# RUDOLF SCHWARZ AND THE CONCEPT OF "CITY–LANDSCAPE"

Panos Mantziaras

In the immediate post-war Germany, an extended discussion took place within the urban planning milieu on the new form to be given to the devastated cities in the process of their reconstruction[1]. Already lurking in the last years of warfare, the debate revolved around the unique opportunity for a new layout of the urban agglomerations. Indeed, from the rubble that covered every major city sprang a wave of visions about a new city form.

Amongst such visions, those of the architect Rudolf Schwarz (1897-1961) on the reconstruction of Cologne were expressed under the term "Stadtlandschaft": a low density urban environment, with human constructions and nature merging together in a discontinuous, clustered and ordered manner, integrating historical cores, new residential zones, industry and landscape into a unified system structured by the transportation networks. The most appropriate translation for the term would be "city-landscape" as opposed to "urban landscape" which generally refers to the image and qualities of the city[2], rather than to the idea of mixing city and landscape into a new entity, as was the case with Schwarz[3]. His vision, and the theoretical premises of his work appeared

Rudolf Schwarz, general plan of the city landscape of Cologne, 1951.
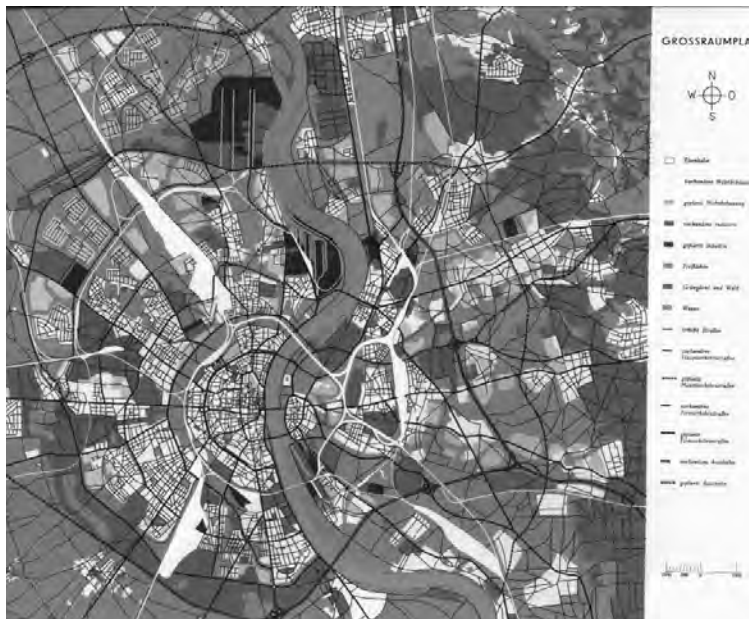
1. For an overview of these events on the architectural arena and its ideological stakes, cf. FRANK, Hartmut, "The Late Victory of Neues Bauen. German Architecture after World War II", Rassegna, n. 54 ; 1993; for the urban planning debate, cf. DURTH, Werner, GUTSCHOW, Niels, Träume in Trümmern, Planungen zum Wiede raufbau zerstörter Städte im westen Deutschlands, 1940-1950, Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1988; DIEDENDORF, Jeffry M., In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II, Oxford University Press, New York/Oxford, 1993; Krieg, Zerstörung, Aufbau, Schriftenreiher der Akademie der Künste, vol. 23, Henschel, Berlin, 1995. Joseph Louis Nasr, Reconstructing or Constructing Cities? Stability and Change in Urban Form in Post-World War II France and Germany, UMI Dissertation Information Service, 1997.

2. It is interesting however to note the term urban landscape used by G. A. Jellicoe, in his book Motopia: A Study in the Evolution of Urban Landscape (Studio Books, London) in 1961, in his description of an urban vision where generalised automobile use and the principle of green open spaces –of geometry and biology– resulted in a new kind of ordered urban devel-opment akin to Le Corbusier's project for Algiers. A few years later Garrett Eckbo used the term for purposes of ren-dering natural elements in urban design (Urban Landscape Design, McGraw-Hill, New York 1964). This approach corresponded to the employment of the term made by J. D Hitchmough in Urban Landscape Management (Inkata Press, Sydney, 1994). More recently, Philip Waller edited The English Urban Landscape (Oxford University Press, New York, 2000), with a historical-analytical pers-pective, where the term coincides with that of "townscape [...] an ideological as well as built environment, carrying iconographic and mytho-logical significance [...] a disputed terrain, fought over from political, economic, and social causes and for metaphysical reasons" (p. 11). This desig-nation underlies already the material of a collec-tive volume edited by Paul L. Knox in The Restless Urban Landscape (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs(NJ)) in 1993, showing that the socio-cultu-ral and the aesthetic-pastoral dimensions of the term overlapped for a certain period. The political dimension of the urban landscape is particularly visible in Brian Ladd's The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1997), where urban space is seen as the register of historical traits, raising the

question of their critical reconstruction. In the French context, publications like those on the work of Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, Du jardin au paysage urbain (Picard, Paris, 1990), orient the term towards the management of the green metropolitan areas and their integration into a comprehensive urban system. A similar view is to be seen in the book by J. M. Loiseau, F. Terrasson and Y. Trochel, Le paysage urbain (Sang de la terre, Paris, 1993), marks the connection and kinship between the observation of the natural landscape and that of the human realm, under the assumption that the landscape is the common place of a natural and of a social evolution. A very different view is given by François Loyer in his Paris XIXe siècle (Ateliers Parisiens d'Urbanisme, 1982), where the urban scapes themselves, with or without greenery, are considered paysages urbains, thus lending the status of a quasinaturality in the technical urban formation. This is the way that the term Stadtlandschaft was used in German in the past decades to designate the urban scene and its topo-morphological evolutions, as it is to be seen, for example, in Eckart Vancsa's, Der Karlsplatz: Geschichte einer Stadtlandschaft, P. Zsolnay, Vienna, 1983.

3. Cf. however also the term "city-region" as described and analysed in Robert E. Dickinson, City-Region and Regionalism: A Geographical Contribution to Human Ecology, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1947; Dickinson makes takes considerable notice of the German geographical and planning experience in describing the city-region as a "constellation, a cluster of centres round the capital" whose influence "is made evident in its environs by a radiating system of traffic routes, and, further afield, by isolated single strands running toseparate towns, each of which in its turn is a local centre of radiating routes through which it, rather than the metropolis, becomes the dominant centre for local affairs"(p. 18).

4. Cf. SCHWARZ, Rudolf, "Das Neue Köln, ein Vorentwurf", in : Stadt Köln (édit.), Das neue Köln, Verlag J. P. Bachem, Cologne, 1950; the integrity of the material connected with Schwarz'z town planning activity is to be found in his private archives, in Cologne.

5. Cf. FRANK, "The Late Victory of Neues Bauen...", loc. cit., p. 65.

6. Das neue Köln, p. 62.

7. As it is to be shown by the comparative reading of his approach in Gottlob Binden (ed.), Grundfragen des Aufbaus in Stadt und Land, Minutes of the Conference on the Reconstruction (Cologne 1947), Julius Hoffman Verlag, Stuttgart, 1947.

8. The first effort to reconsider this work was at the end of the 1970's, Ulrich Conrads and Maria Schwarz reedited Schwarz's earliest book, Wegweisung der Technik published in the late 1920's, which had at that time been considered as important as Friedrich Dessauer's Philosophie der Technik and Oswald Spengler's Der Mensch und die Technik in: Rudolf Schwarz, Wegweisung der Technik und andere Schriften zum Neuen Bauen, 1926-1961, Fr. Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1979. This book was followed by a concise inventory of Schwarz's work and thought, on the occasion of an exhibition in Manfred Sundermann/Maria Schwarz (ed.), Rudolf Schwarz, Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Architektenkammer Nordrhein-Westfalen und der Deutschen UNESCO-Komissionn, Band 17, Düsseldorf/Bonn, 1980. It is in the early 1990's that the young theologian Walter Zahner with his Rudolf Schwarz-Baumeister der Neuen Gemeinde, Ein beitrag zum Gespräch zwischen Liturgietheologie und Architektur in der Liturgischen Bewegung, Oros Verlag, Altenberge, 1992, opened the way to more recent revivals

in his book Von der Bebauung der Erde (1949), followed one year later by his official rapport on the reconstruction plans, Das neue Köln (1950)[4].
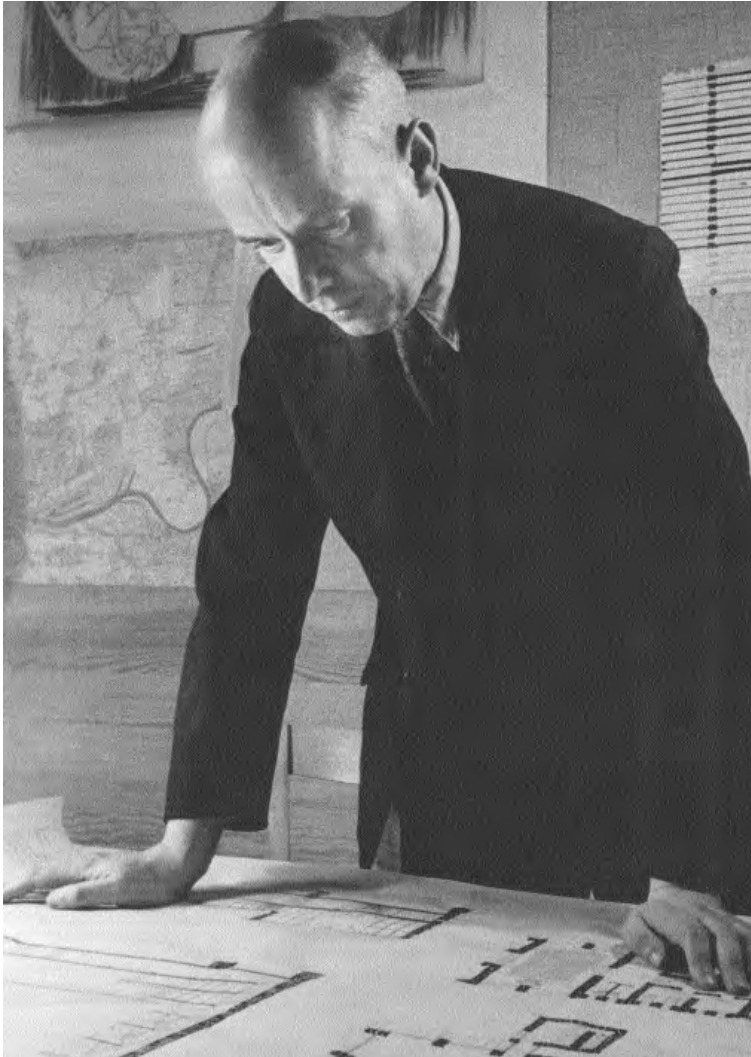
Rudolf Schwarz, a Kölner himself, was heavily affected by the destruction of such an important historical and cultural heritage and did not particularly believe in the chance for a new start and a "new morality"[5]:

"There is this misleading word about the 'unique opportunity'. That is, the destruction of the city would give the opportunity to build at her place a better and more beautiful one. Purely externally this is probably valid: in the most dreadful and crude way one of the noblest vessels of occidental tradition has been smashed and ruined in four years of pitiless war. The devastation was wild and blind, it left a brutish field of rubble in the place of the old of Cologne with its irreparable monuments of a millenary history and civilisation"[6].

The distance that he took from the technical and economical aspirations of the new his colleagues at that time was escorted by a particularly sophisticated argumentation ranging from topography to history and from ontology to sociology and illustrated by an impressive arsenal of plans and schemes[7]. His main target was, above all, to render to the historic city its cultural and symbolic primacy, integrating it into a new economic universe. His project was not realised, despite its obvious strategic and spatial qualities. Produced under the implacable dictates of urgency and speculation, it has been rapidly marginalized and fallen into oblivion, not unlike his outstanding architectural work. It is this last work that was mainly revived by means of publications and exhibitions in the 1990's[8], in which "another modernism" on the margins of the Modern Movement is depicted. A modernism that cannot be categorised as radical, since it was often expressed in terms of opposition and scepticism towards the architectural avantgardes of the 1920's[9]. Indeed, Schwarz was one of those "skeptics who felt the difficulties of [the avantgardes'] courageous and radical realism", as Manfredo Tafuri remarked[10]; a skepticism that didn't fit within the criteria elaborated by the post-war historiography that often depreciated the architects of the "innere Emigration" (those who had remained in Germany and put up or collaborated with the nazi regime, Rudolf Schwarz included)[11].

The renewed interest in Schwarz's work eventually brings his urban planning activity into light, but either in a succinct and factual way or in an apologetic tone, seemingly trying to purge his figure from the equivocal signs that especially his writings emitted in a Germany that still saw its past heavily criticised[12]. The architect's ambivalent political stance[13], which became particularly evident in town planning, certainly didn't facilitate the task. At the same time the dense theoretical construct upon which he was basing his design products limited the effort of the historians to find in his words and thoughts those elements that would reintroduce him in the pantheon of the post-war modernist architects and planners. But this effort, however noble might it be, had a curious sideeffect: to oversee, that is, that exactly in the critical stance towards the Neuzeit that Schwarz effectively adopted, there may elements that —as Tafuri put it regarding the opposition of prudenzia and novitas in the Venetian Republic[14]— reverse conventional expectations; not only in the way problems are treated, but also in the inventiveness and wit in the work on space and form.

This paper, focused on Schwarz's urban planning theory and practice, will argue that his Stadtlandschaft was not only informed by the centenary town planning tradition and the cultural stage set of a rapidly industrialising

Rudolf Schwarz, photo in his studio, 1948.

that focused mainly on Schwarz's architecture and the corresponding part of his writings. Namely, Conrad Lienhardt (ed.), Rudolf Schwarz (1897-1961), Werk-Theorie-Rezeption, Schnell & Steiner, Regensburg, 1997; Wolfgang Pehnt/Hilde Strohl, Rudolf Schwarz: Architekt einer anderen Moderne, Hatje, Ostfildern-Ruit, 1997 (catalogue of the 1997 retrospective exhibition in Cologne, Berlin Munich, Frankfurt and Vienna); Thomas Hasler, Architektur als Ausdruck — Rudolf Schwarz, gta Verlag/Gebr. Mann Verlag, Zürich/Berlin, 2000; Rudold Stegers, Räume der Wandlung. Wände und Wege: Studien zum Werk von Rudolf Schwarz, Vieweg Verlag, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 2000. In the spring 2000, an exhibition was organised at the Basilica Palladiana, in Vicenza, entitled "Lo spazio sacro del '900. Architetture di Rudolf Schwarz e Hans van der Laan".
9. Cf. Barbara Miller Lane's seminal work, Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA), 1968.
10. Manfredo Tafuri, Theories and History of Architecture, Harper and Row, New York, 1980, First Chapter "Modern Architecture and the Eclipse of History".
11. Cf. DURTH, Werner, Deutsche Architekten: Biographische Verflechtungen 1900-1970, Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1986.
12. It is interesting to note that the retrospective exhibition on Rudolf Schwarz opened under the heavy climate brought inGermany by the very intense debate on Daniel Jonas Goldhagen's, Hitlers' Willing Executioners, (first edited by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1996), thus posing once more the question of the breadth and depth of the national-socialist political roots in the German culture.
13. "Baubolschevik" for the national-socialist regime and simultaneously suspect for collaboration with this same regime; cf. Hartmut Frank, "Die Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen", in : Hartmut Frank / Jean-Louis Cohen (sous la dir. de), Les relations franco-allemandes 1940-1950 et leurs effets sur l'architecture et la forme urbaine, research document, 1986, p. 282.
14. Cf. TAFURI, Manfredo, Venice and the Rennaissance, MIT Press, Cambridge/MA, 1989; Introduction.
15. On the general cultural implication of this attitude cf. Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair : A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1961; on the relation of this tendency concerning the urban phenomenon, cf. Klaus Bergmann, Agrarromantik und Großstadtfeindschaft, Verlag Anton Hain, Meisenheim am Glan, 1970; cf. also the reactivation of Bergmann's assumption by Werner Durth, "Stadtplanung 1930-1950: Zwischen Kontinuität und Bruch", in: Werner Durth/Winfried Nerdinger, Architektur und Städtebau der 30er/40er Jahre, Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, Bonn, 1994, particularly pp. 34-37; cf. also Werner Durth/Niels Gutschow, Träume in Trümmern, Planungen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte im westen Deutschlands, 1940-1950, Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1988, vol. I ("Konzepte"), pp. 207-219.

Germany; but that his views and tools on the city and its making anticipated —despite its anti-urban (grossstadtfeindlich) and cultural-pessimistic (kultur-pessimistisch) elements[15]— alternative planning methodologies dealing with the phenomenon of sprawl and attempting to contain and transform it into a credible project.

RUDOLF SCHWARZ FROM ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN TO URBAN PLANNING

Rudolf Schwarz was born in Strasbourg in 1897. He obtained his architectural degree at the Königlich Technischen Hochschule Charlottenburg (Berlin), in 1918. He continued his studies in Bonn and Cologne, where he also had worked under Fritz Schumacher's for the extension plan of the city (1919-22), before becoming Hans Poelzig's Meisterschüler (1923-24). Around that time

Rudolf Schwarz, Jugendhaus, Aachen
1928.

16. GUARDINI, Romano, (Verona 1885-Munich 1968), priest, theologist and professor in Philosophy of Religions in the University of Berlin, has been one of the most important figures of the Catholic movement in Germany, and source of inspiration thanks to his teaching and writings.
17. Cf. "Haus der Jugend in Aachen", Die Form, year 4, October 1929, pp. 515-520; "Die soziale Frauenschule in Aachen", Die Form, year 6, n. 1, 1931, pp. 11-22; "Die Frohleichnam-skirche in Aachen", Der Baumeister, 1932, pp. 27-41. Schwarz was a fervent opposer to the Bauhaus, and especially to Walter Gropius, whom he personally attacked in a series of articles published in Baukunst und Werkform in 1953; causes, events and resonance are discussed by Ulrich Conrads in Die Bauhaus Debatte 1953, Fr. Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, 1994.
18. A first original research on this subject was conducted by Jean-Louis Cohen and Hartmut Frank, presented in the unpublished report Les relations franco-allemandes 1940-1950 et leurs effets sur l'architecture et la forme urbaine, 1985. For a brief référence to the subject cf. Hartmut Frank, "La Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen (Thionville)", Casabella, n. 567, April 1990, p. 56.
19. In 1953, Rudolf Schwarz was offered the chair of Städtebau and Kirchenbau at the Staat-liche Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, where he died in 1961. For a historical overview of his urban planning activity, cf. Wolfgang Pehnt, op. cit., pp. 100-125; for a short curriculum of the architecte cf. Rudolf Stegers, op. cit., pp. 180-181.
20. Cf. Von der Bebauung der Erde, p. 82.

he joined the Catholic Youth "Quickborn" and very quickly become collaborator of the leading personality of the movement, Romano Guardini[16]. For the period 1927-41, Scwharz was given the editorial responsibility of the movement's review Die Schildgenossen. In the following years, he was invited by Dominikus Böhm to teach architectural composition at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Offenbach, while collaborating with him in church projects. Religious and community buildings became his main architectural activity. Between 1927 and 1934 he was director at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Aachen, joining simultaneously the Deutscher Werkbund. During this period Schwarz was considered —often despite his objection— as representative of the Neues Bauen[17]. In the period 1934-41 he was freestanding architect in Offenbach and Frankfurtam-Main, undertaking mainly small private and parochial architectural commissions. In 1941, and after repetitive efforts to gain access to design commissions, he managed to find a position as responsible for the reconstruction of cities at Lorraine[18]. This incident opened for him a period of reflexion and activity on town planning, which was continued by his appointment as Generalplaner in Cologne (1946-1952), a period that lasted virtually until the end of his life[19].

Apparently without previous experience in this field, Schwarz was given the assignment to provide extension plans to the "new order communities" (Neuordnungsgemeinden), that is villages that had suffered war damages at the outbreak of the war. Close to his birthplace, a predominantly Catholic area, the architect resumed to circular schemes, by placing houses like "precious stones on a ring". While exalting the communitarian ideal, he hoped to avoid a false "mystique of the community" as he later confessed in Von der Bebauung der Erde[20]. He thus reiterated the debate developed during the twenties and thirties in the Quickborn, whose neoplatonic tendencies and ambitions to counter the liberal industrial world with a new "desire for the
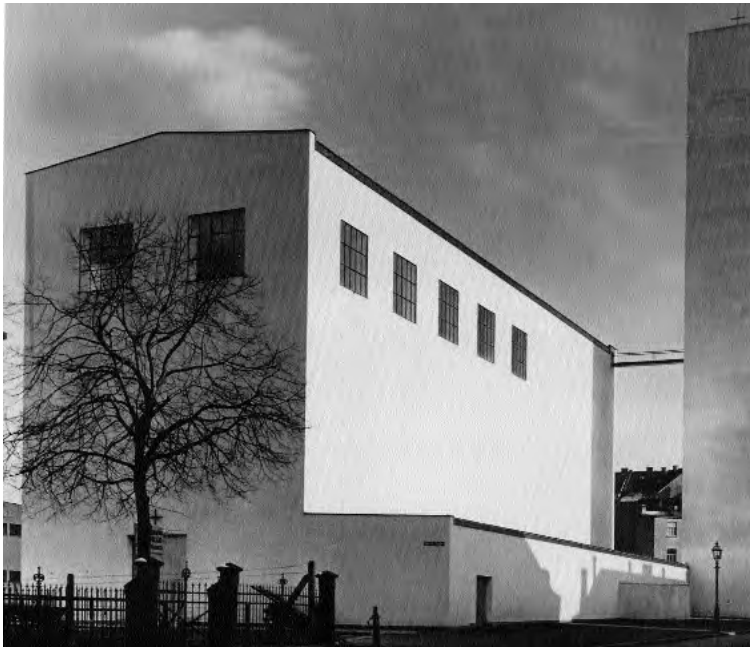
18

Rudolf Schwarz, Corpus Christi Church, Aachen, 1929-30.

community"[21] gave concrete ideological form to an ageold confrontation between the —essentially urban— liberals and the Catholics who were mostly rural. The project for the new villages was thus a first opportunity for Schwarz to experiment in a different scale ideas he had already expressed in the late 1930's in his generally considered most influential work Vom Bau der Kirche[22]. It is there that the Gestalt (the abstract spatial configuration) of a communal reunion is examined in its ontological meaning, spatial properties and symbolic values.

Schwarz's second assignment, immediately thereafter, was to produce an extension plan for the city of Thionville, a mining city of around 70.000 inhabitants expected to increase its population to 180.000. Contrary to initial proposals for a continuous extension, Schwarz proposed a series of satellite Siedlungen, scattered in the neighbouring valleys and the protection of the historical core of the city with a new ring road and a first "necklace" of residential quarters beyond it. His overall concept is described in an unpublished rapport, destined to the civil administration of Westmark, formed by the fusion of the Saar to Lorraine.
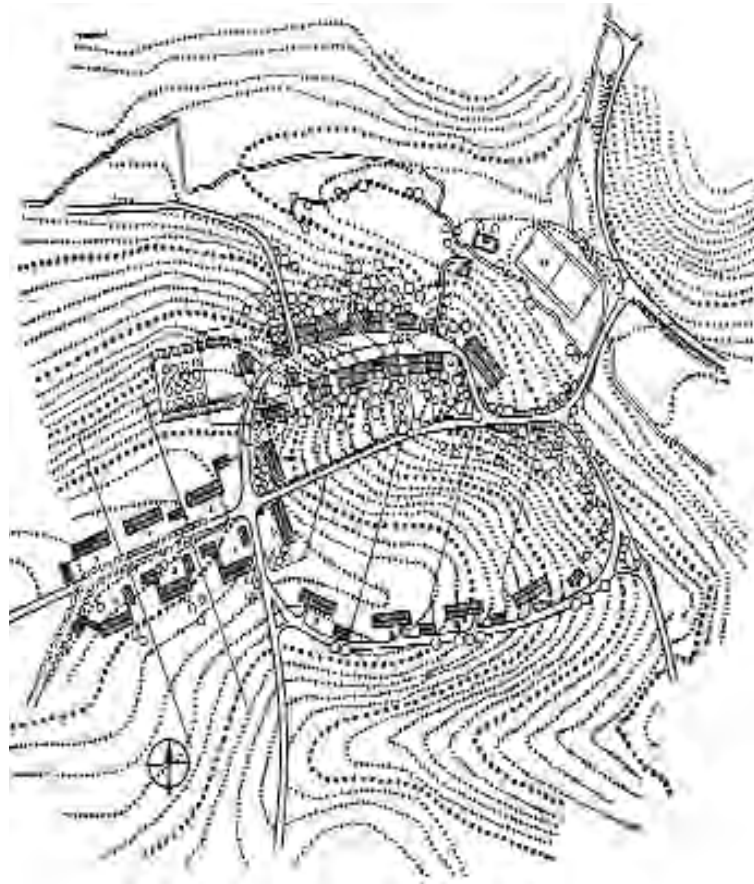
The thirty doublepage text is entitled "Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen" (after the German name of Thionville) and constitutes the germ of Schwarz's later planning theory, going beyond mere technical matters. The introduction of the reader to an apocalyptic image of mines having destroyed the preindustrial harmony of the landscape, indicated his intention to consider the landscape in close relation to the city.

> "The maelstrom of the ore, of the furnaces and of the rolling mills flowed down in the valleys, like a volcanic eruption, gobbled up the old villages and the hamlets, left them behind it, in the middle of the place, like foreign substances […] Thus, a dying land is today inhabited by a dying German people"[23].

21. Cf. the words of Idelfons Herwegen, "The individual that appeared through the Renaissance and the Liberalism has lived his/her life. [Now] one desires the community"; Aloïs Baumgartner, "Die Auswirkungen der liturgischen Bewegung auf Kirche und Katholizismus", in : Anton Rauscher (ed.) Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen im deutschen Katholiismus seit 1800, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 1986.
22. SCHWARZ, Rudolf, Vom Bau der Kirche, Werkbundverlag, Würzburg, 1938; the book was published in English under the title The Church Incarnate (Henry Regenery, Chicago) in 1957, with a preface by Mies van der Rohe.
23. SCHWARZ, Rudolf, "Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen" (July 1943?), Schwarz Archives, Cologne, pp. 4-4a.

Rudolf Schwarz, plan of Bollingen,
Lorraine, 1941-1942.

24. "Heimat" comes from the middlegerman "hei-
moute" where is found the indoeuropean"kei",
designating the place where one gets established,
lives and is recognised by his fellow people. It also
is related to the German "Kei" (word for settle-
ment), the Greek ÎÒÌÈ (hamlet) and the gothic
"haims". "Kei" is also to be found in the German
"Heirat" (wedding) in the adjective "geheuer"
(familiar) and, above all, in "Heim" (home). There is
a sentimental value attached to this term, which
is not any more to be found in "Siedeln" and
"Siedlung". Cf. Hartmut Frank, "Nostalgie et tradi-
tion dans l'habitation allemande des années 20 et
30. La mise en scène de la "Heimat"", In Extenso,
Recherches à l'Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-
Villemin, n. 9, p. 114.
25. RIEHL, Wilhelm Heinrich, Land und Leute,
Gotta'scher Verlag, Stuttgart, 1881.
26. The term was coined in 1880 by Ernst Rudoff
27. Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen, p. 10a.
28. In this sense Schwarz was apparently reaching
the limits of the regime's tolerance as to the sym-
bolic meaning of the landscape; cf. Karl Ditt, "The
perception and conservation of nature in the
Third Reich", Planning Perspectives, vol. 2, year
15, April 2000, pp. 161-187.

The correspondence established between a deformed countryside and a decayed social base implied that a reconstruction of the former would inevitably mean revitalisation of the latter into a new framework of life, the"Heimat". The term is laden with meaning and symbolism in the German cultural space since the mid-19th century and therefore difficult in its translation[24]. In Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's Land und Leute[25] it condensed the ideological battle against the industrial transformation of the country and the consequent decay of the rural areas.

Paradoxically adopted mainly by a conservative bourgeoisie, it was soon incorporated in the Heimatschutz-bewegung (Movement for the Protection of the Heimat)[26] a major actor in the debate of the traditional vs. the modern.

"Thoroughly experienced space [Schwarz wrote in 1943], space fulfilled and satiated with simple and heart-warm human lives. Space which was there before as a natural landscape and then became gradually human living space: Heimat is a historical fact created by the people little by little out of the preexistent material of nature"[27].

The ancestral landscape, seen in its metaphysical capacity to nurture ideological constructs about communitarian unity and the sense of belonging to place, became the raw material of the new urban configuration[28].

Nonetheless, Schwarz took his distances from simplifications dear to the supporters of a "Germanic" tradition in style:

"There were and still are schools of urban planning that do not know how to get detached from warmheartedness. They line up one after the other intimate spatial images as they have appeared in old cities in the course of the time and, nevertheless, leave the question open as to whether the inner order of these people is not in reality simpler and cooler"[29].

Rudolf Schwarz, model for the extension of Thionville, 1943.

The architect thus dissociated the image of a town and its essence. For him, the Heimat could not be perpetuated by "traditional" morphological values if these were not supported by a structure mirroring the popular bonds — and this structure had to be a spatial one. His discourse revealed in fact the same ambivalent posture that haunted the German ideological debate around the modern city, since Tönnies's Manichean analysis of the opposition between community and society[30]: on one hand, Schwarz praised a community of customs, tied by "Blut und Boden" relations; on the other hand, he meant to establish a clear hierarchical status within the members of the community, and this brought him closer to the scholastic rigour of modernity[31].

In exactly the same ambivalent way, Schwarz set the principles of his "Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen":
- distribution of the population in an extended area including the valleys of the rivers Moselle, Orne and Fentsch;
- protection of the old villages from any new residential project destined to the expected industrial workers, these should be housed separately in Siedlungen of reduced size and as close as possible to the industrial zone;
- conservation of the medieval urban core as a spiritual centre and place of civic and religious representation clearly separated from the new additions;
- integration of the whole area into a system of transportation, laid out so that the residential areas keep their serene ambience.

Rudolf Schwarz, plan for the extension of Thionville, 1943.

The strategies adopted in the first instance were a common intellectual capital at that time. The attention given to the cultural and religious centre, by Schwarz himself described as Stadtkrone, was obviously related to Bruno Taut's homonymous utopia and the importance of a central building of cult as a unifying social element[32].

Moreover, the loose positioning of the Siedlungen in the landscape, at times geometrically strict and at times freely espousing the mountain curves, was again a tribute to the satellite cities concept that Ernst May had introduced in Germany on the occasion of this Breslau extension plan in 1925[33]. But these loans from the "progressive" urban planning experience were balanced by the steady will to upkeep the medieval character of the town centre and its communal values and that was going far beyond the modernist argument[34].

Indeed, Le Corbusier's "Plan Voisin" proposing the protection of only 5% of the old city in a park destined to contemplative leisurely walks and Frank Lloyd Wright's consideration of the old centres as similar to "our retreated parents"[35], were of no appeal to the German planner. He was opting instead for a thorough functional and symbolic reestablishment of the Hochstadt (High City) as he named the historical core.

29. Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen, p. 13a.
30. Cf. TÖNNIES, Ferdinand, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, Abhandlung des Communismus und des Sozialismus als empirischer Kulturformen, 1887;cf. also David Blackbourn/Geoff Eley, The peculiarities of German History, Bourgeois society and poltics in nineteenth-century Germany, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984 and David Blackbourn, Volksfrömmigkeit und Fortschrittsglaube im Kulturkampf, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1988.
31. This ambivalence also the quality of his architectural products. For example, the Corpus Christi church in Aachen, built in a working class district, showed exactly this double register of industrial morphological elements placed within a, vaguely monumental, composition of volumes. Schwarz faced with irony even the critical German debate on the pitched roof: the roof of the church was tilted but only very slightly, giving no satisfaction to the supporters of the "national style", but certainly attracting the architectural periodicals of the Neues Bauen...
32. Cf. TAUT, Bruno, Die Stadtkrone, Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1919.
33. Cf. MAY, Ernst, "Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zur Stadterweiterung mittels Trabanten" (Breslau, 1922), Bauwelt, vol. 28, 1986; Der Trabant, ein Element der modernen Grossstadt, M. Wulff, Hamburg, 1958.
34. Cf. LE CORBUSIER, Urbanisme, Éditions Vincent, Frial & Cie, Paris, 1966, p. 272-3.
35. Cf. Frank Lloyd Wright's lecture at the RIBA in 1939 published in An organic Architecture, the Architecture of Demorcracy, Lund Humphries, London, 1939.

Ernst May, Plan for the extension of Breslau, 1923.

The same principles were entirely adapted in the Cologne project after the war. Obviously, the centre of gravity moved from the construction of an ethnically pure citylandscape to that of a reconstruction of a major historic urban centre and the ordering of its parts in a new spatial entity. Interestingly enough, Schwarz related the post-war pessimistic feeling in front of the ruins and the idea of urban dissolution, within the sense of end of a culture[36].

"The battle against the big city has become a widespread solution. The idea of the " disintegration of the Grossstadt " resounds like a fanfare. It resounds in a time that seems to prove the thought of the " decline of the West " with this strange mixture of curiosity and resignation, which are often seen as symptoms of sickness, and its echo is simultaneously a confirmation of the theory of the downward movement of a culture whose incarnation is the big city"[37].

It was in fact in the same year that Romano Guardini had published a book with the very evocative title Das Ende der Neuzeit (The End of Modernity) with the support of the Deutscher Werkbund circles and with a vain wish for return to a cosmological order from where the modern man seemed to have mistakenly escaped[38]. The parallel reflection and mutual influence of the architect and the priest apparently enhanced the cultural aura of the Stadtlandschaft. The theme of the reconstruction, that is, far from being a mere technical question, had set in Schwarz's eyes the problem of the revitalisation of a national culture, whose heyday were supposed to be the Middle Ages.

"One feels like a soldier placed at the last position of defense [Schwarz wrote during this period to Mies van der Rohe], and one shouldn't wonder if it can still be held. It may sound a bit odd, but I have the determination to hold this position or to fall for it, because I feel my existence identified with that of the West, as old-fashioned as all that may be. We must rapidly mobilize all our remaining forces, and let glow in this world (which becomes so small) the last glimmer

36. Obviously Schwarz had read Oswald Spengler's Decline of the West, but his discourse seems closely related to that of Hans Sedlmayr's Verlust der Mitte: die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symptom und Symbol der Zeit, Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1948.
37. Das neue Köln, p. 15.
38. GUARDINI, Romano, Das Ende der Neuzeit: ein Versuch zur Orientierung, Werkbund Verlag, Würzburg, 1950.

of the ancient light, so that the old peoples may see once more what they were meant to be and take this recollection with them in what is to come"[39].

This voluntarily retrogarde position, however firm and conscious might it be, did not hinder Schwarz from producing a complex and multifaceted project. As he put it[40] in the Conference on the Reconstruction that took place in Cologne in 1947, four principles should be established:
- Regulation of the throughtraffic in order to give it a recognisable form and protect the centre from its nuisances, so that the "crisis of the landscape" gets transformed into a "human and historical, that is spiritual, form".
- Restoration of peace and silence in the old city that, relieved of the technique and its movement, could become again the cradle of "wonderful and rare things".
- Establishment of a new autonomy and value for the suburbs and thus creation of new opportunities for their participation in the metropolitan economic and social life.
- Consideration of the whole Cologne bay as a unified landscape, coherent in every way, able to bear the big city and guide its development.

The difference in scale between Thionville and Cologne and the new socioeconomic factors required a critical and innovative approach, which led Schwarz to conceive a "double Cologne". A Nordstadt, situated between Merheim and Merkenich, near Leverkhusen, that would concentrate industry and 350 000 workers, thus constituting a "Milky Way" (Milchstraße) as he qualifies it. However, it would not be a city per se; no important central functions should be installed in this northern part of the Cologne region. These should be concentrated in the old reconstructed and revived centre at the south —the old Cologne— more apt to host "nobler" activities (administration, education and cult) in a peaceful atmosphere consecrated by the aura of the past.

Schwarz thus proposed a new kind of zoning, as an alternative to the one established by the Athens charter, based no more on the functional analysis of the city, but on the historicalontological consideration of its permanent features. Four "powers" (Gewalten), or dominant elements, should always be present in the urban realm —sovereignty, education, cult and economy— each one coming to the foreground in its turn, following the change of social and historical conditions. New positions, new morals, new ways of life would then follow that, however, would never thoroughly cancel the remaining three.

They would stay valid, waiting in the background for the right moment to be reactivated and gain priority in urban life.

The concept of these four elements (Werdewörter — words of values, as Schwarz also called them), in conjunction to the model of Stadtlandschaft and its inherent critique to centrality, led him to imagine a series of "alternating centres". An obvious undermining of the graph of an inverted tree, image of the spatial and social relations in a centralised city, which had to cede its place to a topologically more complex one, the most suitable way to give public "face" and esteem to the indifferent peripheral districts. In the case of Cologne, Lindenthal would keep hosting the University, Deutz would become the exhibitions area, the sports field would get installed in Müngersdorf etc[41].

Rudolf Schwarz, conceptual scheme for a "double Cologne", 1951.

Schwarz, scheme representing the idea of alternating centres for Thionville, 1943.
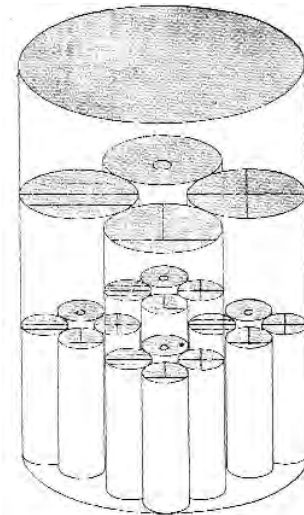
Rudolf Schwarz, the concept of the Whole and of its four constitutive elements, 1949.

39. Letter to Mies van der Rohe, 21.5.1947, Schwarz Archives, Cologne.
40. Grundfragen des Aufbaus..., op. cit., p. 31.
41. Passim., pp. 21-24.

Johann Heinrich von Thünen, scheme illustrating the concept of the Isolated State, 1825.

What is innovative in Schwarz's attitude, is not so much the practice of distributing central functions in the periphery, something already proposed by Christaller and Lösch[42]. It is, rather, the assumption that these functions render the individual quarters visible parts of a whole, whereas totality survives in its parts, in total accordance with the spirituality of the romantic idea of the fragment of the neoplatonic heritage of the Catholic Reform Movement.

Moreover, the constant readaptation and relocalisation of this centrality led to the idea of "elastic planning" (elastische Planung), as the author qualified it. Planning, he said, should avoid fixing a definite urban form. It should rather propose an urban configuration, a Gestalt[43]. He thus returned to the German debate of the 1920s and to Fritz Schumacher's writings on a "desired image" Wunschbild[44]. At the same time, he evidently related to the Gestalt theory focusing on structural principles discernible by the human cognition. He suggested that this approach might permit an open planning, that would allow for a variety of urban forms, keeping always close to a basic organisational structure.

"CITY–LANDSCAPE": THE GENESIS OF A TERM

Rudolf Schwarz was not the first to use the term Stadtlandschaft. It appeared in the geographical debate of the early 20th century, within the debate on the economic relation of the city to its respective territory. A debate which goes back to the beginning of the 19th century, marked by Fichte's postulate that a nation may and should thrive enclosed in itself[45]. Upon this philosophical premise, the economist Johann Heinrich von Thünen built his study on the economic relation of the city to its immediate territory, within the model of an "isolated state". His abstract scheme of a city in the centre of a series of concentric circles representing its immediate economic region divided in specialised production areas remains until today a fundamental in economic theory[46]. Complementary considerations with a higher degree of complexity appeared just two decades later, in the geographer Johann Georg Kohl's arborescent diagrams of agglomerations and route systems, expressing the assumption that transportation networks and urban centres functioned as vital organs of a region[47].

The connection of the economic function of an inhabited region to its "natural" and "human" characteristics received further attention in the early 20th century, through the geographer's Max Eckert[48] use of the term "economic landscape" (Wirtschaftslandschaft): a geographic entity with strong economic integrity and socio-cultural identity, the city and its region being a particular type of such a landscape[49]. In the beginning of the 1920's, Eckert made an extensive use of the term Stadtlandschaft in his description German towns[50] and it is in the beginning of the 1930's, that his colleague Siegfried Passarge published Die Stadtlandschaften der Erde where the relation of an urban society to its natural basis was extensively presented[51]. He thus described the unitary aspect of the German urban formations, where human construction and natural elements seem to merge harmoniously manner. He presented urbanised landscapes as artificial formations where natural forces had only sporadic and temporary impact. Contrary to this, he wrote, it was artificial human constructs, created by economy and technique, like the transport

42. CHRISTALLER, Walter, Die zentrale Orte in Süddeutschland, Fischer Verlag, Jena, 1933 ; August Lösch, Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft, Fischer, Iena, 1940 ; Klaus Greve/Günter Heinritz, Zentrale Orte im Herzogtum Schleswig 1860, Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster, 1987.

43. SCHWARZ, Das neue Köln, op. cit., p. 24.

44. See also Rapports de la Conférence Internationale de l'aménagement des Villes, Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 1924. This term, which actually means "desired/ideal image" marks also the end of a formalist approach to the city outline, in favour of an abstract spirit of organisation. The term will later be used by Martin Wagner in the case of Berlin, to underline his distanciation from formal considerations; cf. Ludovica Scarpa, "Berlin, années vingt, une gestion active de la ville: Martin Wagner", in: Cahiers de la recherche architecturale, n. 15/16/17, 1985, p. 92.

45. Cf. KELLY, George A., (ed.), "Thirteenth Address", in: Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Adresses to the German Nation, Harper Torch Books, New York, 1968.

46. VON THÜNEN, Johann Heinrich, Der isolierte Staat (1826-1863), Verlag von Wiegandt, Hempel & Varen, Berlin, 1875.

47. KOHL, Johann Georg, Der Verkehr und die Ansiedelungen der Menschen in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Gestaltung der Erdoberfläche, Arnoldsche Buchhandlung, Dresde/Leipzig, 1841

48. ECKERT, Max, (1868-1938), is the inventor of the geographical projection Eckert IV.

49. "Jede Stadt bildete mit ihrer engeren oder weiteren Umgebung eine einzige Wirtschaftslandschaft"; Max Eckert, Grundriss der Handelsgeographie, G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 190.

50. Cf. ECKERT, Max, Die Kartenwissenschaft. Forschungen und Grundlagen zur einer Kartographie als Wissenschaft, W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1921.

51. PASSARGE, Siegfried, (ed.), Stadtlandschaften der Erde, Friederischen/De Gruyter & Co., Hambourg, 1930. Cf. also of the same author Die Landschaftsgürtel der Erde, Natur und Kultur, F. Hirt, Breslau, 1923. Passarge (1867-1958) is the author of two of the earliest ethnographic monographies, in the early 20th century, based on Malinowski's method of "participant observation",

networks, that proved to be durable entities. Passarge signified in this way also a cultural landscape (Kulturlandschaft) created in a particularly autonomous way, via human establishment[52].

The geographic approach of the 1920's was paired by visions on the dissolution of the cities in the landscape, such as those by Bruno Taut, who presented in a series of bird's eye views in distances from 300 to 15000 metres[53] loose urban configurations in forms of daisies with no trace of conventional city in sight. Those years Martin Wagner had published his thesis on the hygienic importance of green spaces in the big cities, with a very evocative diagram indicating a high degree of penetration of nature to the urban mass[54]. In the 1920's Walter Schwagenscheidt attempted to promote his concept of a Raumstadt, according to which the urban mass should be divided in districts of 25000 inhabitants[55].

Openly, these planners' pleas against the Großstadt were directed rather against density and disorder than against urban culture per se. This particularity should be pointed out, just to argue that any "antiurban" planning projects should be carefully examined as to their social vision, in order to be claimed as such; that spatial concepts cannot inform about the degree of their "antiurbanity"[56]. Indicatively, Taut published in the late 1920's, a comparison of Berlin with other capitals, arguing that productive forces, in particular of cultural type, were most clearly recognisable at the suburbs[57]. It is one of those cases where the ideal of low density in a dispersed city is paired to the vision of modernist culture accessed by loosely settled urbanites. In this sense Taut's vision of dissolution differs from other spatially similar concepts where the main argument is that of the reconstruction of the "community of souls" and of the Heimat, thus directly referring to clichés about a premodern harmony of the cosmos[58]. The connection of the urban masses to nature, source of vital products and health (whose absence from the urban realm could prove fatal, as the 1929 economic crisis had shown) was charged with particular ideological significance by the city administrators. And it is in those very circles of the Berlin and Frankfurt planning administrations that the city-landscape seems to have taken its visionary trait, just before the seize of power by the nationalsocialist party and the subsequent integration of the term in the ideological construct of the national-socialist city.

In fact, a very interesting event took place in April 1932: the review Das neue Frankfurt —directed by Ernst May until his departure with his brigade for Soviet Union in Autumn 1930— was renamed after the more generic "Die neue Stadt" (The New City). Although it remained the official organ of the Association "Das neue Frankfurt", its new profile obviously pertained to the critical discussion of the time, that of the being and the evolution of the big city. And, interestingly enough, the editor's note in the first number started with a question: "Ende der Großstadt?" (End of the metropolis?) The author's sense of witnessing a "secular restructuring" affecting modern life, and the inevitable connection between art and technique, was for him to be summarized in town-planning and its corollary, regional planning.

The bird's eye perspective illustration of D. H. McMorran's entry to the competition for the new London Airport was escorted by the following words: "Flughäfen — neueste Ansatzpunkte der Auflösung" (Aiports — the newest
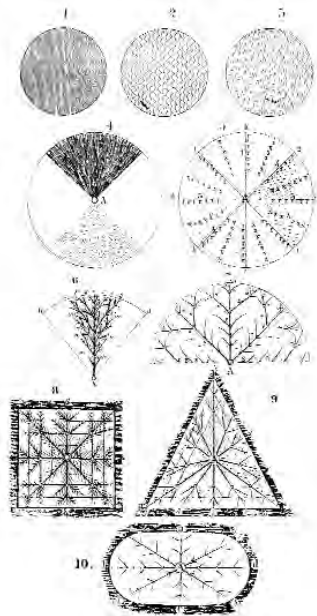
Johann Georg Kohl, schemes illustrating the territorial organisation of cities, 1948.

and shed light to questions of power structures, ethnic groups and land control. He advocated a monophyletic history of human evolution and accepted the Darwinian synthesis of the unitary descent of man, then being constructed by anthropologists and biologists. Later, Passarge made a more precise use of it, in order to describe the physiognomy of the materially perceptible surface of the earth. Cf. Siegfried Passarge, Einführung in die Landschaft, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig/Berlin, 1933.

52. DURTH/GUTSCHOW, p. 190.

53. TAUT, Bruno, Die Auflösung der Städte oder Die Erde eine gute Wohnung oder auch: Der Weg zur Alpinen Architektur, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen, 1920.

54. WAGNER, Martin, Das Sanitäre Grün der Städte, Ein Beitrag zur Freiflächentheorie, Carl Hermann, Berlin, 1915.

55. Cf. SCHWAGENSCHEIDT, Walter, Die Raumstadt, Verlag Lambert Schneider, Heidelberg, 1949; interestingly enough, Schwarz's Von der Bebauung der Erde was appeared the same year by the same publisher.

56. Manfredo Tafuri distinguished a "regressive" ideology and a "nostalgic utopia" that was expressed in a distinct way by all forms of "antiurban thought", by Tönnies's sociology and by an effort to confront the new commercial reality of the metropolis to ideas about restoration of communal or anarchist mythologies; cf. Manfredo Tafuri, The Sphere and the Labyrinth, Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s (La sfera e il labirinto, 1980) MIT Press, Cambridge (MA)/London, 1990, p. 17. Francesco Dal Co also used the name in order to describe the communitarian tradition combined with elements of popular ideology as being in the basis of the gardecity concept in Germany; cf. Francesco Dal Co, Figures of Architecture and Thought, German Architecture Culture, 1880-1920, Rizzoli, New York, 1990, p. 56. Giorgio Ciucci considers Wright's Broadacre City as a an antiurban para-

Max Eckert, a German City-landscape, 1905.

digm, too; Giorgio Ciucci, "The City in Agrarian Ideology and Frank Lloyd Wright: Origins and Development of Broadacres", in : The American City, pp. 295-296 and 332. Andrew Lees perceived a part of the German intellectuals as "antiurban conservatives", in that they proposed a return to the state of selfsufficiency incarnated in the communitarian structures of an agrarian society, as a remedy to the urban misery and ugliness. Contrary to this attitude, Hartmut Frank proposed the term of "reform" as more adequate to the attitude of the German bourgeoisie in the beginning of the 20th century; cf. "Heimatschutz und typologisches Entwerfen. Von der Erhaltung der Tradition zur Erfindung von Heimat–Modernisierung und Lokaltradition beim Wiederaufbau von Ostpreußen, 1915-1927"; Hartmut Frank (ed.) Fritz Schumacher, Reformkultur und Moderne, Hatje, Stuttgart, 1994; Faschistische Architekturen, Planen und Bauen in Europa, 1930 bis 1945, Hans Christians Verlag, Hambourg, 1985.

57. TAUT, Bruno, "Via London–Paris–New York–NeuBerlin", in: Martin Wagner (ed.), Das neue Berlin, Grossstadtprobleme, Deutsche Bauzeitung, 1929, p. 30.

58. On this particularly fertile comparison between an harmonious closed cosmos and an open dynamic universe, cf. Alexandre Koyré, Du monde clos à l'univers infini, Gallimard, Paris, 1973, based on studies by Etienne Gilson of the 1920's that were very well known in the German Catholic circles.

59. Cf. GANTNER, Joseph, "Ende der Großstadt", Die neue Stadt, 1, April 1932, pp. 2-4.

60. Cf. WAGNER, Martin, "Sterbende Städte! Oder Planwirtschftlicher Städtebau?", Die neue Stadt, 2, May 1932, pp. 50-59.

61. GANTNER, Joseph, "Stadtlandschaft Berlin", Die neue Stadt, 2, May 1932, p. 65.

62. Cf. among others, William Hollingsworth Whyte (dir.), The Exploding Metropolis, Doubleday, Garden City(NY), 1958; Melvin Webber, The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm, 1964; Interestingly enough, the conceptual value of urban sprawl regained a conceptual potential in the 1990's; cf. among others Rem Koolhaas, "La Grande Ville et ses Périphéries" (interview with Bruno Fortier), L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, n° 262, 1989, pp. 90- 91; Robert Fishman, "Space, Time and Sprawl", Architectural Design, mars-avril 1994, pp. 45-47.

63. Leberecht Migge, Die wachsende Siedlung nach biologischen Gesetzen, Franck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1932.

64. SCHROEDER, G., "Diskussion um die Stadtrandsiedlung", Die neue Stadt, 2, May 1932, p. 68.

65. WAGNER, Martin, "Nachwort", in: Martin Wagner (dir.), Das wachsende Haus, Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., Berlin/Leipzig, 1932, p. 41 (underlined by M. Wagner); cf. also Martin Wagner, "Das neue Berlin", Die neue Stadt, 6/7, pp. 144-145.

66. WAGNER, Martin, "Nachwort", in: Martin Wagner (dir.), Das wachsende Haus, Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., Berlin/Leipzig, 1932, p. 42.

67. Cf. HEGEMANN, Werner, Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der Städtebau-Ausstellungen in Berlin und Düsseldorf, 1910-1912, Ernst Wasmuth, Berlin, 1913.

68. Cf. for example Rudolf Eberstadt/Bruno Möhring/Petersen., Groß-Berlin, ein Programm für die Planung der neuzeitlichen Großstadt, Ernst Wasmuth, Berlin, 1910.

69. SCHWARZ, Rudolf, Das neue Köln, p. 11.

signs of sprawl)[59]. Obviously a moment of higher —to the state of the art— accomplishment was expected to be achieved, in the interaction of the city to the region, namely through urban sprawl.

The following number of the review contained an extensive reference to Berlin, where Martin Wagner apparently responded by his article "Sterbende Städte! Oder Planwirtschaftlicher Städtebau?" (Dying cities! Or town planning in a planned economy?) With cynical lucidity Wagner noted that it is in fact the economical liberalism that rendered whole cities or parts of them "dead", migratory phenomena being related to production costs. He thus resumed to the task of an "organic" rearrangement of the metropolis in order to create more attractive residential ambiances[60].

And it is in the same volume, where a short note by the editor Joseph Gantner entitled "Stadtlandschaft Berlin" offered a very early use of the term not as describing a fact but as anticipating a future, prototypical condition. The note suggested a new term for the urban "non-form" of Berlin, as opposed to Paris and London:

"In Berlin now the result is called 'city-landscape' [Stadtlandschaft]; an almost smooth, as if it was created by itself, inclusion of the countryside in the everyday life of the city, a natural growing out of the city into the countryside. And perhaps a quite new sort of modern metropolitan formation comes into being, for which Berlin becomes the prototype"[61].

It seems that this is the very historical moment that the "city-landscape" was transformed from an analytical to a projectual term, rendering a conceptual allure to urban sprawl that pervaded in the post-war years up until the 1990's[62]. In the very same number of Die neue Stadt, a short note on the "Diskussion um die Stadtrandsiedlung" (Discussion on the peripheral residence) and on Leberecht Migge's book Die wachsende Siedlung[63], that had

appeared in the same year, permits the association of an alternative constructive philosophy to a new culture of human establishment:

> "In the same way that once people were migrating to the city, now they return to the countryside, and the former ideal of the city culture is confronted to the new ideal of the city-countryside [Stadt-Land] culture"[64].

That same year though, Martin Wagner had published a book with the very similar title Das wachsende Haus. It included projects by a number of important architects of the Neues Bauen –Migge included– on the theme of the garden house, conceived as a living and expanding unit. Wagner's textual contribution to the book (dated May 1932), while playing on a number of dialectical antitheses (spiritual vs. biological roots, social vs. economic bonds of the population to the city, dominant vs. servant role of the machine, etc.) ends up with a suggestion to overpass the most symbolic and allencompassing of them all, namely the "city-land" contrast:

> "If the machine is the city and nature the country, then we shall make the city dependant on the country and shall build a new city-country [Stadt-Land] on the old ground of the city"[65].

In this way, a new human was supposed to come to being, equally related to the urban and to the rural environment, the Stadtlandmensch[66]. The hypothesis of a dialectic resolution of the antithesis city-country, propagated by Ebenezer Howard, was here taken one step further: the new human being would be the only resident in a loosely inhabited land.

The new vision was enabled by the larger scale of observation that was offered by the regional planning approach, especially from the Gross-Berlin Competition in 1910[67] and onwards, where urban problems were directly related to those of the rural areas and the Bodenreform, and where the planners themselves attempted through abstract graphs of the territory to propose large scale conceptualisations of the urban formation[68].

Was this apparent resolution of antitheses, pursued since the late 19th century, a preamble to Rudolf Schwarz's "redoubled man" (verdoppelter Mensch) that would lead his reflection in the city-landscape of Cologne? If Wagner had in mind the dissolution of the urban mass and of its correlated power and wealth, Schwarz aimed, through the same city-landscape paradigm, at the critique of the Technique as part of the cultural reformatory stance of the Catholic Youth Movement. He remarked that with the eruption of the new traffic conditions in the cities, the human being is obliged to deal with forces far beyond his immediate corporeal capabilities. A new "multiplied" human being is born, multiplied by the force of the technique.

> "But this old type of human being continues to exist and believes that the future belongs to him too. The mechanised man leaves his vehicle somewhere and suddenly he is not any more in a haste. He has infinitely lots of time and vacations, and the old high things are still precious to him. He still loves going the sluggish way through winding alleys, he does not think of renouncing the "donkey's ways of his ancestors" according to Le Corbusier's demand, and finds himself gladly in museums and churches. He has still his old preferences and needs them together with the new ones, that are not always pressing. The human being is doubled. As a user of technology one makes uses of big speeds and spaces. As an employee of corporate structures one works in scyscrapers. But, when one leaves the technical construct, one becomes a single person again, one who feels at home in the human scale"[69].
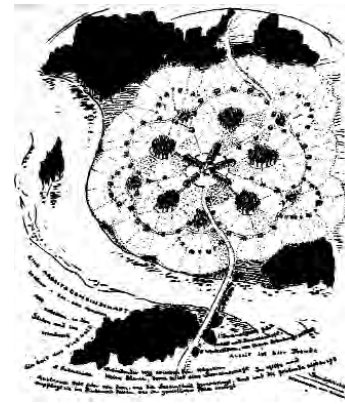
Bruno Taut, drawing from Die Auflösung der Städte, oder Die Erde eine gute Wohnung, 1919.
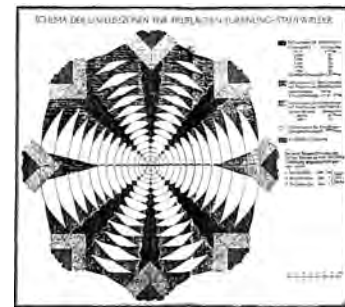
Martin Wagner, scheme illustrating the penetration of nature into the city from Der sanitäre Grün der Städte, 1915.
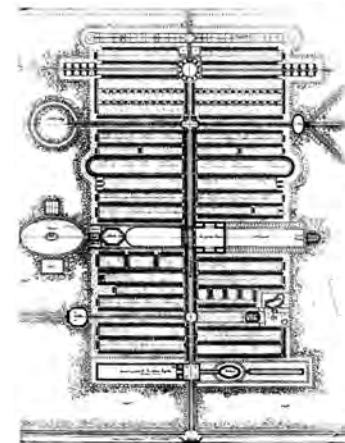
Walter Schwagenscheidt, scheme from his project Die Raumstadt, 1923.

Hermann Jansen, proposal for the
Grossberlin, 1910.

The obvious parallels were further strengthened in July 1932, in Die neue Stadt, by a preview of Karl Scheffler's Der neue Mensch, a book that appeared in 1933[70]. The reminder of Scheffler's vision of the city as an association of townships around a common vital point (Lebenskern)[71] comes in accord with the organic argument of the times. It is even more so, if one considers Martin Wagner's postulation on a viable size of agglomeration that he estimates up to 50.000 inhabitants.

> "Our 'Fünfziger' is no city and no countryside. It is a 'city-country'! It is the countryside-stressed city and the city-stressed countryside! This city-country stretches like a big long village as a 'linear city' through the countryside. Only, it has nothing more in common with the 'village', nothing external and nothing internal! The village street is a traffic space which offers to the car (and only the car) three lanes for three different speeds in every direction"[72].

Wagner's concern obviously was Berlin, and advanced mechanisation was apparently an exclusive option for its future. However, unlike the disurbanist avantgarde and its linear concepts that brought to the extremes the spatial urban inventiveness[73], the "organic" ideal remained in the German planners stash even in their Russian projects as Walter Schwagenscheidt's concept of Quartals allows to presume [Schwagenscheidt: Quartals].

Indeed, the "Russian doll" effect of his concept in the organisation of the industrial city in clusters contained in always larger ones, each one of them offering adequate public facilities in its core, is much closer to the biological cellular analogy, than to the industrial/serial one[74].

As if the pressing postcrash conditions and the heightening of tensions in the German society with the national-socialist party closer than ever to power, were urging intellectuals and planners to look deep into the structure of the individual and of the city with a hope of remedy — simultaneously a political and an urban one…

70. SCHEFFLER, Karl, Der neue Mensch, Insel Verlag, Leipzig, 1933.
71. Cf. SCHEFFLER, Karl, Die Architektur der Großstadt, Bruno Cassirer Verlag, Berlin, 1913.
72. WAGNER, Martin, "Städtebau als Wirtschaftsbau und Lebensbau", Die neue Stadt, 8, November 1932, p. 178.
73. Cf. among others, Nikolai Aleksandrovich Miliutin, Sotsgorod, Gos.izdvo, Moscow, 1930; english edition, Sotsgorod: the Problem of Building Socialist Cities, MIT Press, Cambridge(MA), 1974.
74. Cf. HOPMANN, Ernst, "Städtebau in der U.d.S.S.R.", Die Form, vol. 5, year VII, 1932.; Burghard Preusler, Walter Schwagenscheidt, 1886-1968, Architektenideale im Wandel sozialer Figurationen, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985.
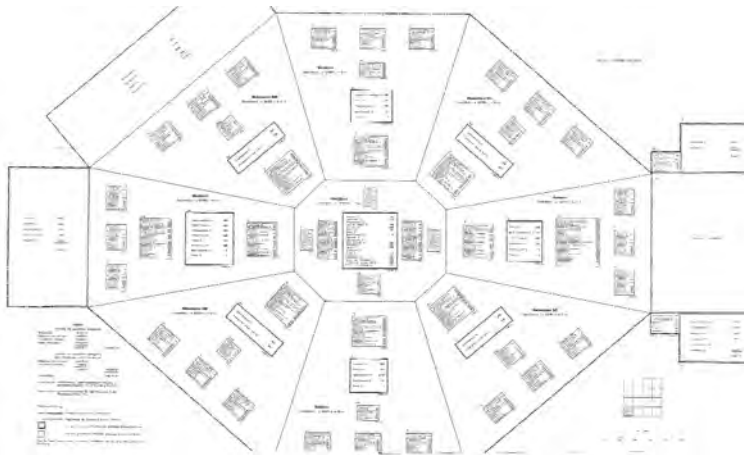
Gottfried Feder, Krystallogram for the new city, 1938.

THE CITY-LANDSCAPE AS PROJECT

How to negotiate the organic paradigm with the mechanic one? How to compromise a century-old philosophical tradition turning around the relation to the earth, as Novalis and the Romantic Movement had imagined it, and a new condition of precision, normalisation and repetition, that the industrial imperative had set up? Rudolf Schwarz had a thoughtful approach on this cultural dichotomy in his Wegweisung der Techni, by opposing the preindustrial Innerlichkeit (intimate, inner condition) to the modern Bezogenheit (relational, open condition). His project to unite the two in a new conceptual scheme, where harmony is to be found in the modern tension, had certainly made him known to some circles, and influenced people like Mies van der Rohe, whom he had met in 1925 in Berlin[75]. It is therefore not a surprise to find the two architects in working sessions with Martin Wagner in the beginning of the 1930's[76] that introduced Schwarz more specifically to concepts about the fusion of the city with the countryside. The debate proved to be directly adaptable to his critique on the Technique, the building of the community and the planning activity.

"Great tension and total mobility in an environment without density; new corporeal integrity in the highest isolation; dynamism and cohesion in the serial law; system of order in a brand new collaboration based on the "balance" (equally realised in the pieces of a machine): it is out of there that escapes a sudden, discontinuous and yet orderly coexistence, which is the apparent chaotic mixture of time and the internal and discordant life; and also facts like the transformation of the big cities in circulation nodes (and this means, indeed, their transformation according to the image of a machine which is big, but whose conception is horribly simple): all this and many other things seem to announce the irruption of a new universal configuration [Weltgestalt]"[77].

Such an acute and anticipatory critique to the technique had certainly provided the young Schwarz with an intellectual capacity to integrate the city-landscape concept and orient it towards his favourite thematic, that of the protection and exaltation of the "noble". Schwarz had inherited this attitude from his years in the Quickborn, where the idea of a neuer Adel und Ritterlichket, was set by Guardini as a motto for the reconstitution of a spiritual and cultural-political "offensive" of the long repressed German Catholic

75. The editor of the review Die Form Walter Riezler considered it to be one of the most important contributions to the theme of the Technique, comparable to Friedrich Dessauer's Philosophie der Technik (Verlag Friedrich Cohen, Bonn, 1926) and Oswald Spengler's Der Mensch und die Technik: Beitrag zu einer Philosophie des Lebens (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1931); cf. Walter Riezler, "Drei Bücher über 'Technik'", Die Form, year 6, November 1931. Mies van der Rohe had a copy of the original edition that he had meticulously read and underlined.
76. Cf. Pehnt, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
77. Ulrich Conrads, Rudolf Schwarz: Wegweisung der Technik... op. cit. pp. 72-73.
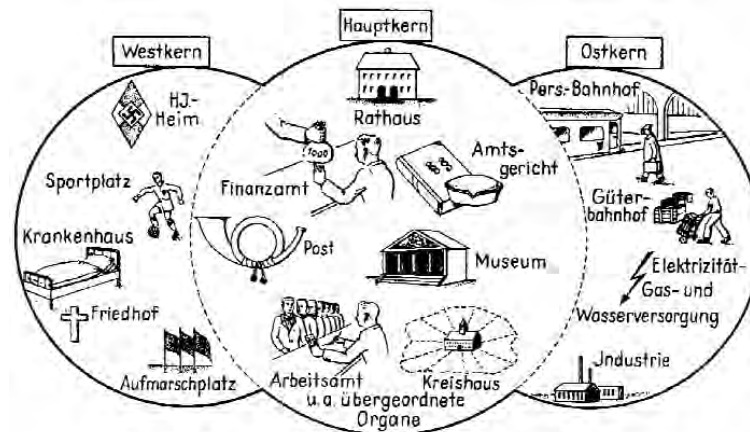
Abb. 50. Der Hauptkern einer Stadt und seine beiden Schwesterkerne.

Gottfried Feder, schematic illustration of the nucleus of the new city, 1938.

element. Within this momentum, Schwarz had qualified the Schildgenossen as a Hochland (Highland), a forum for a cultural debate on the important issues of modernity. It is therefore a surprise to have him exclaim in the 1940's:

> "The big city is dead, long live the city-landscape" a great town planner had once said, and we add to this 'Long live the High City', the noble centre, where the entire landscape gets concentrated on higher domains"[78].

By this quotation, Schwarz referred time and again to Martin Wagner's Stadtlandschaft[79]. One may assume with a great deal of certainty that his reference was not a mediatic outcry. In fact, Schwarz's approval of Wagner's claim for the disappearing of the metropolitan industrial centres was artfully giving way to the reintroduction of the traditional town core as a symbol of communal coherence, under the aureole of religious cult.

But before Schwarz was able to experiment on it, the term was already introduced in the official town planning circles. Indeed, the concept seemed to embrace in the most adequate way the critique to the Metropolis and the ideological danger it represented for the established political things, which appeared in Germany since the mid-19th century[80]. The context gave birth to Gottfried Feder's Die neue Stadt[81] repeating the title of the Frankfurt review and somehow adopting Martin Wagner's arguments on the size of the ideal city, that Feder defined it to 20000 inhabitants. The novelty is to be found in the particular concern for political control over the population, which was largely facilitated by the strategy of fragmentation of the urban mass into Zellen, Siedlungen, Nachbarschaften, etc. In fact, the whole argument on the reconstitution of the scale of the community was "flirting" with idea of a reconstitution of a low middle class, reincarnation of the artisanal world of the Middle Ages that was still hounting the collective conscience as the "national" past par excellence[82]. And exactly this class of artisans, petits bourgeois, farmers and peasants was supposed to have their habitat in the very praised Kleinstadt[83].

The tendency to revive the small town, and the obvious administrative advantages of it paradoxically —or perhaps not— led to a readaptation of Schwagenscheidt's Quartals and to its combination to Walter Christaller's cen-

78. "Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen", loc. cit., "Das dritte Köln" (1949), Schwarz Archives, Cologne; Das neue Köln, op. cit., pp.

79. A distance that however didn't prevent Martin Wagner from estimating the "creative solitute" in which his by 42 years younger colleague had "enshrined himself"; cf. Pehnt, op. cit., p. 99, note 418.

80. Cf. among others Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Die Naturgeschichte des Deutschen Volkes, Philipp Reclam Verlag, Leipzig, 1851-1869; Theodor Fritsch, Handbuch der Judenfrage, Hammer Verlag, Leipzig, 1943 (first published in 1887), and Die Stadt der Zukunft, 1896; Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Kulturarbeiten, Callwey im Kunstwart-Verlag, Munich, 1909, vol. IV.

81. Gottfried Feder, Die neue Stadt, Versuch der Begründung einer neuen Stadtplanungskunst aus der sozialen Struktur der Bevölkerung, Verlag von Julius Springer, Berlin, 1939.

82. Cf. LADD, Brian, Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA)/London, 1990; Shulamit Volkov, The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany : The Urban Master Artisans, 1873-1896, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978; Doris Mendlewitsch, Volk und Heil, Vordenker des Nationalsozialismus im 19. Jahrhundert, Daedalus Verlag, Rheda-Wiedenbrück, 1988.

83. For an idea of how the small town was perceived inthese times, cf. Heinrich Tessenow, Handwerk und Kleinstadt, Bruno Cassirer, Berlin, 1919.

84. CULEMANN, Karl, "Die Gestaltung der städtischen Siedlungsmasse", Raumforschung und Raumordnung, vol. 3/4, année V, 1941; "Aufbau und Gliederung gebietlicher Bereiche als Aufgabe räumlicher Gestaltung, Ein Beitrag zur Frage der zentralen Orte", Raumforschung und Raumordnung, vol. 8/9, année VI, 1942, pp. 249-256.

tral places theory, in a way that parts of cities and entire cities could be considered the result of a basic Grundschema, repeated in all scales. The method is briefly but eloquently described by the planner Karl Culemann, in the review Raumforschung und Raumordnung, in 1941[84]. Groups of 8-15 houses, themselves grouped by fours form blocks; 4-8 blocks form cells, and 3-10 of these cells form administrative units; a group of them creates circles, whose combination gives a county; consecutive consolidations may finally create urban agglomerations of up to 20000 inhabitants, what Culemann calls the Normalstadt, in accordance with Feder's doctrine. A diagram of the whole county and of its capital with 200 000 inhabitants, illustrates one of the most rigorous, quasi-totalitarian representation of cities.

Although Culemann was expressing a more or less official line, Schwarz commented against his approach in "Stadtlandschaft Diedenhofen", while taking under consideration the gradual sizing of the urban clusters as Culemann and Schwagenscheidt had done in the past. In fact, this seemed to allow for a direct correspondence of the partisan structure to urban space, which was considered an indicator of "organic" quality. Such were the prerogatives set by another advocate of the "city-landscape", Wilhelm Wortmann, for whom every Siedlungszelle (agglomeration cell) of the city-landscape gave to each inhabitant the capacity to perceive his position in the administrative, political and urban landscape[85].

Consequently, Rudolf Schwarz was not alone on the track of the Stadtlandschaft. He rather interpreted in his own way theories, methods and planning schemes for major German cities that appear more or less at the same time. During his work in Cologne, publications like that by Hans Bernhard Reichow, Organische Baukunst: von der Grossstadt zur Stadtlandschaft (1948), were already propagating alternative solutions, to the mass, continuous and condensed urbanization, based on the organic metaphor[86].

Reichow's schemes ranged from technical-descriptive, to suggestive and symbolic ones, portraying even images of root and irrigation systems. Reichow had already applied the "city-landscape" idea in Stettin in 1939, where he combined the linear city concept with a nucleus of central public facilities and a division of the whole in distinct units[87].

Similarly to Reichow, Hans Scharoun, involved in the reconstruction of Berlin with his "Kollektivplan", was seeking through the "city-landscape" principle the means to master metropolitan agglomerations; to transform unclear, scaleless urban areas to readable and measurable units and organise them in the same way that natural elements compose the landscape. In such a way, he hoped, the measure would correspond to the "sense and the worth of the parts" in the whole. The city-landscape didn't mean for Scharoun the skyline of the medieval town, but the combination of the form and raison d'être of each and every urban element into a complete artistic configuration (Gestalt)[88].

Even in the mid-1960's another central figure of the mid-war period planning milieu, Ernst May, published manuals referring to the concept of Stadtlandschaft. His approach complied in some sense with that of Schwarz, in that he limited the notion to an area limited by municipal borders, despite the fact that the symbolic and cultural force of it goes far beyond these borders[89].
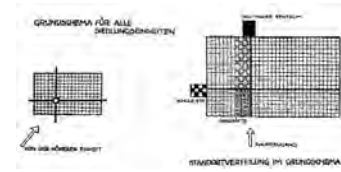
Karl Culemann, basic pattern for the development of new cities, 1941.
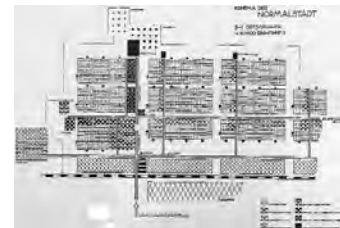
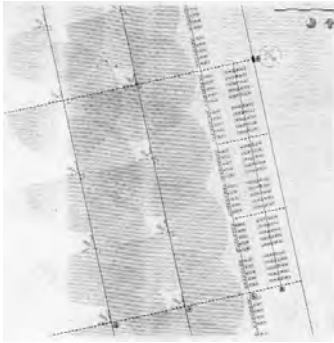Karl Culemann, a Normalstadt of 20000 inhabitants, 1941.
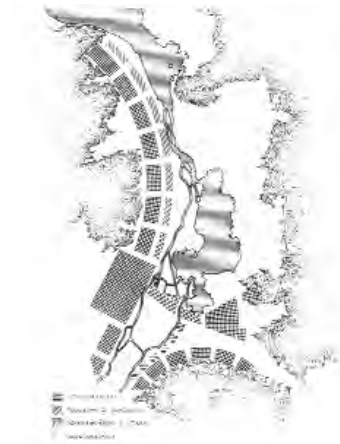
Hans Bernhard Reichow, schematic plan for the extension of Stettin, 1939.

85. WORTMANN, Wilhelm, "Der Gedanke der Stadtlandschaft", in: Raumforschung und Raumordnung, vol. 1/1941, p. 16.
86. "As in live nature big masses are biologically viable only by division and by blood irrigation until their smallest entity, it is so in the organic city: the processes of life and movement, the traffic and roads determine from inside towards outside the structure and order of the city - landscape. From the mass one arrives at the body!" Hans Bernhard Reichow, Organische Baukunst: von der Grossstadt zur Stadtlandschaft, Georg Westermann Verlag, Braunschweig/Berlin/Hamburg, 1948. p. 66.
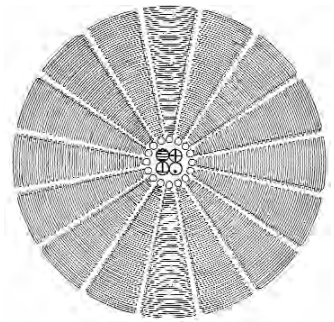87. Cf. DURTH/GUTSCHOW, op. cit., pp. 190-191; cf. aussi Reichow, op. cit.
88. Scharoun, op. cit., p. 158.

Ludwig Hilberseimer, schematic develop-
ment of the new city, 1945.

Rudolf Schwarz, stratification and accu-
mulation of the earth, 1949.

Rudolf Schwarz, the first plan of the prein-
dustrial community, 1949.

At the same time, he clearly distinguished the city-landscape from the American sprawl, rejecting the one-family detached house as the constitutive unit of the territorial city[90].

Comparable solutions, based on the same negative analysis of centralized agglomerations, were exposed by Ludwig Hilberseimer in The New City, published towards the end of Second World War in the United States[91], but with obvious relation to the German debate, as the structure of the book —similar to Reichow's and Feder's work— reveals. In a summary of this book in German, published in 1963, Hilberseimer envisioned a "decentralized Metropolis" (dezentralierte Großstadt), rather than a "city-landscape". It is however more than evident that the constitutive elements of his concept are the same, as he suggests that cities should assume a more rural character and villages a more urban one; that, eventually, the landscape might permeate the city, which might itself become a part of the landscape[92].

Hilberseimer certainly found a receptive audience in the USA, already familiar with the anti-urban mentality[93]. However, the German debate was strongly marked by a will to define a readable overall Gestalt that would structure, in a general and rather abstract –symbolic one might say– way, the territory, as it is to be understood by the graphic material that abounds in the archival sources and by the particular style of the texts.

On the other hand, it seems that the Anglo-American debate was far more centred on practical issues, lacking the speculative philosophical trait and the conceptual schemes that its German counterpart produced under the influence of the Gestalt theory and the phenomenological tradition[94].

OF THE CULTURE OF THE EARTH

"The urban substance has got into a flowing condition, and approaches its utmost limits, those of the landscape: the entire country is a big city in statu nascendi. City and countryside fade away and what is there to take place is neither the one nor the other, but a third one, a city which extends itself in the entire countryside, which is landscape and city at the same time and it is probable that this phenomenon is bearer of new configuration"[95].

With these words, to be found in what proved to be his more philosophical and less exploited theoretical work, Von der Bebauung der Erde, Rudolf Schwarz accepted and made his own mark in that very fertile and agitated debate on the new city form.

The book was partly written during Schwarz's detainment in a French military prison in 1945-46 and founded on his previous planning experience at Lorraine, but with an obvious attempt to grasp the essential questions of the planning discipline within the post-war framework. Its title, with its syntactic reference to the tradition of treatises, suggests that urban and regional planning is akin and consubstantiate to the "culture of the earth" (Bebauung meaning both "building" and "cultivation"). Close to Martin Heidegger's ontology[96] and paying a tribute to Max Scheler's fundamental phenomenological thought, the book proposes also a transhistorical interpretation of the fundamental elements in the urban realm. Schwarz obstinately opposed the rational argumentation on the making of the city:

89. Cf. MAY, Ernst, MATTERN, Hermann, Stadtlandschaft, Flurlandschaft, Arbeitsge meinschaft zur Verbesserung der Agrarstruktur in Hessen e. V., Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 7.
90. Ibidem, p. 15.
91. Cf. HILBERSEIMER, Ludwig, The New City: Principles of Planning, Paul Theobald, Chicago, 1944.
92. Cf. HILBERSEIMER, Ludwig, Entfaltung einer Planungsidee, Ullstein, Berlin, 1963, p. 24.
93. A posture to be found in critics like Lewis Mumford and Benton MacKaye urban visions like Frank Lloyd Wrights Broadacres, or more concrete applications like those by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright.
94. Cf. for example, Abercrombie's relatively simplistic schemes in Town and Country Planning, Oxford University Press, London/New York/ Toronto, 1943
95. Von der Bebauung der Erde, Verlag op. cit., p. 205.

"If we see planning as a rationalization which intents to regulate and to foresee a life so mysterious in its depth, which weaves an unlimited canvas, which is fertile, which unites in shapes only to dissolve again, then this life will escape these plans or, if it is completely locked in them, it will suffocate"[97].

In a continuous, torrential and almost breathless argumentation, lacking quotations and references, the text reveals the author's antiscientific, speculative point of view. However, a few names like Saint Augustin, Meister Eckhart, Kierkagaard, Bonaventura, Hölderlin and Stefan George, indicate paths of interpretation that have rarely been followed by the historians of the field, paths that seem even more alienating when one gets confronted to assertions such as:

"[The planner] has to plan the world and the end of the world and, so 'in everything and above all rest with his soul in God'"[98].

It is then not a surprise to see this sense of implacable responsibility resort in an effort to establish steady and immovable criteria for the "culture of the Earth", from within which "everything is born and is rooted"[99]. In fact, Schwarz attempts to describe a basic configuration according to which space, time and the human being are fashioned, not unlike Taut's metaphysical trope in the Stadtkrone[100].

With an introduction on the meaning and the historical responsibilities of this "new" discipline, called Raumplanung (regional planning) Schwarz proposes in the first part an interpretation of the building paradigm through a series of metaphorical notions pertaining to geology, topography and topology: stratification and accumulation, mountain, foliage and venation, field. In the following chapter he suggests that the conquest of the earth (what he calls Landnahme), is about the construction of a series of spaces with the smallest one enclosed into larger ones, always following the same fundamental Gestalt, according to a universal plan. The third chapter provides an ample analysis of the four powers, here named "land-scapes", delving deeper into the transhistorical qualities of the inhabited Earth.

Schwarz is based on the assumption of the perennial structural and topological qualities of the Gestalt of an object (its Substantiae) as opposed to the morphological and therefore, secondary qualities of its Form (its Aczidentiae)[101]. With this Nominalist tool at hand, he proposes a diachronic abstraction of urban history, distinguishing three plans according to which the city developed. The first plan corresponds to the preindustrial community space: circular, harmonious, with an immediate daily relation established between the peasant and his fields. Its circular configuration corresponds to an idea of internal harmony and immobility, as argued in the Keplerian cosmological paradigms[102], whereas its centre accommodates the four "landscapes"[103].

The second plan is the one established by the modern universe. It is the linear city, dynamic, changing, oriented towards industrial production. Based on an abstraction of Miliutin's Sotsgorod, Schwarz concludes at a symmetric configuration with the residential areas at both sides, bordering green zones that serve as a protection from industry, which lies in the middle axis[104]. Here however, the only "landscape" depicted is that of the economy, an eloquent message that it is an incomplete space that modernity puts in place, a space
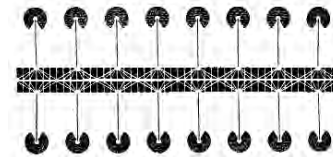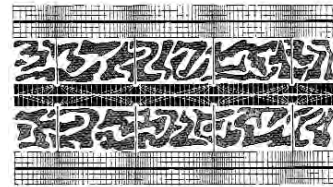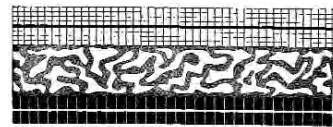
Rudolf Schwarz, the second plan of the industrial society, 1949.
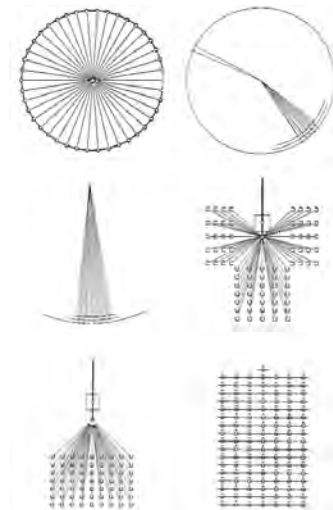
Rudolf Schwarz, topological transformations of the communal form, 1938.

96. Schwarz's participation in the Darmstadt Gespräch, next to Martin Heidegger and José Ortega y Gasset certainly added to his personality a phenomenological allure which was rather off-stream in the effervescent postwar Germany; cf. Hans Schwippert (ed.), Darmstädter Gespräch: Mensch und Technik; Erzeugnis-Form-Gebrauch, im Auftrag des Magistrats der Stadt Darmstadt und des Komitees Darmstädter Gespräch, Neue Darmstadter, Darmstadt, 1952.
97. Von der Bebauung der Erde, p. 64.
98. Ibidem. p. 13.
99. Ibidem. p. 11.
100. Cf. TAUT, Die Stadtkrone, op. cit., p. 52.

where industry and transportation networks create meaningless Gestalten, and therefore a space asking for a definite arrangement.

Setting up the task of curing the unfinished Gestalt of the modern city, Schwarz exploits his theoretical background on the construction of the sacred space, as he had presented it in Vom Bau der Kirche, in 1938. His objective is to establish finitude (purpose) and therefore ontological autonomy to the city as he had done it in the formation of a new dynamic religious community. In that case, the circular, closed und immutable configuration was transformed into a linear, orientated one. The centre of the circle, point of reference and of symbolic condensation, had become a leading point, external to the community, pulling it towards a transcendental end.

Based on the same analogy, Schwarz establishes in Von der Bebauung der Erde an ingenious parallel between the linear urban configuration and the scheme of the gothic cathedral. The second plan gets transformed into a vectorial scheme, with an entrance corresponding to the place of raw materials, the central nave corresponding to the production chain transforming matter into product, and an end corresponding to the High City, institutional, financial and religious core. This is the third plan, combination of the previous two, tending to amalgamate harmony and tension; or, rather, accommodate tension in order to create a new harmony, according to Schwarz's Bergsonian references[105]. The final rendering of this fundamental Gestalt, as it appears on the cover of the book, has the value of a topological graph. It illustrates the relations of a constellation of urban places, a veritable Milky Way where centrality is more symbolic than real and where periphery loses its meaning as the entire landscape becomes the basis for a new urbanity[106].

The formal imprecision implied in the topological vocation of the city-landscape scheme is not an accidental result. In fact, at the last chapter of Von der Bebauung der Erde, Schwarz puts a serious question mark on the seek of post-war urbanism for precision and total efficiency in forecasting. Not only as far as the scale of the interventions is concerned, but also because of the fundamental "estrangement" of the human being as to the earth, which left no guarantee for an adequate treatment of the natural resources. Being conscious and deeply distressed by the irreversibility of urbanisation, he ultimately pleads for spatial reserves to be left open for future development.

The book ends in a pessimistic tone, with Schwarz considering the tendency for a global organisation of the human environment as an undermining of the historical process:

"The more history is accomplished, the heavier it becomes; the more it is formalised, the poorer it becomes in possibilities"[107].

The principle of the nonplanified (Unplanbare) appears then to be the last resort for a dynamic future, "security exit" for the human soul faced with the tyrannic and irrevocable imposition of human construction that has long ceased to serve the community…

With his projects in Lorraine and Cologne, Rudolf Schwarz can be considered both as a very adequate representative of the German thought on urban

101. Properties of the being according to Thomas Aquinas's De Ente et Essentia, whose fundamental ideas appear especially in Schwarz's Wegweisung der Technik without precise citations. In a paradoxical way Schwarz uses both the Aristotelian nominalism and the Platonic ideas on the State.
102. Cf. KEPLER, Johannes, Mysterium Cosmographicum, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1938.
103. SCHWARZ, Von der Bebauung der Erde, op. cit., pp. 74-83.
104. Ibidem., pp. 83-107.
105. Cf. CONRADS, Ulrich, op. cit., p. 16; cf. also the metaphor of the pendulum in Henri Bergson, L'évolution créatrice, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1907, p. 345.
106. Von der Bebauung der Erde, pp. 107-110.
107. Ibidem., p. 243.

planning and as sui generis case. On one hand, his work was produced through the combination of the main concepts and ideas, often contradictory ones, that marked the process of the birth of the concept of city-landscape (garden city, satellite city, cellular distribution, Heimat, etc.). On the other hand, he pushed to the extremes ideas on the meaning of the landscape and on its connection to the social hierarchy and the technical realm.

The peculiarity of Schwarz's approach is to be found in his method of dealing with the key-notion of order that was trivialized in the history of the town planning. Certainly, he pursued his activity following the main task of the town planning, namely the ordering of a chaotic industrial city for the sake of industrial production[108] in very concrete circumstances, which ranges him within the current of "urban reform".

Nevertheless, another image of this work is outlined, if one lingers in the arguments that gradually built up the particular construct of this Stadtlandschaft. Rudolf Schwarz integrated several elements of the criticism of the industrial city, with an evident preference in the cultural stakes that the domination of the industrial city entailed. It was not merely a rhetorical argument on the disappearance of the compact city, also developed by certain reformers who, on the other hand, firmly pursued the cultural model of the active citizen (Taut, May, Wagner etc.). It was in fact, the city as place of liberation of the individual caused by its class awareness, which became Schwarz's target. Some references of admiration on the force of technical time and the grandeur of the industrial metropolises can not make up for his preference for the village and the little town, where community bonds and sentimental values supposedly prevailed. Means for the restoration of this image of harmony, even for the industrial workers, would be the organization of new conglomerations in neighbourhood and the assertion of the symbolic value of the landscape for the national unification. In this system, supposed to "naturalise" (Einbürgern) the whole of the population, everybody should know his position in the social hieararchy[109]. "Town planning is planning of people" (Stadtplanung ist Volksplanung) Schwarz had affirmed in the case of Cologne. His concept was not that of a reorganization of the city at the level of the matter, but at that of its social hierarchies according to the idealist 19th century vision of the medieval world: "The people himself is a tree" (Das Volk ist selber ein Baum) often repeats the architect to assert the analogy of the city-landscape in a treelike system of social ranks. Raumplanung was for him the way to indicate to the man his ordo in the cosmic hierarchy through the restoration of a state of affairs damaged by the "abnormality" of the rationalist human mind and by a reorganization of the human masses according to "eternal" principles[110].

Nevertheless, the tenet of hierarchical organization implicit in the theory of the central places found in Feder's and Culemann's theories, Schwarz was subtly refined. Schwarz brought unwillingly to surface a forgotten clause in Christaller's book, namely, that the importance of a city is something much more than just the sum of its economically active citizens or its urban facilities; it is a "degree of intensity" in urban life that makes it vivid, prosperous and important[111]. It is this very degree of intensity that Schwarz intented to achieve by qualifying the traditional core as "High City". But if the symbolic superiority of the centre implies some kind of kinship to the central places theory, it is the concept of "alternating centres" that escapes the normative
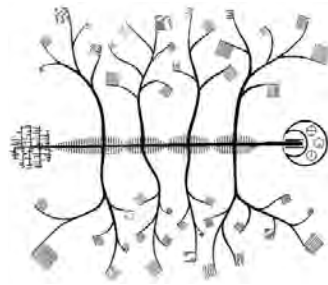
Rudolf Schwarz, the third plan: city-landscape as a Tausendfüßer, 1949.
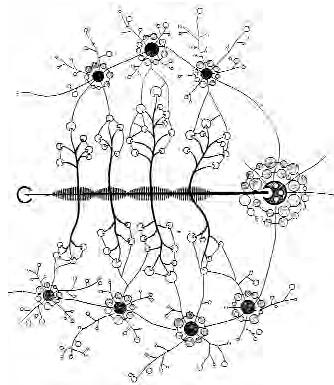
Rudolf Schwarz, the third plan: the city-landscape as a Milky Way, 1949.

108. As Giorgio Piccinato very adequately remarked, in La costruzione dell'urbanistica, Germania 1871-1914, Officina Edizioni, Roma, 1977.
109. Cf. Von der Bebauung der Erde, pp. 210-211.
110. He could thus be considered as one of "modern traditionalists" (traditionalistische Moderne), according to Hartmut Frank's introduction to Faschistische Architekturen, Hans Christians, Hamburg, 1985.
111. Cf. CHRISTALLER, op. cit., Introduction.

interpretations of the christallerian theory. Centrality for Schwarz was a quality that should spread out and cover the entirety of the region. He thus transposed on a regional level his observations on the historical development of Cologne[112] that anticipated recent research on the complexity and multicentrality of the medieval urbs[113].

Indeed, Rudolf Schwarz's Stadtlandschaft and its graphic representations as a reticular, non-hierarchical dispersed city precede Christopher Alexander's critique to the hierarchical tree structures of modern urban planning by almost two decades[114]. At the same time, the idea of an unplanned, open realm, precious reserve for future development, despite or perhaps because of its metaphysical foundations, suggests perhaps alternative ways of bringing up the issue of sustainability in the making of the urban.

112. Cf. Das neue Köln, pp. 3-6.
113. Cf. HOHENBERG, Paul M., HOLLEN LEES, Lynn, The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1950, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA), 1985.
114. Cf. ALEXANDER, Christopher, "The City is not a Tree", Architectural Forum 122, April-May 1965.