviated. Architects are beginning to acknowledge the supportiveness of an interdisciplinary approach to achieve meaningful built environments.

The comprehensive study of one particular case will be the focus of the next chapter. Here direct input from the founder of the cultural institution, the architect as well as the users will further test my hypothesis about the value of cultural memory in providing identity, promoting cohesion and social sustainability, and obviating an appropriate method of approaching the design of public spaces.

CHAPTER 5:
CASE STUDY: EKHAYA MULTI – ARTS CENTRE,
KWAMASHU

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Verulam is one of many townships in Durban, which has suffered from the inequalities of apartheid. Investigating how these other similar townships address the issue of suppressed cultural development and memory could possibly offer insights into socio-cultural and spatial sustainability, highlighting problems and viable local solutions. Has memory been utilized to restore a sense of identity to previously disenfranchised communities and promote social cohesion in a previously divided society? What role has architecture played and how successfully have cultural institutions been employed to address the issue of cultural memory? Certain key concepts were highlighted in discussions about cultural memory and its expression in architecture earlier in this dissertation, which will be brought to bear upon the case studies chosen.

5.2 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

5.2.1 Addressing the Suppression of Cultural Development and Memory

KwaMashu was conceived by apartheid planning as a dormitory township for blacks who had been removed from Cato Manor. As part of this large-scale social engineering, KwaMashu like Verulam was characterized by urban exclusion, very little essential services and civic institutions. The dislocated community, which was forcibly established here, enjoyed no participation in the construction of this township. The state had complete control over the rate and pattern of socio-cultural and urban growth thereby achieving its goal of subordinating this black community (Turok, 1994: 244).

Yet KwaMashu cultural memory extends to Umkhumbane or Cato Manor and beyond. Umkhumbane was a vibrant settlement, a melting pot of various social groups from all over the country seeking better prospects. However, the breakdown of normal society resulted in much violence and an escalation in crime within KwaMashu all of which also forms part of the story of its past. Important to this research would be to ascertain whether the Ekhaya Multi-Arts Centre utilizes the past to facilitate the much-needed development of the KwaMashu community of today. Founded by KwaMashu's own youth the form and shape that these cultural memories assume have been molded by the community to which they belong. It is therefore significant to analyse the methods they have used to promote KwaMashu and formulate its local, contemporary image.

5.3 HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF KWAMASHU

KwaMashu was created as a dormitory township for the black labour force, which had been removed from Cato Manor or Umkhumbane in 1958-1965. KwaMashu was formally a sugar estate owned by Sir Marschall Campbell. The relocation of people here increased the distance between blacks and whites as well as facilitated the control the state exercised on the community, its development and social structures (Turok, 1994: 244).

The area had been the site of much political violence between the ANC and the IFP during the formation of the new government in 1994, which had caused division amongst the community. Economic activity in the area was suppressed as there were many laws preventing blacks to trade freely. The size and number of shops and other commercial enterprises were controlled with the result that even in the present day local spending is sacrificed to expenditure outside the community (Mngadi, 2007: 4)

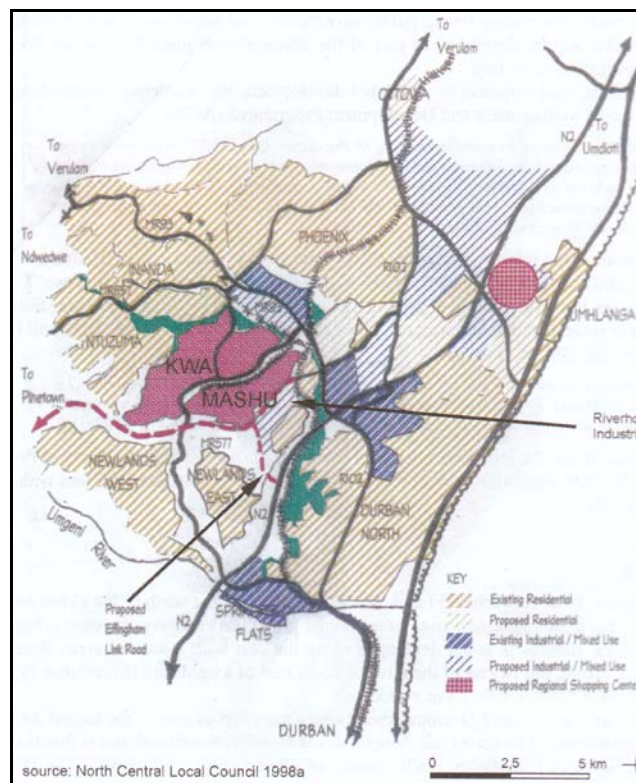


Figure 68 Map indicating the location of KwaMashu in pink and the neighbouring areas (Godehart, 2006: 86)

Currently KwaMashu falls under INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) an area which is home to 500 000 people. Research has shown that nearly a quarter of the population here earns an income below the subsistence level and 30% are unemployed. It is the second largest poor area in South Africa. However a thriving arts scene exists here which is quickly gaining local and international recognition and contributing to a positive cultural profile for KwaMashu (<http://www.durban.gov.za/>).

KwaMashu is located 30km north of Durban central. It is separated from Phoenix, previously an Indian dormitory township via the KwaMashu highway and an industrial zone. Other neighbouring areas are Inanda and Ntuzuma (Fig 68).

5.4 EMPIRICAL DATA

5.4.1 Linking Memory to Place – choosing a site of Significance

K-CAP was offered a site for their cultural centre in the KwaMashu CBD however they declined the site for one which is more remote, yet fulfilled the founder (hereafter referred to as Respondent A) Respondent A's desire for a site of historical significance that would raise the function of the facility to that of a memory landmark of a key point in the community's history as dealt with under the geography of identity and demonstrated in the example of the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum (Fig 69a, 69b & Fig 70). The site would therefore have meaning for the people who are directly using it. The location already begins to communicate cultural memory thereby forming identity for this precinct. In fact K-CAP an already established cultural institution had been operating out of a rented space in the KwaMashu shopping mall.



Figure 69a & 69b Neighbouring buildings on site, KwaMashu (author's photos)

However, Respondent A expressed his disillusionment over needing to create a presence strong enough to attract more youth and funding for his cultural endeavour. Without an architectural container for his institution the government was reluctant to support him – he required something visual and concrete to declare the existence of the cultural centre strongly (communication with architect).

The local mall was not seen to be supportive of such an activity (communication with founder and architect). Therefore, as part of the design brief, genius loci were extremely important.



Figure 70 Context plan of the Ekhaya Multi Arts Centre, Kwa Mashu B Section Sub-Centre, Durban (White, 2004: 11)



At the moment the site is not very visually prominent as an activity node or in terms of the road infrastructure (Fig 69a & 69b). Geographically the site is at the top of a hill and therefore does have the potential for a more dominant spatial presence should the phased plans for its development go ahead. Located at the top of a grassy hill, surrounded by vacant sites, derelict buildings a liquor store and working class houses (White, 2004: 11) the site does not communicate its historical significance, an important goal for spatial clarity articulated by Lynch (1960) and Nasar (1998). Yet, this site was at one time a green belt, which divided the black male hostels built by the Apartheid government for rural migrant workers, and the rest of the urban township. The hostel was a stronghold of the IFP whereas the rest of the township was ANC. The grassy dividing belt was the scene of much confrontation and violence. It is a place where many memories converge – here as is seen in other sites of memory - memory is linked to place. The Centre was seen symbolically as a bridging of those divisions and a tool of liberation, therefore the significance of its location here. Although the programme of the centre certainly deals with contemporary issues using cultural memory, the architecture does not yet fully describe the site's significance. The cultural complex has however not been fully developed yet.

5.4.2 Ekhaya Multi-Arts Centre

5.4.2.1 Overseas Observations

The founding member of the Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre had been involved in student politics and the UDF in Durban in the 1980's. Like so many others of that time he wanted to aid the growing movement for a better South Africa. It was a scholarship to the UK to study commerce and tourism that highlighted the importance of the cultural arts in British society, where many cultural centres were found within the neighbourhoods he frequented. Other trips to cultural centres in war-torn Bosnia, confirmed his conviction that arts and culture are essential for the redevelopment of communities (communication from respondent). Upon his return to Durban, he identified problems within the community of KwaMashu, and saw that the youth required a platform for discussion and development. In the new South Africa there were not many structures to guide communities in restructuring for progress and transformation (communication from respondent).

5.4.2.2 Founding a Cultural Institution of Change

The Ekhaya Multi Arts Centre was founded and is wholly managed by K-CAP, of which the principal founder is the respondent A. The group consists of KwaMashu youth who wanted to tackle issues of poverty and unemployment, low education and high levels of violent crime. Their main aim was to use the centre as a force of liberation from those social evils.

Finding funding for the project was a difficult process as the public sector did not see the centre as an adequate lever for economic development. However, the social need was evident and K-CAP self-sourced funds, accessing donors from abroad, casinos and the national lottery (White, 2004: 11). Overseas investors saw this initiative as vital to the social stability of communities in need of rehabilitation.

Because the institution was in existence before the building, the methods employed by K-CAP dictated the programme for the Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre as well as the design brief.

5.4.2.3 Cultural Memory – Encouraging Community Participation using Local Methods

In an interview with respondent A, the question of whether cultural memory and the past impacted on the programme of the Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre was asked. The response was positive. Respondent A replied that using the arts, such as music and dance was a natural choice for dealing with the complex contemporary issues faced by the community. He referred to the age old forms of oral tradition used to guide youth and teach community values and social structure. Also mentioned was the traditional cultural inclination to use dance and music in almost all aspects of life, and that these cultural memories had been carried down from generation to generation and could re-surface in a society which is now allowed to redevelop those favoured ideas. Questionnaire and interview responses (Appendix A) from the users of the building mostly reiterated a desire to reconnect with those forms of narration. Many saw their identities bound in such activities. Therefore one could conclude that should the traditional arts be more directly expressed both in the architecture and programme of the building the desires of the users of the centre would be satisfied. Furthermore they expressed an appreciation for the cultural centre as a place for betterment and the learning of appropriate cultural ideas (Appendix A). Many expressed the desire for more cultural centres, which would focus on their history. Also important was the desire for a mixed-use area around the centre, which would include other cultural activities, such as a library facility, sports facility, crafts centres and halls.

More recent cultural memories of Umkhumbane, a melting pot of various cultural groups in South Africa, their music and art, were also brought to KwaMashu. So using those integrated forms of artistic

expression in dealing with socio-cultural development was inherent in the people living in KwaMashu (communication from respondent A). The plays produced by this centre deal with contemporary issues thereby ensuring meaningful and relevant community participation. However, respondent A has also seen the importance of an identity solidifying “foundation myth or origin story” (Marschall, 2006: 147). One of his latest plays, *Bayede Shaka* (1997) – the “Spear is Born”, focuses on Shaka as a royal local hero who unified all people who would serve under him, representing strength, a proud heritage and a mighty kingdom. He sees this as an opportunity to teach the youth of today about their roots, their traditions and methods of maintaining social order and encouraging development (communication from respondent A). Yet he is not advocating copying the past, instead there is an emphasis on the structures and relationships of the past before the advent of colonial Christianity and its contradictions (Vilakazi, 1965: 111). In fact the aim is the rebuilding of the family unit, the destruction of which meant the decline of the majority. An expression of that desire is in the very name of the centre – *Ekhaya* – meaning home, referring to a family structure.

5.4.2.4 The Architecture of Cultural Memory – Design Development

Using indigenous methods of addressing contemporary issues has impacted on the architecture of the centre more organizationally than in any aesthetic form (White, 2004: 11). There was strong community participation in the design of the centre; both the respondent and the architect drew up design sketches together.

The community was involved regularly through the convening of fortnightly community forums with the design and construction team (communication with architect). Performing arts venues were visualized as traditional spaces of the “past contemporarised” (Assman and Czaplicka, 1995: 129) i.e. gathering around fires translated into a 320 seat theatre with a stepped floor and fixed seating, where the usual relationship of viewer and viewed is reassessed to encourage discussion, dynamic interaction between viewer and performer, workshops etc. Cultural issues raised can be discussed and challenged – a process more in keeping with tradition. Other facilities include a music recording studio, a video editing suite, a graphic arts workshop and a small resource centre library (White, 2004: 11). The centre is a courtyard building, which looks inward (Fig 72 & Fig 73). The periphery walls, which mark the boundary of the site, are without many openings. This is a defensive architectural response to the constant threat of crime in the area. However, these walls are adorned with artistic expressions, which “resonate with the community and their identity” (direct communication from Respondent A) (Fig 74a – 74c).

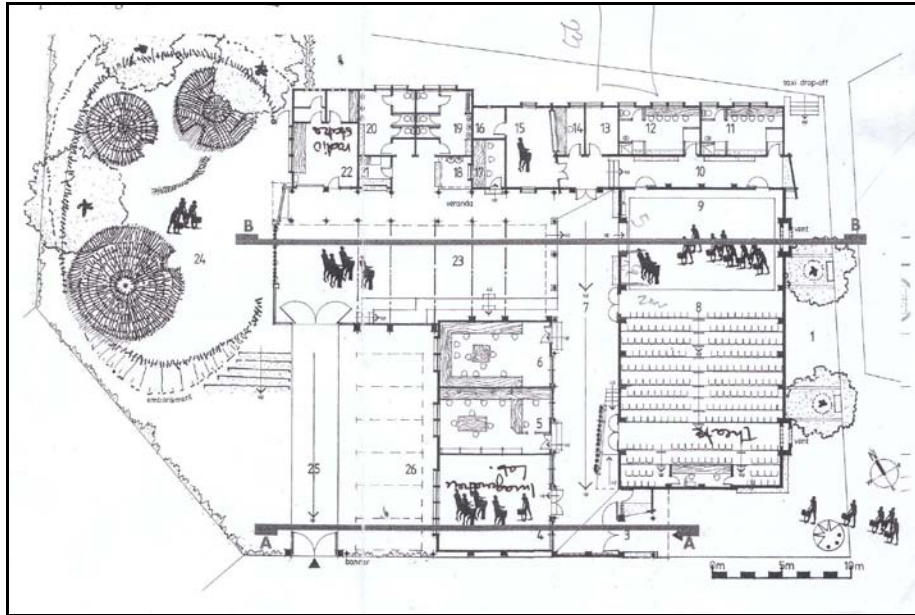


Figure 72 Ground floor plan of the Ekhaya Multi-Arts Centre (White, 2004: 11)

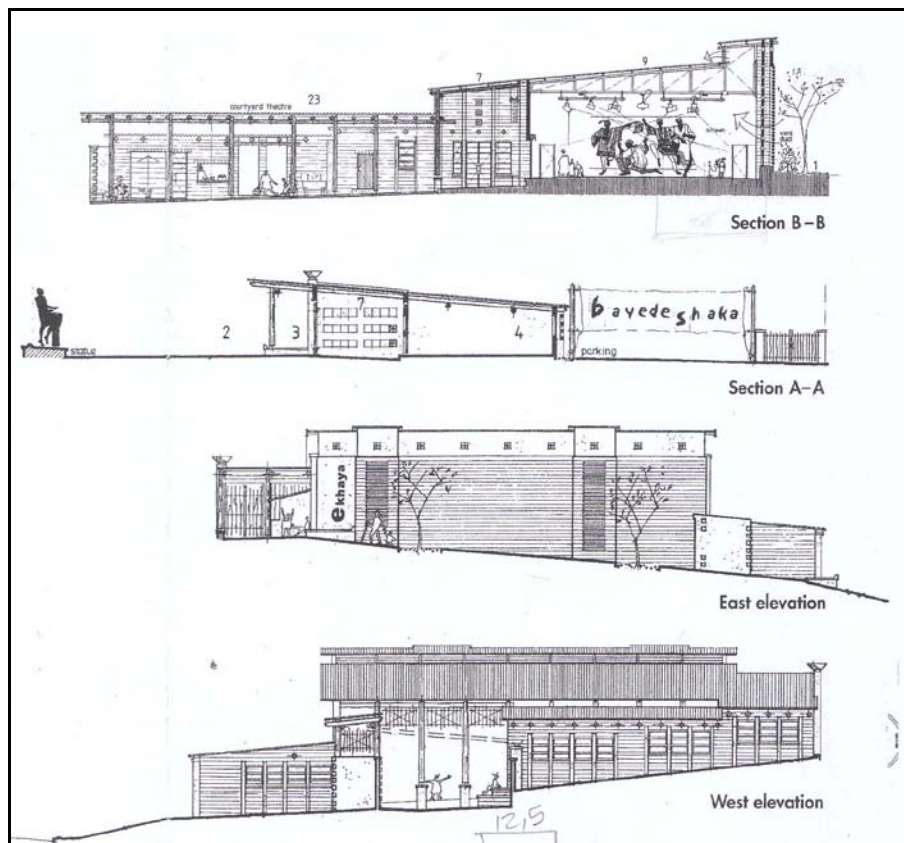


Figure 73 Elevations and sections through the Ekhaya Multi-Arts Centre (White, 2004: 11)

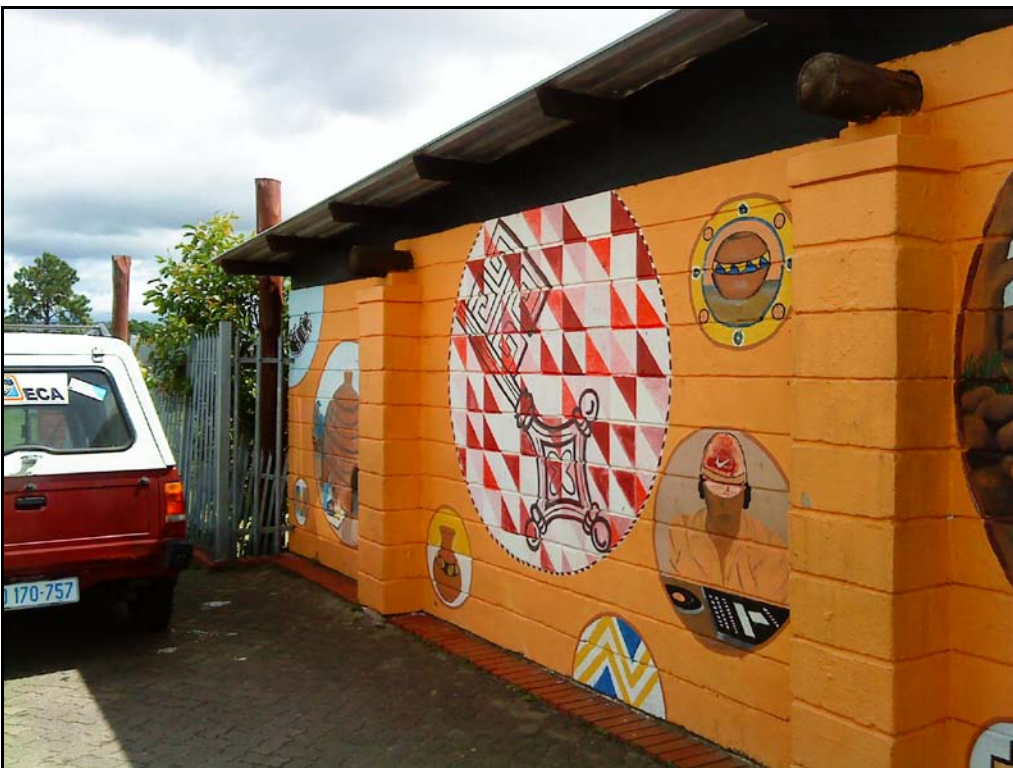


Figure 74a, 74b & 74c Artistic expressions of traditional culture, change and the contemporary - executed by a German artist (author's photo)



Figure 75a & 75b Internal courtyard and ramp (author's photo)

Their slightly uncharacteristic form is due to the fact that the murals were actually done by a German artist who is not a resident of KwaMashu – a shortsighted but enforced decision by local government demonstrating the power government has in constructing cultural memory. In fact the community artists had painted a mural on the entire entrance wing wall, but this was painted over according to government's instructions (communication from Architect). Symbols such as those of a traditional Zulu woman's hat mark the entrance (Fig 76b). Paintings of Zulu shields and pots as well as common geometric Zulu patterns mixed with paintings of contemporary images such as DJs are visible. Public entry is gained through this walled periphery, onto an internal "street" (Fig 75b), which eventually leads to an internal courtyard reminiscent in concept of the traditional Zulu central kraal space expressive of the mode of recreation and social interaction (Fig 75a).

The architect mentioned that he visualized the internal semi-public space as being an internal street (Fig 77a & 77b) where youth could gather and socialize very much like they do in the public centre of KwaMashu. This could be seen as a modern adaptation of the concept of the central kraal space, which

used to be the Zulu cultural centre. This courtyard is meant for social gathering, and performances. The courtyard is open to the sky. The courtyard space dictated the positioning of the other facilities.



Figure 76a & 76b View of outside showing mural wall art (author) and contextual scale

K-CAP was not keen on using overtly traditional forms of architectural expression. The use of gumpoles and metal roof sheets is in keeping with some of the materials used in the immediate neighbourhood. The scale of the centre is also much the same as the surrounding buildings. Consideration has been given to the language of the context. Instead they wanted to use this as an opportunity to express KwaMashu as progressive, forward looking and the new centre for the arts in Durban. As such although certain cultural concepts from the past have been employed, they have been executed using materials associated with the contemporary.

Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre has one more construction phase planned. This will include a museum to be housed in the original Marschall Farm residence, which will be transplanted near the Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre. The historical residence has been identified for demolition; however K-CAP has seen its preservation and integration with their facility as important in telling the story of KwaMashu's development – another structure for the continuation of cultural memory.

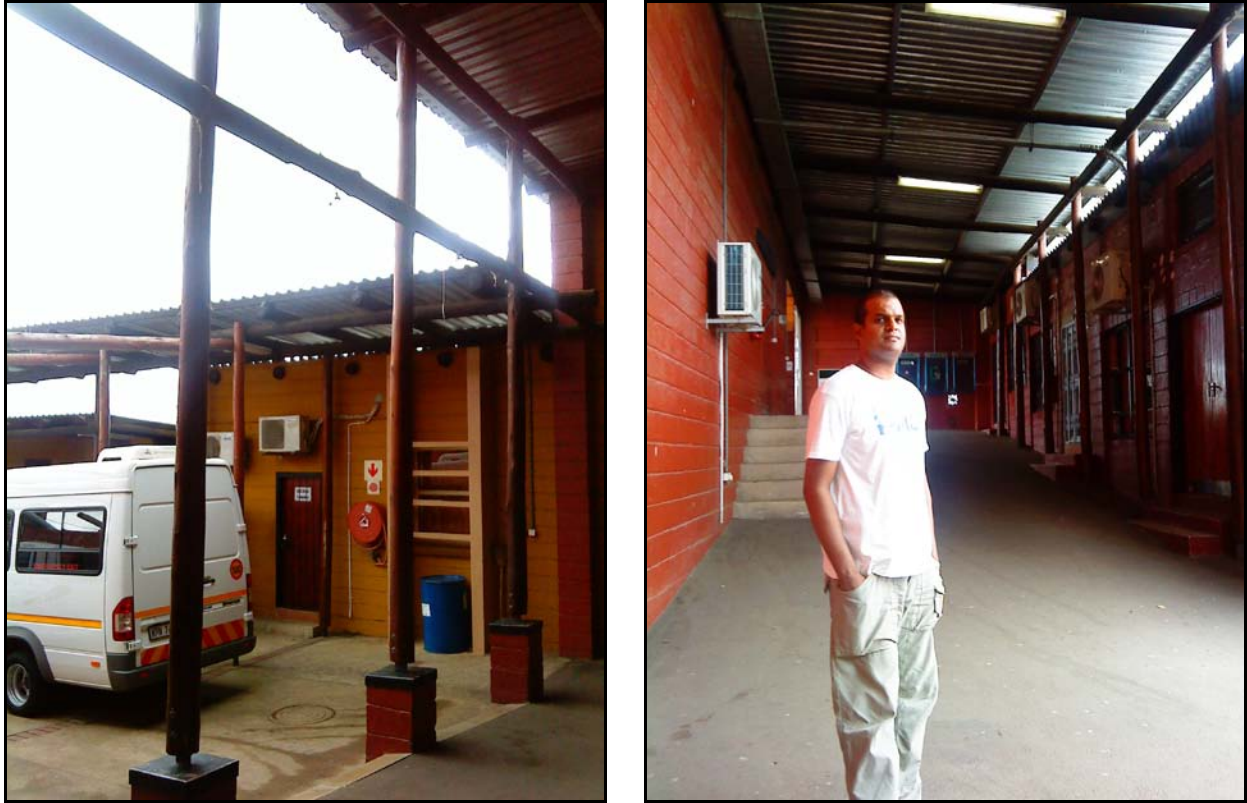


Figure 77a & 77b Internal "street" and courtyard at the Ekhaya Multi-Arts Centre with rooms arranged along it (author's photo)

Other facilities will include offices, a local craft market and more workshops dedicated to integrated arts. Respondent A sees this dialogue between old and new as important to the immediate community. It will be interesting to see how the architecture is used to express that dialogue.

The concept of a cultural centre, its implementation by K-CAP in the form of the Ekhaya Multi - Arts Centre has recently gained the support of government. The Department of Labour has begun to support the initiative through grants because of the youth development programme. The various socio-cultural and economic spin-offs from this project has brought to light the impact this type of facility can have on depressed communities in South Africa and its programmes are being promoted and implemented in other similar areas. Activity in the area has reportedly picked up by 40% since its construction (communication with architect).

5.5 CONCLUSION

The Ekhaya Multi Arts Centre forms an important focal point for community activity, especially youth activity. Users see it as an escape from the social evils present in society; therefore it is seen as a necessary and positive intervention.

Its programme is informative in providing guidelines for a functional brief for a cultural centre in local communities in Durban. The cultural centre provides locals with an opportunity for further education; it is an outlet for creativity and a place where identity can grow through debate and community participation. Most important it provides locals with a much-needed platform for discussion and action. Here they are given the opportunity to design their own futures.

The questionnaires and interview responses (Appendix A) further obviate the need for such centres especially in areas such as Verulam, where cultural expression is not given enough of a civic platform, and the cultural memories of society have been suppressed.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

6.1 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Material culture, in the form of the built environment, provides evidence of the distinctive form of a society (Dant, 1999: 2) and cultural memory has been shown to provide the instructions for its shape and programme, as was seen in the everyday environment described in detail in the Indian example as well as the discussion about more formal institutional expressions as monuments and museums. Cultural Centres seem to fit somewhere in between as institutions more related to the everyday and everyday culture yet also with cultural memory as one of the main objectives.

As cultural memory in tangible form material culture is evidence because it is an integral part of what society is. Society or any collectives for that matter cannot be fully comprehended independently of its material expressions. Furthermore material culture bonds people by providing the means of sharing ways of living through more concrete, visible and accessible ways. Dant (1999: 2) suggests that it is through this “quasi-social” relationship with material things that individuals and collectives express their identity and experience their location within their socio-cultural contexts.

The built environment and cultural memory express and reinforce each other in a manner which allows the collective to adapt and maintain itself within the natural setting to which it is a part (Lawrence and Low, 1990: 456). Its forms are mirror expressions of the collective’s belief systems, cosmology, social structures, all of which initially defined cultural memory and which in turn guided further action whether in tangible or intangible forms. In other words it is also a model for reproducing certain social constructs (Lawrence and Low, 1990: 456). Rapoport (1969) pushed the idea further by stating that socio-cultural factors (which are shaped by cultural memory) were the primary factors influencing built form and that these were only modified by responses to climate and context as well as technology.

Cultural memory is also deeply political. The construction of identity is a subjective and incomplete process.

“When memory belongs to a group, a time, a region, a nation or any larger structure, it immediately becomes deeply political. And any kind of politics creates a meaningful context, both for the present as well as the past. This meaningful context can be best understood as a narrative, a way in which material objects, events, documents and descriptions are linked together into a coherent narration of past and present. This narration conveys to its audience how the present derives from the past and how the signs that structure and signify the world around them, bear witness to this inextricable connection between past and present. What the objects of the past tell the audience is the necessary state of things in the present. A society does not just exist; it is an emergent property of a multitude of events that have shaped its current state.” (Kluitenberg, 1999: 4)

Therefore as has been discussed, there can be nothing completely new. From the perspective of cultural memory as the basic driving force behind built environments, all functioning built environments must be palimpsests, where the past ideologies can still be communicated along with those expressing new development. Yet it has also been said that the material culture of past collectives vanish, especially when the value of it decreases due to a lack of structures to communicate its meaning or to manipulate it in order that it can be made meaningful and functional (Tilley, Keane, Kuchler, Rowlands and Spyer, 2006: 316).

Ritual and ceremony, the organisation of action and performance around this process between built environment and cultural memory, helps maintain a meaningful relationship between the past and the present as well as the future, as was demonstrated in the examples of Orange Parade and the Malta *festa* as well as the vital role of the Mande griots.

Cultural memory is man's primary adaptive mechanism (Damen, 1987: 367) as such architecture developed through constant development on lessons of the past so that it is relevant to the present, is particularly useful and more likely to keep up with the changing meaning structures and belief systems of people of the present day context.

In consequence the architectural language used should not use literal historical forms but rather develop upon memorable, relevant and perhaps time-hardy ideologies held by a group of people. It has been intimated that architecture embodies memory when it makes visible reference to historical styles and types (Beaudry, 2002: 4), however this visual familiarity may have more relevance if the ideologies behind those visual similarities are also similar. Without carrying any relevant meaning for people of the present day the best works, which borrow historical style and aesthetic, are meaningless.

The concept of style or aesthetic arises from a time when man began to catalogue his environment according to the "scientific method" which was seen to be objective and without room for distortion. Although this was an important tool and contributed substantially to man's collective body of knowledge the method was flawed. Its focus was the finished product without much understanding for the processes, which created it. As a result superficial elements of visual similarity became sufficient reason to create generic labels, which ignored the socio-cultural background of a building, or the cultural values it represented (Frescura, 1990: no pagination)

This does not suggest that a neutral stance be taken. As pointed out in earlier discussions, expression is unavoidable; therefore the avoidance of undertaking a culturally inspired design is not an adequate

response (Macdonald, 1996: 104-105). Architecture should be fresh and living interpretations of those values and cultural beliefs that gave rise to past architectural structures, yet have relevance and endure within the present context. Therefore architecture fluctuates between being a tool of subtle coercion, prescribing behaviour and a form of indifference, where the user is permitted to do that which is seen to be appropriate for the time and occasion (Broadbent, 1980: 42). In architectural terms, the language structure of cultural memory can be described as diachronic (as it develops over time, extracting all those socio-cultural elements of meaning it determines to be relevant) as well as synchronic (always relating to things current) (Broadbent, 1980: 43).

It has been postulated that memories inform the “reading” of an object. In the case of a book, without information regarding the author’s milieu, without memory material regarding its genesis, our understanding of the text may be limited. Such a book might have a shortened lifespan simply because the memories of its genesis were not recorded and could not provide further illumination concerning the story (Ben-Amos, 1999: 208). Similarly a built environment, which reflects no recollection of its genesis and heeds not the elements of the past, which might provide hints as to the reasoning behind its structure, can have a very limited meaning for its users. Indeed its value will be lessened and the likelihood of it falling into disrepair and being misused is high. The socio-cultural system, which serves to protect such environments, cannot do so because the language of the architecture does not express the cultural memories, which that particular society holds dear. Decoded by its users that built environment communicates unimportance. Without memory to provide cultural context, societies would suffer from displacement and a loss of identity – the built environment would reflect this.

Collectives adapt their built environments to their behavioural and socio-cultural needs through reconstruction and renovation etc and conversely people also modify their behaviour to fit the physical environment, especially when limitations are presented within it (Lawrence and Low, 1990: 460). Furthermore has been postulated that the mind employs socio-cultural schema-based, unconscious structures to facilitate perception, interpretation, inference, expectation and attention. These structures are said to be unconscious because they are deeply embedded into our cognition of the world. They serve to make the environment legible (visible and meaningful to a greater population) in the first and most primary fashion (Beaudry, 2002: 9) as discussed under the heading of imageability. The growth of these structures into tools of second nature develops from the interconnectedness between individual memory and collective/ cultural memory of a particular social or cultural group. The built environment seems to behave as a mnemonic device, i.e. it behaves as a reminder not only of how to behave but also of all those

things societies value, their belief systems etc. This “mnemonic function” of the environment is equivalent to group or cultural memory and consensus (Rapoport, 1982: 81).

Forms are being manipulated and their meanings being re-assessed constantly so that they may be relevant to the present day. However there are certain architectural concepts, which have endured through the ages. The endurance of these concepts within the built environments of people across cultural and geographical boundaries has occurred as a result of them being entrenched in the memory of humanity.

The usefulness of these global concepts has been illustrated in the examples of the Jewish Museum and the Hector Pieterse Museum. However, the manner in which these concepts have developed within individual societies largely depends on socio-cultural schemata of the people within those societies and their culturally specific memories.

The significance of cultural memory in architecture must be emphasized. It places emphasis on giving expression to the beneficial socio-cultural ideologies, which a society has developed over time, in architecture. As such “particularness” of place and the celebration of the identity of a group of people become possible.

6.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Remembering is an active process and relies on group consensus, therefore cultural memory; the group product is always in the process of becoming and is a communal activity. This process is often triggered by transition and results in pronounced increases in group activity and the formulation of altered cultural memory in order to stabilise the collective and its identity. As a result identity is always in the process of becoming and that which is usable from the past is retained for the present and future therefore cultural memory favours the present and remembering is less about the past and more about what it facilitates in the present.

Cultural memory endures because of material and non-material expressions. It requires action, such as performance, written material etc to strengthen its relevance and keep it a part of the public. This suggests that in order for the processes of cultural memory to remain democratic, cultural memory requires a public and shared platform for its growth. Without such participation cultural memory lies in the hands of power structures alone and is often less effective for socio-cultural growth.

Cultural memory has been described as architectural in some ways as it utilises place, image and culture in order to function. The natural landscape is considered the large cognitive map of cultural memory.

When urban planning, architecture and narrative are used to present the natural landscape to the viewer in the best light it becomes a strong organising element in forming memories. As such its conservation becomes a matter of self-preservation. Architecture is considered a stable material expression of cultural memory. The built environment is seen to be a palimpsest – a record of past and present, a continuous narrative of memory which expresses significant events or memories that endure in the memories of collectives and memories which organise the everyday. The built environment when it relates the narrative of its community's development becomes bound up with the identity of the people of that community. Therefore the built environment should reflect the cultural memory of the people to which it belongs.

Cultural memory has come to be represented by recognisable formal institutions and their specific building typologies such as museums, monuments and memorials as well as the everyday public architecture such as streets, multi-use public areas and buildings shaped over time. Venues such as museums and cultural centres behave as places of focused discussion and convergence of cultural memory; as such they should reflect that purpose in architecture, not through copying the past but through fresh and valuable interpretations of it. Innovation built on the meaningful past and the relevant new is perhaps closer to a suitable architectural design approach.

Sculpture, ornamentation, decoration and even murals and other forms of art cannot be separated from architecture, but contribute to a holistic response to the matter of cultural memory expression in the built environment. Symbolism and narrative have been found to be the tools of expression in architecture. Literal representations have not dominated the architectural trends in this arena.

Heterogeneous societies are partly addressed in architectural terms through the use of global concepts outlined in the theoretical discourse as well as precedent examples. However further meaningful input can be gleaned from direct interaction with the community being dealt with as in the case study.

The conclusions reached here serve to inform the design of socio-culturally relevant architecture and built environments using cultural memory as the conceptual and theoretical framework of analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER 7:

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APPENDIX A

PART TWO

DESIGN REPORT

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CHAPTER 1:

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research comes full circle as the area of study which generated the research questions now becomes the focus of analysis and action mediated by the theoretical and conceptual framework outlined in “Part One” of this research document. Cultural memory as a concept will be used in an attempt to create a meaningful built environment for the Verulam community as well as provide a platform from which the community is able to initiate beneficial change itself. This process has been purported to organize a community and make social identity a point of focus. An important part of this process is the role the built environment can play in “re-membering” a community and underlining identity issues.

Furthermore visitor’s to the community would be afforded the opportunity of engaging with a community which is self aware and able to take ownership of its story or history and its further development, instead of being presented with a community image with which the community has no meaningful relationship.

It has been stated that culture as a legacy originates in locale because it requires context in which to thrive (Rankin, 2006: 1-5), therefore situating an institution, which focuses on cultural memory in a community situation rather than a socially ambiguous area has perhaps more potential. Within a communal arena cultural memory becomes the responsibility of the community in which it is situated and that community is able to take ownership of it and participate in writing their own story by meaningfully engaging with the place and its past.

1.1.1 Socio-cultural amnesia in Verulam

The cultural history of Verulam is a proud one yet the story of its development is not well known by its current populace. The inhabitants of Verulam do not enjoy the sense of place, social cohesion and purpose, which such a history naturally provides a people. This is because there is a severe lack of civic institutions such as museums, cultural and documentation centres dedicated to the commemoration and more importantly the conveyance of that history to the people who belong to the town. The absence of these important cultural institutions is a result of destructive apartheid policies, which discouraged civic development in areas, which had become designated non-white.

Important to remember is that the conveyance of cultural history whether it is through verbal, non-verbal or written means is vital to the continuation and proper functioning of any society. It follows therefore that the lack of structures to facilitate this process in the ever-changing cultural climate of Verulam meant

the slow destruction of that society's identity and sense of purpose. The cultural development of Verulam has become stunted as a result of this socio-cultural amnesia.

Furthermore, the built environment of the Verulam CBD bears the symptoms of this socio-cultural amnesia. Many historical buildings and other structures, which played a crucial role in Verulam's development, have been situated within the evolving spatial framework in such a way that they are rendered "invisible" to the everyday user. The Umhloti River, a prominent natural feature and the primary reason for the siting of Verulam settlement, has been isolated from the rest of the built fabric. Everyday activities occur to the exclusion of these historical built and natural focal points. As such the role of both the built structures and the natural landscape in the cultural evolution of society in Verulam has been spatially negated. Therefore the built environment can no longer serve as a cultural and historical memory device for its users.

The result of this social and spatial amnesia has been the steady decay of the older quarters of the Verulam CBD. The old Verulam Town Hall, once a venue for the library, theatrical and musical performances and other cultural events, was allowed to gradually degenerate until it was pulled down. The gap left as a result both spatially and socially has not yet been filled. Subsequent development has merely slotted into an increasingly incoherent and non-meaningful built environment.

1.2 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

1.2.1 Cultural Centres as Sites of Cultural Memory

Cultural centres have come to the fore as building typologies, which facilitate social development and act as catalysts for further spatial development. Contemporary discussion suggests that cultural centres as buildings come about when the significance of even the most recent past and its attached memories are required to be assessed and re-built by a society; where architecture is not a formal response to a particular brief such that the building sits as an inexplicable object within the context but rather where the brief and resultant design is an expression of contemporary attitudes towards the context and content (Finch, 2006: 35). This perspective further emphasizes the relevance of a cultural centre in a context such as Verulam where people seem detached from their heritage and ill equipped to preserve or understand the built environment.

Museums have been at the forefront in the past as a building typology, which addresses cultural memories in the architectural arena. So too have libraries. However, the current trends reflected in both library and museum design briefs indicate a move towards a less compartmentalized treatment of cultural memory

and history. Museums can no longer function solely as containers of cultural artefacts and libraries often include media centres, internet cafés and coffee bars for the fluid exchange of ideas. Often museums and libraries are paired off. The umbrella concept of a cultural centre allows for the easy manipulation and inclusion of any of these various building typologies to achieve the end goal, which is the continuation of cultural memory and the creation of a social and spatial identity in Verulam – a “particularness” of people and place.

Moreover there seems to be a more holistic view taken of cultural memory in recent times. It is not something, which is only contained within buildings, but by analysing several non-western socio-cultural contexts, it becomes obvious that culturally memory can be committed to architecture and spaces in and around buildings. As such the communication of cultural memories does not necessarily begin within a building through the consumption of artefacts and written documents but by reading the spaces, which comprise the cultural centre as well.

There exists therefore, an opportunity to exploit the use of a well recognized civic institution in the form of a cultural centre as a place which holds cultural memory in the form of historical artefacts, written documents etc and the re-discovery of lost methods which use architecture, the spaces in and around the cultural centre, to communicate cultural memory. It has been demonstrated that it is the socio-cultural schemata which should determine the most culturally relevant method of conveying cultural history and hence the manner in which a cultural centre is composed in terms of spatial order, form and massing, detail and ornamentation.

Within the context of Verulam the problem is one of poor community “imageability”. The built environment communicates unimportance even though Verulam’s socio-cultural history merits better representation. Over the years this has meant that negative inferences drawn by visitors to the Verulam CBD have impacted upon their view of the people of Verulam as well. As such Verulam continues to be socially and spatially isolated, enjoying little developmental attention whilst surrounding areas enjoy burgeoning development. The Verulam CBD does not adequately address the full range of socio-cultural needs of the community thus the reality is that most parts of Verulam’s built fabric are falling into disrepair. The bulk of the population willingly travels to support social and commercial enterprises outside the boundaries of Verulam, as these are seen to be positive venues for social, commercial and cultural interaction.

The reason for poor community imageability in Verulam seems twofold. If one accepts that architecture and cultural memory work together to ensure the evolution of a society then the failure of one or the other in the facilitation of this process must result in the retardation of that society’s development. In the case of

Verulam, institutions, which provide access to cultural memory and history and allow people to actively participate in the process of socio-cultural evolution, are virtually non-existent. Moreover the architecture of Verulam, its spatial arrangement and planning does not trigger the process of remembering important and relevant socio-cultural information.

The solution must likewise be twofold. Firstly a cultural centre in Verulam would provide people with a venue dedicated to the commemoration and celebration of history and cultural memory whilst also affording them the opportunity to re-evaluate the past so that it is relevant to the present – a crucial outcome in discussions concerning cultural memory. Like most successful cultural centres of this kind, such a centre would, through the celebration of the process of Verulam's evolution, bring about social cohesion and civic pride.

Secondly the architecture and design concepts employed in the creation of the cultural centre must be dictated by relevant socio-cultural ideas developed over time and which point directly to the cultural memories and history of Verulam and its people. Therefore if the goal of the cultural centre is to allow people to engage with Verulam's cultural history and memories then the society must determine the methods employed in this process, which must in turn impact upon the architecture. In other words should the people of Verulam determine that dance and drama, oral tradition or even sculpture are relevant local methods of engaging with history and cultural memory then the architecture must develop around those methods. Furthermore in looking at the history of a specific culture for clues as to how their specific built environment may be organised, replication or the transplantation of past traditional forms is not the answer. Identifying ideologies, which can be made relevant to the specific built environment, is perhaps closer to being a desirable architectural solution.

1.2.2 Recognizing the value of culture and history in South Africa

1.2.2.1 Tracing Cultural Memories – The Macro-context

Various organizations in South Africa have begun to recognize the importance of remembering its past and the value of rewriting history to initiate change not just at a grand scale but especially at the local scale. The 150 anniversary of the arrival of indentured Indians in South Africa has become a focus of celebration and communal remembering and the creation of the 1860 Legacy Foundation. The cultural, social and educational initiatives such as K-CAP and the Ekhaya Multi Arts Centre in Kwa-Mashu, Kwa-Zulu Natal are now being advocated in other communities by government. Culture and history are being recognized as viable levers for development even though this was not at first acknowledged by government as in the case of the Ekhaya Multi Arts Centre (White, 2004: 11).

Furthermore the development of historical and cultural trails which allow the holistic re-telling of the past have already been instituted. The “Freedom Route” in Kwa-Zulu Natal, which encompasses many localities, is one such example. It outlines the history of many national heroes such as Dr John Langalibalele Dube, Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Luthuli and Alan Paton. Of particular interest is the employment of context and location; the idea of “particularness” in terms of place and people to make the contributions of these heroes memorable and to demonstrate visually the impact of their stories. Another positive repercussion of this approach is the direct social as well as economical benefits derived by the community in which these cultural memories are situated. These communities are able to take ownership of these memories and utilize them to their advantage.

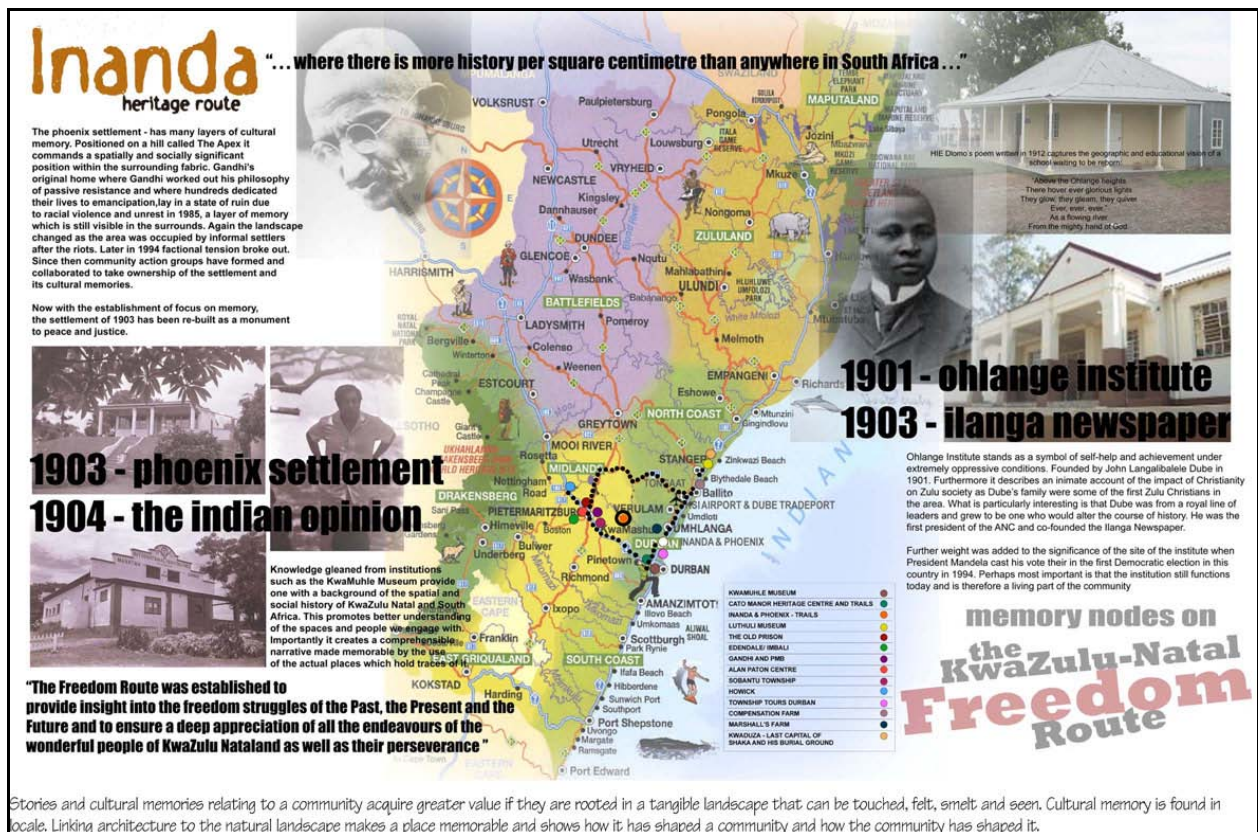


Figure 1 graphic illustration of the Freedom Route (author's illustration)

The Freedom Route is punctuated by historical nodes, which provide focus along the trail. These focal points take the form of museums and historical buildings such as the KwaMuhle Museum a building of notorious historical significance as it was once the Department of Native Affairs in Durban Central, new

mixed use nodes such as the Cato Manor Heritage Centre located in Cato Manor an area with a rich history, Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement where Gandhi started his revolution, Dr John Dube's Ohlange Institute on which the historic school still stands and the Luthuli Museum in Groutville, which was once Luthuli's own homestead (<<http://www.kzn.org.za/index.php?freedom>>). Other focal points along the trail in Pietermaritzburg include the Pietermaritzburg Train Station, The Old Prison, the Gandhi Statue and the Alan Paton Centre.

1.2.2.2 Establishing Verulam as a node along the cultural memory trail

As a town boasting layers of cultural memory Verulam stands to gain from its inclusion on the Inanda Heritage Trail, which forms part of the Freedom Route. Such an inclusion means that Verulam can justifiably locate itself within the macro narrative of Kwa-Zulu Natal in which it played and can continue to play a significant part.

This development could play a crucial role in changing the perception Verulam residents have of their historical and current role within the macro context and provide them with a strong and proud sense of identity and belonging. Again this relates back to the idea which Rankin (2006: 1-5) describes as “providing the capacity to aspire”, where the people of Verulam desire participation in designing their future as they see it to be a meaningful contribution to the whole. The act of tracing the story of the past in the form of a trail or journey also relates back to the idea of performing cultural memory. Such a performance, i.e. a form of cultural and historical pilgrimage or arguably the act of locating oneself transforms space. It demarcates and shapes it by making visible a story, which might not have been clearly tangible or explicit. Transformation from space to place occurs through action i.e. actively imbuing it with meaning through performance and implicating the physical in the form of landscape, built environment and architecture as a crucial part of the performance without which the performance begins to flounder.

Therefore in the interest of communicating a coherent and legible story the design project begins on a macro scale by outlining a historical and cultural trail of significance of which Verulam is a part. This also encourages a socio-cultural, economic and physical relationship between areas, which have been isolated from each other via destructive past policies.

1.2.2.3 Alignment with Government Proposals for the Northern Spatial Development Plan

Two programmes outlined in the eThekweni IDP Review 2009 are particularly pertinent to the specific goals of this dissertation and its related design project:

- *“Promote an economic environment for arts, heritage and culture*

Strategies and projects within this programme are aimed at promoting and providing opportunities for artists in all disciplines to develop their art. The Municipality also recognises that there needs to be complementary activities to promote an environment that nurtures and develops an awareness of arts and culture as this will develop a demand for the artist's work. Projects have been formulated for developing artists (including those with disabilities) as entrepreneurs, and providing gallery space, exhibition opportunities and commercial channels for their work. Local cultural industries and township technology are also promoted. Holiday programmes that generate educational and cultural experiences for the public, and especially learners, are also vital in developing civic pride and cultural and heritage awareness.

- ***Empower citizens through arts, heritage and culture***

Cultural diversity is celebrated through events on special days of cultural and heritage significance. A key project is the Living Heritage and Traditions programmes. Heritage preservation is recognized throughout the world as a fundamental component of a liveable city – an essential element that provides people with a feeling of security and a sense of belonging in the place where they live. Another initiative in the INK ABM that is creating an impact in the area is the Cultural Renaissance Programme wherein the focus is on regeneration of the moral fibre, museums, arts and culture. The City has a diverse heritage, and conservation and promotion of it through local history projects and new opportunities for gallery space, as well as museums reflecting transformation and historical revisionism, is enriching for citizens and visitors.” (eThekweni IDP Review, 2009: 86).

One of the main visions of the eThekweni IDP plan is to create a “caring and liveable city” (eThekweni IDP Review, 2009). Government has outlined the steps required to achieve this. Under the heading “Local Economic Development” government promotes the creation of economic opportunities for arts, culture and heritage and recognizes that this goes hand in hand with other development opportunities such as the growth of existing businesses and recreational opportunities.

The Inanda/Ntuzuma/KwaMashu (INK) initiative is a social realignment programme aimed at accelerating the development of communities living in these areas. The development of Bridge City, KwaMashu Town Centre and the new King Shaka Airport and Dube International Tradeport as well as other developments such as Cornubia Residential node near Umhlanga and the Umhlanga New Town Centre are seen as impacting positively on growth in the Northern Region (<<http://www.durban.gov.za/Durban/invest/economic-development/sectors>>). In fact growth in this region has been said to have “shifted the centre of gravity” in Durban (eThekweni Municipality, Northern Spatial Development Plan, 2009: 5). The city of Durban proposes to enhance the historical and cultural attractions in the area such as the Inanda Heritage Trail and it is actively promoting investment in the area as part of its regeneration programmes in former black CBDs in eThekweni, including the small towns of Verulam and Tongaat (<<http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/invest/economic-development/sectors>>).

According to the Northern Spatial Development Plan – June 2009 (NSDP) Verulam has been defined as a sub-metropolitan node. Some of the key focuses of development are transport and social services and in “order to encourage local community identity within an expanding metropolitan city, it will be necessary to consolidate existing and establish new town centres” (eThekweni Municipality, Northern Spatial Development Plan, 2009: 14 - 15). Furthermore according to the NSDP Local Area Development Guidelines the Verulam CBD has been targeted for enhancement as a Sub-Metropolitan Node in order to support the R102 Metropolitan Development Corridor. In terms of open space development natural assets such as the Umhloti River have been targeted for integrated park systems as well as recreational opportunities for the adjacent residential areas, thereby assisting in breaking up continuous urban settlement within the development corridor.

Furthermore Verulam supports a burgeoning border population in the form of townships such as Waterloo, which are still expanding. Therefore as part of this initiative to regenerate the Verulam CBD and respond to the issue of socio-cultural sustainability and the redressing of previous social and economic inequalities the development of a cultural centre for Verulam via the information this research has brought to light has been identified as necessary.

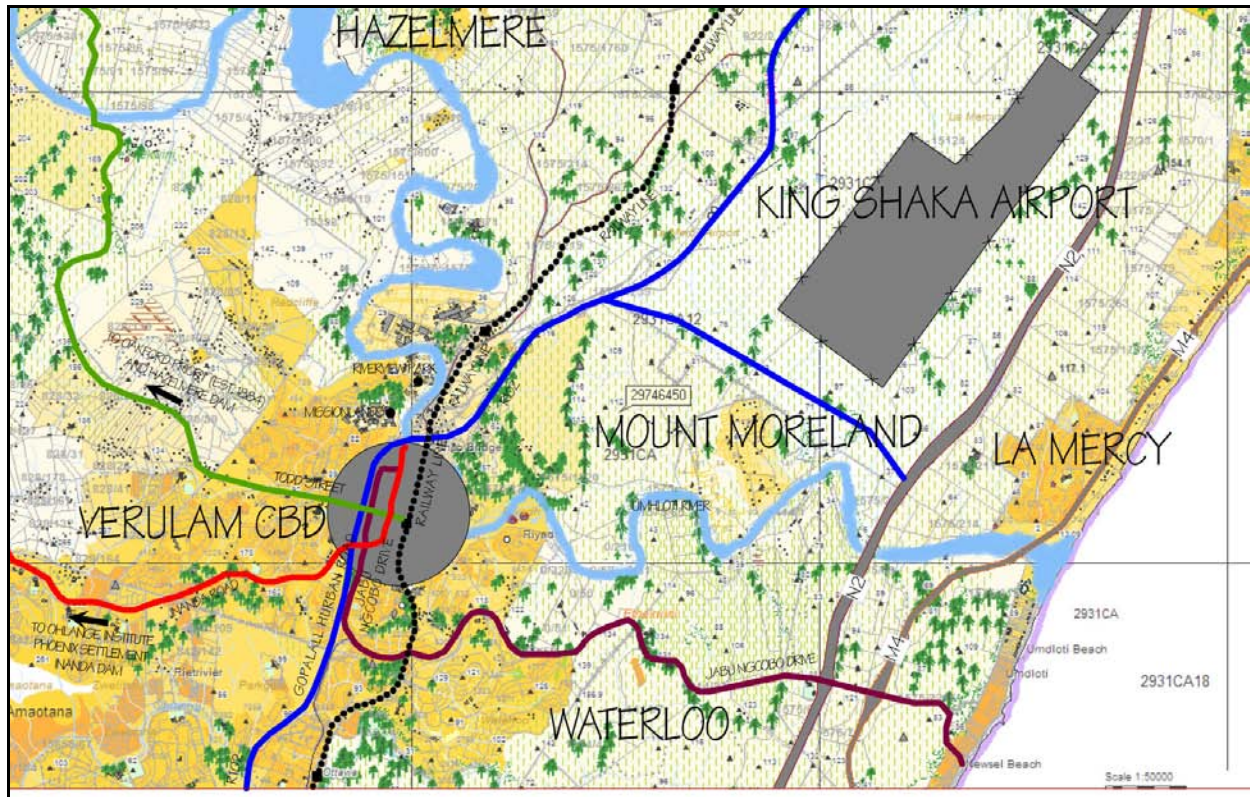


Figure 2 Map illustrating areas surrounding Verulam (author's illustration)

According to the latest research almost 60% of foreign tourist visits to KZN include some cultural, historical and heritage activities (Gowans, 2010). Experiencing the political change in South Africa is rated as the second preference of most visitors after visiting game parks.

1.3 THE NOTIONAL CLIENT

1.3.1 The Client's Requirements

- Developing civic pride and socio-cultural awareness has been targeted as a key goal of the proposed development.
- This has been seen to have the potential of providing cultural sustainability to the local community and neighbouring areas.
- Creating a focal node and anchor facility for spin-off cultural and ecological developments in the area.
- A holistic approach to history, memory and culture within Verulam and surrounding areas with the potential to create socio-cultural and economic linkages as well as the preservation of important historical buildings.
- The provision of educational and research facilities which can serve both the local community as well as the broader community of Durban.
- The provision of a platform for dialogue and community action
- The inclusion of mixed use activity in order that the facility does not become isolated from the community and its activities
- The possible inclusion of recreational facilities

1.3.2 The Client's Organisation

In the same vein as the initiative started by the Nelson Mandela Foundation the client, a conglomeration of institutions have decided to fund the building of a Centre for Memory and Dialogue in Verulam. This initiative is expected to provide many socio-cultural and economic benefits to the community and enable it to participate in a cultural movement, which has already started in the neighbouring areas such as Ballito, Inanda, Phoenix, KwaMashu and Stanger. Several organizations have come together to support the establishment of this cultural centre in Verulam, namely The National Heritage Council (AMAFA), The National Arts and Culture Lottery Initiative (NACLI) and the eThekweni Department of Arts and Culture. They have undertaken the Nelson Mandela Foundations belief that one of “the vehicles for

sharing memory effectively, for growing it, and for engaging it ... is dialogue (<<http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/general>>).”

The vision and mission statements of each organization describe their interest in the project:

The vision of the National Heritage Council is to create an enabling environment for the effective and efficient preservation, protection and promotion of South African heritage for present and future generations (<<http://www.pmg.org.za/docs/2007/070522nhcrep.pdf>>).

The National Arts and Culture Initiative is a joint initiative by the country's three national arts and culture funding agencies - the National Arts Council of South Africa (NAC), Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) and the Arts and Culture Trust (ACT) - to secure the maximum possible funds from the proposed national lottery, for the arts and culture sector. Five categories of good causes benefit directly from lottery proceeds. These were Reconstruction and Development (to be allocated 50 percent of the proceeds), Welfare Charities and Sport and Recreation (each to be allocated 20 percent), Arts, Culture and National Heritage including the environment (to receive 6 percent) and miscellaneous i.e. for natural disasters or special events e.g. Olympic bids (4 percent) (<<http://www.artlink.co.za/newsarticle.htm?contentID=10840>>).

The aim of the eThekweni Department of Arts and Culture is to develop and preserve South African culture to ensure social cohesion and nation building.

Their mission is to:

- To develop and promote arts and culture in South Africa and mainstream its role in social development
- To develop and monitor the implementation of policy, legislation and strategic direction for the identification, conservation and promotion of cultural heritage
- To guide, sustain and develop the archival, heraldic and information resources of the nation to empower citizens through full and open access to these resources (<[http://www.dac.gov.za/publications/annual_report / Annual_report 04_05.pdf](http://www.dac.gov.za/publications/annual_report/Annual_report_04_05.pdf)>).

1.3.3 Detailed Client Brief and Accommodation Schedule

Part One of this dissertation has largely informed the approach with regards to the design brief and accommodation schedule. Research seems to point to a mixed-use cultural centre, which would allow a holistic approach to public engagement and interaction. Furthermore field research conducted in Verulam

in the form of questionnaires (Appendix B) has been informative in gauging what needs would be addressed by a cultural centre in Verulam and what the programme for the cultural centre would be.

In order to allow residents of Verulam and those with a vested interest in the area to take ownership of the way in which it develops, certain organisations as well as individuals such as the Verulam Historical Society and individual dance, music and drama instructors have been accommodated. The Verulam Documentation Centre, which is very poorly equipped to house the artefacts which it currently holds would be more formally accommodated in a museum type building, providing it with a more significant architectural container and the existing library would also be relocated and expanded as the existing library is found to be inadequate and poorly positioned as past research has brought to light.

There would be small restaurants and cafes as well as a portion of lettable office space to ensure that the cultural centre generates a certain amount of revenue and to encourage casual interaction.

CHAPTER 2:

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Research carried out in “Part One” of this dissertation has pointed to the importance of the siting of institutions expressive of culture. The potential to encourage further communal action has been an important goal for institutions, which aim for the continuation of cultural memory instead of its stagnation. Precedents studies have indicated that most institutions of this type have been situated in places of cultural significance – memorable places. Many symbolized a shared cultural memory prior to the existence of buildings or institutions such as in the case of the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum in Soweto, the Bopitikelo Molatedi Community and Cultural Centre in South Africa as well as the Uluru Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre in Australia.

Within the context of Verulam the Verulam CBD provides the closest mixture of commercial, religious and other public services forming a potentially supportive communal framework. Its role as an important transport node further emphasizes its importance within the locality. However as has been pointed out previously it is an environment, which shows signs of dilapidation. The number of spaces which are avoided by the local populous are on the increase, creating under-utilized and unsavoury “dead zones”. In order to promote the functionality of this already existing Sub Metropolitan Node and to fulfil the goal of sustainability through the expression and development of a positive identity via the exploration of Verulam cultural memories, a cultural institution should be located within the Verulam CBD. Within the CBD are many sites of historical and cultural significance, which could be “uncovered” and utilized.

The most appropriate site for development would be one which gains considerably from the introduction of a cultural institution and which in turn provides a supportive environment for the functionality of the institution. In order to make such a choice a thorough analysis of the Verulam CBD is necessary. Furthermore the guidelines provided by government as well as other research conducted in the area could further delimit site options. Perhaps more importantly research into the history and memories of Verulam could further provide criteria, which could prioritise the list of options. Responses to questionnaires would further obviate the problem areas as well as those environmental elements and public amenities, which the local populous desire and relate to.

2.2 Historical Background of Selected Location

The town of Verulam approaches its 160th year and is the third oldest town in Kwa-Zulu Natal. In consequence it has a rich history, which has encompassed the struggles and triumphs of many prominent settler people in Kwa-Zulu Natal. It is a history, which deserves to be remembered, and provides an example of the diversity upon which so many of our local towns have been built.

The town reads like a palimpsest, as it is layered by the cultural memories of the British settlers and their missionary endeavours, the indentured Indians and their endeavours for a better life as well as the indigenous people, the Zulu who had emerged out of much tribal warfare at that time and had to rebuild their own societies in a rapidly changing landscape and under increasingly oppressive conditions. Each perspective casts a different light on the built environment of Verulam and reveals it as a record of vastly different individual cultural memories woven into a rich cultural memory tapestry, unravelling and rewoven in some parts through debate and contestation, yet beautifully patterned and ultimately shared and belonging to the Verulam community and the people of Durban.

In order to understand the series of events, which took place in Natal at the time British settlers, arrived and a little later the Indians, a brief investigation into the cultural landscape, which preceded them, will be undertaken.

Scattered Zulu tribes inhabited Durban when the British settlers arrived. This was largely a result of the social upheaval caused by the political unrest during King Shaka's reign. After Shaka's murder, many of his closest followers fled, fearing death under King Dingane's regime. Some of these clans settled around the Umhloti River (Subban, 1987: 7).

By 1850 the area along the Umhloti River became a focus of much planning and future enterprise by British settlers in Natal. German settlers led by Mr. Bergtheil were attracted to this area by the prospect of cotton farming, however they soon learnt that this enterprise was a failure and settled west in what is now known as New Germany (their contribution to the history of Durban has been celebrated in the establishment of the Bergtheil Museum) (Subban, 1987: 7).

In 1949 a few Mauritian sugarcane farmers arrived in Natal with sugarcane seed from Mauritius. Four Indians employed by these farmers in Mauritius were also brought along with them and it was they who started the first successful sugarcane plantation in this area. It was the seed from this plantation that started off the presently well-known Moreland Estate (Subban, 1987: 9).

Wesleyan emigration to Natal was sparked by the efforts of settlers Moreland and Byrne. By 13 March 1850, William Jonah Irons under the patronage of the Earl of Verulam in England established a formal Wesleyan township of approximately 400 Wesleyans. The new settlement was named Verulam. Most of the roads in Verulam are still named after those first Wesleyan Settlers who established it (Subban, 1987: 9).

Sugarcane farming was by far the most successful crop venture in Natal. However, the British experienced crippling labour shortages. The solution was Indian indenture. By 1860 the first Indian

immigrants were brought to Natal. Indentured life was tough for the Indians as strict laws governed their movements outside of the farms they were contracted to. The Verulam courthouse and prison was the site of much political unrest when Indians accepted the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to help alleviate the inhumane conditions of indentured life. Yet despite the difficulties imposed upon them Indians began to thrive in Durban. In Verulam they became competitors to the British settlers in the fruit and vegetable business becoming suppliers to other neighbouring areas as well as the Durban CBD. Many eventually purchased hotels and other halfway houses in Verulam from their former masters. Mahatma Gandhi established a temple for the Indian settlers in Verulam – the only *nagara* styled temple in Africa (Personal communication with White, 2010). Still other important historical personages such as Mr M.L.Sultan who became a prominent figure in the Indian community started off as a porter at the Verulam train station (Subban, 1987: 27).

There were many African families who resided in Verulam as well. African farmers in Verulam met the settler's demand for maize and livestock. General dealer stores, which were the source of much trade, were opened by the Majolas and the Gumedes just outside Verulam (Subban, 1987: 13).

A brief look at the history of Verulam indicates that many people from diverse backgrounds could share in the story of its development. The celebration of the place and its history as the common factor between historically divided people has the potential to forge new relationships. As a landscape of material culture it could bond people by providing the means of sharing methods of living through concrete, visible and accessible ways.

Certain strong social ideas have endured over time, even within the divided social and spatial landscape. In each racially divided enclave these ideas have allowed people to endure. Important to this research is the identification of the corresponding architectural expressions of these social ideas. These local architectural expressions share certain strong commonalities, which have impacted on the selection criteria of the site.

A thorough analysis of the CBD afforded clues as to the most appropriate site for a cultural centre in Verulam. Furthermore, research regarding spatial organisation and clarity such as that outlined by Lynch (1960), Nasar (1998) and Jacobs (1961) amongst others has further delimited the site options.

2.3 Contextual Analysis

In keeping with a holistic approach discussed in Part One, the Centre for Memory and Dialogue was conceived as connecting with other parts of the Verulam CBD, using the Wick Street axis to enhance the

experience of the termination as well as framing the views seen along the way. As such the search for an appropriate site and design begins with an analysis of the whole CBD.

2.4 Site Selection and Discussion

Three sites were considered. The selection criteria were as follows:

- A place, which is prominently located within the CBD and complies with some of the spatial theories outlined in Part One of the research.
- An area which would most benefit from the cultural centre
- A site of significance – social and spatial
- A site, which would most, contribute to the continuation of the macro-scale concept of journey and inclusive looking as discussed in part one of the research component.
- An area which benefitted from some feature, natural or otherwise to add to its presence
- Close proximity to the current town centre and focus of activity

2.4.1 Site One – The Old Town Centre

Site one is located in the old town centre. Once the location of all the most important civic buildings this area is now poorly utilised as a result of poorly organised road networks. The Gandhi memorial park, which was the old market square, is located here, as well as the 1850's Wesleyan Church started by the town's founders. The old Verulam Prison is also to be found here opposite the Verulam magistrate's court. Despite the presence of these important buildings the area is not prominently located within the spatial framework of the CBD. The railway along the eastern edge creates a hard uninviting barrier.



Figure 4 An analysis of site one (author's illustration)

It is also currently the location of the Verulam Library and Documentation Centre which primary research has shown is poorly utilised because of its location. The concept of journey and the continuation of a strong processional route are not strongly supported by this site. Furthermore it is removed from the centre of Verulam's current cultural focus and activity zone, which is the new market and local council.

Besides the Gandhi Memorial Park the area does not benefit from strong positive spatial features.

This area does however have the potential to become a distinct district. The old prison is to be developed into a rehabilitation and skills development facility and the Verulam Child Welfare complex is located here as well.

2.4.2 Site Two – Location of the Old Town Hall

Site two was the location of the old town hall. Although currently vacant, it is a site of significance as it used to be a venue for dance, drama and theatrical performances and lessons as well as ceremonies and

celebrations. It was also the venue for a small library before the building was demolished and the current Verulam Library building was developed. Spatially the site is prominently located as it occupies a corner site at the intersection of two of Verulam's main streets, namely Todd and Wick Street. As it is at a topographical high point it enjoys adequate visibility, which is aided by much pedestrian traffic and the presence of small mixed-use buildings and much trade activity. However it does not benefit from any natural feature. Furthermore, it is located very close to the entrance of Verulam CBD, and therefore does not support the idea of inclusive looking or the concepts of journey and procession and prevents visitors from seeing more of the Verulam CBD and its bustling culture. This part of town would not benefit especially from a cultural centre as it is an already thriving part of the Verulam CBD.

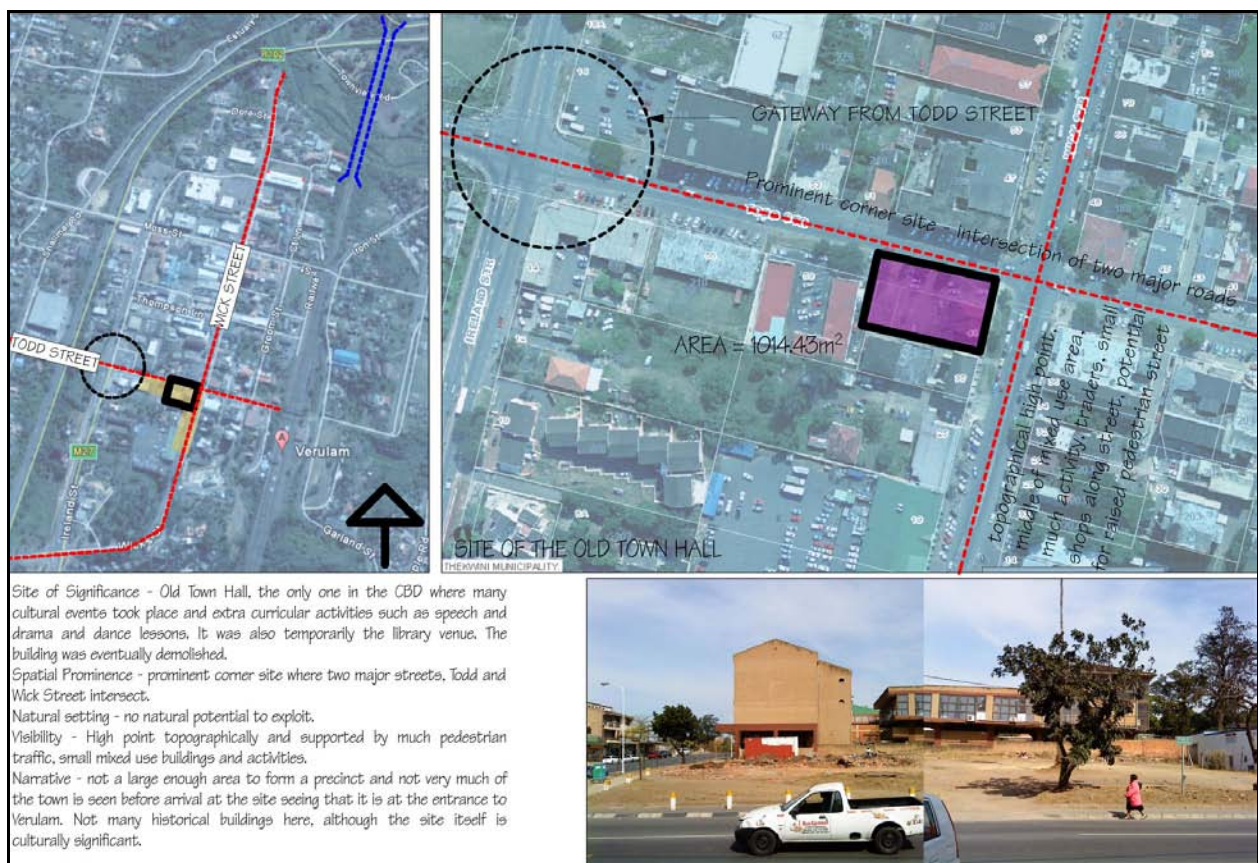


Figure 5 An analysis of site two (author's illustration)

Although both sites presented opportunities the final site choice offers the greatest potential. It would allow the celebration of Verulam's most unique and potentially most memorable attributes.

2.4.3 Site Three – The Final Choice

Site of significance

Site three is situated at the end of the Verulam's main street. The street itself is very prominent spatially as it bisects the CBD, as a north-south axis. This site could also benefit from a significant fact – Verulam is the only town in the world that has its main street terminating in a dead end/ river! This fact has been entered into the Guinness Book of World Records and this unique termination could be developed into a place of social and spatial significance.

Topography

The site is located at the lowest topographical point of the CBD and suffers from poor visibility despite its prominence within the grid. The natural gradient is quite steep in a north-south direction as well as along its east-west axis. It does however benefit from the presence of the Umhloti River along the eastern side, the main factor influencing the establishment of the town in this area of Natal. Furthermore a green belt along its western side serves as a soft barrier between the elevated R102 and the centre of the site.



Figure 6 An analysis of site three (author's illustration)

A landmark railway bridge, which stretches over the R102, lends spatial weight to this part of the CBD and recalls one of the earliest train stations built here. Further emphasising its suitability as a site is the presence of an old abandoned building, which was once a corn mill built by one of the Wesleyan Settlers, a Mr A.H. Dykes – the building and especially its original brick chimney serves as a symbol of the pioneering spirit of the settlers.

Although the site is not very visible from within the Verulam CBD it enjoys a high degree of visibility from the R102. This route is seeing a greater increase in use since the development of the King Shaka Airport and Dube Tradeport as it is now an alternative to the N2 national road to the new airport. Currently a particularly unsightly part of the CBD, the location of air and water polluting industry and a poorly used space by the residents of Verulam, the view presented to travellers on the R102 is very negative.

25

Access

The site is accessible via the main road – Wick Street and via a narrow subsidiary road, which currently runs past the old prison and eventually through the industrial buildings at the end of Wick Street. However the limited could add to its prominence as a grand culmination of the main road in the CBD. The main bus and taxi ranks are fairly close to the site, which means people using public transport, would be able to access it quite easily. This activity would also encourage the presence of traders and market activity, which makes the rest of the main street so inviting.



Figure 8a & 8b Approaching the site at the end of Wick Street, Verulam's main axial street (author's photos)

Responding to the concept of Journey

Positioned at the very end of the CBD it allows both locals and visitors to take in the sights of Verulam's CBD and continues the concept of journey and inclusive looking started on a macro scale along the Inanda Heritage Trail. People are allowed to "read" the cultural environment through the activities taking place along the route and the buildings, which facilitate these activities before they reach the Centre where this culture becomes a focused and interpreted subject. This allows people, to a degree, to form their own opinions about the place. After paying a visit to the cultural centre, the visitor whilst retracing his/her route, sees Verulam and its inhabitants with a renewed understanding of the role they played and

continue to play in the larger context of Durban. Furthermore the position, which this grand termination affords, relates well to local spatial preferences (expression of local ideas of ordered society) of axuality, spatial and functional hierarchy and gradation of space. The site as a termination to the main axial road is also suggestive of communal gathering. The site could be developed into a node, landmark and district and lends emphasis and importance to the town's main path, Wick Street.

2.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the Verulam CBD, the goals of the client and the issues outlined in Part One of the theoretical framework will form the basis for the derivation of urban and building design concepts as well as a schedule of accommodation.

CHAPTER 3: DESIGN DEVELOPMENT AND RESOLUTION

3.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

3.1.1 Introduction

The people of South Africa and Durban have up until very recently, been forced to live in separate, unequally serviced and racially divided enclaves. Earlier discussions argued that the built environment is indeed a material record of the social patterns, values and belief systems of a group of people. Within the Apartheid system the built environment of black dormitory towns were an expression of suppressed civic life and unravelling family structures, poor and limited access to central parts of the city positioned far away. They were also material expressions of racial and cultural divisions. Certainly each group, Indian (further broken down into other groups), African (also broken down into various language and tribal groups) and European had an influence on the others, however it could be argued that this occurred in a far more limited and restricted manner than would have occurred without Apartheid.

Each racial enclave developed the social patterns which allowed them to endure, and with these social patterns developed concomitant architectural expressions. Now within the new context of freedom and mobility these previously divided groups are afforded the opportunity to live together and form new communities in old landscapes. They bring with them the social ideologies which have allowed them to endure and their corresponding architectural expressions may perhaps for the first time be placed in the same space – setting up new spatial dialogues and relationships and encouraging the growth of a local architecture.

3.1.2 Conceptual Developments

The point of view that this dissertation puts forth is that local architecture will probably not happen comfortably at first – but that this “uncomfortably emerging” architecture will perhaps be a truer reflection of the state of our society at present. This merely reiterates the issues, which were discussed around the concept of cultural memory.

By placing these various previously separated architectural expressions in the same space there is hope for architecture expressive of a mixed and developing society.

Important social concepts from the past, which have endured i.e. all those useable aspects of the past from each racial group, will be utilised to guide the design of the Centre for Memory and Dialogue. Their commonalities will be emphasised and differences celebrated and shared. It must be emphasised as these would not be representations of a group or race but rather the emphasis will be on finding strong social concepts rendered in material form which can be shared.

In keeping with the global trends in architectural design with regard to memory, symbolism will be used in the architecture to “tell the story” of Verulam and its people. The “story” which has already come to be symbolised by the macro scale Freedom Trail “journey” will be continued. This “journey” is seen to be part of a process of “re-membling” individuals in a new developing society. Recognisable expressions of memory such as statues, monuments, story plaques and community art will be utilised as well to punctuate and enhance this journey, thereby creating a meaningful experience.

The programme of the centre also derives its basis from the research outlined earlier. Cultural memory and community cannot exist without action, education, organisation and institutions. It requires a civic platform and constant dialogue and debate to ensure its relevance and growth. This has impacted on the functions proposed for the Centre. Many of the functions proposed have also been derived from the precedent and case studies, which have been carried out.

3.2 Final Design Proposal

3.2.1 Urban Design Conceptual Developments

As one of the main concepts is journey, guided by local and global ideas of what an important civic axis should resemble my design proposal starts off with various urban interventions along the main Wick Street axis.

Urban concepts in Zulu, Indian and European architecture were employed in choosing the site as well as developing the urban design. The concepts of strong axiality, defined hierarchy, defined entrance, secure shared public space with a defined periphery and a formal, focal termination have been explored.

Certain existing physical elements such as brick walls found along the main street have been enhanced and developed to form memory walls; these have been planted and bear story plaques along its length. These walls join the entrance of the CBD to the site and Centre for Memory and Dialogue. Trees at the intersections along the main road as well as bands of paving in the road surface have been utilised to lend further emphasis to the approach and journey.

It has been noted that people friendly spaces are characterised by the presence of trade and small shops opening directly onto pavements. Using these elements, artistically paved market streets linking Wick Street to the older quarters of the CBD, which are suffering from a lack of activity, have been developed.

At the end of the main street what was a previously unsightly, unsafe and poorly organised light industrial area has been remodelled. Many of these have been relocated to the industrial area close by and other

smaller enterprises have been accommodated instead. The new urban model places a renewed emphasis on the river, elevating its importance. As part of the design solution architectural interventions such as statues and public art have been used to draw people to the river's edge.

3.2.1 Architectural Concepts for the Design of the Centre for Memory and Dialogue

The entrance to the Centre for Memory and Dialogue a place for public activity is announced by the presence of a market square shaped as two arms on either side of the street drawing people in. It is envisioned as a bustling, lively place of colour and activity. The entrance building which defines the gradation from this noisy area to one, which is more controlled, is expressive of an indigenous idea and also relates to a story from Verulam's past. The entrance building is designed as a "gathering tree" under which indigenous people would traditionally hold public assemblies. Verulam once had a similar gathering tree, a mimosa tree over 100 years old which historian Killie Campbell attempted to protect before it was brought down to make way for development. Court hearings and public gatherings used to take place under the tree. The tree symbol was therefore seen to relate to the history of Verulam, its public space as well as indigenous ideas about gathering spaces.

Parking happens outside of the inner recreation space, thereby continuing the idea of an axial journey and compelling all to enter through the main entrance building. By compelling people to enter this way, feelings of expectation are created and the landscaped recreation area opens up dramatically in front of the viewer. At the same time the viewer is presented with a coherent organised image of the place he/she is about to navigate.

This also encourages people to use the central recreation area as the main circulation space. It was intended that circulation solely within buildings should be discouraged and an appreciation for outdoor living and recreation in keeping with our climate be developed. As such all entrances subsidiary to the main one, such as the library entrance and the entrance to the museum and performance venue are located further from the main entrance – the experience of entry is extended.

The "body" of the Centre is a large landscaped outdoor recreation area. It will perform the role of a much-needed safe park and is an extension of restaurant and café spaces, performance and art spaces as well as museum exhibition spaces. The idea here is to take our cue from indigenous ratios of outdoor to indoor space and celebrate our climate and a culture of sharing, very much like the shared central spaces surrounded by clusters of buildings in Zulu homestead design. The "story wall" which joins the entrance of the CBD to the Centre continues through the garden snaking its way to the final termination, which is the more formal and contemplative space of the museum. Monuments and statues to aid in the narration of the story punctuate the recreation garden area; this form of memory device relates strongly to

traditional Indian architecture. Zulu clay pots positioned along the path are symbolic of the journey guided and supported by our ancestors, as blackened Zulu clay pots are traditionally associated with ancestors. The drinking of Zulu beer is symbolic of communion between individuals but it is also said to be symbolic of the sharing and imparting of knowledge. These pots are therefore located in a snaking body of water, which hugs the main path. The water also relates to the presence of the Umhloti River on the eastern side.

The topography of the site lends emphasis to the formal termination in the form of the museum as the site steps down to it. Action and Education in the form of the performance venue on the west and the library on the east flank the main path providing a defined periphery as seen in Zulu and Indian architecture.

The library building is raised off the ground to encourage people to interact and enjoy the presence of the river. This area is paved making it a place where people can filter through from the main recreation area to the quieter zone characterised by the river. The library building itself is “broken up” along the side facing the river. Circulation is designed to be long and slow with benches along walkways for people to sit and enjoy reading under the canopy of trees. The more controlled internal spaces of the library are offered views of the river and beyond. Furthermore the library offers a diverse range of activities including neighbourhood centres, coffee shops, an internet café and craft areas for kids to participate in extra mural activities offered by the library.

The performance facilities include an auditorium which would be used for drama and dance performances and conferences, a venue for dance, drama and music instructors to share their knowledge and skills with the community (music and drama have been eliminated from the curriculum at most Verulam schools). A portion of lettable office space has also been included to generate revenue and promote self-sufficiency. This is further developed in the inclusion of restaurants and cafes and other eateries at ground level.

The old abandoned corn mill has been revamped to house the auditorium and the brick chimney will form part of the museum. A pub accessed from the auditorium reception area and opening out to the recreation garden area will function in the evening increasing the length and frequency of activity at the Centre.

The museum is treated more formally. It is positioned at the termination of the axis. However, the concept of journey is continued in this last building. The story wall, which snaked its way across the shared recreation garden space, continues snaking its ways into the low entrance of the museum building as a paving pattern. Pools planted with reeds flank the entrance. Reeds relate to the indigenous myth that the first human emerged into the world from a reed. That human is considered to be the first great ancestor.

The symbolism here is one of birth, and beginning – an appropriate symbolism to use at the threshold and one, which once explained should promote a greater respect for the river and its flora and fauna.

The gathering place, which is the beginning of a journey of self discovery through learning about the past in a traditional museum setting, is a dark, plain room with a column of Zulu pots in the centre which again reiterates the presence of our past in our present and its importance. The atmosphere is formal, quiet and solemn compelling a behavioural adjustment and evoking an emotional response. A single ramp placed at an angle invites one to continue the last leg of the “journey”. A simple dome roofs the room.

The journey takes the form of an ascending ramp through a series of exhibition boxes where photographs, digital media and artefacts will be used to convey the story of Verulam and other stories relating to it. The first box opens out onto a storytelling deck. The art of storytelling as an indigenous mode of communicating cultural memory is promoted. The boxes are designed such that the visitor moves in a circumambulatory fashion very much like one would at a type of Indian temple. The square geometry is also an Indian architectural manifestation of the concept of self-discovery or searching through contemplative journey. The inner-most square around which the movement revolves is landmarked by a tall tower element required to make the end of the Wick Street axis visible. Pause areas where one is given glimpses of views of the outside link the boxes – this is intended to encourage thought and contemplation – there is seating in these areas. Each exhibition box is situated slightly higher than the last – expressing the journey architecturally.

An outdoor platform is created around Dyke’s Chimney outside the second box. The chimney is transformed from an ordinary object into a monument, as it becomes a symbol of the agricultural pioneers who settled in Verulam through the narrative and displays, which accompany it. One is also offered a glimpse of the railway bridge from this platform.

Upon completing the final box the viewer is released onto a large open deck with comfortable seating with a beautiful view of the Umhloti River and the gardens on the opposite bank. The large arched railway bridge over the river completes the picturesque scene. Access to the library coffee bar can be gained via this deck. One could continue the journey up the ramp through the four square pillars which are intended to express the ramps externally, and eventually reach a platform with the light tower structure pushing skywards, allowing light to filter through onto the platform. This space is intended to encourage people to relax and think about themselves, and the story they have just been told.

The journey back down is not the same. One takes a different ramp down indicating the change in the visitor’s position – a position of enlightenment. A trip through the CBD and its old quarters would be

different. More would be “visible” to the viewer and a perhaps a greater respect for the history of Verulam, its people and the built environment will be developed.

3.3 Environmental and Technical Report

Ventilation

All buildings are mechanically ventilated, using a HVAC. Three plant rooms strategically located near the three main buildings that make up the cultural centre, limit the number and therefore the cost of ducting. Most internal spaces open out onto balconies utilising the favourable outdoor environment.

Heat and solar control

All glazing is specially designed with a heat rejecting film, which will cut a large percentage of heat gain. Deep openings and large overhangs largely reduce heat gain. External shutters will contribute to heat control in buildings such as the library where books would require protection and larger numbers of people are expected.

It would be feasible to incorporate photovoltaic panels onto the roofs as an alternative means of generating electricity. The buildings have a large roof surface area, which would accommodate photovoltaic panels.

Rainwater usage

Stormwater at roof level will be controlled via gutters and rainwater downpipes. These will, where convenient be connected to jojo tanks. Water collected here could be used to irrigate the gardens.

Solar Analysis

The following illustrations show shadow casting on the days specified.



Figures 9a & 9b illustrating affects of the sun's movement on the site on 21 March 2011 – midday and 21 March 2011 – 15:00at respectively while Fig 9c illustrates the sun's position on 26 June 2011 - midday (author's illustrations)

CHAPTER 4:

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4.1 REFERENCES

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APPENDIX B



SOUTH ELEVATION - 1:200



NORTH ELEVATION - 1:200

A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

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SECTION B-B - 1:200



SECTION D-D - 1:200

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A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

SUGENDRI PILLAY | 981205807 | DESIGN DISSERTATION | 2011



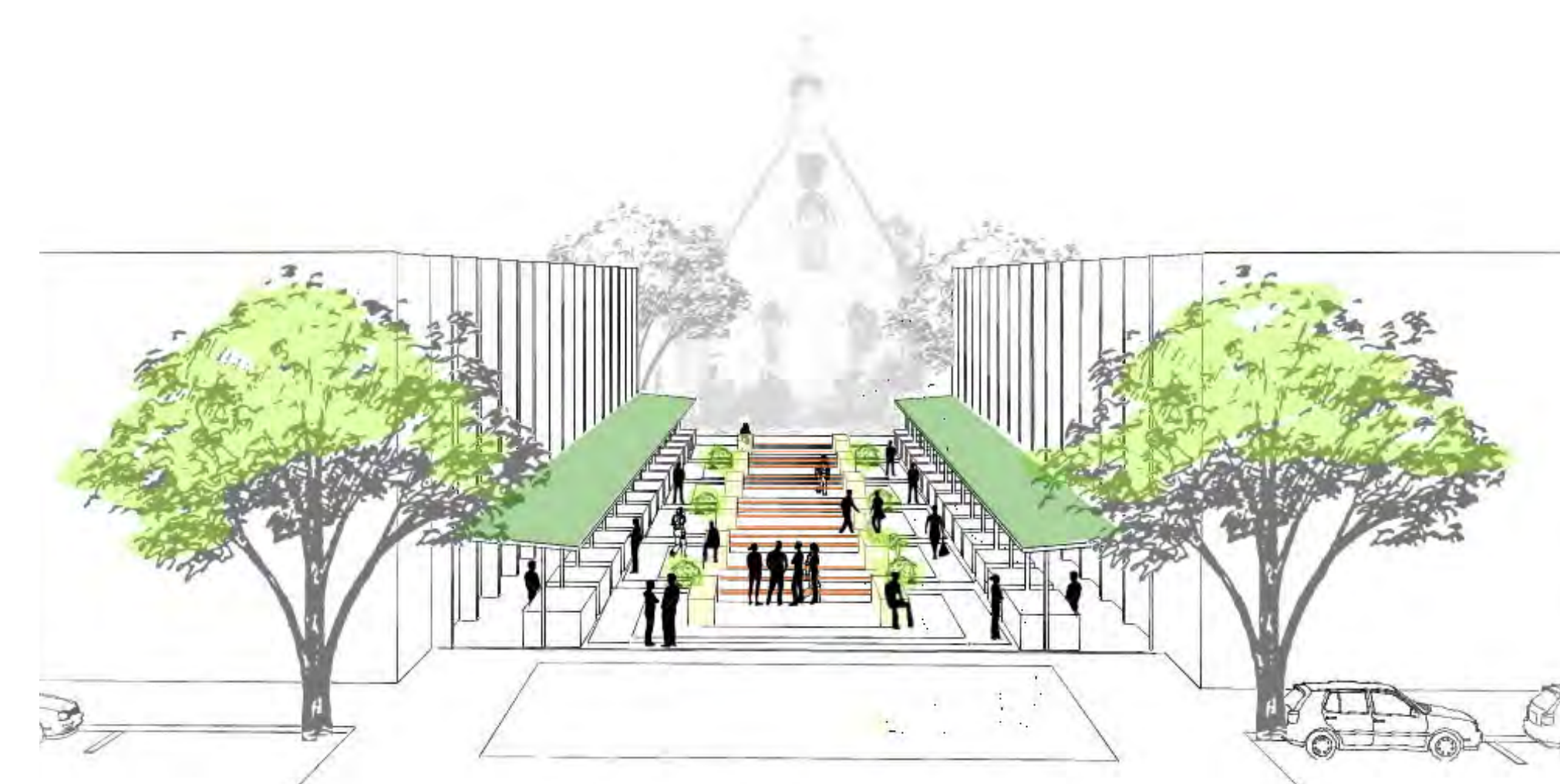
URBAN DESIGN CONCEPT - REVEALING A PLACE RICH IN CULTURE BY DIRECTING THE VIEWER & TELLING ITS STORY USING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

the concept of **journey**, framing the viewer's perspective and highlighting everyday culture as well as Verulam's past was constructed using spatial ideas which relate to the culture of the people living in Verulam (i.e cultural memory) as well as those theories which discuss the organising elements of space and place such paths, nodes, districts, landmarks and edges.

everywhere along the main street both formal and informal trade flourishes, the scale is small reflecting the prevalence of family businesses in the town, wide pavements under buildings hanging over it provide a place for old friends and extended family to meet and socialise, the activities seen here suggest that locals enjoy a chance to sit, chat and watch people passing by. My design response to this is the formalisation of seating built into an existing brick wall which runs down the length of Wick Street. This low brick wall will also act as a "story wall" which will run to and through the proposed cultural node at the end of Wick Street. Along this wall **community art** will be encouraged as well as short stories about the town's people, the families who made lives for themselves here & key events in its history in brass plaques. More market streets have been created to utilise the vibrant atmosphere created by trade activity to activate other degenerating quarters of the CBD.



URBAN PLAN MAIN AXIS - WICK STREET WITH LINKS TO OTHER NODES - 1:2000

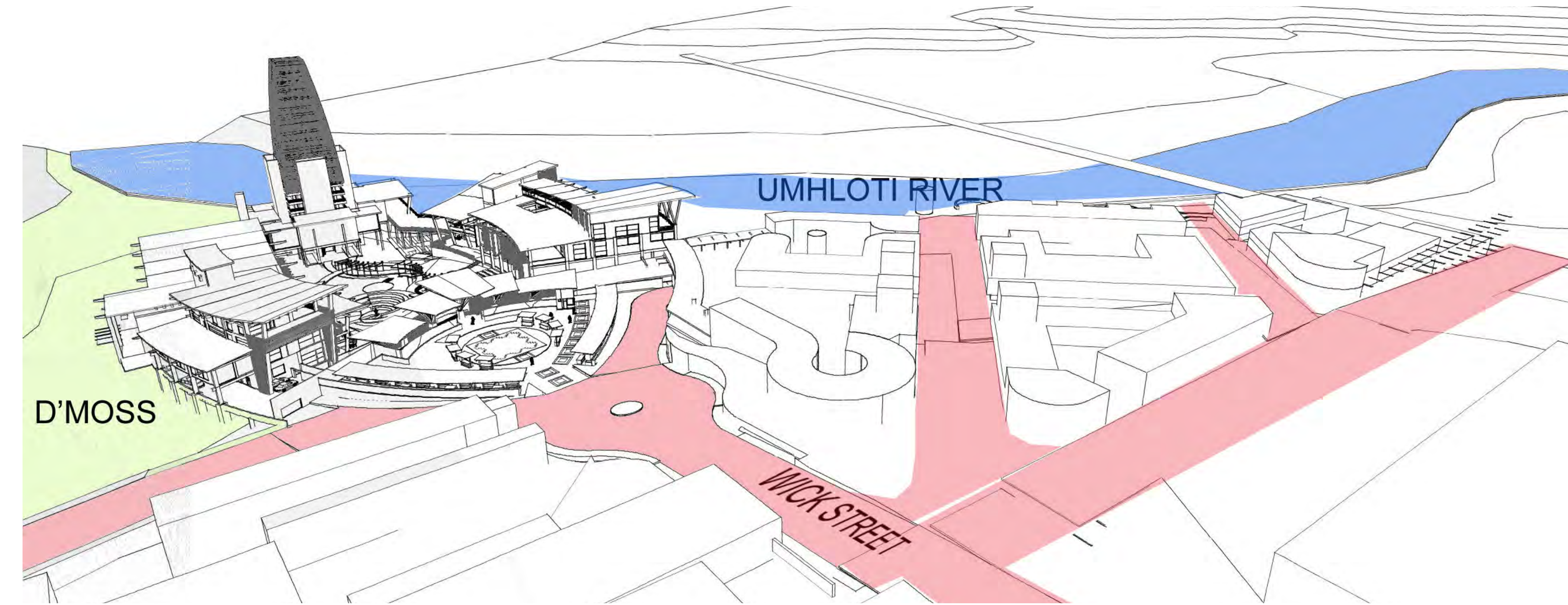


MARKET STREET
DRAWING ATTENTION TO MEMORY MARKERS

Pedestrian links between the main street and the periphery in the form of markets, well landscaped, with attractive paving and places to sit are intended to invite viewers to explore the older quarters of Verulam such as the old civic centre, again bringing attention to Verulam's significant story.



By making local activity the subject of community art - wall and floor murals, mosaics etc, greater focus is given to activities which already exist but may be undervalued. This art compels one to participate in celebrating the local culture



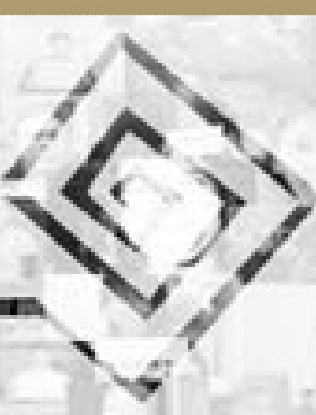
URBAN DESIGN AROUND CULTURAL NODE AT THE END OF WICK STREET
MAKING VISIBLE THE UNIQUE ATTRIBUTES OF THE VERULAM CBD - RENEWED FOCUS ON THE RIVER & REVITALISING THE DEAD END MAIN STREET



SECTION THROUGH WICK STREET - THE STEEP MAIN AXIS IS LANDMARKED BY THE TOWER ELEMENT AT THE END OF THE STREET - CONNOTING AN IMPORTANT TERMINATION - 1:1000

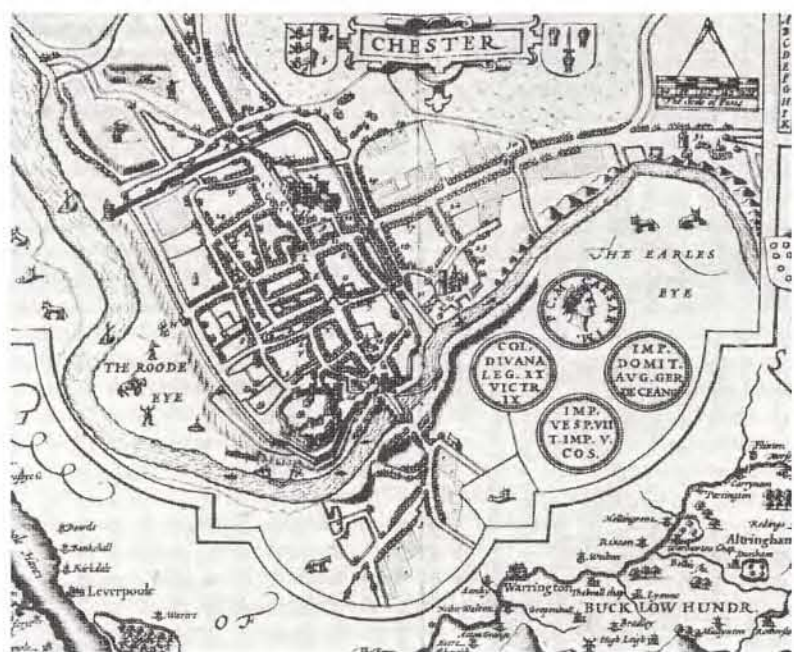
A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

SUGENDRI PILLAY | 981205807 | DESIGN DISSERTATION | 2011





A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM



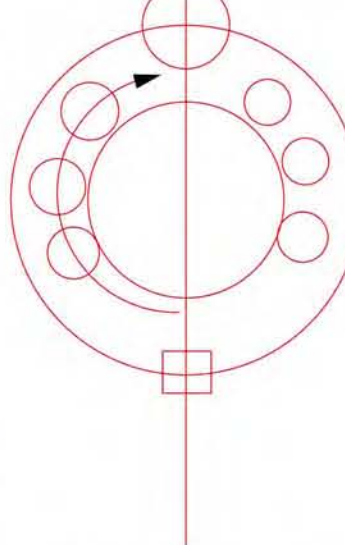
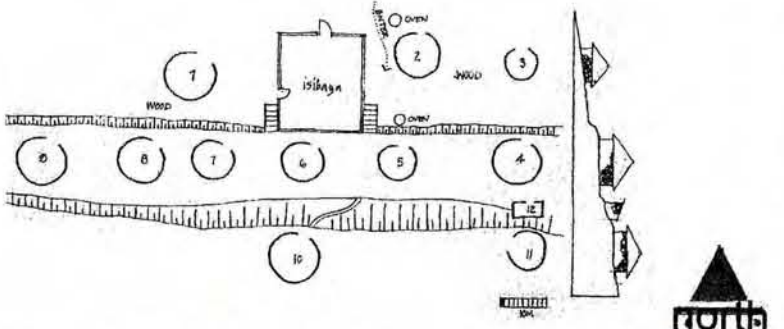
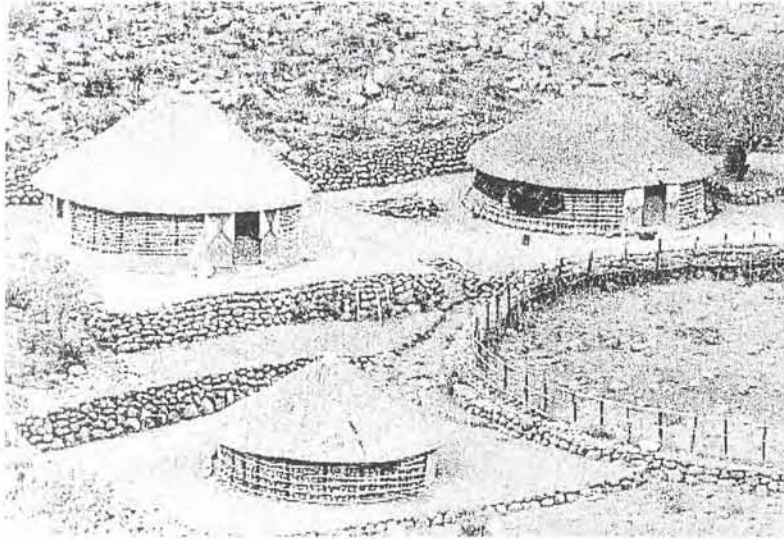
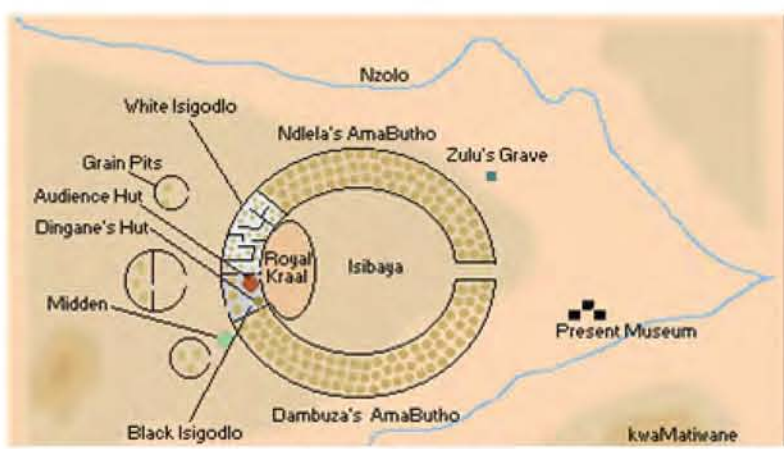
ENGLISH URBAN PLAN IN MEDIEVAL TIMES HAD A STRONG RELIGIOUS UNDERTONE.

GATEWAYS ALONG CARDINAL POINTS WERE DEFINED, MAIN STREETS WERE POSITIONED ALONG CARDINAL AXES AND THE INTERSECTION OF THESE WAS SEEN AS THE DOMAIN OF MAN WHERE MARKETS AND COMMERCE COULD FLOURISH.

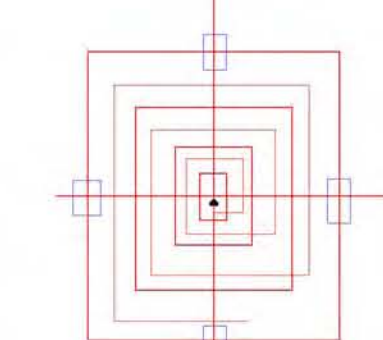
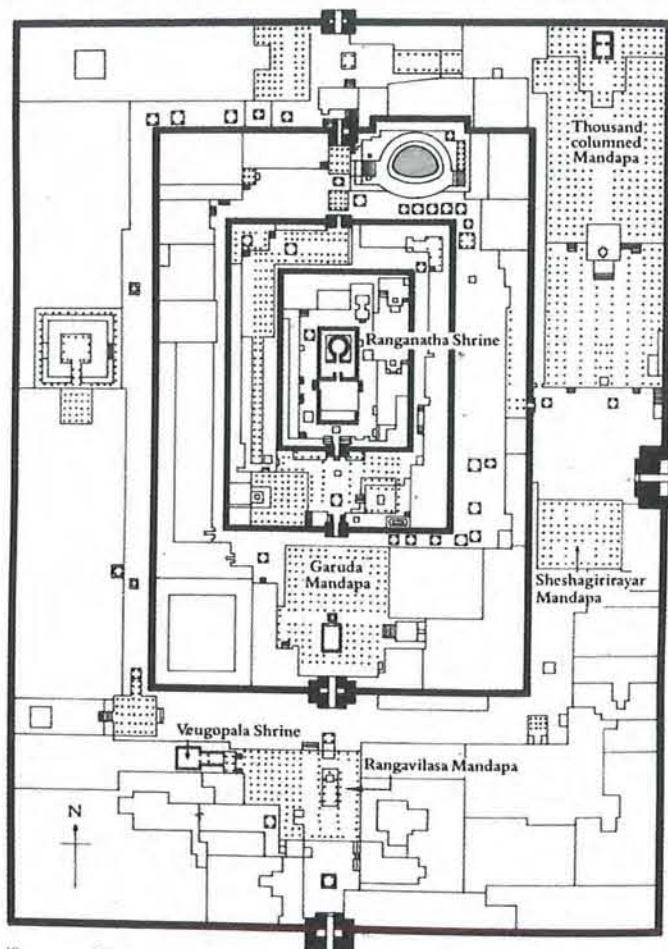
THESE SQUARES MIGHT INCORPORATE A CHURCH AS A FOCAL POINT OR A TOWN HALL.

AGAIN THE WALLED PERIPHERY DEMARCATED TERRITORY AND A SECURE DOMAIN FOR THE TOWNSFOLK.

AN EXPRESSION OF SECURE, SHARED, GROUP SPACE



A DEFINED CIRCULAR PERIPHERY = SOCIAL SECURITY AND EMPHASIS ON THE CLAN THE CENTRE BECOMES IMPORTANT = POSITION OF WEALTH AND PLACE FOR CEREMONY AND SHARING. DEFINITION OF A GATEWAY THROUGH THE WALLED PERIPHERY POSITIONED ON AXIS ESTABLISHES POLES AND A DISTINCT HIERARCHY WITHIN THE CIRCULAR FORM. THE CHIEFS DOMAIN IS AT THE HIGHEST POINT ALONG AXIS OPPOSITE THE GATEWAY. TOPOGRAPHY ESTABLISHES HIERARCHY, A STRONG SOCIAL ORGANISER, AND FOCALITY, ALIGNMENT WITH CARDINAL NORTH SOUTH AXIS SETS A FORMAL TONE TO ENTRY INTO THE UMUZI AND SETS UP BEHAVIOURAL BOUNDARIES AND THE USE OF CIRCULAR FORM TO DEFINE INWARD LOOKING CLAN SPACE - ESTABLISHES TERRITORY.



EMPHASIS ON AXIALITY AND THE DEMARCATION OF CARDINAL DIRECTIONS.

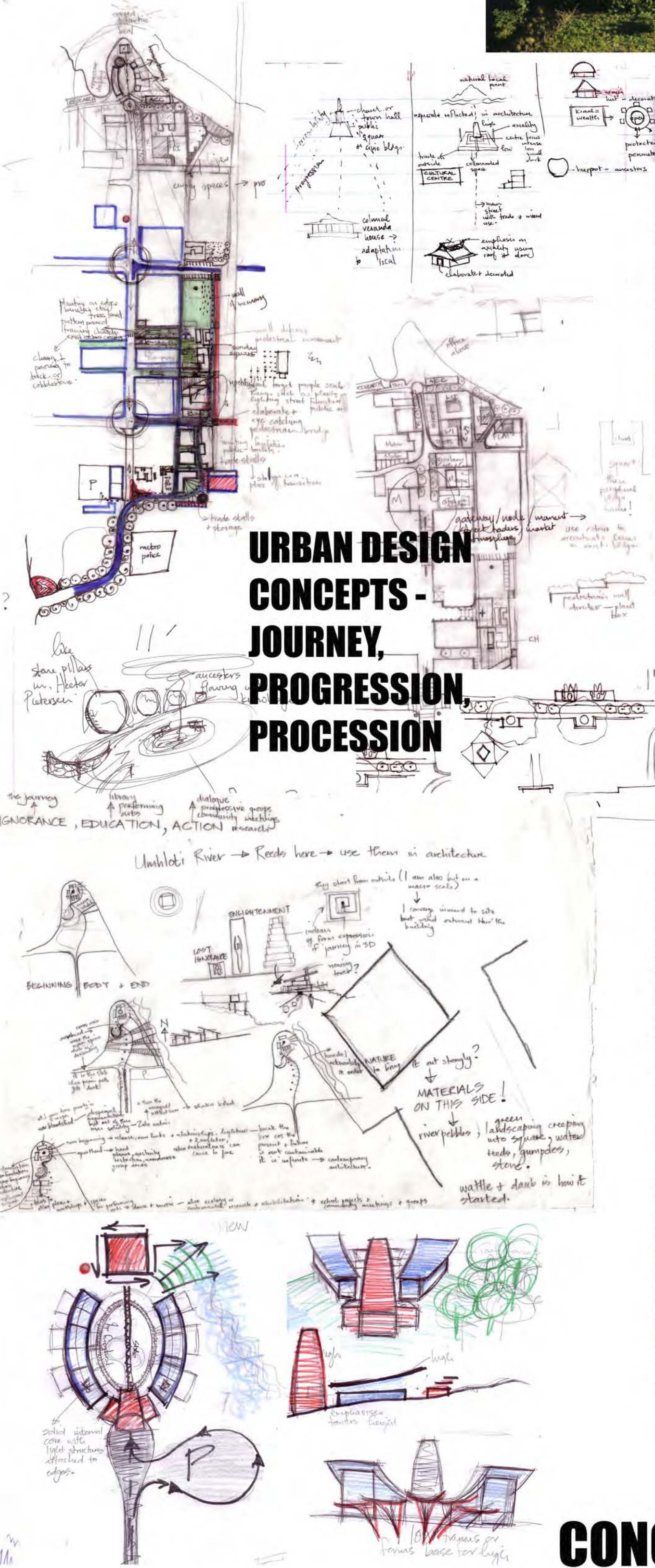
THE PROCESSIONAL ROUTE BECOMES CIRCUMAMBULATORY - MOVING FROM THE LIGHT OUTER REGIONS TO THE SMALLER, DARKER MORE CONFINED INNER REGIONS - FROM THE HUSTLE AND BUSTLE OF EVERYDAY TO THE QUIET OF THE SANCTUM.

SELF-DISCOVERY, SELF-AWARENESS, ENLIGHTENMENT

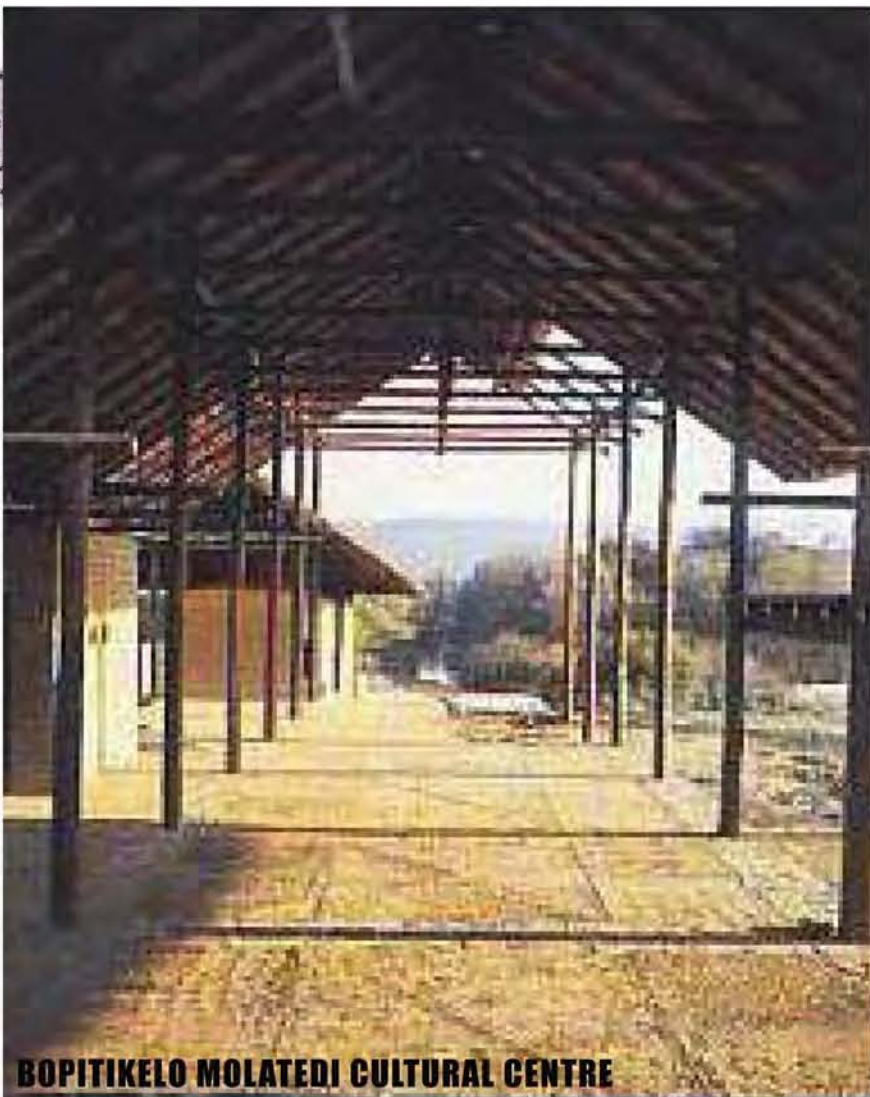
THE MOMENTS ALONG THE ROUTE ARE DEMARCATED BY LANDMARK GATEWAYS

THE PERIPHERY IS DEFINED BY A WALL.

AN EXPRESSION OF THE CONCEPT OF JOURNEY AND SELF DISCOVERY



URBAN DESIGN CONCEPTS - JOURNEY, PROGRESSION, PROCESSION



USING NATURAL BEAUTY TO ENHANCE THE MEMORY OF A PLACE



APPLYING DECORATION AND ART TO FLOORS AND WALLS THEREBY INSCRIBING IT WITH LOCAL MEANING



BRIGHT COLOURS AND WALL ART - CELEBRATING AN EVOLVING LOCAL CULTURE

CELEBRATING CULTURAL MEMORY

CONCEPT DERIVATION



VISIBLE FOCAL TERMINATION

LONG AXIS

WALLS TO CREATE HARD DIRECTING LINE

CONTROLLED SHAFT OF LIGHT TO DEFINE ROUTE AND CREATE DIRECTION

DARK INNER SPACES, SETTING UP A SOLEMNITY, DICTATING THE SOCIAL SETTING AND MANIPULATING AND CONTROLLING BEHAVIOUR AND EMOTION

LANDSCAPING USED TO DIRECT THE GAZE AND FACILITATING THE NARRATIVE USING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

NOTE THE DIRECTING LINE AND THE BANDING IN THE PAVING

SACRALISATION OF MEMORY - GLOBAL CONCEPTS



HISTORICAL CONTEXT Colony of Natal

What is now known as the Northern District of eThekweni Municipality used to be called Victoria County and was bounded by the Umgeni River in the South and the Tugela River in the North

THE MFECANE HAD CHANGED THE SOCIAL AND SPATIAL LANDSCAPE FOREVER



KING SHAKA

SETTLERS WERE MOVING INTO A LANDSCAPE OF RECENT SOCIAL UPHEAVAL ON A LARGE SCALE. MUCH OF THE AREA SOUTH OF THE TUGELA HAD BEEN EMPTIED



THE ARRIVAL OF INDIANS TO NATAL FURTHER CONTRIBUTED TO THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE ... BOTH SOCIALLY AND SPATIALLY - INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE BOOMED

Inanda heritage route

The phoenix settlement - has many layers of cultural memory. Positioned on a hill called The Apex it commands a spatially and socially significant position within the surrounding fabric. Gandhi's original home where Gandhi worked out his philosophy of passive resistance and where hundreds dedicated their lives to emancipation, lay in a state of ruin due to racial violence and unrest in 1985, a layer of memory which is still visible in the surrounds. Again the landscape changed as the area was occupied by informal settlers after the riots. Later in 1994 factional tension broke out. Since then community action groups have formed and collaborated to take ownership of the settlement and its cultural memories.

Now with the establishment of focus on memory, the settlement of 1903 has been re-built as a monument to peace and justice.



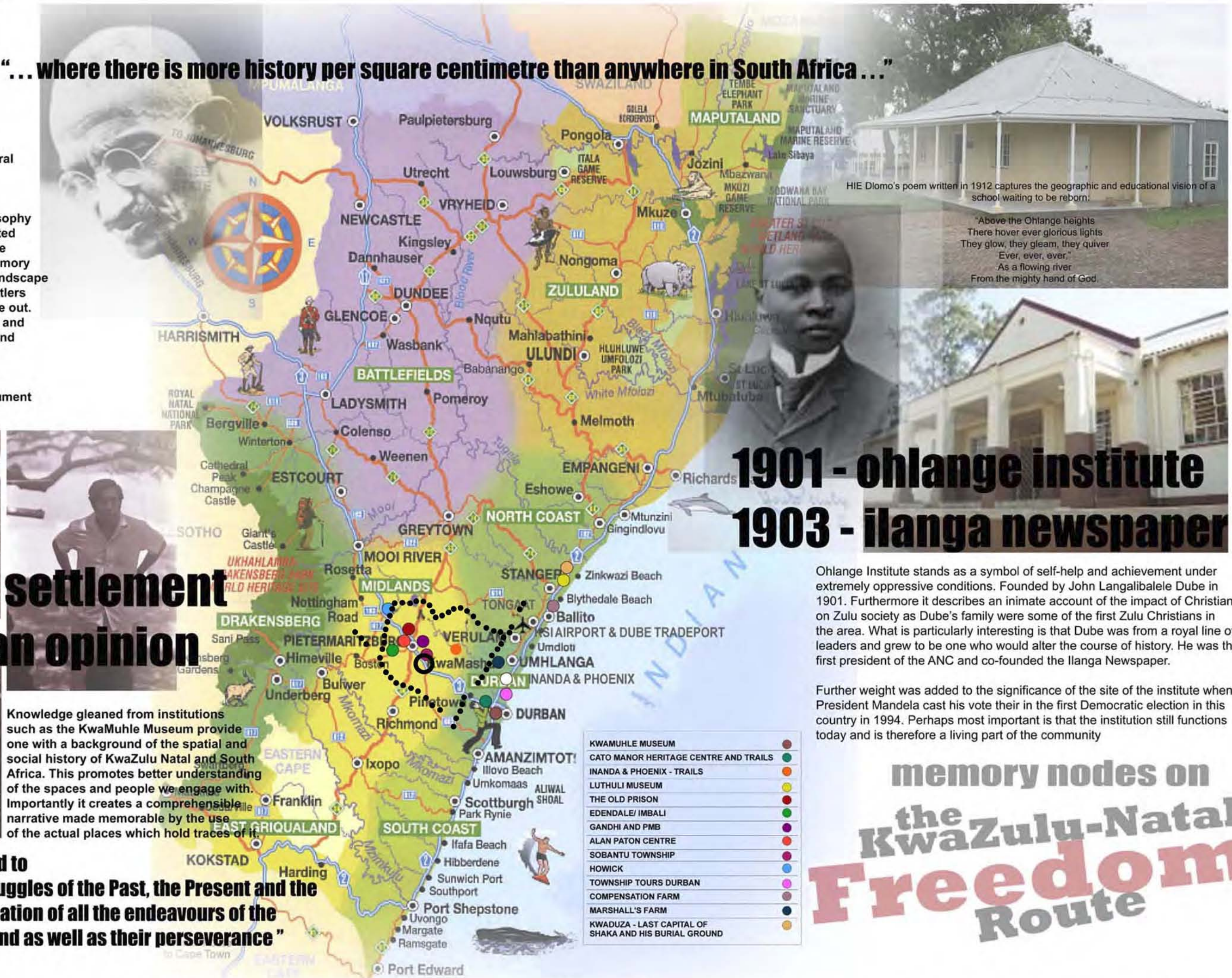
1903 - phoenix settlement

1904 - the indian opinion



Knowledge gleaned from institutions such as the KwaMuhle Museum provide one with a background of the spatial and social history of KwaZulu Natal and South Africa. This promotes better understanding of the spaces and people we engage with. Importantly it creates a comprehensible narrative made memorable by the use of the actual places which hold traces of

"The Freedom Route was established to provide insight into the freedom struggles of the Past, the Present and the Future and to ensure a deep appreciation of all the endeavours of the wonderful people of KwaZulu Natal as well as their perseverance"



Stories and cultural memories relating to a community acquire greater value if they are rooted in a tangible landscape that can be touched, felt, smelt and seen. Cultural memory is found in locale. Linking architecture to the natural landscape makes a place memorable and shows how it has shaped a community and how the community has shaped it.

Performance such as the tracing of cultural memories through journeying has the power to alter physical space such that the alteration continues to endure post performance. Re-performance will further entrench those spatial patterns and re-affirm the roles and identities of those who participate in the performance as well as those who are part of the landscape being transformed. Furthermore spatial and social relationships are more comprehensible when they are seen to be part of a larger organising pattern.

Government has recognised the advantages of using cultural memory on a macro scale to link and form new relationships both spatially and socially between people and areas which have been historically divided. Creating a shared story in which everyone has a role and using the macro physical context to tell that shared story allows people to "re-member" themselves as part of a new entity and those areas which were "invisible" can now enjoy a part in a new landscape. This approach could support sustainability since most people can not buy into the best areas of the region but they can develop their own localities and thereby enjoy renewed identities.

A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM











K18

5 DEGREE PITCHED GREY PROFILED "ZINCALUME" SHEETING
INSTALLED ACCORDING TO MANUFACTURER'S DETAILS AND SPECS
ON 160X100 GMS PURLINS @ 1000mm C/S ON SISALATION INSULATION
& SABS APPROVED UNDERLAY ON GMS ROOF TRUSSES WITH
PROFILES SPROCKET ENDS @ 4800C/S ALL TO ENGINEER'S DESIGN
AND DETAILS INCLUDING GLAZING TO ROOF TRUSS DETAIL IN PLACE
OF BEAM FILL. 0.58 mm GLASS REINFORCED PLASTIC FLASHING BY
SPECIALIST

CONCEALED NATURAL SILVER "ZINCALUME" GUTTERS & 100X100 RAIN
WATER DOWNPIPES AND ACCESSORIES TO BE INSTALLED
ACCORDING TO MANUFACTURERS DETAILS AND SPECS AND
RAINWATER DOWNPIPES TO DRAIN TO JOJO TANKS WHERE
INDICATED. JOJO TANKS TO BE INSTALLED BY SPECIALISTS.

STEEL BRACKET TO CONCEAL GUTTER AND END OF METAL ROOF
SHEETING

STEEL I BEAMS AND COLUMNS
BOLTED AND WELDED TOGETHER

FOLDING SLIDING LOUVRED
SHUTTERS - "LUXALON 7275 * "
OR SIMILAR ALUMINIUM SUN
LOUVRES IN POWDER COATED
ALUMINIUM FRAME. REFER TO
DETAIL A

GMS BALUSTADING WITH SAFETY
GLASS INFILL PANELS TO
COMPLY WITH PART DD2 OF
SABS 0400-1990. REFER TO
DETAIL A

"ABEFLO" OR
SIMILAR PIGMENTED
SELF LEVELLING
EPOXY FLOOR
SURFACING ON
WOOD FLOATED
CEMENT SCREED ON
200mm MESH
REINFORCED
CONCRETE SLAB.
ALL TO ENGINEER'S
DESIGN AND DETAIL
EXPOSED GMS BEAM
WITH EXPOSED
SMALL-DUCTING
HVAC SYSTEM TO
ENGINEER'S DESIGN
AND DETAIL.

REINFORCED
CONCRETE LINTOL
ABOVE WINDOW
OPENING

220 mm DOUBLE
SKIN EXTERNAL
BRICKWORK AND
110mm SINGLE SKIN
INTERNAL
BRICKWORK
PLATERED AND
PAINTED - 1 FILLER
COAT, 1 UNDERCOAT
AND 2 COATS
QUALITY PVA. 4
COURSES OF BRICK
FORCE ABOVE ALL
OPENINGS AND AT
WALL PLATE LEVEL.

ALUMINIUM FRAMED WINDOWS AND
DOORS, XIR LAMINATED GLASS (HEAT
REJECTING FILM BETWEEN TWO LAYERS
OF PVB AND GLASS. GLAZING TO
COMPLY WITH PART WITH SABS 0400-
1990 PART N. 200mm WIDE PLASTER
BAND AROUND WINDOW WITH 25mm
PROJECTION. PLASTERED EXTERNAL
WINDOW SILL WITH FIBREGLASS
MEMBRANE DABBED WITH CEMENT, AND
DRIP. ALUMINIUM INTERNAL SILL.

STEEL COLUMN (TO ENGINEER'S DESIGN
AND DETAIL) BOLTED TO BRICK AND
CONCRETE PIER.

DETAIL A

LAI
D TO
FALL
TO
FULL
BORE
OUTLETS

POWER SKIRTING

C.TILES

5,614

TECHNICAL SECTION E-E - 1:20

CRANKED GREY PROFILED
"ZINCALUME" SHEETING
INSTALLED ACCORDING TO
MANUFACTURER'S DETAILS AND
SPECS ON 160X100 GMS
PURLINS @ 1000mm C/S ON
SISALATION INSULATION & SABS
APPROVED UNDERLAY ON GMS
ROOF TRUSSES WITH PROFILES
SPROCKET ENDS @ 4800C/S ALL
TO ENGINEER'S DESIGN AND
DETAILS INCLUDING GLAZING TO
ROOF TRUSS DETAIL IN PLACE
OF BEAM FILL. 0.58 mm GLASS
REINFORCED PLASTIC FLASHING
BY SPECIALIST

CONCEALED NATURAL SILVER
"ZINCALUME" GUTTERS &
100X100 RAIN WATER
DOWNPIPES AND ACCESSORIES
TO BE INSTALLED ACCORDING
TO MANUFACTURERS DETAILS
AND SPECS AND RAINWATER
DOWNPIPES TO DRAIN TO JOJO
TANKS WHERE INDICATED.
JOJO TANKS TO BE INSTALLED
BY SPECIALISTS.
STEEL BRACKET TO CONCEAL
GUTTER AND END OF METAL
ROOF SHEETING

ALUMINIUM FRAMED WINDOWS
AND DOORS, XIR LAMINATED
GLASS (HEAT REJECTING FILM
BETWEEN TWO LAYERS OF PVB
AND GLASS. GLAZING TO
COMPLY WITH PART WITH SABS
0400-1990 PART N. 200mm WIDE
PLASTER BAND AROUND
WINDOW WITH 25mm
PROJECTION. PLASTERED
EXTERNAL WINDOW SILL WITH
FIBREGLASS MEMBRANE
DABBED WITH CEMENT, AND
DRIP. ALUMINIUM INTERNAL SILL.

STEEL I BEAMS AND COLUMNS
BOLTED AND WELDED TOGETHER

"ABEFLO" OR SIMILAR
PIGMENTED SELF LEVELLING
EPOXY FLOOR SURFACING ON
WOOD FLOATED CEMENT
SCREED ON
200mm MESH REINFORCED
CONCRETE SLAB. ALL TO
ENGINEER'S DESIGN AND
DETAIL

GARGOYLE

TREATED TIMBER PURLINS
FIXED TO STEEL BEAM TO
CREATE PERGOLA

HARDWOOD SEAT WITH DEEP
PENETRATING SEALANT FIXED
TO CONCRETE UPSTAND AND
ATTACHED STEEL
BALUSTRADE. REFER TO
DETAIL B.

DETAIL B

LAI
D TO
FALLS

LAI
D TO
FALLS

DETAIL C

"SWARTLAND " FULL PANE
SAFETY GLAZED ALUMINIUM
FRAMED FOLDING SLIDING
DOORS, FIXED TO COLD
ROLLED HOLLOW
RECTANGULAR STEEL SECTION,
BOLTED TO I BEAM.

TILED MOSAIC "NUTEC" WING
WALL. REFER TO DETAIL C

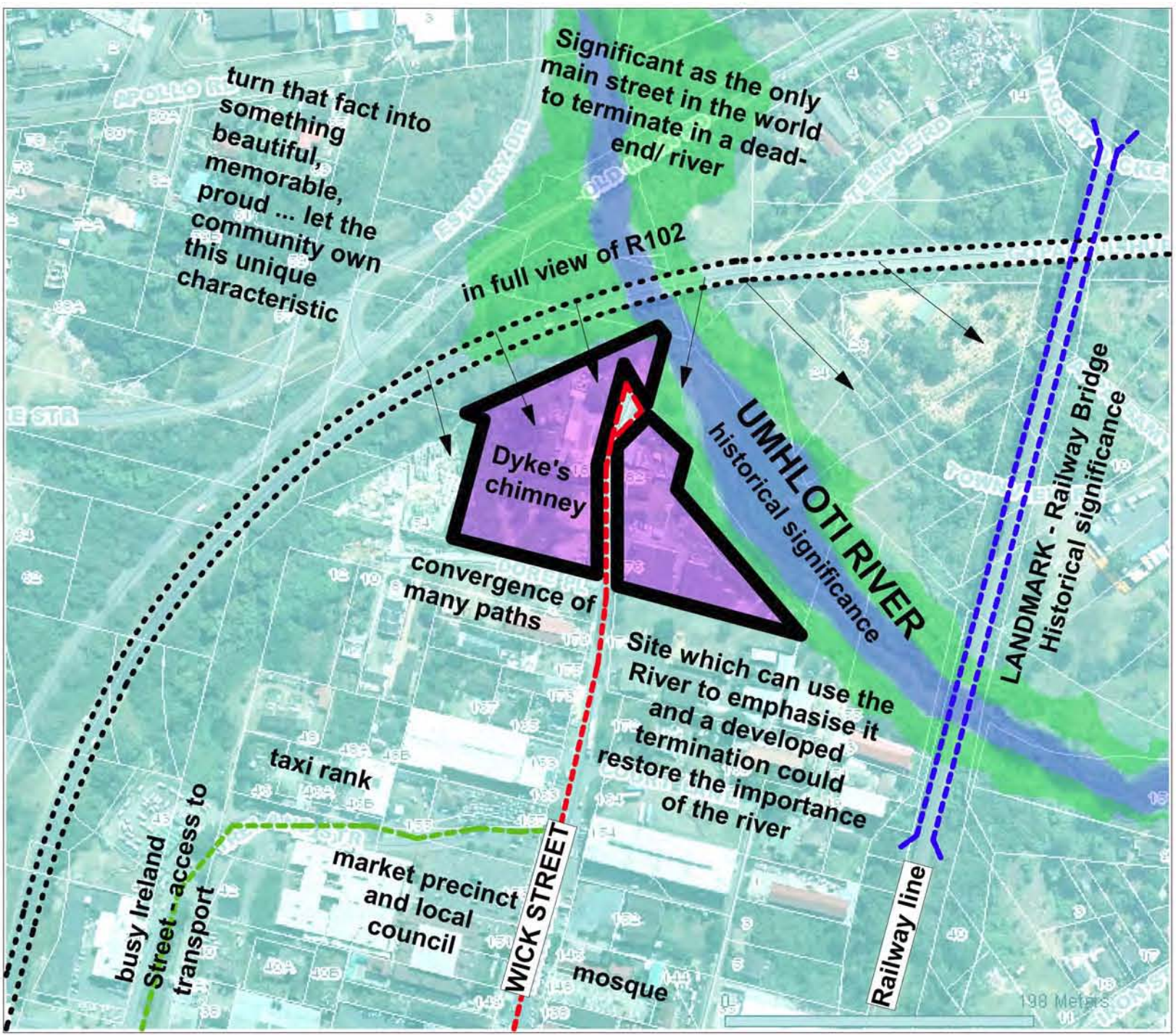
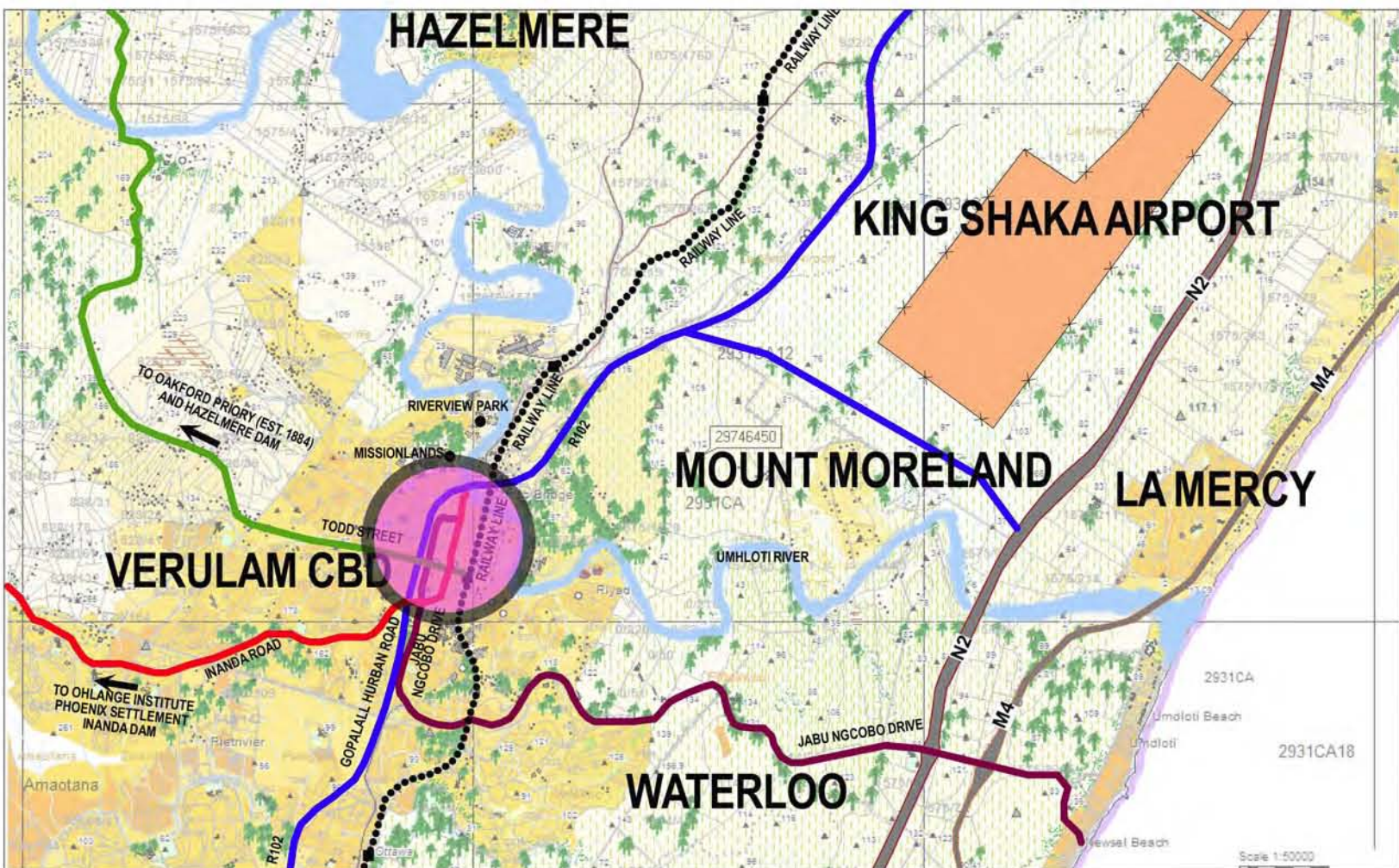
"ABEFLO" OR SIMILAR
PIGMENTED SELF LEVELLING
EPOXY FLOOR SURFACING ON
WOOD FLOATED CEMENT
SCREED ON
200mm MESH REINFORCED
CONCRETE SURFACE BED ON
GUNPLAS USB GREEN
WATERPROOFING MEMBRANE,
SOIL TO BE POISONED BY
SPECIALISTS. ALL TO
ENGINEER'S DESIGN AND
DETAIL

PRECAST CONCRETE COPING
ON DPC WATERPROOFING
MEMBRANE ON 330 mm CAVITY
BRICK RETAINING WALL OF
WEAK 100mm CONCRETE FILL
BETWEEN 2 DOUBLE SKINS OF
220mm BRICKWORK.

BRICK PAVERS ON PVC SHEET
ON 25mm SAND LEVELLED AND
ROLLED ON COMPACTED AND
LEVELLED GROUND.



ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY IS A FOCAL POINT IN THE REGION, A MELTING POT OF CULTURES AND THEREFORE LAYERED WITH CULTURAL MEMORIES.



Site of Significance - The Umhloti River was the life giving force of the town and the reason for its situation here. The River is emphasised and framed by the railway bridge which is a big part of Verulam's success. The presence of Dyke's steam mill as an expression of the industry started here lends further cultural and historical value to the site.

Spatial Prominence - The dramatic termination of the main street makes this a very prominent location, emphasized by the convergence of the three pathways - R102, Railway and Wick Street. Potential for magnificent views from the R102 to convey a positive image of Verulam from an almost bird's eye perspective.

Visibility - The lowest topographical point in the landscape, however its spatial position is strong.

Narrative - being at the very end of the town the route taken through the town allows one to experience the town first, let it "speak for itself" before getting to the cultural centre.

SITE SELECTION

A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

REGIONAL CONTEXT

ETHEKWINI IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR DISTRICTS. THE DURBAN CITY CENTRE FALLS UNDER CENTRAL. LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT IN ETHEKWINI HAS MADE IT A FOCAL POINT WITHIN THE REGION. IN PARTICULAR ETHEKWINI'S NORTHERN DISTRICT HAS SEEN MUCH DEVELOPMENT: THE NEW KING SHAKA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AND DUBE TRADEPORT. INCREASED COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, RESIDENTIAL AND RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UMLANGA AND SURROUNDING AREAS PROMPTING EXTENSIVE INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT.

LOCAL AREA AND PRIMARY ROLE: VERULAM AND CORNUBIA
• Consolidation and redevelopment of sub metropolitan commercial, services and transportation services node (Verulam)

LOCAL AREA DEVELOPMENT GUIDELINES VERULAM AND CORNUBIA LOCAL AREA (URBAN)

Role in the Metro

- Residential Expansion zone.
- Regional Public Transportation Intermodal Terminal (Verulam)
- Mixed use, business and industry opportunity

Development Spines and Nodes

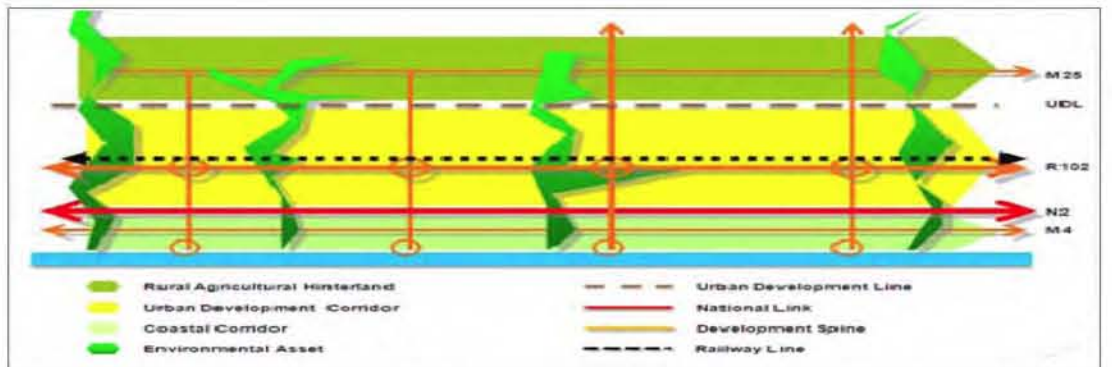
- Consolidate and enhance Verulam Town Centre as Sub Metropolitan Node to support R 102 Metropolitan Development Corridor.
- Establish R102 Metropolitan Development Corridor between Verulam Town Centre and Tongaat Town Centre
- Improve road linkage between Verulam and R102

Open Space/ Environment

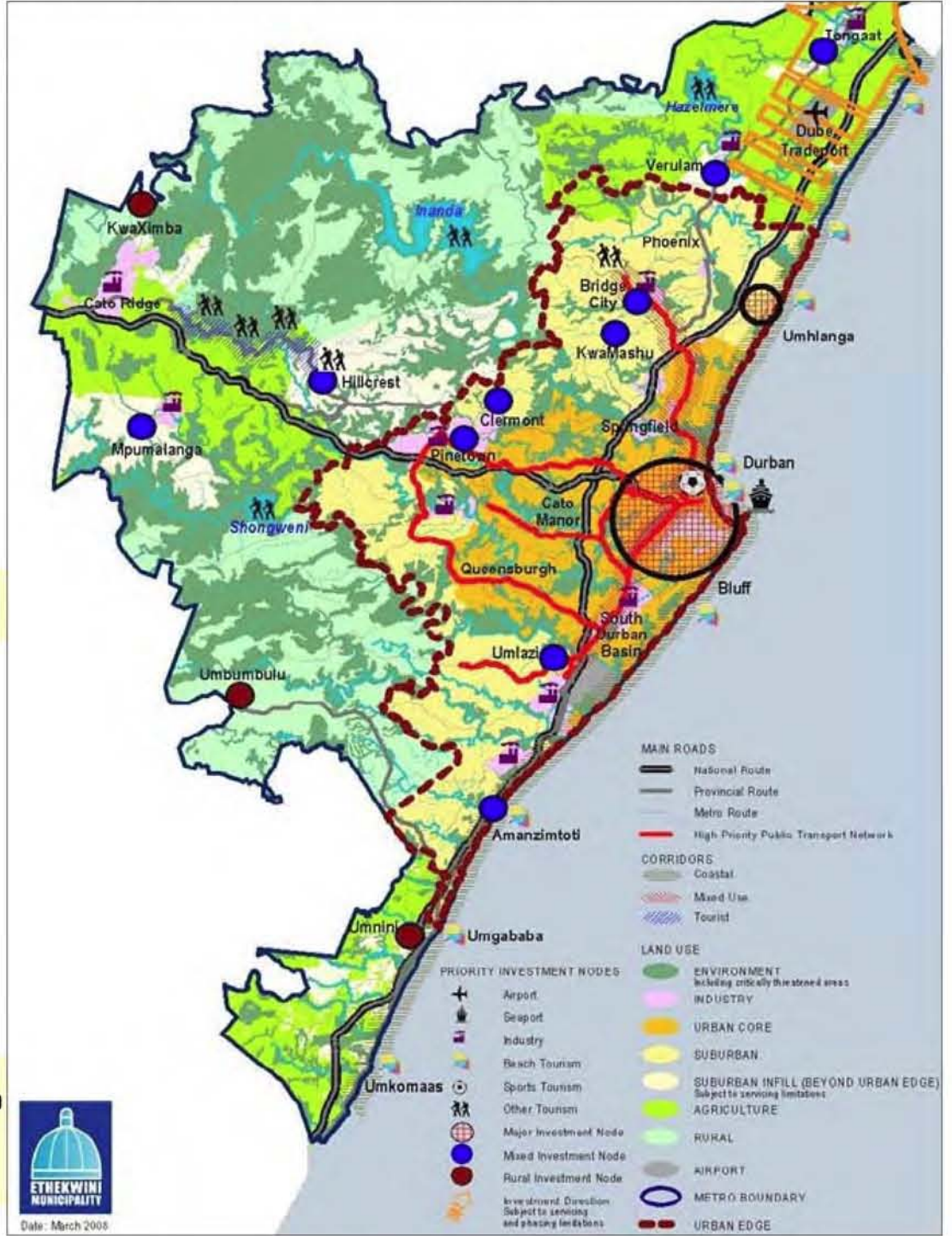
- Protect open space assets associated with the Umhlanga and Umdloti river systems and consolidate into integrated park systems providing ecosystem services delivery and recreational opportunities for adjacent residential areas and to "break" the effect of continuous urban settlement within the urban development corridor.

Sub-Metropolitan Nodes:

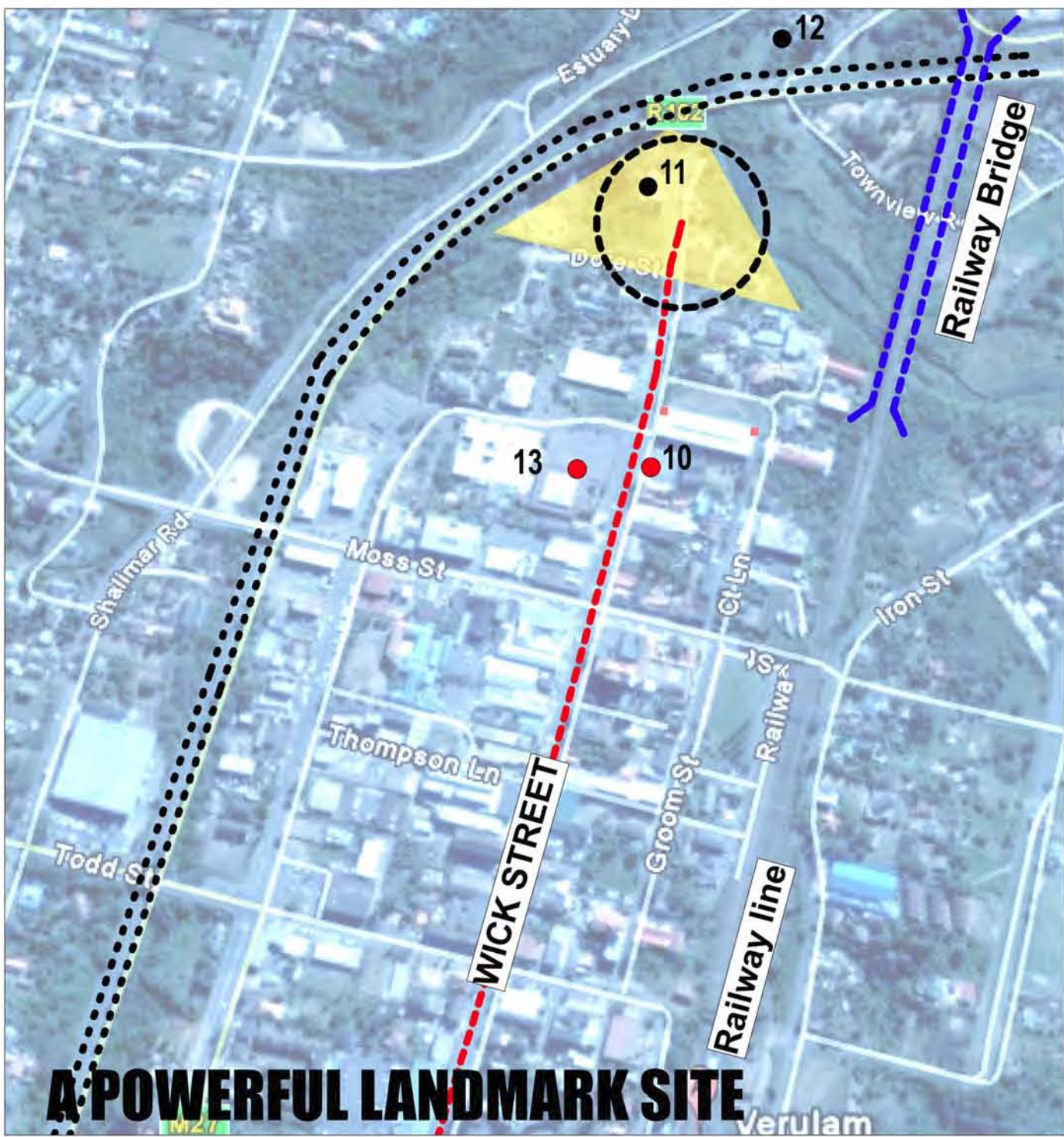
- In order to provide accessible day to day business, transport and social services for existing and future local communities and in order to encourage local community identity within an expanding metropolitan city, it will be necessary to consolidate existing and establish new town centers (Bridge City, Verulam CBD and Tongaat CBD).



SPATIAL CONCEPT FOR THE NORTH



NORTHERN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN



A POWERFUL LANDMARK SITE

- Buildings and Institutions of current interest some of which are poorly positioned
- Historical buildings many of which are rendered meaningless by the pattern of the urban plan
- potential

THE STRONG AXIALITY OF THE SITE RELATES TO CERTAIN INDIAN, AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURAL PLANNING PREFERENCES

THE SITE AS A TERMINATION TO THE MAIN AXIAL ROAD IS ALSO SUGGESTIVE OF COMMUNAL GATHERING

THE PRESENCE OF SOME HISTORICAL BUILDINGS ALLUDING TO AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY NEAR THE SITE COULD ADD TO THE LAYER OF PAST CULTURAL MEMORIES

THE PROXIMITY TO THE MARKET AREA ALSO ALLUDES TO THE CONTINUING PRACTICE OF FARMING IN THE AREA AND TRADE WHICH SAYS MUCH ABOUT BOTH VERULAM'S PAST AND PRESENT FOCUS

THE VIEW OF THE RAILWAY BRIDGE ALLUDES TO THE PAST AS WELL AS THE NEW CONNECTIONS BEING FORGED AT PRESENT

ITS POSITION AT THE VERY END OF TOWN PROMOTES THE PRACTICE OF INCLUSIVE "LOOKING" WHICH ENCOURAGES THE VIEWER TO TAKE IN THE SITE AND SOUNDS OF THE TOWN BEFORE GETTING TO A CENTRE THAT HELPS ONE TO UNDERSTAND ITS ROLE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY AND THE LARGER CONTEXT OF DURBAN AS WELL.

THE VISITOR IS THEN ABLE TO RETRACE HIS/HER ROUTE WITH A RENEWED UNDERSTANDING. WICK STREET IS THE ONLY MAIN STREET IN THE WORLD WHICH TERMINATES IN A DEAD END.



POTENTIAL FOR A MEMORABLE TERMINATION TO THE MAIN STREET USING THE NATURAL BEAUTY OF THE SITE AND SURROUNDS



PERSPECTIVE VIEW SHOWING DEVELOPED TERMINATION AND URBAN DESIGN





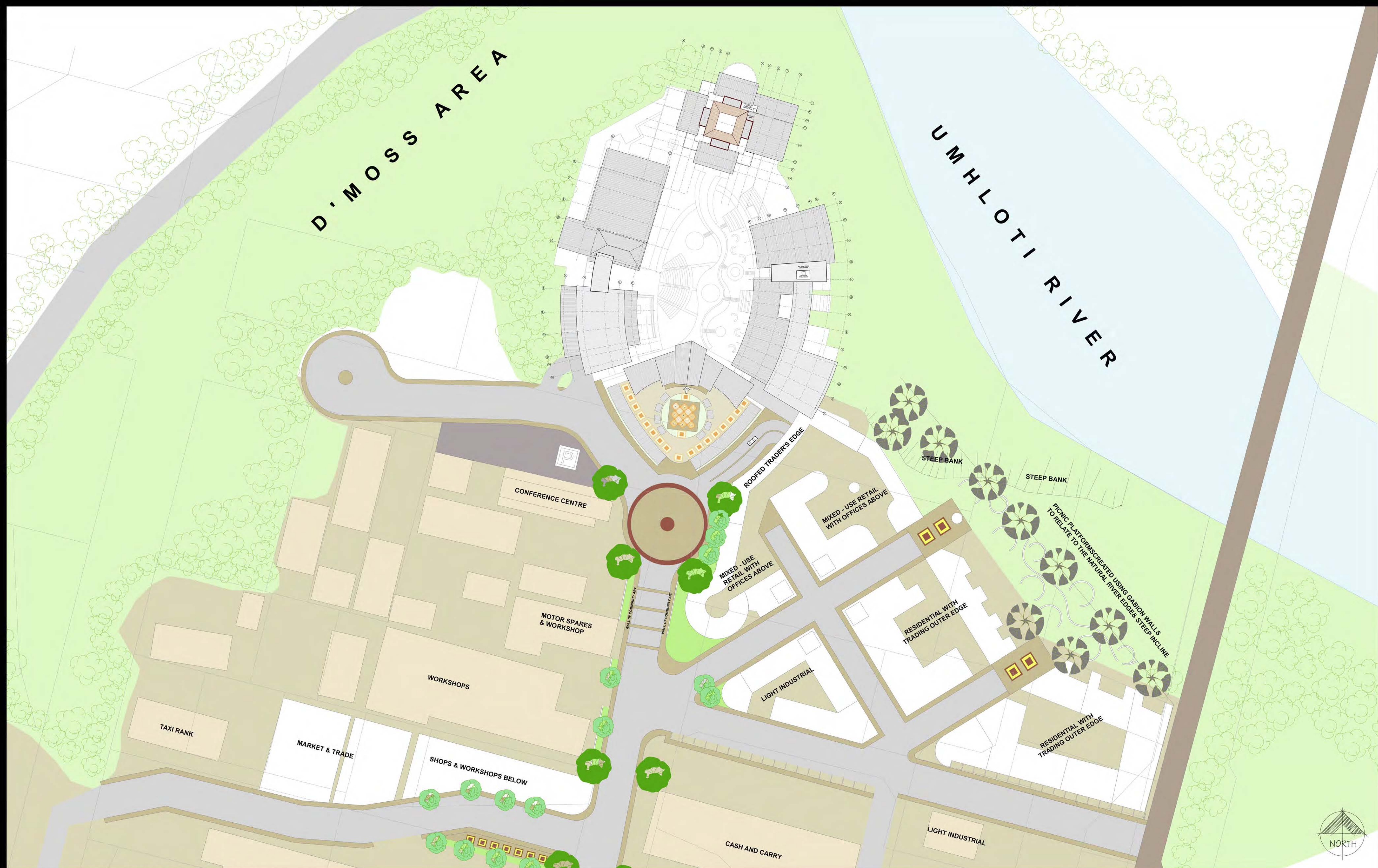
A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM





SECOND FLOOR PLAN - 1:200

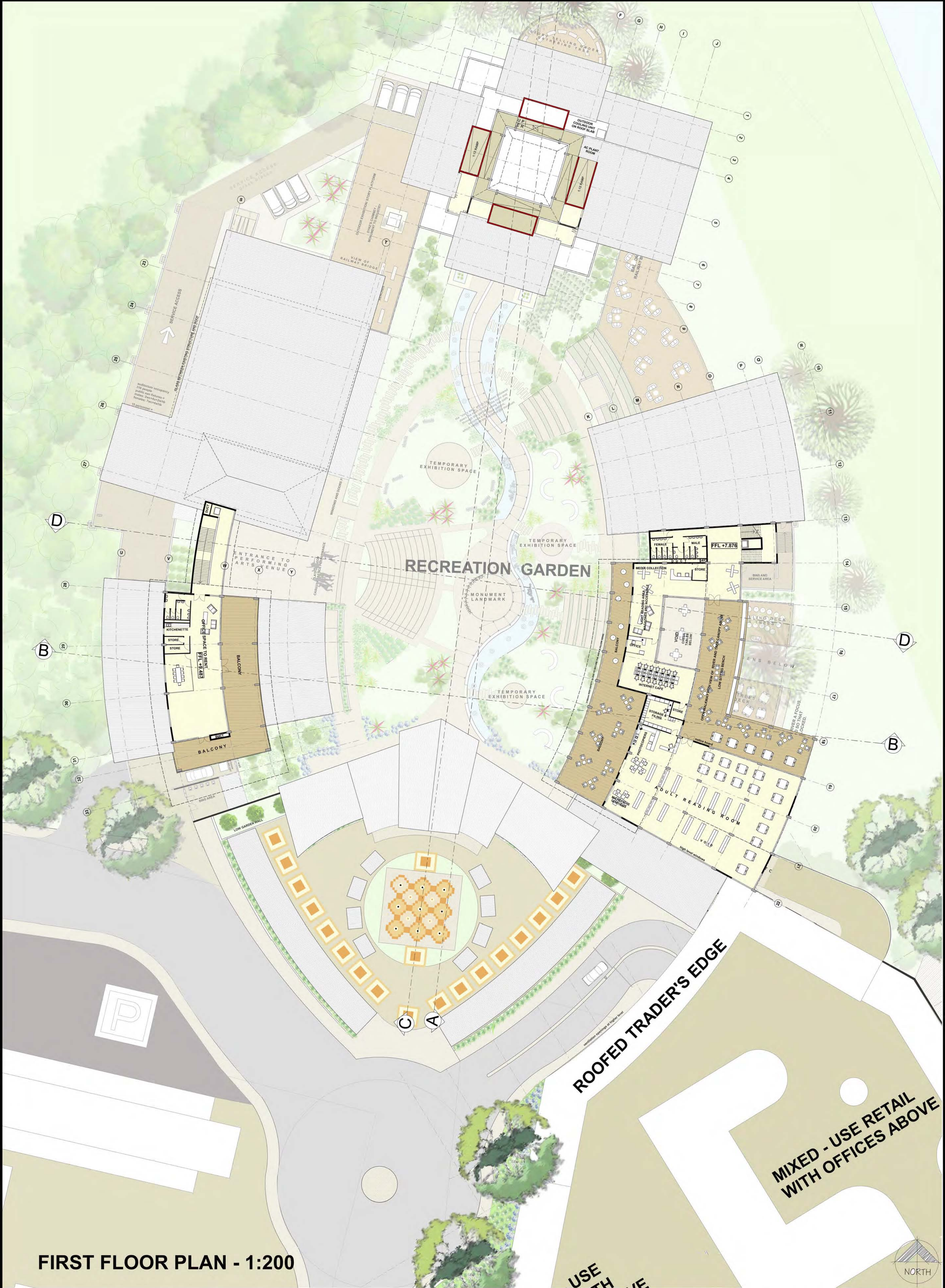
A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM



SITE PLAN - 1:500

A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

SUGENDRI PILLAY | 981205807 | DESIGN DISSERTATION | 2010



FIRST FLOOR PLAN - 1:200

A VENUE FOR MEMORY AND DIALOGUE IN VERULAM

