



**GOVERNMENT**

## THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE CITY

The state apparatus is organized in a hierarchical fashion. It is structured along a vertical axis. It seeks to segment and control the city.

The dynamics of the city unfolds along a horizontal axis. It emerges in the fashion of a complex system and, consequently, develops from local systems towards more complex assemblages. The city is potentially unruly.

They exist and constantly develop through a feedback mechanism. None of them premeditates the other in a simple and linear fashion.

*The state apparatus is an answer to the problem of the city!*

## THE SELF-PRESERVATION OF THE STATE

The state apparatus develops in the 17th and 18th century in close relation the growing cities and the era of mercantilism.

An important change has happened (epitomized by the peace of Westphalia in 1648) that separates the emergent modern society from that of the medieval and renaissance world: The state no longer has any external referent or end other than its own consolidation. There is no “Jerusalem in the heavens” beyond the actual state/city-assemblage.

The state-reason is different from the law and the judicial system. It needs an art of government (*guvernemetalité*). The requirements of the state transgress the judicial system if necessary (for instance when confronted with an internal or external enemy). Paradoxically the Coups d'etat and the State of Exception is the true manifestation of the state.

The two most important techniques (or rather body of techniques) of state-reason are the military/diplomatic corps and the police. The first is concentrated on administering the external border. The second is concerned with governing the cities and the relation between population and production.

*Urbanism is an art of government!*

## FROM ENLIGHTENMENTUTOPIAS TO THE PRAGMATICS OF REASON AND BEHAVIOURISM

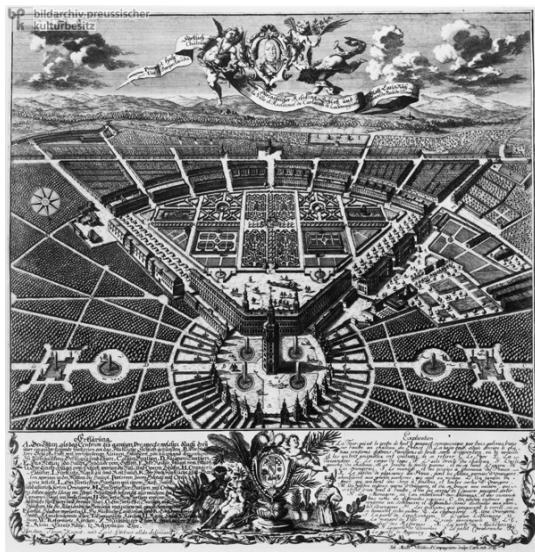
The early enlightenment utopias of the 16th century such as Thomas More's Utopia are primarily critical satires.

The 18th century realm of reason has another kind of instrumentality. It seeks to turn the ideal plans into actual cities. They rest on a behaviouristic understanding of the relationship between man and the environment. The state of mind is essentially produced by the nature of the environment. Consequently, the nature of the mind can be influenced and even determined by the way the environment is organized.

Abbé Morelly (c.1750):

*"What art your empires but a heap of Rubbish and of paltry Cabbins? amongst which, confusedly scattered, rise up some few great cities. Labyrinths of crooked, winding streets, composed of houses as unequal, as little uniform, as are the manners and conditions of their inhabitants."*

Although they take on different geometries and modes of operation the importance of arranging the built environment carefully down to the smallest details inform the development throughout the following centuries including that of modernism.

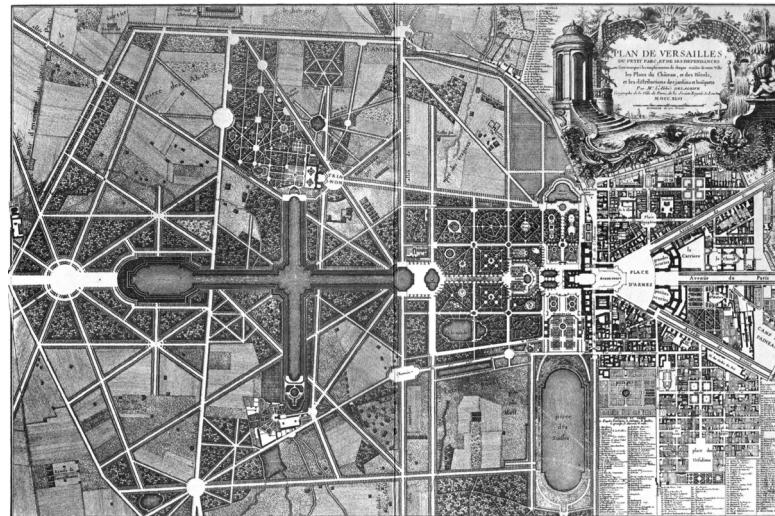
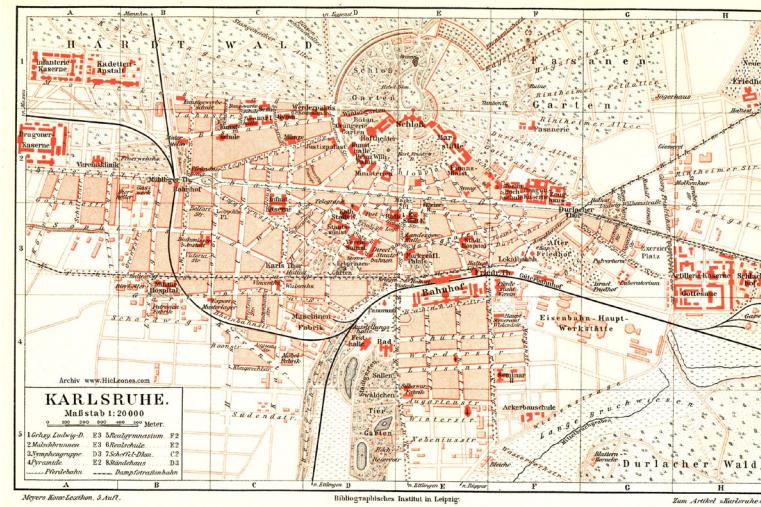


Above left: Perspective of Karlsruhe built in 1715 in connection to a hunting retreat for Karl Wilhelm.

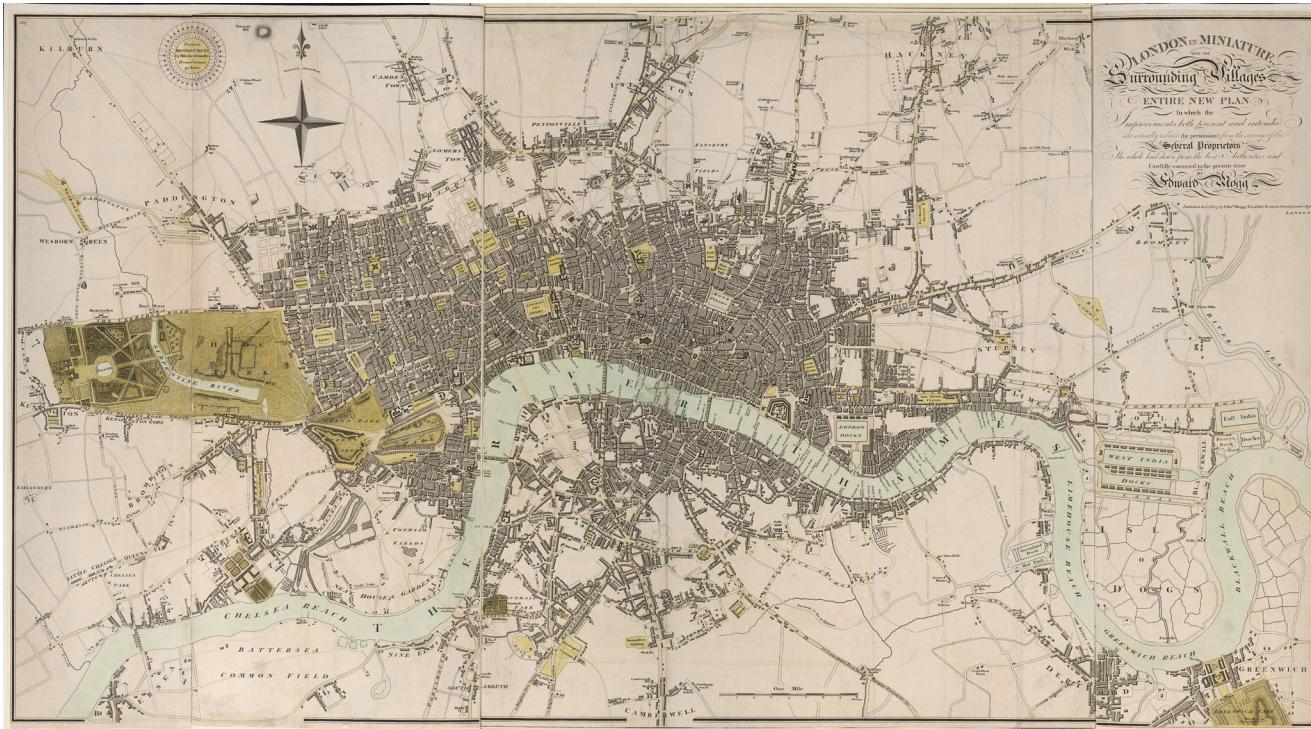
Above right: Plan of Karlsruhe, c. 1890, showing the developed city and its attachment to the wheel.

Right: The gardens, château and city of Versailles, as it appeared at the end of the 17th.

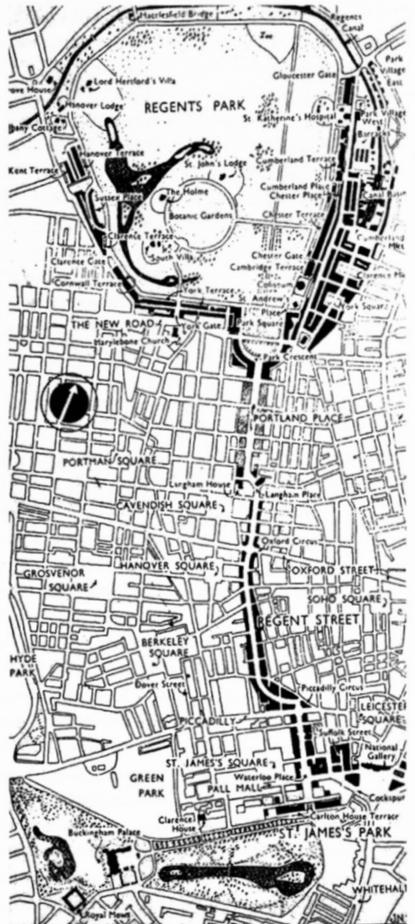
All plans are circular and substitute the central public square for an “enlightened prince and a tower of reason”. The enlightened prince illuminates the world.



## LAND, CAPITAL AND MEMORY



Early 19th century map showing development largely following ancient roadways into London.



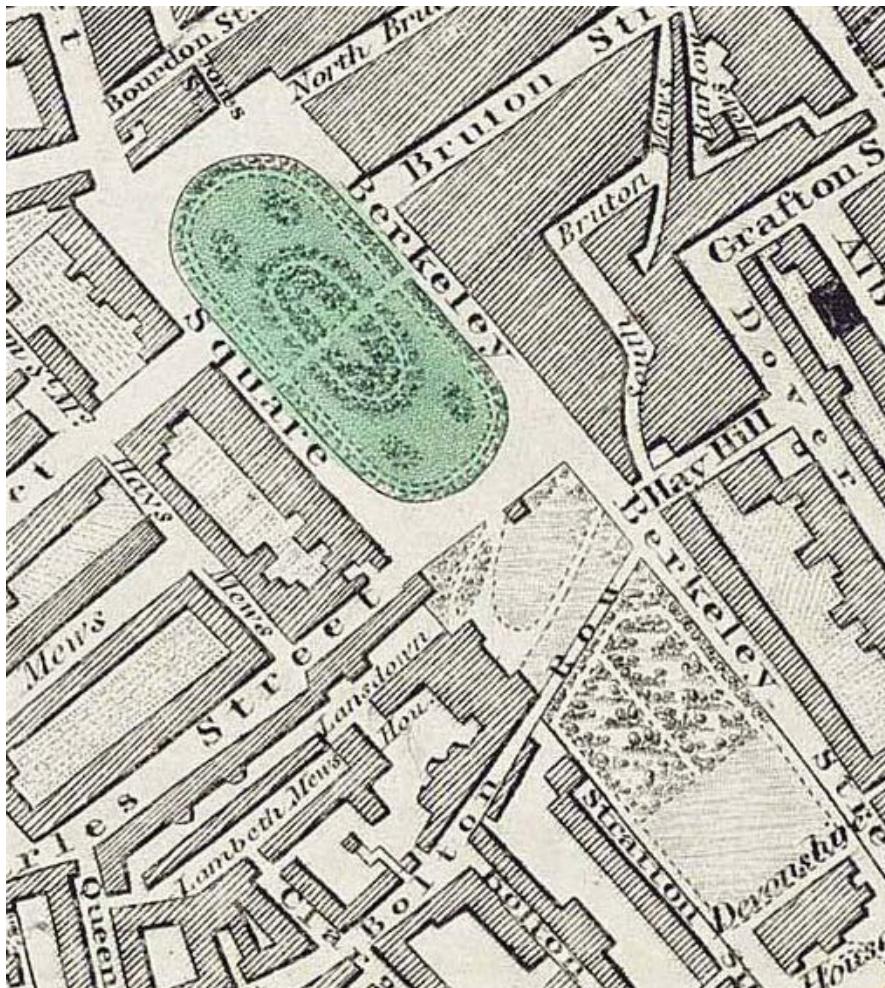
**Figure 10.2** Plan showing the West End of London and Regent Street leading from Regent's Park to Carlton House Terrace (built on the site of Carlton House Palace) and Charing Cross

Unlike most of the continental urban projects no rational urban matrix is projected on London by a central state apparatus.

The first institutional apparatus covering London is the police founded in the early 19th. The Metropolitan Board of Works doesn't form until 1855.

Regent Street finished in 1825 for commercial purposes is an early attempt to open a large thoroughfare through an existing urban matrix of medieval origin. It establishes a commercial band connecting Regent's Park and Charing Cross. It opens the congested city, introduces better infrastructure, new sewers etc

Unlike many of the continental projects following it later in the century Regent Street does not impose a wide street on the tissue but rather negotiates the web.

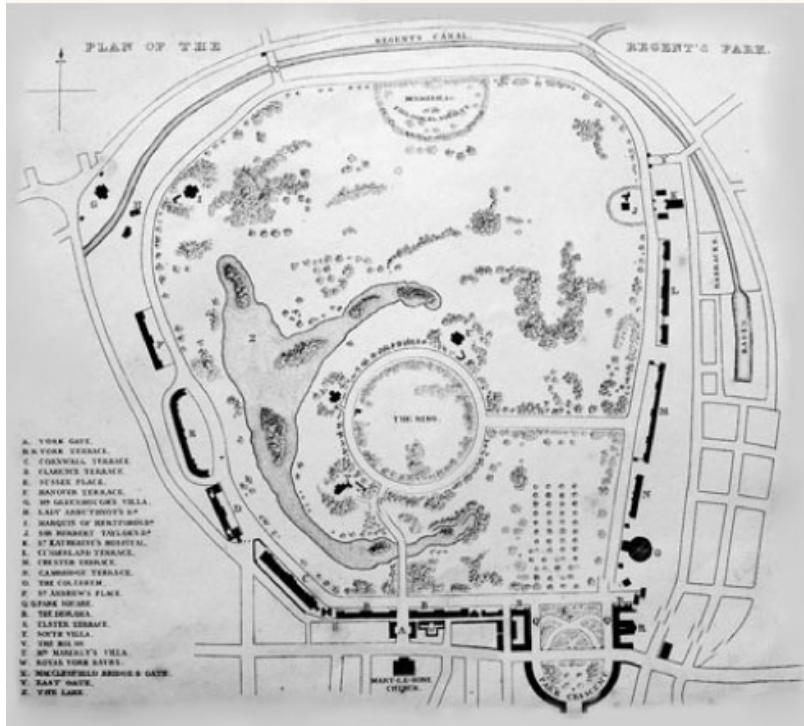


The development of the West End Area takes place without a determining central control. It is developed by the landowning elite like a patchwork of local undertakings. They control both the urban typology and the infrastructure.

It is rather as if modes of governing developed in the countryside amongst the landowning elite determines the way the new capitalist city grows. It operates through a mixture of memory traces and flow of capital.

The Garden Square is an important component in the process. It functions as a private urban space closed to the public in general.

THE REGENTS PARK MAP Circa 1827



Regent's Park

The Royal parks were opened to the public in the 19th. On one hand they served as an urban lung or recreational area for the masses providing the city with much needed space and air.

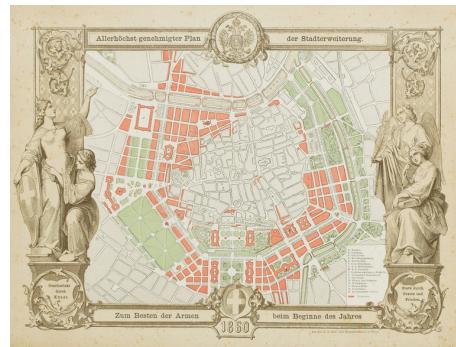
But they were also regarded as having educational effects of the lower classes. Not only did they expose the lower classes to the civilized ways of life of the higher classes. There is a fundamental idea about the intimate connection between the cultivation of the environment and the cultivation of human nature.

Land as property - parcel/commodity.

Nature as recreational facility.

Nature as symbolic imagery.

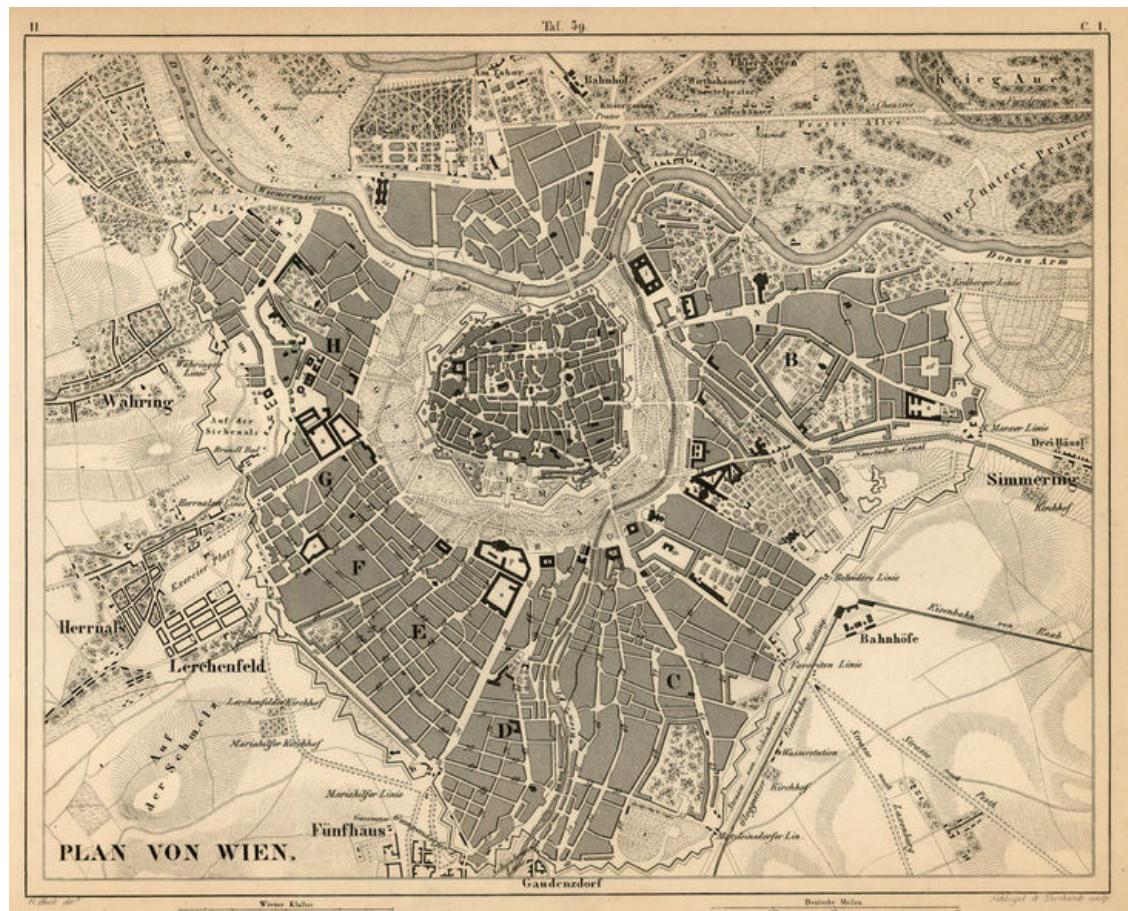
The relation to Human nature - behaviourism.

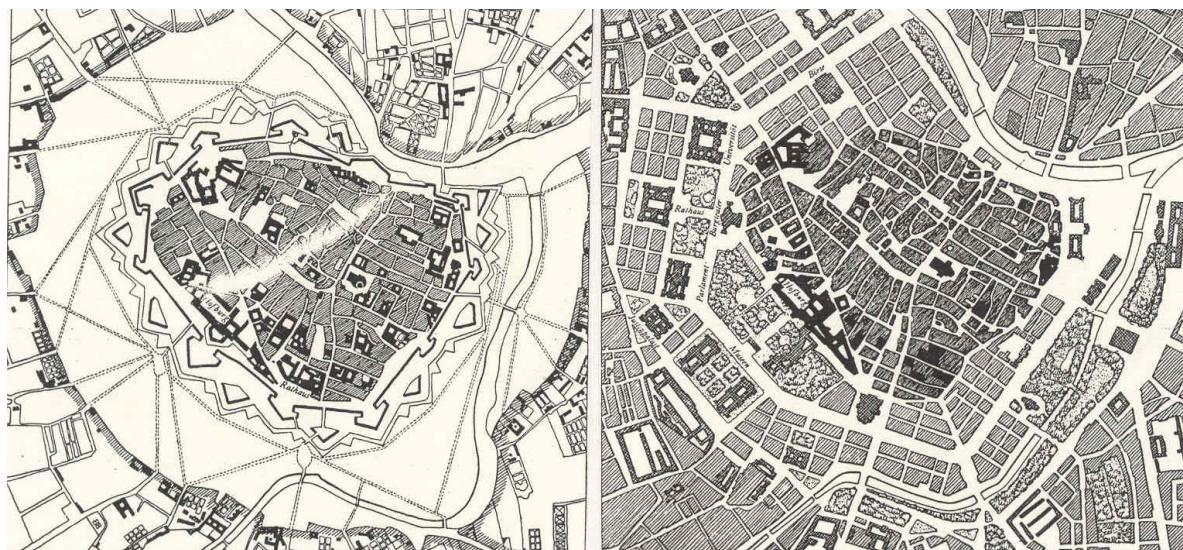


Top left and right: Vienna before and after the establishment of Ringstrasse.

Below left and right: Barcelona before and after the execution of Cerdá's plan.









Ringstrasse



The Parliament



The City Hall



The University



The Theatre



The Stock Exchange

**Table 13.1 Ownership of Ringstrasse Dwellings: 1854-1873 and 1885**

Social Status	1854-1873	1885
	%	%
Ruling houses and higher aristocracy	5.9	6.6
Banks and wholesalers	14.1	13.6
Industrialists	15.6	14.5
Commercial and trade	13.1	9.7
Private officials and state officials	3.8	3.8
Architects	5.9	5.3
Other liberal professions	2.6	3.1
Private rentiers	9.5	27.0
Building Societies	19.8	2.3
Other legal persons	9.7	14.1

*Source:* Modified table in Baltzarek, Hoffmann and Stekl, p. 260.

Ringstrasse characteristics:

It is divided into sections (zones) rather than functioning as a homogeneous construction.

It is planned by different architects not bound by a shared strict building code.

It houses an array of monumental structures/institutions connected directly to the state (with exception of the stock exchange).

Although it functions as a circulation system distributing commodities and traffic there is an absence of warehouses and commercial programs.

The dwellings of the ringstrasse zones exclude the lower classes.

## CARTOGRAPHY



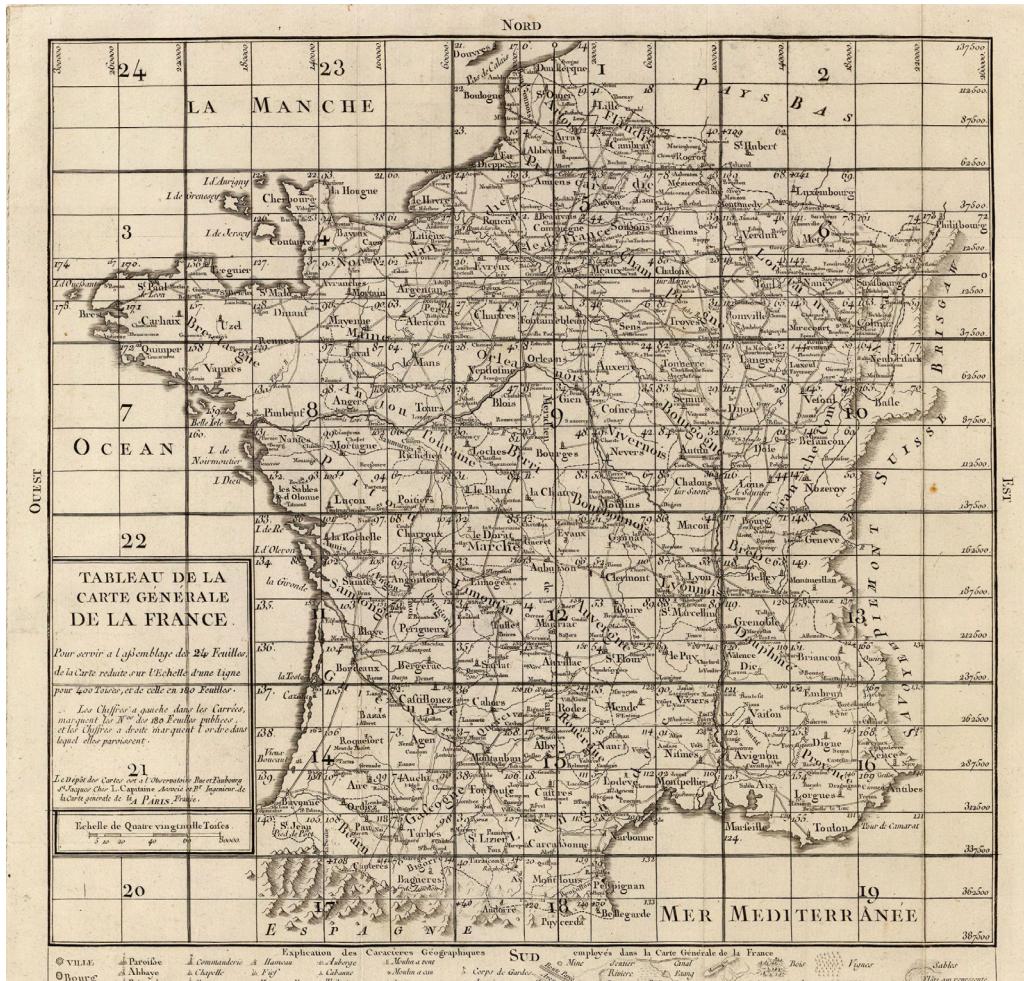
Maps of segments of  
the French territory,  
Cassini (18th century).

Cartography develops alongside the growth of the State. England and France made the first accurate maps during the 18th century in a joint effort. The French maps were made in the period of 1740-1815 by the Cassini-family by triangulating the territory. It was a vital administrative tool, among other things instrumental in developing the infrastructure and generally in defining the territory of France.

*Cartography is an answer to the problem of the nation-state and the emergent metropolis!*

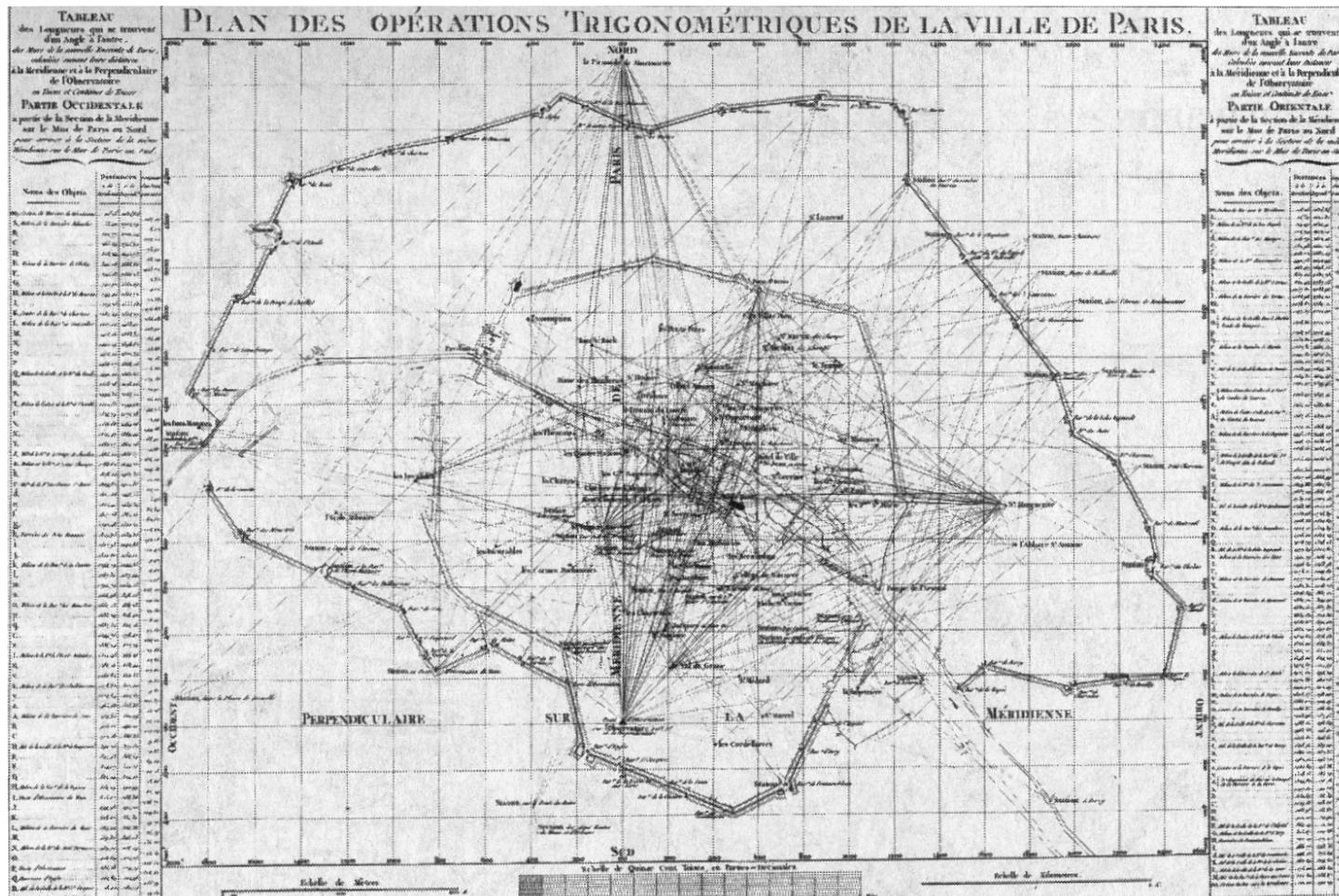
In order to construct an abstract geometric space England and France were forced to settle upon common standards concerning the fixture of the meridians and even the shape of the earth. This meant that knowledge from different scientific domains needed to be coordinated across the boundaries of national practices.

Cartography is involved in the development of scientific knowledge and the construction of a framework for modernity.





Perspective of Paris, 1615.



Plan de Paris, Edme Verniquet, 1789.

## DIFFERENT NATURES - THE GARDENER AND THE SURGEON

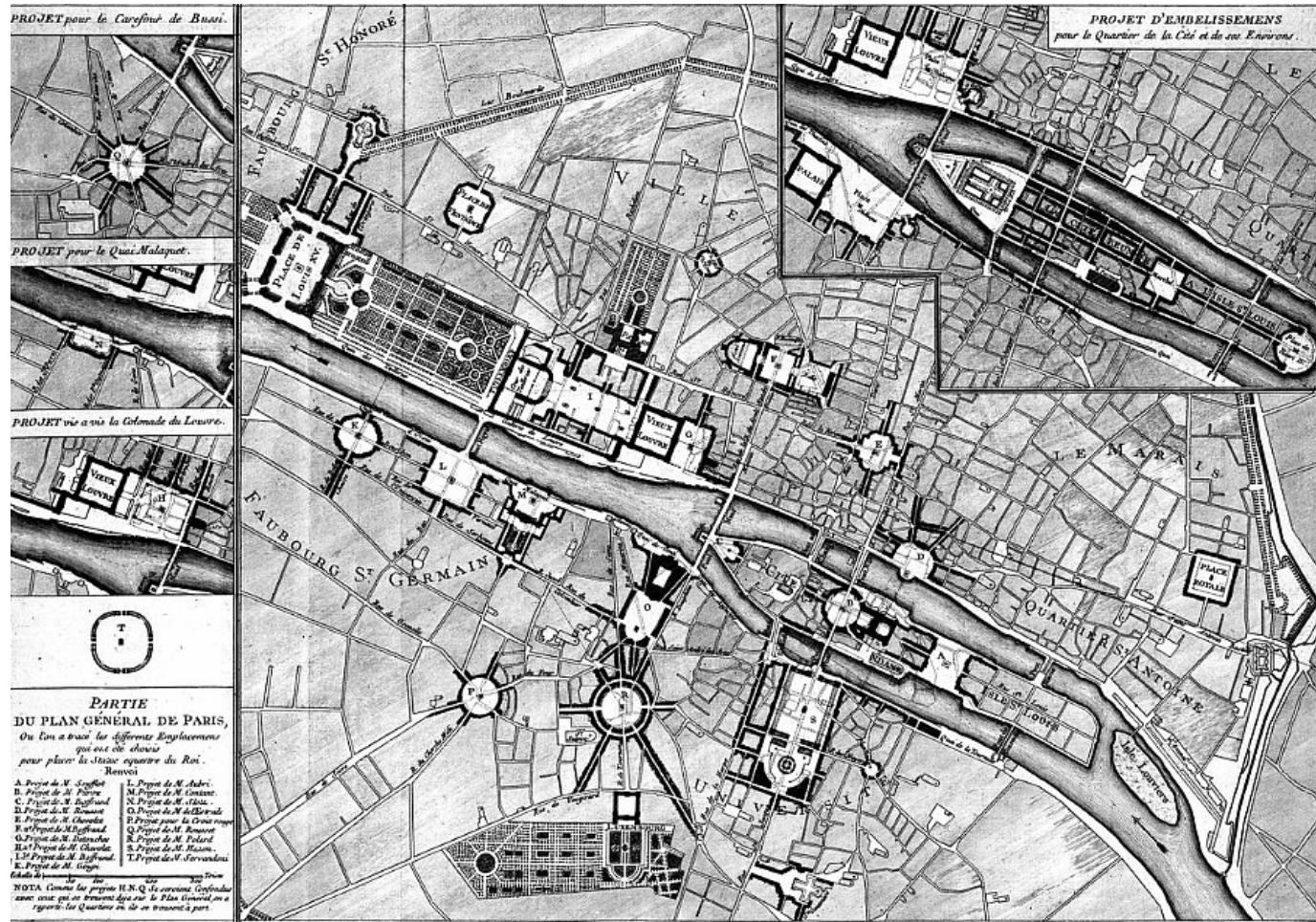
Abbé Laugier, (1755):

"One must conceive a town as a forest. The streets of the former are the routes of the latter; and ought to be cut in the same way." - "Paris; it is an immense forest.... Let us suppose we were allowed to cut and prune at will, what means could not be drawn from so many advantageous diversities?"

If the early enlightenment projects took on the character of a cultivated landscape projected upon pristine ground the vision of Laugier rather saw the city as a dense and uncultivated landscape one could only navigate with great difficulty. *The architect becomes a gardener* projecting the hunting palace and its parks back upon the wilderness of the city.

In 1765 Pierre Patte collected a number of proposals he developed for a competition for the placement of a statue of Louis XV in a single map. Even though the proposals in many correspond the idea of the architect as gardener, he did not develop a comprehensive plan for the restructuring of Paris. His approach is rather that of a surgeon operating on a sick body. From Laugier to Patte the understanding of the city-nature changes and it is rather a complex environment that cannot simply be restructured without considering the localities and the implicit dynamics of that environment.

Both are preoccupied with the importance of the street and Laugier describes a star shaped entry point to the city connecting wide avenues that the Place de L'Etoile built by Haussmann resembles. If Laugier's street has the grandeur of the enlightenment vision, Patte describes the street with meticulous care for technical details. It constitutes the primary cut into the infested body of the city relieving problems of circulation and health. It combines and distributes many different flows, from sidewalks to sewers. It was to be the key instrument of recuperation.



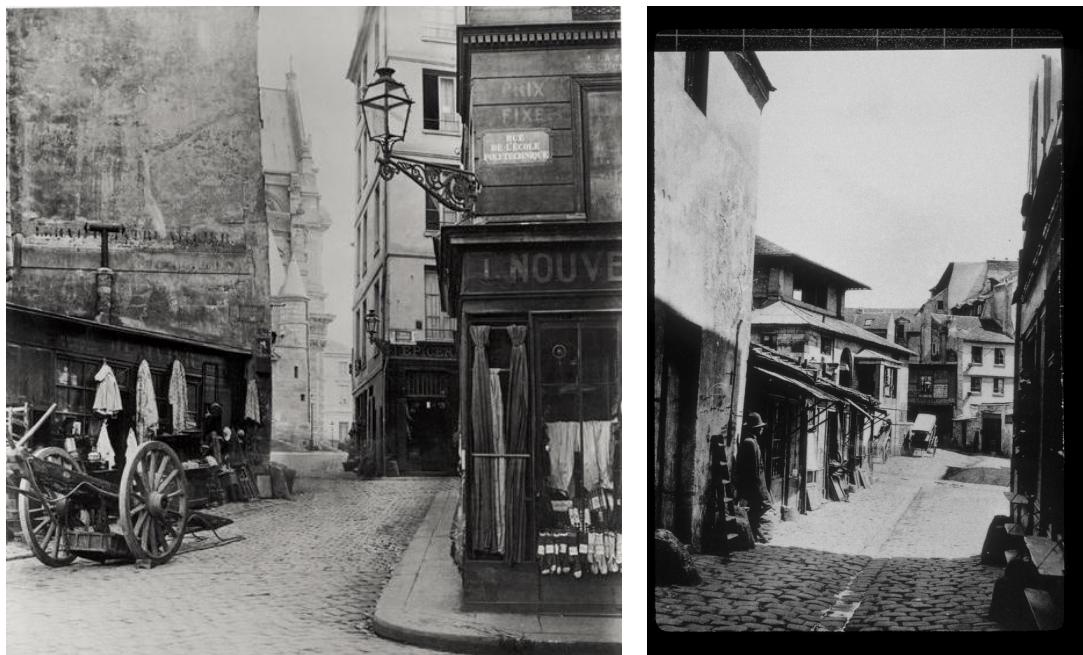
Pierre Patte, Plan de Paris, 1765.

## **THE DOUBLE NATURE OF HYGIENE - THE CONDITIONS OF LIVING AND THE THREAT OF REVOLT**

1. In one respect the need for a restructuring of the medieval city is quite simply a question of improving the living conditions of the inhabitants. The city was, all it has been pointed out numerous times, overcrowded and suffering from an insufficient and outdated infrastructure on a number of levels. In that sense the need for renovation was acute.
2. In another respect hygiene is rather about eliminating undesirable behaviours of the urban population. It is noteworthy that the restructuring of Paris by Haussmann did improve the living conditions for the inhabitants of the city, but in the process the existing inhabitants were exchanged for a new social class. In other words the existing inhabitants were expelled to the outskirts of Paris leaving the renewed city to the bourgeoisie. Paradoxically Haussmanization, as Engels called it, did, more than ever, create a working class living under conditions that were similar or worse than before.

One might distinguish between two kinds of population expressing the conflict between the state and the city:

1. The first is a homogeneous crowd. It is defined through some kind of external reference - an abstract subject. It is produced through a top-down approach governed by the state and constitutes the framework of the kind of urbanism that is being presented in this lecture.
2. The second is a smaller and more mobile crowd. It is not defined by an external reference but emerges from within the social network. It is not produced by the state but rather by the city understood as a complex assemblage of urban matrix and living beings.



Streets of medieval Paris.



Barricades constructed during one of the French revolutions.

## WHAT IS A WAR MACHINE?

**1789 (First Revolution)** - The people take hold of the city; the existing borders are transgressed.

1827 - The first barricades, (Barrique meaning barrel): the barricades are made spontaneously and scattered.

**1830 (July Revolution)** - The barricades cut a main artery connecting Hôtel de Ville with Place de la Bastille; the barricades are stages upon with the proletariat and the bourgeoisie celebrate.

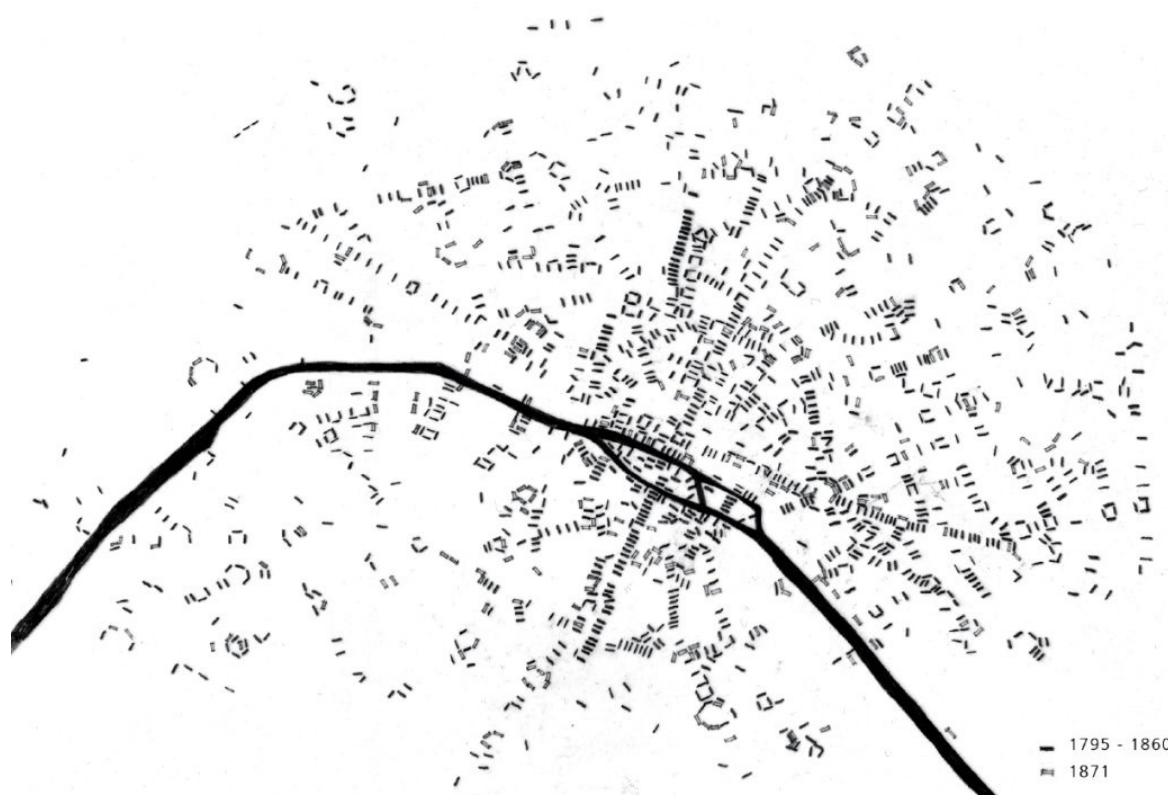
1832 - The barricades demarcate a large domain (1/3 of Paris), and essentially create a city for the proletariat. The barricades become fortresses.

**1848 (Third Revolution)** - The barricades are developed to the point where they become architecture.

**1871 (Paris Commune (Fourth Revolution))** - Initially, the barricades are treated as symbolic markers of a utopian proletarian state. When the armies approach Paris it is too late to construct efficient barricades.

The barricade develops from a simple and spontaneously erected structure to an actual building. Initially the aim of the network of barricades is to complicate the urban tissue and turn it into a labyrinth. At the end it becomes architecture designed and prepared beforehand by skilled workers using techniques of fortification, some even developed by the state and the military engineer Vauban.

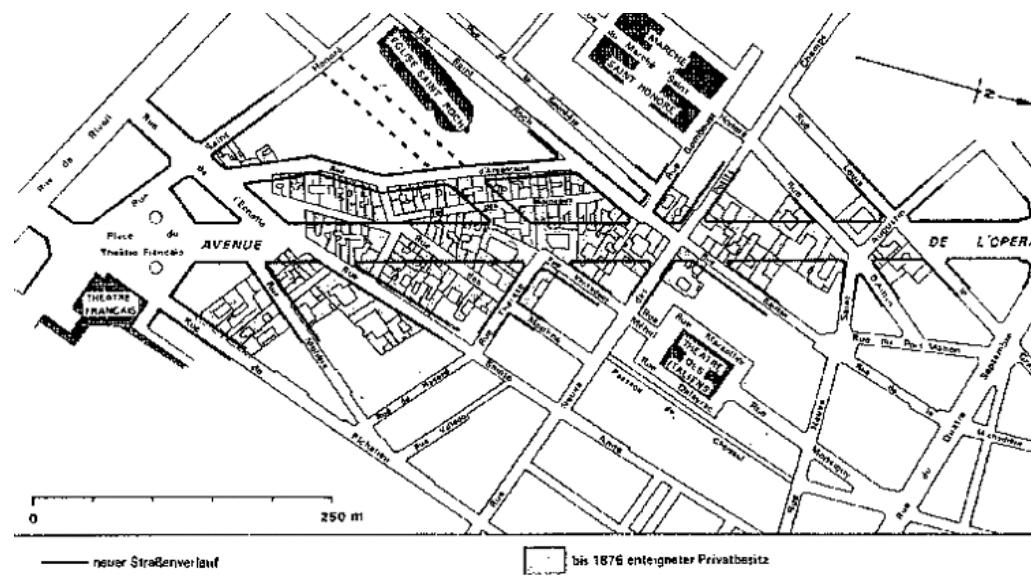
The war machine is a mode of operating or set of tactics that destabilize the segmentations of the state. The war machine is destabilise territories. Construed as a dynamic system the city of Paris constantly produces unruly flocks of people. The state seeks to appropriate the war machine by creating an army and a specific city in correspondence with the techniques of the army.



The map shows the barricades of the four revolutions. To the extent that the barricades can be described as a mapping of Paris, they represent an incorporated map. They are not planned in an abstract space and consequently they are not strategic. They rather respect a tactical approach to the city operating not through fixed positions but through mobility and through blocking the circulation system of the state.



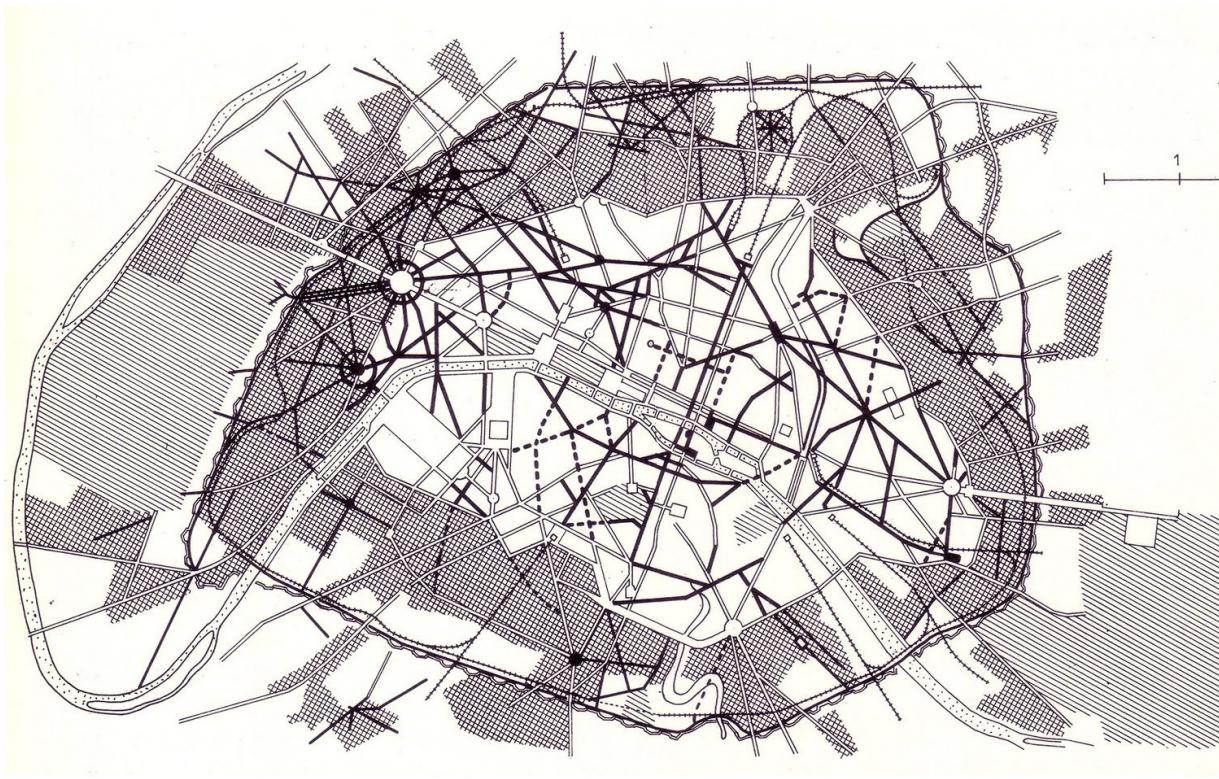
Destruction of the Column at Place Vendôme during the Paris Commune, 1871.



## The *perchée* of Avenue de L'Opera.



The cutting of L'Avenue de L'Opera, Photograph by Charles Marville.



The boulevards of Haussmann executed during the 1860-ties. Before the work started a new map was drawn. Towers were erected at the end points of the boulevards and used to triangulate the city.

## THE BOULEVARD AS URBAN ARTEFACT

The boulevard as type emerged when the fortifications of Paris lost their military use and were appropriated by the bourgeoisie for leisure and promenade. Haussmann folded it back upon Paris in a sense using its double nature. The key strategic element was the straight line and the width of the boulevard facilitating the transportation of troops, artillery fire and making it difficult to construct efficient barricades.

The boulevard is a completely standardized urban artefact that concentrates the functions required by a modern city. It organizes the different flows, pedestrian, carriages, sewers etc. It essentially treats the street like a building effectively domesticating it. The street becomes an interior lit by artificial lighting.

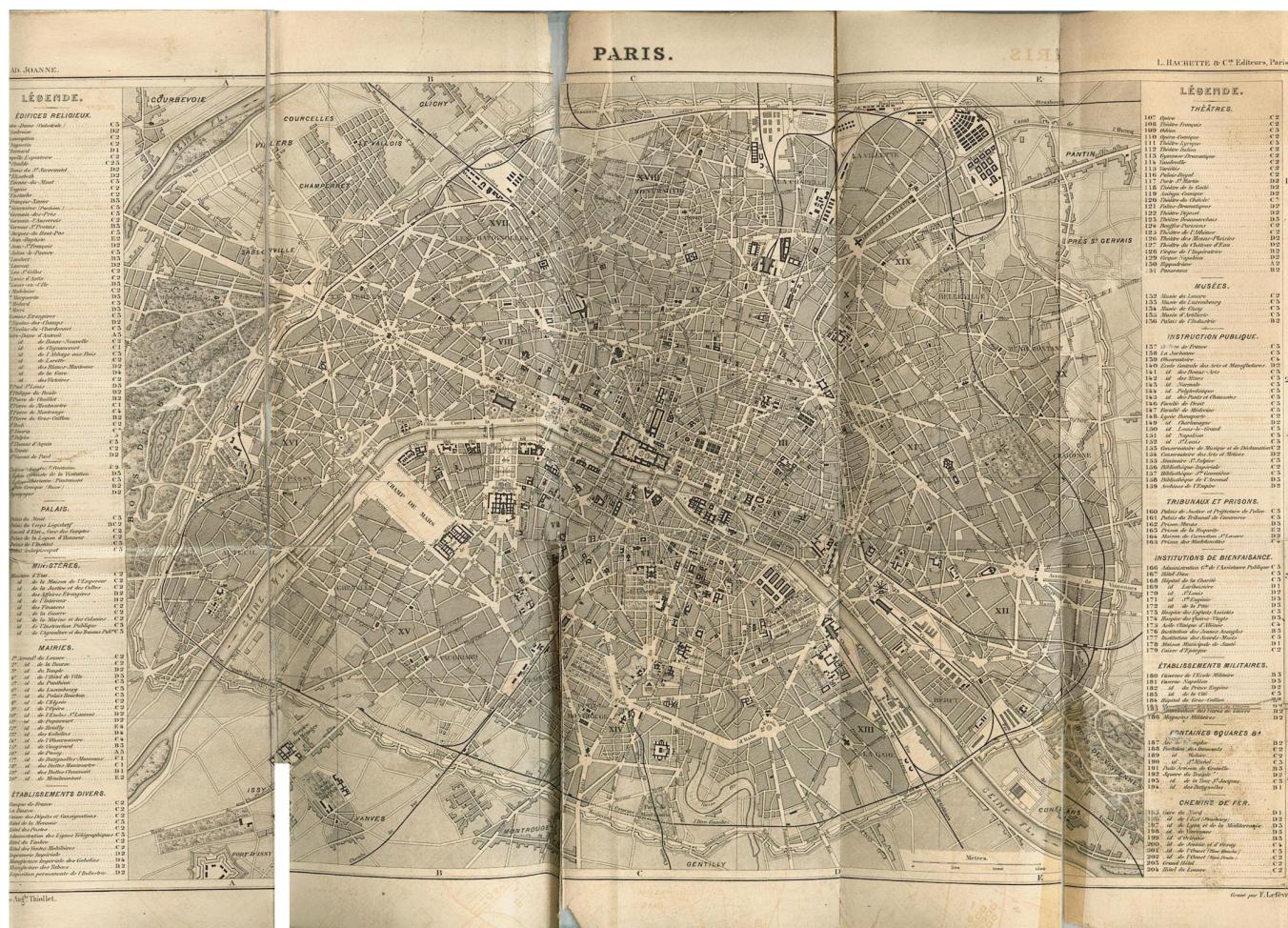
Most of the boulevards were framing views of pre-existing or erected monuments. When a boulevard was finished hanging a theatre like carpet at the end of street in front of the monument and removing it sometimes inaugurated it. The city reappeared as carefully planned scenery - a postcard even. In contrast the forests on the outskirts of Paris ordered by straight lines for the royal hunting parties were changed into picturesque parks for the urban population as if the two systems had flipped and exchanged domains.

From a positive perspective the illnesses of the congested city was relieved by the urban techniques of modern society improving the living conditions considerably. From a critical point of view the city was alienated in correspondence to the alienation of capitalist society in general.



Postcards of Post-Haussmann Paris.

# ITS SAFE TO VISIT PARIS!



Paris Map for Joanne guide-book, 1870.