I. Introduction

In 1927, Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* portrayed the city of the future as a mechanized megalopolis whose inhabitants were as systematized as their crude modern environment. While the film is imaginative, it must have reflected the anxieties of many Europeans in the late 19th and 20th centuries. During those years a modernization movement swept through the industrial capitals of Northern Europe. It was a transformation of political, economic, cultural, and social landscapes, but also of the cities in which these elements intersected. In the urban environment, a transition was made from classical architectural stylism and planning practices towards a radical utilitarian style. Rejecting traditional canon and ornamentation, modern architecture sought to respond to the functions and necessities of contemporary life. In one European city, the clash between the old and the new was particularly colorful. Indeed, in nineteenth century Vienna, the culture of a pre-industrial era was still very much alive. There, within one metropolis, one could observe a clash between the classical and the modern. The physical expression of these tensions was the product of an even more lively intellectual debate among architects and urban planners. Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner, two pioneers of modern urban planning theory, are the fruits of this volatile atmosphere in Vienna near the turn of the 20th century.

This is a comparative analysis of the written theories of Sitte and Wagner, characterized by scholarship as representatives of two clashing schools of thought on the city. While Sitte has been identified as a sentimental historicist, Wagner is painted as a modernist iconoclast. Their placement within these ideological categories undermines the character and urgency of their arguments. Transcending those classifications, I argue that their divergent approaches to city planning are not founded upon an opposition between archaic and futuristic conceptions of the city. Rather, I propose that both writings are modernist reflections, conscious of the stylistic and cultural fragmentation of the contemporary city. Sitte and Wagner strive to bring it a cohesive identity. They approach this problem in strikingly different ways. Sitte looks to the *proven forms* of the archaic city such as the Plaza or Square, once the principle intersections of daily life. Elevating and reinstating those elements in his ideal city, he seeks to recreate a myth of unity which he contends was shattered by the rational and empirical undertones of modernity. Wagner rejects the stylistic language of the past, believing that architecture and city planning in the historicist style bears no resemblance to modern life. He looks instead to *new forms,* designed by architects based upon their *functions* as opposed to their *past iterations*.

Sitte and Wagner's principles may seem mundane or abstract to a reader uninterested in architecture or urban planning. To relieve them, I argue that their theories on city planning are reflections of the broader intellectual transformations of the 19th and 20th centuries. Their approaches to the design of the city seek to remedy what they believe to be a rift between the *totalization* of the past and the *fragmentation* of the modern era. In other words, a belief that there no longer exists a *unifying* philosophy of life. In my paper I introduce a progression of thought so as to provide the reader with adequate historical context for understanding the intellectual and historical traditions which are subtexts for Sitte and Wagner's writings.

I begin my inquiry by reviewing Carl Schorske's writings on the *idea of the city* in the European intellectual tradition (Section II). Perspectives of Enlightenment, Anti-Industrialist and Modernist thinkers are presented in order to reveal a temporal progression of conceptions of the city as *virtue*, *vice*, and *beyond good and evil*. This section helps me to characterize the nature of the conflict between archaist and futurist views of the city, but also to describe the disintegration of those unified schools in modern thought. Section III builds upon the oppositions discussed in the previous, advancing the notion that they are manifested in the languages of architecture. I review David Frisby's *"The City Designed"* and its references to *"Wittgenstein's City"* by Robert Ackermann. The prior emboldens my characterization of the rift between the unities of the past and the disunities of the present as was evident in *Fin de Siècle* Vienna (a term which connotes the unique historical conditions in Austria during the late 19th century). The latter suggests that Wittgenstein's philosophy of language in *Tractatus* finds its home in Vienna at the turn of the century. The discussion of style and language with reference to Vienna's modernization advances my contrast between the forms of historicist and modernist styles of architecture.

Section IV presents historical background and context for the development of the city of Vienna as an illustrious theater for the clash of the *old* and the *new* in the late 19th century. I review William Johnston's account of Austria's political transition from enlightened absolutism to its liberalization. Section V introduces a parallel to that progression: the modernization of the city of Vienna as recounted by Schorske in *"Fin-de-siecle Vienna: Politics & Culture"*. Here I review his account of the expansion of the city of Vienna past its medieval fortifications. I also discuss the political and architectural significance of the Ringstrasse area, a symbol of *Fin de Siecle* Vienna. In Section VI, background information on Sitte and Wagner is presented in order to establish context for the development of the stylistic preferences evidenced in their works. (Schorske is cited here once more, further characterizing the theorists and providing us with many parallels to the historical progression introduced earlier).

Section VII delves into their original writings: *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen - "City Building According to Artistic Principles"* by Camillo Sitte (1889), and *Moderne Architektur - "Modern Architecture"* by Otto Wagner (1902). In this final section I present their texts, addressing three questions which developed over the course of my inquiry. First, the degree to which Sitte and Wagner allow for the interaction of their systems of urban planning with each others'. Second, the extent to which Sitte's *Proven* forms of city elements are relevant to the contemporary functions of the city - and in turn, how Wagner's *New* forms respond to the obsoletion of city elements. Third, whether these approaches to urban planning *repair* the stylistic fragmentation of the city or produce *further segmentation*.

II. The City in European Thought

In the European intellectual tradition, the city was long believed to encapsulate a certain *unity*. Whether it was on the basis of religion, philosophy, morality, or civic responsibility, there seems to have been existed the notion of a "totality" of sorts among peoples and their culture.

Camillo Sitte captures the contradiction of that unity in modernity: *"Today such a masterpiece of city planning as the Acropolis of Athens is simply unthinkable. We lack both the artistic basis for it and any universally valid philosophy of life that has sufficient vigor in the soul of the people to find physical expression in the world"*[1]. Sitte's observation is indicative of a rift between a modern, *fragmented* conception of the city, and the binary opposition of *unitary* conceptions of the city in past thought. In a chapter of his book *"Thinking with History"*, *The Idea of the City in European Thought*, Schorske surveys three broad evaluations of the city in temporal succession over the past 200 years. The binary of conceptions eclipsed by Sitte is that of the traditional city as encompassing *Virtue* or as *Vice*. Transcending this dichotomy is a conception of the city as being *Beyond Good and Evil*. This coalesces with Sitte's aphorism in its acknowledgement of the subjectivism of the mid and late 19th century in Austria. I present these categories in order to produce a more complex portrayal of the city throughout the recent history of European thought. It is my hope that such a synthesis may help the reader to appreciate the significance of urban planning in promoting the values and functions contained within the framework of a city.

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The notion of the *City as Virtue* developed in the 18th century out of its philosophy of Enlightenment[2]. In this portion of Schorske's chapter, writings by Voltaire, Adam Smith and Fichte serve to illustrate the idea of the city as a civilizer. Voltaire presented the city of London as the Athens of modern Europe. "Its virtues were freedom, commerce, and art. These three values - political, economic, and cultural - spring from a single source: the respect of the city for talent". For Voltaire, London was the fostering mother of social mobility against a traditional, fixed hierarchical society[3]. If one can juxtapose the transformative capabilities of Voltaire's city with the rigidity of the feudal estate, one can truly understand his conception of the city as a civilizer. For him, urban life was distinguished by the pursuits of industry and pleasure. Together, they produced "civilization". Voltaire viewed the culture of the city as an extension of the palace, where the nobility brought a "sweeter life to the uncouth townsman"[4]. Where Lewis Mumford found a Baroque combination of "power and pleasure, a dry abstract order and an effulgent sensuality coupled with a deterioration of life for the masses", Voltaire saw social progress.

Schorske's account of Adam Smith gives a similar prospective for the city: "in a wild and barbarous feudal age, cities, needed by the kings, were established as centers of freedom and order". Distinct from Voltaire, Smith believed that the town civilized the rural nobility while *destroying* feudal lordship. Smith is characterized in this chapter as an English pre-romantic. In

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[1] Pg. 247: "Der Städtebau", Artistic Limitations of Modern City Planning - Sitte

[2] Pg. 37: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[3] Pg. 38: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[4] Pg. 39: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

poetic words, "the city stimulated and the country fulfilled"[5]. Smith saw a proper relationship amongst the city and the country: the city stimulates thrift, wealth, and craft. "Thus, it provides the artificer with the wherewithal to return to the land and to fulfill himself as an independent planter". Several themes have emerged just between these two thinkers.: the notion of the city as a proliferator of culture, a center of order, and a destroyer of feudal lordship. Yet the city is also seen as a wherewithal for an eventual return to the country by Smith. This is indicative of the pendulum or flux in the human tradition between the *city* and the *provence*.

    A third major representative of this category of thought is Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Fichte's predecessors, radical German humanists, had promoted the *communitarian ideal* of the Greek city state against the "atomizing and dehumanizing impact of despotic state power". Fichte built upon this, viewing the city as "culture forming par excellence". While Voltaire and Smith attributed the development of the city to the freedom and protection granted to it by a prince, Fichte saw the German city to be a pure creation of the *Volk* (the people)[6]. Fichte's medieval city is democratic and communitarian in spirit. It took on the sociocultural characteristics of a Greek polis. According to Schorske, he did not share Voltaire's appreciation of the role of aristocratic luxury in urban culture-building. He eclipsed Smith and Voltaire's view of the city as possessing virtues *making* for social progress. For Fichte, the city itself was a community which *incarnated virtue* in a *social form*[7]. That "every branch of cultural life developed into fairest bloom" in Fichte's city was not due to the benevolence or participation of aristocrats and monarchs. Rather, the city was a self governed ethical community. When one juxtaposes the notion of the city as a civilizing engine, equalizer and ethical purveyor, with that of the countryside as *lacking those qualities*, what emerges is a view of the City as Virtue.

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    The notion of the *City as Vice* developed from perceived social disparities in the city stemming from the industrialism of the early 19th century. In this portion of Schorske's chapter the futurist, archaist, and neo-archaist schools of thought are presented. Futurists critics of the city were "largely social reformers or socialists"[8]. Just as Voltaire, Smith, and Fichte, they were Children of the Enlightenment. However, their faith in the city as a civilizing agent was "strained by the spectacle of urban misery". Whereas the archaists (including Pre-Raphaelites, Freytag, Dostoievsky, and Tolstoy) rejected the megalopolis of the machine age, the futurists approached it progressively[9]. The opposition between the archaists and the futurists is made clear here. *The archaists rejected the city whereas the futurists sought to reform it*. Schorske believes that "the

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[5] Pg. 41: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[6] Pg. 41: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[7] Pg. 43: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[8] Pg. 45: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[9] Pg. 44: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

failure of 19th century urban architecture to develop an autonomous style reflected the strength of the archaist current"[10]. Why, he asks, if railway bridges and factories could be built in a new utilitarian style, were they conceived "exclusively in architectural idioms antedating the eighteenth century?". This "Victorian historicism expressed the incapacity of city dwellers either to accept the present or to conceive the future except as a resurrection of the past". In this portion of my inquiry I present Schorske's account of the writings of Engels as a progressive, *futurist* approach to the city that foreshadows the modernist architectural movement promoted by Otto Wagner. I also point to his belief that the archaist movement emboldened the already steadfast historicist style which would both be criticized and lauded in Camillo Sitte's writings.

Schorske presents Engels' thoughts in order to illustrate how class conscious philosophy changed perceptions of the city. In Engels' *Condition* the industrial city is *described realistically and indicted ethically*[11]. No serious solution is offered to its problems, however. He does not suggest that "the clock be turned back" to pre-industrial times, nor is he enthused by the "model community" solutions favored by those who conceived of the city as Virtue. In fact, Schorske explains that Engels scored the "tearful Proudhonists" looking back to rural small-scale industry. The English proletariat of 1872 is on an infinitely higher level than the rural weaver of 1772, he alleged. *"Only the proletariat, herded together in the big cities is in a position to accomplish the great social transformation which will put an end to all class exploitation and all class rule"*. Engels' thought on the city transformed over the course of 3 decades, passing from an ethical rejection of the modern city through historical affirmation of its liberating function, "to a transcendence of the urban-rural debate in a utopian perspective". The synthesis of urban *Kultur* and rural *Natur* in the town of the socialist future by Engels displays his integration of its vices into his historical process of social salvation[12]. Schorske suggests that Engels displays in his writings a *Fichtean nostalgia* for the medieval artisan as owner of his means of production and creator of his entire product. This is a parallel to Sitte's promotion of artisanship in response to Austrian industrialism, an idea explored later in this inquiry. It provides some context for his development of a preference for archaic over modern styles of architecture. Both he and Wagner expressed concern for the ability of the city to proliferate culture into all segments of society.

A new generation of continental writers emerged in the 1890's who did not romanticize preindustrial life. Likewise, they did not consider ethical solutions to modern urbanism to be viable. They believed that "the cures must be found where the disease centered: in the modern metropolis". Schorske posits that "out of degradation itself would arise the humanistic moral and scientific spirit to build a new society". Emile Verhaeren (a socialist and avant-garde poet) saw that "the industrial energies which, for a hundred years, had dragged man into oppression and ugliness, were also a key to his redemption"[13]. This progressive movement was countered by the

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[10] Pg. 45: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[11] Pg. 46: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[12] Pg. 47: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[13] Pg. 48: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

Neo-Archaist school, distinguishable from its predecessor by its apparent "lack of sympathy for the city man as victim". By 1900, Schorske describes that the sympathetic attitude had "passed largely to the futurists, the social reformers or revolutionaries who accepted the city as a social challenge and hoped to capitalize its energies". Neo-Archaists saw the city with a bitter hatred[14].

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A contrast of conceptions of the city as Virtue and Vice provides us with a set of opposing arguments, both of which are rooted in the Enlightenment. Schorske's next category of thought in this temporal progression is that of the city *Beyond Good and Evil*. In the context of a renewed subjectivist culture in the mid 19th century, this intellectual attitude seemed to place the city beyond the dichotomy of Virtue and Vice discussed in previous sections. Concurrently, it placed the city beyond the unitarian frameworks of archaism and futurism. *"Pioneers of this new mode of thought and feeling explicitly challenged the validity of traditional morality, social thought, and art"[15]*. Thus, just as virtue and vice, notions of *progress* and *regress* lost their clarity of meaning. Schorske posits that we may distinguish this "new modernist attitude from older ones by examining the city's place in relation to the ordinance of time." In other words, earlier urban thinking had placed the modern city in a phased history. The new modernist conception of the city had "no structured temporal locus between past and future, but rather a temporal quality". The modern city "offered an eternal *hic et nunc* (here and now) whose content was *transience*, but whose transience was *permanent*". This notion is further explored and developed in the next section of my inquiry, focusing on language in architecture. Schorske introduces Baudelaire and Spengler as representatives of the fragmented conception of the city *Beyond Good & Evil*.

Baudelaire believed that there was a marked enrichment of personal sensibility in modern times. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that it was brought at a terrible price: "the detachment from the psychological comforts of tradition...from any sense of participation in *an integrated social whole*". This must have had influenced upon Sitte's later statement: *"the essence of the modern condition being the fragmentation of life, we stand in need of an integrating myth"*. The integrating myth which Sitte writes of is an apt parallel to Baudelaire's belief that the modern city had destroyed the validity of inherited "integrating creeds" which comprise the notion of *totalization* which I introduced previously. For Baudelaire, those creeds "had been preserved hypocritically as historicist masks of bourgeois reality"[16]. He believed, according to Schorske, that the artist has the duty of *striking off the masks in order to show modern man his true face*. While the intellectuals of the early modernist movement differed in their subjectivist approaches, it can be said that they were united in their acceptance of the megalopolis "with its terrors and its joys as the given, the undeniable ground of modern existence".

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[14] Pg. 49: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[15] Pg. 49: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[16] Pg. 50: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

Schorske contends that the *ultimate extreme* of the city beyond good and evil "achieved its fullest theoretical formulation" in the thought of Oswald Spengler. He brings together many of the ideas on the city already discussed in previous sections of this inquiry. For Spengler, the city is a central civilizing agency[17]. Like Fichte he views it as an original creation of the people. Like Voltaire he considers is to be the perfector of rational civilization. Like Emile Verhaeren he saw that it sucked the life out of the countryside. Like Baudelaire, Spengler "regarded modern urban humanity as neo-nomadic, dependent upon the spectacle of the ever changing urban scene to fill the void of a de-socialized and dehistoricized consciousness". While he shares sentiments with his predecessors, ultimately, his views are divergent. How so? Schorske describes him as having "transformed all of their affirmations into negations". In other words, "this most brilliant historian of the city hated his subject with the bitter passion of the fin-de-siecle neo-archaists. Though he presented the city as fatality, he clearly welcomed its demise". The German National Socialist Party shared Spengler's attitudes. They translated neo-archaist notions into public policy, seeking to return the urban population to "holy German soil". Ultimately, however, they would exhibit the hyper-rationality condemned by neo-archaists[18].

III. Language & Architecture

The previous section of my inquiry surveys conceptions of a variety of processes within the city, whereas the following argues that architectural language serves to communicate the *ideals* behind those processes. I review David Frisby's chapter *"The City Designed",* beginning with a characterization of the temporal opposition between the *old* and the *new*. I also provide definitions for the architectural styles which I reference henceforth. Frisby posits that modernity is "the experience of the tensions and contradictions in modern social formations; between the desire to give to the modern world new modes of ordering and regulating it and the recognition of the disintegration of the basic categories through which we interpret and experience that world (such as time, space, and causality replaced by the transitory, the fortuitous and the arbitrary); between totalization and fragmentation; between the ancient and the eternally new"[19]. Frisby explains that those same tensions and contradictions are apparent in all dimensions of modern experience, "including our experience of the social spaces and built environment of modernity". The intensity of the opposition between what is old and what is new is "contingent upon the existence and resilience of what is old" as much as it is upon that which is *absolutely new*. Although his characterization of the tensions between old and new provides us with a relational concept of the two, how is this dichotomy expressed in architectural language?

Here I define the architectural traditions referenced in this inquiry. Temporally speaking, the *old* refers to Classicism, invoking those characteristics traditionally associated with antiquity.

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[17] Pg. 53: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[18] Pg. 54: "Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism", *The Idea of the City - Schorske*

[19] P.181: "Cityscapes of Modernity", The City Designed - Frisby

These traits are considered to be the Greco-Roman ideals of harmony, restraint, clarity and universality[20]. Consider the Parthenon to be an example of the classical style. Historicism refers to a *recourse* to historical style[21]. The United States capitol building, built in the neo-classical style, is an example of such. Temporally speaking, the *new* refers to Modernism, which was a radical break with the past and a search for new forms of expression. Architects of the modernist style sought to abandon past styles and conventions in favor of a form of architecture based on essential functional concern[22]. Utilitarianism in the field of architecture connotes that the shape of a building or object should be primarily based upon its intended function or purpose. The term Functionalism in architecture reflects the principle that architects should design a building based on the *purpose* of that building[23]. Finally, the term Modern Formalism denotes the architect's interest in visual relationships between the building parts and the work as a whole.

Describing the resilience of the historicist style of architecture, Schorske cites Edward Forster, who wrote in *Die Bauzeitung* that "the genius of the 19th century is unable to proceed on its own road. The century has no decisive color"[24]. Hence, it "expressed itself in the visual idiom of the past, borrowing that style whose historical associations were most appropriate to the representational purpose of a given building". Frisby introduces the work *"Wittgenstein's City"* by Ackermann, linking Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy of language to a model of the city. Wittgenstein writes that "our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses.[25]" Wittgenstein explains that language games have roots in everyday life and understanding. The different areas of his city of language are not necessarily isolated, but rather they may overlap. He continues: "words may have layers of use traceable to different origins in time and related to different horizons. But then some areas of the city can have sharp boundaries, especially when they correspond to the horizons of clear language games".

I include these lengthy excerpts here because they allow me to reproduce the context for Ackermann's fascinating assertion: that if we are to give a historical location to Wittgenstein's early philosophy, then "it is Vienna at the turn of the century, a city within which many of the intellectuals had a highly critical conception of existing language games as *exhausted or useless*"[26]. Frisby uses Ackermann's interpretation of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* to create a parallel

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[20] "Classical Architecture : An Introduction to its Vocabulary and Essentials" - Curl

[21] "Classical Architecture : An Introduction to its Vocabulary and Essentials" - Curl

[22] Pg. 114: "Modern Functionalism and the Radically Ordinary" - Johnson

[23] "Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis" - Lejeune

[24] Pg. 36: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[25] "Wittgenstein's City" - Ackermann

[26] P.184: "Cityscapes of Modernity", The City Designed - Frisby

to a metropolis with an old inner center that has developed over time "with additions from various periods". It becomes clear that the inner core of Old Vienna accords with Wittgenstein's description of "an ancient city", while new boroughs developed during Vienna's modernization accord with the straightness and uniformity of Wittgenstein's "horizons" of language games.

Frisby's synthesis of Ackermann's interpretation of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* provides us with a foundation for understanding the notion of an *exhaustion of language* in the historicist style of architecture used throughout Forster's "colorless" nineteenth century. A response to such a situation, Ackermann contends, is either to seek a *new* language or to *overhaul* the existing language [27]. A belief in the corruptive qualities of exhausted languages of architecture serves as the basis for Otto Wagner's rejection of historicism. Wagner's *New Form*, introduced later in this inquiry, is a *New Language*. Wagner's principles of urban planning seem to respond directly to Ackermann's challenge. Meanwhile, those allegedly exhausted languages - in conjunction with *Proven* elements of classical architecture - serve as the basis for Camillo Sitte's approach to city planning. Frisby and Ackermann's writings coalesce with my forthcoming analysis of Sitte and Wagner's principles, who both seek to reform the contemporary language of architecture.

IV. Enlightened Absolutism to Liberalism in Austria

In the following sections I explore two parallel progressions in Austrian history: William Johnston's account of the political transition from Joseph II's Enlightened Absolutism to the liberalization of the post-revolution period, and Carl Schorke's account of the modernization of the city of Vienna. The latter progression will introduce the burgeoning growth of Vienna under the new liberal administration and the urban transformations that ensued. The *Glacis*, medieval fortifications surrounding old Vienna, may have remained well into the 19th century due to the 1683 siege of the city by the Ottoman Turks. A successful defense and the subsequent retreat of the Ottomans led to the euphoric upsurge of a pious Baroque culture[28]. This led to the Habsburg's adoption of policies of enlightened absolutism from France and Prussia. Johnston writes that under Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and her son Joseph II (1780-1790), "enlightened absolutism crystallized into the movement known as Josephinism, which combined bureaucratization with anti-papal reform Catholicism"[29]. As Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II issued thousands of reform decrees at the expense of fulfilling a large number of them[30]. Some of his most decisive changes were in the field of church-state relations. The Tolerance Patent of 1781 granted "freedom of worship and civil equality to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Orthodox". In addition, he forbid the purchase by nobility of the lands of peasants freed from serfdom. The ideas of Joseph II found architectural expression in the works of Johann Ferdinand

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[27] P.184: "Cityscapes of Modernity", The City Designed - Frisby

[28] P. 14: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

[29] P. 15: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

[30] P. 16: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1732-1816), who is known for having created a fake Roman ruin, *"Ruin of Carthage"* at the Schönbrunn Palace for Maria Theresa[31], surely to the disgust of later functionalists.

Johnston writes that Joseph II left an "unmanageable heritage" which conservatives and liberals claimed alike[32]. He was later considered to be a "stifled" precursor to the liberals of the 19th century. The emergence and prominence of the statesman Klemens Prince von Metternich, whose rule Johnston characterizes as having been "arbitrary", had palpable effects upon the pre-revolutionary cultural landscape in Austria. This refers to an *apolitical bourgeois* "Biedermeier" culture which arose under Metternich, "produced by Vienna's traditions of theater, music, and painting"[33]. While it is not my goal to further characterize this period, it may be understood as a growing emulation of the aristocracy by the bourgeois, which "fled from politics into artistic activities"[34]. Quite relevant to my thesis, Johnston writes that the "love of the past promoted the assembling of archives and founding of museums". Furthermore, he explains that "the visual arts reflected desire to freeze the present in every sort of memorial". It is this self-valorization by the bourgeois that would be expressed both politically and architecturally within the city of Vienna.

V. The Modernization of the City of Vienna

"In the liberal epoch, power passed, at least in part, to the bourgeoisie; and in no area did this attain fuller and purer life than in the reconstruction of Vienna" - Heinrich Friedjung

In his chapter *"The Ringstrasse, its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism"*, Carl Schorske exposes an urban history which runs parallel to the political transformations described by Johnston earlier in this section. In 1860, he notes, the liberals of Austria "took their first great stride toward political power in the western portion of the Habsburg Empire and transformed the institutions of the state in accordance with the principles of constitutionalism and the cultural values of the middle class" [35]. Simultaneously, the liberals claimed Vienna as their political base, their economic center, and "the radiating center of their intellectual life". The city was reshaped in their image, and at the center of a massive reconstruction effort was the Ringstrasse. This ring boulevard would occupy a belt of land between the inner city and its suburbs. The Ringstrasse would become a familiar concept to Austrians, calling to mind the characteristics of an epoch. Schorske writes that "not utility, but cultural self-projection dominated the Ringstrasse", and that "the term most commonly used to describe the great program of the sixties was not renovation or

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[31] P. 172: "Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art" - Michael Elia Yonan

[32] P. 18: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

[33] P. 19: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

[34] P. 20: "The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938" - Johnston

[35] P. 24: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

redevelopment but *beautification of the city's image* [Verschonerung des Stadtbildes][36]". The Ringstrasse would become the subject of criticism by the close of the 19th century, as the next generation of Austrian intellectuals developed a skeptical view of the culture of liberalism which their "self-confident" fathers proclaimed. The term *Ringstrassenstil* would come to characterize their dissent. Schorske reveals that it was along this wave of criticism that "two pioneers of modern thought about the city and its architecture, Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner, hammered out ideas of urban life and form". I should note that I disagree with Schorske's characterization, that "in their contrasting views, Sitte and Wagner brought to thought about the city the <u>archaistic</u> and <u>modernistic</u> objections to nineteenth-century civilizations that appeared in order areas of Austrian life". As an incredibly nuanced historian, Schorske makes it possible for us to use his brilliantly layered work in order to advance a divergent thesis upon the same material.

A major clash of architectural style and symbolism resulted from the modernization of the city of Vienna. Spatially, this divergence is manifested in the centralized style of the old inner city, juxtaposed with the radically decentralized planning of the buildings on the Ringstrasse boulevard. Stylistically, though, the buildings on the new Ringstrasse were not a radical departure from convention. This will be explained after some brief history on the transformation.

Schorske explains that the Revolution of 1848 "redefined the place of the *Glacis* in the life of the city"[37]. There were increased political and economic demands for civilian utilization of a defense zone which had taken the place of the razed medieval fortifications. The defense zone had gained critical strategic influence. "The enemy in question was now not a foreign invader but a revolutionary people", Schorske writes. In the first few years following the revolution, the allocation of space on the *Glacis* reflected the continuing dominance of the values of dynastic absolutism. For example, "tracts of land adjacent to the Hofburg continued to be reserved as protective fields of fire against the suburbs"[38]. Furthermore, a great church was constructed: the Votivkirche. This votive church is described as a "monument of patriotism and of the devotion of the people of Austria to the Imperial House". Yet Schorske posits (coalescing with Johnston) that "within a decade of the imperial decree of 1857, political developments had transformed the neo-absolutist regime into a constitutional monarchy"[39]. Correspondingly, the *substance* and *meaning* of the Ringstrasse program changed, "responding to the will of a new ruling class to erect a series of public buildings expressing the values of a *pax liberalis*". In his chapter Schorske displays a reproduction of a leaflet detailing the renewed Ring plans of 1860. The meaning of the female figures flanking the map is indicated in the legends. On the right, "Strong Through Law and Peace" [Schorske: (i.e., not through military force),] and on the left, [Schorske: (where the spirit of art is literally dressing her mistress, Vienna)], "Embellished Through Art".

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[36] P. 25: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[37] P. 27: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[38] P. 30: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[39] P. 31: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

The contrast between old Vienna and the Ringstrasse area widened with the advent of a new constitutional monarchy. Schorske writes that the inner city was "dominated architecturally by the symbols of the first and second estates". Those symbols include the Baroque Hofburg: the residence of the emperor" the aristocratic palace, the Gothic Cathedral of St. Stephen, as well as "a host of smaller churches scattered through narrow streets". In the new Ring development, "the third estate celebrated in architecture the triumph of constitutional *recht* over imperial *macht* - of secular culture over religious faith". The buildings constructed on the Ringstrasse were centers of constitutional government and higher culture, rather than palaces, garrisons, or churches. The carryover of the Baroque style seems counter-intuitive, and it is exactly this contention which would form the attitude of the *Ringstrassenstil* critics a generation later. The art of building which in the old city was used to express "aristocratic grandeur and ecclesiastical pomp" now became the *communal property of the citizenry*, "expressing the various aspects of the bourgeois cultural ideal in a series of so-called *Pracht-bauten* (buildings of splendor)[40]".

The bourgeois leaders constructed buildings on the Ring in the grandiose, historicist neo-Attic (recalling archaic Athenian architecture) and Baroque styles. It was the spatial conception that was seen as radically new, described by Schwartz and Przyblyski as "inverted baroque"[41] (the traditional Baroque style emphasizes *centrality* rather than decentralization in its spatial disposition). Schorske writes that the Baroque planners "organized space to carry the viewer to a central focus[42]", that "space served as a magnifying setting to the buildings which encompassed or dominated it". On the other hand, he notes that the Ringstrasse designers "virtually inverted Baroque procedure, using the buildings to magnify the horizontal space". The buildings on the Ring are all oriented towards the road itself, rather than towards a central authoritative building. Consider, on the other hand, the orientation of buildings in the inner city towards the cathedral of St. Stephen or towards the Hofburg Palace. The belt-like avenue has no architectural containment (in the sense of prominent arches or enclosing colonnades), nor does it have a visible destination. A chief planner, Ludwig von Forster, wrote that "the old city acquired a closed and regular form by filling in its irregular edges as a seven-sided figure around which one of the most lordly promenades, the corso, could run, and could separate the inner city from the outer suburbs"[43]. Schorske comments that instead of there having been a strong radial system to flow traffic in and out of other parts of Vienna, "most of the streets that enter the Ring area from either inner city or suburb have little or no prominence". He quotes one observer who stated that "the old city was enclosed by the Ring - reduced to something museum like". For Schorske, what had once been a "*military insulation belt*" had become a "*sociological insulation belt*".

Furthering an investigation of the old Baroque and melded historicist styles which were used to embellish the buildings on the Ringstrasse, one may turn to the National University. In

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[40] P. 31: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[41] P.170: "The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader" - Schwartz & Przyblyski

[42] P. 32: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[43] P. 33: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

July 1849, a pious enlightened conservative named Count Leo Thun became Minister of Religion and Instruction. He sought to modernize and domesticate the University, "to restore its autonomy yet to link it more closely to throne and altar" (due to revolutionary activity, the University had been ostracized to some extent from the upper echelon of administrative influence). Count Thun was unable to fulfill his vision. The issue of the National University would remain stagnant until the liberal administration came to power [44]. The political transformation that made possible the University's future placement on the Ringstrasse also influenced the form and style of the structure. Schorske writes that "Count Thun's plans for a medievalizing *cite universitaire*, with Gothic buildings huddled about the Votivkirche like chicks around a mother hen, faded away with the neo-absolutist politics that had given them birth". The University would now "take the form of an independent building, massive in feeling and monumental in scale". Rather than the Gothic style, Renaissance architecture was implemented in the design of the University. This is seen to be a proclamation of a "historical affiliation between modern, rational culture and the revival of secular learning after *a long night of medieval superstition*".

The *Reichstrat* (Parliament) building was designed by Theophil Hansen and exhibits a similar resort to classical forms for the expression of contemporary ideals. Described as a true "Philhellene" (lover of Greek culture), Hansen believed that these "noble, classical forms would produce with irresistible force an edifying and idealizing effect on the representatives of the people"[45]. One may question why Hansen looked to classical forms in his *rejection* of the recent past. Why did he not create *new* forms to represent a new era? This is what modernists would look upon with intense scrutiny in the generations to come (precisely the sentiment that Wagner exhibits in his rejection of historicist architecture). In a fascinating characterization - *enough so that I am reproducing it here in its entirety* - Schorske writes: "The statuary gracing the ramp (to the *Reichstrat*) betrayed the degree to which Austrian parliamentary liberalism sensed its lack of anchorage in the past. Having no past, it had no political heroes of its own to memorialize in sculpture. Along the ramp were placed the figures of eight classical historians - Thucydides, Polybius, and other worthies. Where historical tradition was lacking, historical erudition had thus to fill the void. Finally, Athena was chosen as central symbol to stand at the front of the new building. Here myth stepped in where history failed to serve"[46].

In what I see to be a critical link to my discussion of Sitte and Wagner in the context of utilitarianism, Schorske notes that "it was only in urban building that the bourgeois fathers felt impelled to assert the primacy of the aesthetic. In the countryside they felt no need to screen their businesslike identity"[47]. He describes an aqueduct built outside of the city which received no stylistic embellishments. When a city council was given the task of selecting a style for the Baden aqueduct (which would supply water to the city's new water system), they rejected the

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[44] P. 39: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[45] P. 41: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[46] P. 43: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[47] P. 45: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

suggestion of "something with decoration [etwas mit Schmuck]". Opting instead for a practical structure which appeared "naked and strong", they made a decision which Schorske describes as a "baring of muscle". Such a thing would have been considered "gross" in the city. "There the truth of industrial and commercial society had to be screened in the decent draperies of pre-industrial artistic styles. Science and law were modern truth, but beauty came from history"[48], he writes so eloquently. Indeed, the notion that beauty comes from history will be reflected in the writings of Sitte and rejected adamantly by Wagner.

VI. Sitte & Wagner: Background & Aesthetic Development

The principles enumerated by Sitte and Wagner in *City Building According to Artistic Principles* and *Modern Architecture* are neither arbitrary nor spontaneous. Rather, they are the products of their upbringing, aesthetic development and exposure to Vienna's fragmented urban environment (a notion established earlier in this paper). This section provides biographies of the two planners, as well as rationales for the development of their stylistic preferences. With this information, the reader may see deeper connections between their development and the various intellectual and artistic traditions presented throughout this inquiry.

Camillo Sitte was born to the Bohemian artist and architect Franz Sitte on April 17th, 1843 in the Landstrasse District (III) of Vienna[49]. Finishing his primary schooling in 1863, he entered the *atelier* of the architect Heinrich von Ferstel in Technische Hochschule (Institute of Technology)[50]. While at university he pursued art-historical and archeological studies, as well as the study of the *physiology of space* and of *space perception*. The discipline of art history was rather new at the time. Schorske reveals that his principal professor at the university was Rudolf von Eitelberger, considered to be Vienna's first professor of art history (appointed in 1852)[51]. Sitte's researches would bring him to produce manuals of drawing and perspective, as well as several studies of Piero della Francesca - an early Italian Renaissance painter whose work *"The Ideal City"*[52] was detailed by the classical architect Leon Battista Alberti. Alberti (a major figure in the history of architecture) produced *De re Aedificatoria*, a classical architectural treatise, between 1443 and 1452. I include this as it was the first printed book on architecture and because it was largely dependent upon Vitruvius' (a Roman architect) *De Architectura*. Sitte was influenced by the Vitruvian triad: '*utilas*' (utility), '*venustas*' (beauty) and '*firmitas*' (firmness), considered to be the three goals of classical architecture[53].

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[48] P. 45: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[49] P. 21: "Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning" - George & Christiane Collins

[50] P. 21: "Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning" - George & Christiane Collins

[51] P. 66: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[52] "The Ideal City", Corriere della Sera - Wanda Lattes

[53] P. 18: "The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art" - Hegemann

In 1873, Sitte's career as an independent architect began when he took over a church design project from his father[54]. Collins writes that "in those years the Austrian government was, like others, in the process of reorganizing the teaching of trades and professions". Recommended by his professor Eitelberger, Sitte was offered the direction of the State School of Applied Arts in Salzburg in 1875. It would be improper to say that Sitte was a tame supporter of a contemporary architectural movement. While this conception may sprout from his contempt for the Austrian Secession (the modernist movement which at one point included Otto Wagner), Sitte rebelled in his craft. His Mechitaristen church is believed to be the first church building to "resume an ordered Renaissance appearance after the fad for the medieval that had marked his father's generation"[55]. In 1883 he was called to Vienna to organize the *new* State School of Applied Arts, housed in a building on the *Schwarzenbergstrasse* (a road one step within the Ring), where he established a "vigorous center of teaching" as in Salzburg. Sitte became immersed in his studies, producing lectures, manuscripts, articles on architecture, as well as essays on the broader aspects of city building. His immediate stimulus for writing on these topics was the building activity taking place on the Ringstrasse a block away[56]. Published as *"Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen" (original title of City Building according to Artistic Principles)*, his writings are described as "far beyond the horizons of the somewhat parochial Viennese cultural milieu in which he had been immersed". In other words, he was catapulted into the international scene of town planners and invited to prepare plans for towns and monuments in Australia (Melbourne and Adelaide), Germany (Hamburg), and the United States (San Francisco).

How did Sitte come to possess his beliefs and ideals about architecture and city design? Schorske writes that one ingredient in Sitte's thought was a "typical 19th century enthusiasm" for the art of the past[57]. His study of art history under Eitelberger provides ample evidence for this. His involvement in the State School of Applied arts highlights his artisan roots and explains his attention to process. Sitte saw the "making" of the object to be the proper subject of attention, rather than the abstract design of it (notice that his book is titled *City Building* rather than *City Planning*)[58]. Schorske writes on Sitte: "the modern man, he implied, must accomplish through aesthetic ratiocination what was once achieved in artisan practice".

Richard Wagner's (19th century composer and essayist) *Gesamtkunswerk - "synthesis of the arts",* an overseeing of the totality of the artwork, building, or city project by its designer or creator - was a model for the overcoming of fragmentation through the creation of a national

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[54] P. 25: "Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning" - George & Christiane Collins

[55] P. 25: "Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning" - George & Christiane Collins

[56] P. 27: "Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning" - George & Christiane Collins

[57] P. 65: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[58] P. 68: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

myth, uniting a divided modern society[59]. Richard Wagner's theory enabled Camillo Sitte to "synthesize historical erudition and artisan creation into an aesthetic social mission". Richard Wagner's glorification of the medieval artisan community over modern capitalist society and industrialism had a lasting influence upon Sitte. Schorske writes that in an address to a Richard Wagner convention in 1875, he "revealed the importance of Wagner in providing an intellectual framework for his own advocacy of artisan values"[60]. In this address, Sitte seems to reveal the reasoning behind his craft. He says that "the fundamental fact of modern existence is a lack of a coherent set of values by which to live". Sitte believes that the makers of the modern world are scientists and adventurers, modern "disturbers of the peace who destroyed the religious myths by which men previously organized their lives". Here and elsewhere I rely on Schorske's translation and analysis of information on Sitte which transcends the scope of his treatise - as that material is mostly untranslated. "The essence of the modern condition being the fragmentation of life", Sitte says, "we stand in need of an integrating myth". He strove to create this integrating myth in his redesign of the modern city. Yet he does not recycle architectural styles as is seemingly implied by his sympathy for archaic traditions. Rather, as will see in a review of his principles, he argues for the inclusion of the Proven Forms of classical urban planing (the Plaza and the Street). Sitte's envisioned *Gesamtkunswerk* city seeks to dispel, through active architectural forms, the social and aesthetic fragmentation of the modern industrial period.

To apply terminology such as "archaist" or "historicist" to Camillo Sitte is to allow for the mischaracterization of his mission. Furthermore, it aids in the imagination of a fundamentally ideological rift between him and Otto Wager. Referring to both planners, Schorske writes that "the artists as redeemers would bring progress not by ruthlessly destroying the (conservative) pre-industrial people, but in alliance with them. They would create a theater of 'newly structured modern life', corresponding to the innermost motive of its culture". Sitte's "social traditionalism" and "Wagnerian functionalism led him to define the role of the city planner as a re-generator of culture". It will be seen through an inquiry into Otto Wagner's biography and development that one can hardly contradict the virtual simultaneity of their objectives: the recreation of purity.

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Otto Wagner was born in Penzig (the 14th District of Vienna) on July 13th 1841. At 16 years old he began his study of architecture at the Technical University[61]. His early life had been intertwined with the architectural trade. His mother owned a block of apartment houses designed by Hansen, the architect of the Parliament mentioned earlier. Schorske suggests that "none of the craftsman's experience, none of the historical pathos that saturated Sitte's education, touched Wagner"[62]. He studied at Berlin's school of classical architecture, returning six months later due

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[59] P. 70: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[60] P. 69: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

[61] P. 4: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

[62] P. 75: "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna", The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, & the Birth of Urban Modernism - Schorske

to illness. Upon his return he enrolled at the Academy of Fine Arts as a student of Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Null *(Null would design the Opera on the Ringstrasse and committed suicide after a critical reception)*, in a program geared towards the study of the French Beaux-Arts model (an academic neoclassical style). Wagner wrote that Sicardsburg "took over my artist's soul and cultivated the principle of utility in me". Schorske adds that it was "utility behind a screen of historical style" that the Academy imparted to Otto Wagner. In the late 1860's, "while Sitte was developing his craft orientation and archaistic erudition on the intellectual fringes of Ringstrasse society", Wagner became an architectural entrepreneur. In 1894, Wagner was appointed as a professor and director of a school of architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts.

Otto Wagner's early architectural career reveals his allegiance to the courtly, historicist tradition of the Ringstrasse era. Mallgrave cites Wagner's first published remarks on architecture in 1889: the *free and inventive use of Renaissance forms and motifs* - "that has assimilated our *genius loci* and taken the greatest possible account of all our circumstances and accomplishments in the use of materials and construction *is the only correct course for present and future architecture*"[63]. Yet only five years later, during his inaugural speech (to the Academy of Fine Arts), he would pronounce with similar conviction that "the starting point of every artistic creation must be the need, ability, means, and achievements of *our* time"[64]. In the preface to the first edition of *Modern Architecture*, Wagner was even more adamant: "That the basis of today's predominant views on architecture must be shifted, and we must become fully aware that the sole departure point for our artistic work can only be modern life" (all caps). Harry F. Mallgrave, a translator of *Modern Architecture*, notes that "the apodictic rigor of this later conviction suggests something like an evangelical conversion". Mallgrave asks, "what happened during these few years to cause Wagner to renounce the premises of a successful thirty-year practice and enact the first educational program in Europe to downplay, if not reject, the traditional language of this art?". He explains that while the demands for a style fitting the ideals and needs of contemporary life were not new, there was a theoretical upheaval in the 1890's which "irrevocably transformed the practice of architecture".

In 1896, Wagner wrote that if one were to survey history, they would find that "*today the cleft between the modern movement and the Renaissance is already larger than that between the Renaissance and Antiquity*"[65]. What is Wagner referencing, if not the rift between conceptions of the city by the Children of the Enlightenment (the city as *Virtue* and *Vice*), and conceptions of the city by the modernists (the city as *Beyond Good and Evil*). In 1863, the year that Wagner left the Vienna Academy to pursue his own practice of architecture, Baudelaire had published an essay which encompassed the idea of modern life (which had already "arrived in Paris at this time). "By modernity", he writes, "I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable. Every old master has had his own modernity;

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[63] P. 8: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

[64] P. 9: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

[65] P. 10: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

the great majority of fine portraits that have come down to us from former generations are clothed in the costume of their own period". For Baudelaire, the artistic genius of the subject of his essay (Constantin Guys, a painter) was his talent to "arrest the eternal in the transitory", and to "present the essential presentness" of the metropolis". Is the question then *exactly when* Otto Wagner became the modernist iconoclast that he is portrayed as? Mallgrave attempts to isolate within Wagner's aesthetic and architectural development, "the conceptual starting point of his modern vision"[66]. He writes that this moment would have been around 1890, when "he realized not only that architecture's continuity with its past was irrevocably fractured, but that it could only assert its future (as a faint residue of its former wish symbol) by grafting itself onto the rootstock of constructional engineering and planning". The latter part of this statement reveals what would indeed become the crux of Wagner's functionalism: attention to building material.

There is a clear link between my discussion of exhausted languages and the development of Wagner's theory. He writes in *Modern Architecture* that "the main reason that the importance of the architect has not been fully appreciated lies in the store of forms employed by him up to now; that is, in the language he has directed to the public, which in most cases is completely unintelligible" [67]. Wagner urges students of architecture not to visit the cities of Southern Europe (treasuries of architecture's former values), but the industrial and metropolitan centers of the north (including Paris, London and Berlin) "where modern luxury may be found"[68]. It is there that the architect of a new generation may "*train himself completely by observing and perceiving the needs of modern man*". Notice that there is somewhat of a rejection of the classical method of study of architecture, which Wagner himself is a product of. In later years, when he was replaced as a professor of architecture, his students convinced him to continue holding lectures in rented classrooms. Wagner's approach to *teaching* architecture may be seen as revolutionary, rejecting that students must amass knowledge of a "catalogue" of forms. This method of teaching may have influenced the philosophy of the Bauhaus school of architecture in Berlin (1919-1933). There, students were not taught the forms of classical architecture so that they might not be blinded by them in their future work. Wagner believes that a consequence of having to cater to the needs of a contemporary metropolis is that "art and artist are forced to represent their epoch, to implement its practical tendency, and to conform to modern appearances and ideas"[69].

VII. Sitte & Wagner: Primary Texts Compared

I have provided context for Sitte and Wagner's acknowledgement of the fragmentation of the contemporary urban environment. I have argued and supported the notion that both of their theories attempt to *treat* this fragmentation. What remains to be shown in their primary texts?

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[66] P. 12: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

[67] P. 65: "Modern Architecture" - Wagner

[68] P. 69: "Modern Architecture" - Wagner

[69] P. 12: "Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art" - Wagner, Mallgrave

> 1. Whether or not old and new systems of planning may coexist, according to the theorists.

While Sitte is critical of linear, systematized and mathematical systems of urban planning, he *acknowledges* their utility. He suggests that there can be a coexistence of aesthetically conscious and modern, utilitarian urban planning:

SITTE: CRITICIZES THE PURELY TECHNICAL INTENTIONS OF MODERN SYSTEMS

The major ones are the gridiron system, the radial system, and the triangular system. The sub-types are mostly hybrids of these three. Artistically speaking, not one of them is of any interest, for in their veins pulses not a single drop of artistic blood. All three are concerned exclusively with the arrangement of street patterns, and hence their intention is from the very start a purely technical one. A network of streets always serves only the purposes of communication, never of art, since it can never be comprehended sensorily, can never be grasped as a whole except in a plan of it.... They are of no concern artistically, because they are inapprehensible in their entirety. Only that which a spectator can hold in view, what can be seen, is of artistic importance, for instance, the single street or the individual plaza. - Pg. 229; Camillo Sitte, Modern Systems, Der Städtebau

SITTE: ON THE COEXISTENCE OF MODERN AND ARTISTIC SYSTEMS OF PLANNING

*Artistically contrived streets and plazas might be wrestled even from the gridiron system if the traffic expert would just let the artist peer over his shoulder occasionally or would set aside his compass and drawing board now and then. If only the desire were to exist, one could establish a basis for peaceful coexistence between these two. After all, the artist needs for his purpose only a few main streets and plazas; all the rest he is glad to turn over to traffic and to daily material needs. The broad mass of living quarters should be businesslike, and there the city may appear in its work-clothes. However, major plazas and thoroughfares should wear their "Sunday best" in order to be a pride and joy to the inhabitants, to awake civic spirit, and forever to nurture great and noble sentiment within our growing youth.
- Pg. 230; Camillo Sitte, Modern Systems, Der Städtebau*

SITTE: ON THE TECHNICAL BENEFITS OF MODERN SYSTEMS OF PLANNING:

It would, moreover, be quite short-signed not to recognize the extraordinary achievements of modern city planning in contrast to that of old in the field of hygiene. In this our modern engineers, so much maligned because of their artistic blunders, have literally performed miracles and have rendered everlasting service to mankind. It is largely due to their work that the sanitary conditions of European cities have improved so remarkably--as is apparent from mortality figures which have in many cases been halved. This we gladly grant, but there still remains the question as to whether it is really necessary to purchase their advantages at the tremendous price of abandoning all artistic beauty in the layout of cities. - Pg. 247; Camillo Sitte, Artistic Limitations of Modern City Planning, Der Städtebau

What is Wagner's perspective on the "innate conflict between the picturesque and the practical", (as Sitte has described it) within the city? He does not promote the destruction of "the old". He believes, however, that only a true architect possesses the skill of discerning between what is "old and beautiful, and what is *merely old*". He finds that the regulation of the old parts of a city requires maintaining it and managing necessary renovations on a *case by case basis*. In other words, it is only "the new and undeveloped quarters that can and must be systematized":

WAGNER: THE DISCERNING ARCHITECT IS THE TRUE ARCHITECT

Those favorite catchwords--"the art of the home," "co-operation in city-planning," "sentiment in city planning," etc., taken in the sense in which they are used by people who know and judge Art only from text books, are empty phrases to which such people cling because they are destitute of ideas on the real problem of the city plan. Only the true architect can distinguish between what is old and beautiful, and what is merely old; he will favor neither the wanton destruction of what is beautiful nor the copying of the antique; nor will he care for the much-lauded "embellishment" of a city; all architectural extravagance is foreign to his nature. - Pg. 489; Otto Wagner, Development of a Great City, The Architectural Record

WAGNER: REGULATING THE CITY PLAN - THE OLD SHOULD NOT BE SYSTEMATIZED

The regulation or systematizing of the city plan can, as I have intimated, be carried out by following a definite principle and scheme, This scheme falls naturally in to two divisions: 1. The regulation of the old already existing part, 2. The regulation of future development and expansion

The regulation of the old part is limited to maintaining its already existing beauty and making use of it advantageously in the city plan. Conditions of traffic, sanitary requirements, the circumstance that so much that is beautiful is in private possession, that many a work has reached the limit of age and usefulness, and finally social and economic relations--all these demand a special consideration of each individual case in the regulation of the old part. On these grounds the advance determination of future building lines in the existing parts of the city, however greatly to be desired, is scarcely practicable. It goes without saying, however, that in the case of new buildings or remodeling the city administration should avail itself to the utmost of any artistic advantages from their proximity to existing elements of beauty. But it is the new and undeveloped quarters that can and must be systematized, if coming events are not to bring the city authorities face to face with the unsurmountable "too late." - Pg. 489; Otto Wagner, Development of a Great City, The Architectural Record

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The conclusion? Sitte derides modern systems for being purely concerned with technical aspects. Nevertheless, he acknowledges their improvement of living conditions. He believes that the core of a city must wear its "Sunday" clothes and be embellished, while he cedes the rest of the city to the modern, utilitarian "businesslike" systems of planning. He suggests that there could be a successful synthesis of the technical and the beautiful. Wagner does not encourage destruction of that which is old and beautiful, but supports the removal of that which is merely obsolete. The old part of the city must be preserved and the new must be systematized, Wagner argues.

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> 2. While Sitte acknowledges exhaustion of prototypal *Proven Form*; Wagner presents *New Form.*

Sitte attempts to create an unbroken continuity in his urban environment through *Proven Forms* of architecture and planning. Wagner believes that the architect must create *New Forms* which reflect and serve the contemporary functions of an urban environment.

SITTE: THE SIMPLE PROTOTYPE OF THE CLASSICAL SQUARE/PLAZA

Ideas and stylistic tendencies mingle variously as soon as peoples themselves intermix; a feeling for the simple prototype becomes more and more lost. - Pg. 153; Camillo Sitte, The Relationship between Buildings, Monuments, and their Plazas, Der Städtebau

SITTE: THE PRESERVATION OF THE ROLE OF THE SQUARE IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

In the south of Europe and especially in Italy, where ancient cities have partially preserved their original layout and many civic customs have long survived unchanged - occasionally to the present - the public square of cities have in many respects remained true to the type of the old forum down to modern times. <u>A considerable share of public life continued, after all, to take place in the plazas</u>; because of this there persisted some measure of their public significance as well as many natural relationships between the squares and the monumental structures that framed them. - Pg. 151; Camillo Sitte, The Relationship between Buildings, Monuments, and their Plazas, Der Städtebau

SITTE: THE LOST PURPOSE OF THE SQUARE IN MODERN TIMES

<u>In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance there still existed a vital and functional use of the town square for community life</u> and also, in connection with this, a rapport between square and surrounding public buildings. <u>Meanwhile in our day plazas are, at most, used as parking lots, and any artistic relationship between them and their buildings has almost totally vanished</u>. In short, we miss activity exactly where in antiquity it was most animated, that is, around the great public buildings. <u>So it turns out that all that we could have stressed so far as characteristic of the enchantment of old plazas today is totally absent</u>. - Pg. 154; Camillo Sitte, The Relationship between Buildings, Monuments, and their Plazas, Der Städtebau

WAGNER: MASSES INSENSITIVE TO WORKS WHICH DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR TIME

The most compelling reason that the masses are so insensitive to most works of art is that the language of art is unintelligible and what is presented is no work of our time. - Pg. 77; Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture

WAGNER: FORM MUST REFLECT UPHEAVAL OF TRADITION IN MODERN TIMES

So powerful is the upheaval that we cannot speak of a renaissance of the renaissance. A completely new birth, a Naissance has been emerging from this movement. - Pg. 79; Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture
The task of correctly recognizing the needs of man is the first prerequisite for the architect's successful creation. - Pg. 79; Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture

WAGNER: NEW PURPOSES GIVE BIRTH TO NEW METHODS OF CONSTRUCTION, AND BY THIS REASONING, ALSO TO NEW FORMS.

Every architectural form has arisen in construction and has successively become an art form. It is therefore certain that new purposes must give birth to new methods of construction, and by this reasoning also to new forms. - Pg. 93; Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture

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The progression of evidence above was 1) Sitte's statement of the simple, proven prototype of the Square, 2) His observation of the preservation of its role in Southern Europe, 3) The loss of purpose of the Square in modern cities. Continued, Wagner states that: 4) people are insensitive to works which do not represent their current state, 5) that new forms must do precisely that, and 6) that the advent of new needs and purposes leads to new construction methods to facilitate those functions, and thus results in the creation of new forms.

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3. How their theories coalesce in an existing city but fail to produce a unified city in themselves.

George and Christiane Collins, translators of Camillo Sitte's work, note that the title of *Der Städtebau* implied city *building* rather than *planning*. In modern times the meaning of these words has changed significantly. Sitte lauds the extensive catalogue of human knowledge on civilization. He sees this richness as a cumulation. Through an awareness of the quality of proven elements of planning we may create a pure, unitary environment. He cites the Piazza del Duomo in Pisa and the Cathedral Square in Ravenna as encompassing an "unbroken continuity", without "offending gaps"[70]. These are immersive environments in which one is not distracted by noisy roads, cafes, or daily bustle. Sitte's unity is created by layers of historical sediment, rather than through the abstract "blueprint" planning of Wagner's modern system. Meanwhile, Wagner asserts that every form must arise first through <u>need</u>, and then through <u>construction</u>[71]. His forms are premeditated in a way that does not coalesce with Sitte's principles. Nevertheless, if a city is designed according to *one* of these approaches, a pure and unified environment would result.

These are two approaches. Each results in a totalization. When set against other totalizing approaches, however, they fail to produce unity. They only contribute to further segmentation and fragmentation. How do they interact within an existing city? As I have shown, Sitte cedes vast portions of the city to utilitarian purposes. In fact, it is only the inner core of the city that he contends must be embellished[72]. Likewise, Wagner accommodates for the maintenance of historic beauty within his theory[73]. In essence, Sitte does not attack the outer regions of the city, and Wagner does not worry about the historic core of the city. Their battles seem to play out where the lines blur between the two. In the case of Vienna, this was the Ringstrasse region. There, between the modern outskirts of the city and the medieval innards of the city, was an expression of neither modernist nor purely historicist planning. Therefore, I argue that within an existing city, *much* of Sitte and Wagner's principles do not conflict. Each cedes ground to the other. Yet a new city could not be constructed using both approaches, and even in an existing city we see the clash of "beauty and practicality". Both theories are founded upon modernist conceptions of the city. Both Sitte and Wagner attempt to create a unified environment. It seems that their theories do not coalesce in the creation of a new city. The result is a gridlock paralysis that is more indicative of modernism than of any opposition between the old and the new.

VIII. Conclusion

If reaching this point of my paper has been an tiresome process, I apologize. I could not attempt a synthesis of the ideas in *"Der Städtebau"* and *"Moderne Architektur"* without having established at least a cursory amount of historical background. As I hope I have revealed, the

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[70] P. 172: "City Planning According to Artistic Principles" - Sitte

[71] P. 93: "Modern Architecture" - Wagner

[72] P. 230 - "Der Städtebau", Modern Systems - Sitte

[73] Pg. 489: "Development of a Great City", The Architectural Record - Wagner

discourse surrounding the art of city building is complex. And it only seems proper that it should be. Few art forms have such a penetrating impact upon the human experience.

I lean heavily on secondary sources throughout this paper. I believe that I have somewhat of an excuse to have done so. If my touch is evident anywhere, I believe it is in the conceptual design of this paper. Within a limited space I was pressed with establishing enough background so that my reader may understand at the very least the *significance* of some of the ideas treated by Sitte and Wagner. This involved addressing intellectual, political, social, cultural, artistic, and architectural history. Yet I believe I kept it somewhat tight. The most significant work on this paper was done late at night on whiteboards. I was told that I was over thinking the material and overindulging, but I must say that I believe I have done neither. By the time I had established a minimal amount of context for the introduction of their original texts, I was overwhelmed by the breadth of their writing. I had to drastically narrow the scope of my use of their original writings. This was disappointing, as I had amassed a good amount of observations on them. Creating visual models of the various concepts I had tasked myself with treating, I was able to build layer upon layer of parallels between seemingly unrelated material. This organic process was the most valuable thing that I discovered throughout the process of this independent study.

Limiting the scope of my analysis to three questions, I sought to provide the reader with responses written by the theorists themselves. I believe that the selections are specific enough so that the reader may extrapolate the connection, but broad enough so that they may answer other questions that the reader may have regarding the material. I am not satisfied with the final resting place of my work. Fifteen more pages of space may have been enough for me to provide at least a superficial analysis of a larger portion of their treatises. I *am* satisfied with the model for my research, however, and I believe that I have left this at a place where I may pick it up again.

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