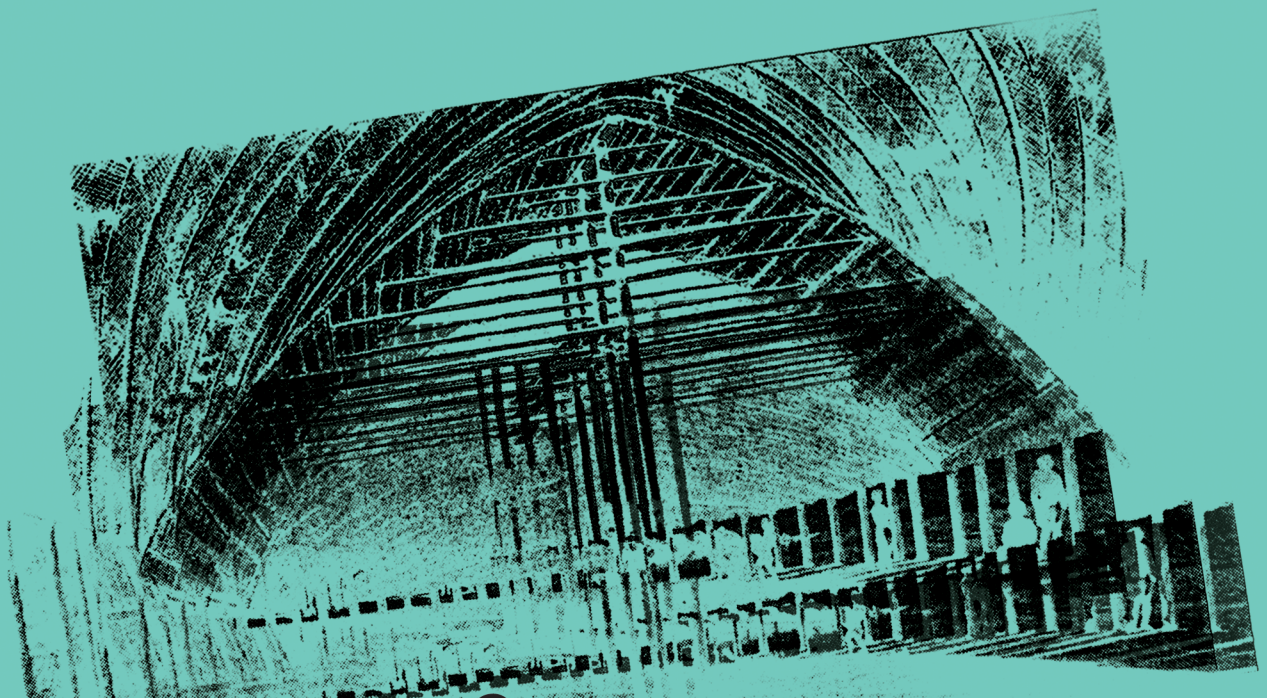

INTERSTICES 10

A JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURE AND RELATED ARTS

ADAM'S HOUSE IN THE PACIFIC

INTERSTICES

A Journal of Architecture and Related Arts,
On Adam's House in the Pacific, Volume 10

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Executive Editors:
A.-Chr. (Tina) Engels-Schwarzpaul, Ross Jenner

Issue Editors:
Ross Jenner (r.jenner@auckland.ac.nz)
Mark Jackson (mark.jackson@aut.ac.nz)
A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul (tina.engels@aut.ac.nz)

Design and Layout:
Patricia Burgetsmaier
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All correspondence should be addressed to The Editors, Interstices, School of Art and Design, AUT University, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1020, New Zealand.
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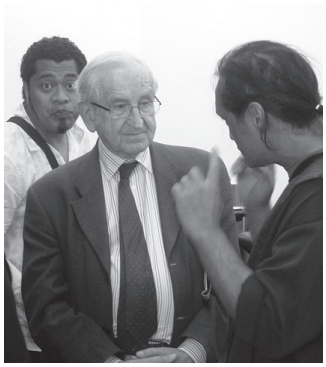


Joseph Rykwert in conversation with Albert Refiti (above) and delivering keynote address (below)

If, in this part of the world, the context is defined as paradisiacal, what is the need for architecture? Is it enough that building in such circumstances be as little mediated, as natural, as possible? How does architecture become dependent on this natural context? What is the Pacific, which is invoked in the guise of a scene or site to safeguard a paradise and to define a natural architecture? Idyllic, remote and untouched parts, where architecture is barely needed, seem to summon up notions of original dwelling from their very surroundings in forests, glades, clearings, mountains, beaches, lakes and deserts. They summon up the primitive in the form of sheds, cabins and even villas and tourist resorts, which assemble sources for the uncorrupted hut.

Why does the private or single family house gain importance within such a primal setting, as it seems to in Australasia? Does the proliferation of books on the house signify that this is the sole local discourse? How does this demand for native traits measure against the original dwellings, such as whare and *fale*? Where do they fit? How do they fit? What has been the role of the discourse of appropriation? The primitive hut seems to provide the basis of a natural perception, uncluttered by cultural baggage where only innate ideas and external necessities prevail in the pursuit of ever purer tectonics and returns to origins.

This, the tenth, issue of *Interstices* derives more or less from a symposium in honour of Joseph Rykwert held at the University of Auckland in November 2008 on the occasion of his stay as Distinguished Visitor to the School of Architecture and Planning. The questions above and those which follow were posed in an attempt, in the form of both academic papers and architects' examinations of their own work, to re-assess what significance the house, the natural, raw shelter and beginnings and other Australasian obsessions might still have in today's architectural culture.

As Rykwert argued over 30 years ago in *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (1972), the primitive hut provides an image of perpetual reconstruction, a paradigm of building and renewal by return to origins. But perhaps this primitive hut could also be encountered as an exorbitant cultural accumulation of concerns with natural origins, derivative of a Rousseau-inspired Eurocentrism, an overly cluttered baggage of cultural assumptions and idealisms. Since the publication of *Adam's House*, discourses of architecture have engaged in a panoply of critical concerns that question the search for origins and the existence of simple natures. Would Adam's house, for example, survive the tremors of Grammatology? Could a radical understanding of communitarian ethics be derived from the Hut's primitive and essential

nature? In what ways are these themes still alive and relevant today? What modes of renewal, return, persistence and continuity exist in today's architecture here? What further contribution could be made to the theme of Adam's House?

Many questions remain unanswered but, in the attempt, a line of thought-provoking papers emerged. In "Whiteness, Smoothing and the Origin of Samoan Architecture," Albert Refiti explores the idea of origin in Samoan architecture by focusing on the attempt in Samoan craft to dress and smoothmaterials in the layout and construction of architecture. In Samoa, he argues, what is considered architecture (which has recourse to the first house), must be dressed and be smoothed out. This is not because of a fascination with a "return to origins,", rather, it has to do with what Samoans considered "proper" or *teu,* which allows things to be put in order so that they turn towards the ancestors. Space-making in Samoan is inclined towards the production of things that are of whiteness, smoothness and openness because these are to be placed before the ancestors and the community. Therefore, things-towards-the-ancestors must have a directionality and smoothing out that binds together the past and the present.

Likewise, Charmaine 'Ilaiu, in her "*Tauhi Vā:* the first space," also finds Rykwert's Primitive Hut, as an image of perpetual reconstruction, only tenuously relevant to the Tongan *fale*. She argues that, whereas Rykwert seems to place emphasis on the sheer physicality and imagery of a structure, the domestic *fale* in Tonga engages an essential space that, in many respects, exceeds architecture as that which begins between people. Tongans call this concept *tauhi vā* – maintaining beautiful social relations. As the 'first' and most enduring space, *tauhi vā* 'makes,' rather than 'builds,' Tongan domestic architecture. 'Making,' she argues, is more appropriate than simple 'building,' since *tauhi vā* can permeate the different stages of the *fale*'s realisation: conception, organisation on site (internally and externally), materialisation and building ethic.

By contrast, Mike Austin and Jeremy Treadwell in "Constructing the Pacific Hut" find that a search for a history and theory of architectural origins, such as Rykwert examines, is characterised by propositions of foundational acts and technological moments. Common to these moments are the ideas of the unsheltered human, the necessity for enclosure and the notion of a technical and creative genesis. Rykwert's discussion of the Japanese Ise temple seems to suggest that other circumstances might apply. This paper argues that, in the Pacific, an architecture emerged from mobility and a desire for openness. Connecting the tectonics of the Pacific building to the technology of the canoe, they consider some examples of the ridge beam and its supports (or lack of) on houses from Samoa and Papua New Guinea.

Nevertheless, paradise continues to inspire the general and architectural imagination. In "Take me away … In search of original dwelling," Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul and Keri-Anne Wikitera argue that through elaborate, purpose-built complexes, or de- and re-contextualised single buildings, "the performative primitive" (Dean MacCannell) is still being staged as a form of 'iconic architecture.' Alongside an exclusive resort in Upolo, Samoa, they explore the histories of several Māori whare and Samoan *fale* which travelled the world's exhibitions and museums from the 1860s on. Before the mid-twentieth century, houses were usually taken away without much consultation with, let alone involvement from, their original communities. From the 1960s, as tourism and leisure industries expanded to an unprecedented extent, exhibitions of 'traditional' dwellings in

modern "edutainment" contexts perpetuated the earlier exhibition of exotic others. The buildings, however, were often no longer built for community purposes but pre-fabricated in their countries of origin for display overseas. The 'natives,' as it were, now colluded with an ongoing Western quest for origins and a yearning for authenticity and Paradise.

Paul James and Robin Skinner in "Sites of Defence within Picturesque Scenes: Late eighteenth century representations of natural architecture in New Zealand" explore the tension between competing attitudes influencing early representations of the New Zealand landscape. This paper examines a series of visual and written reports of Māori fortification and natural arches dating from the time of James Cook's first voyage to New Zealand in 1769-70. This highlights competing agenda for the role of nature within architecture: whether it should be a source for an abstract vocabulary informing construction, or whether culture should remain the dominant determinant for architectural form. During the eighteenth century there was a blurring of the relationship between art, architecture and nature, which was supported by the conceptual framework of the picturesque. The call within French architectural theory for architecture to be understood as an imitative art derived from the natural world. The natural arch was utilised as evidence to support that there was a natural origin for architectural form.

In "What's in a Name? The First House in New Zealand architectural discourse", Julia Gatley examines the changing nature of references made to the Group and to their First House in Takapuna, 1949-50, in New Zealand architectural discourse. It suggests that for architects who rose to profile in the 1990s, the Group operated as an origin. These practitioners made recourse to the notion of the Group rather than to specific Group houses. Yet there really was a First House. Or was there? This paper destabilises the primacy of the house by showing that the Group were not the ones to elevate the house with the capitalised and categorical name, First House. It identifies the original name, Experimental House, as well as two subsequent name changes, and suggests that the changes in name reflect and reinforce the changing importance attached to the house by critics, historians and commentators.

Reference to nature as a source of architectural inspiration has been an enthusiasm for many architectural theorists and practitioners in Australia, as Paul Hogben notes in "Uncovering the Strategic: The Appeal to Nature in Early Twentieth-Century Architectural Discourse in Australia." This relationship, however, has not been investigated from the point of view of discourse analysis. To initiate this, Michel Foucault's concept of discourse as a strategic activity is deployed to examine the appeal to nature that was a central tenet of architectural writings and papers published in Sydney in the early 20th century. This was a time when a theoretically active group were arguing that architectural design and decoration should be derived from a close study of 'Nature'. This essay identifies the strategic dimensions of this discourse, which it argues were tied to the forging of a position of critical authority over domestic architecture and the powers of professional, aesthetic and commercial legitimisation this could carry.

In *On Adam's House in Paradise*, Rykwert uncovered the primitive hut as a perennial theme in the theory and practice of architecture. By contrast with Refiti's and 'Ilaiu's reading of Rykwert, Tim Adams develops the theme of the house as a project renewed and to be renewed endlessly. In "Benoît Goetz: A French Reader of Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*" Adams relates Adam's house to the French philosopher Benoît Goetz, who picks up and expands Rykwert's discovery in his book *La Dislocation: Architecture et Philosophie*. Goetz observes that there could not have been a house in the Garden of Eden because prior to the expulsion from paradise there could not have been any division of places, nor any inside or outside. Paradise lacks nothing so every space in it, Goetz concludes, is equivalent to all other spaces. Paradise is, in other words, an indivisible field of immanence without otherness and without limit. This explains precisely why the primitive hut or first dwelling is so endlessly fascinating: it conveys the fundamental truth that human beings have acquired the sin of knowledge and have thus become increasingly alienated from the continuum of unknowing nature.

Finally, Carl Douglas's "Contract, Crowd, Corpus and Plasma: Architectural and social assemblages" springs from Rykwert's observation, in *On Adam's House in Paradise* of a conceptual correlation between Marc-Antoine Laugier and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It discerns, in the condition of joints in Laugier's *Essay on Architecture* (1753) and social bonds in Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762), an underlying structural logic: what he calls an implicit theory of assemblage. From this initial reference point in the mid-eighteenth century, the paper moves to consider theories of crowds in the late nineteenth century as implicit theories of assemblage, and ultimately advocates the work of Gabriel Tarde as a basis for explication of these underlying theories.

Whiteness, Smoothing and the Origin of Samoan Architecture[1]

Albert L. Refiti

Introduction

In Samoa, architecture arises from the directive to house the ancestors,[2] who are presumed to inhabit everything, everywhere, simultaneously. Architecture's ritual performance plays important roles in demarcating and ordering space relative to the ancestors' occupation in time and, at the same time, en-abling a technical apparatus that makes possible a becoming-ancestor. In this context, how does Samoan architecture relate to the tenet that architecture continually returns "as guarantee of renewal: not only as a token from the past but as a guide to the future" (Rykwert, 1981: 191)?

Rykwert's text interprets humanity's ability to "build or adopt enclosures [and] … take possession of enclosed volumes" as a will to 'return' to origins. The latter can be witnessed in the psychological development of children: when at play, they turn tables and chairs into "a 'cozy place' for making a 'home'," a manifestation, perhaps, of a desire for the mother's womb (191-2). Rykwert believes that this desire to 'return' is directed by the "memory of something which cannot but be lost" (14), a notion and not a thing, which is why he refers to this place as Paradise: "a promise as well as a memory" (192). The proposition, then, is that the primitive hut is continually made and remade, in our desire to rediscover our original state, and brings a sense of renewal. The promise of Paradise reaffirms our existence in the present. One could say that 'forgetfulness' and 'return' combine in Western thought to imprison the ancients forever in Paradise, suspending them in mist: *mythos*.[3]

To analyse Samoan architecture through Rykwert's return to (lost) origins is problematic. Any concept of time that poses the past, present and future as separate moments is incompatible with Samoan thinking. The ancestors do not recede into a lost time: in fact, as will be shown below, they are continually available. The question of origins in Samoan thought and, by extension, architecture, is always a question of becoming, a question of the ancestors' weaving and making of time.

This paper sets out to explore how Samoan architecture and craft operate by fashioning material things: they are stripped (*olo*) and organised (*teu*) towards a 'whiteness' (*sina* or *malama*), because they are to be placed before the ancestors, who are continually present via the circle of *fa'amatai*.[4] The paper explores Samoan thought[5] regarding the genealogy of beings existing within the *matai* system, to develop new insights into the discourse on 'origins' and architecture's role in Samoa and the Pacific generally.

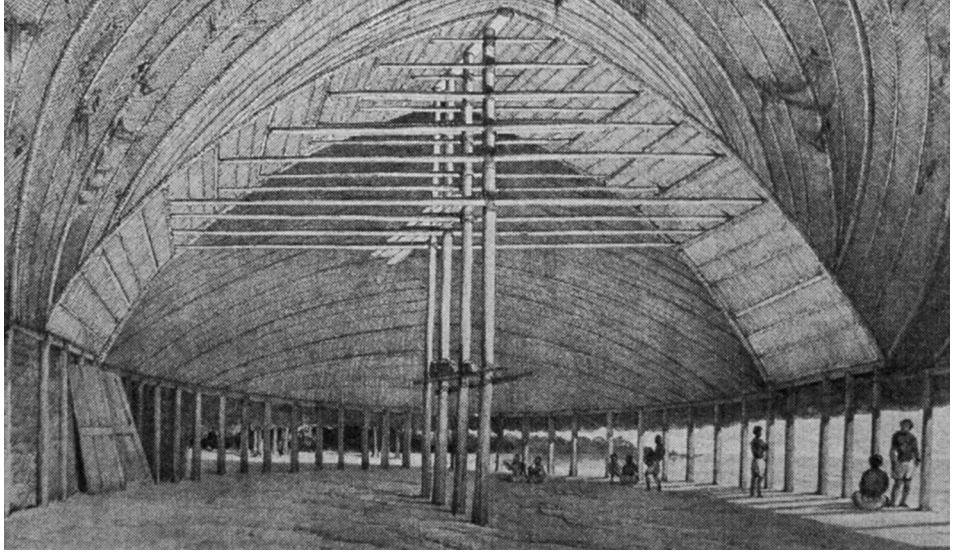
1. I would like to acknowledge Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul whose expert editing helped shape this paper into a manageable article. The paper is dedicated to my late father, Palaiali'i Fotuoa'ana Falani Refiti.

2. See Buck (1930: 52), Tofaeono (2000: 32-33), Allen (1993: 49) and Tcherkézoff (2005: 256-257). I refer specifically here to the *faletele* (oval council house) and the *faleafolau* (long council house) because they are made to the configurations of the *fono* council of the *fa'amatai* and are generally accepted as the first order of Samoan architecture. Barnes and Green (2008) discuss the difference between these two houses; Buck, Krämer (1994) and Allen cover their construction in detail.

3. It is interesting to note the structure of *On Adams House in Paradise*, which begins with Le Corbusier and then recedes to the 18th century, the Greeks and Romans, until we arrive at the Hebrew religious rituals. These are compared with the *waninga* totems of the Aranda aborigines of Central Australia. It uses historical moments in the primitive hut's many returns, like notches in the string of time to trace a lost beginning.

4. For Samoan terms, refer to glossary.

5. In this context, Samoan thought includes the work of Aiono Fanaafi, Tui Atua, Aumua Simanu, Albert Wendt and others. It has links with Pacific thought in general through the work of Futa Helu, Epeli Hau'ofa, Kona Thaman-Helu and 'Okusi Mahina in Tongan; Mason Durie, Witi Ihimaera and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku in Māori; John Pule in Niuean; Vilisoni Hereniko in Rotuman.



"View of the inside of the meeting house of Apia" - Interieur de la maison publique d'Apia, Ile Opoulou. drawing by Goupil; lithograph by P. Blanchard, in J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage au Pole sud et dans l'Oceanie, Paris, Gide, 1848, plate 84

Panoptic habitus[6]

In Samoan thought, architecture is related to performing a material manifestation of 'space-towards-the-ancestors',[7] marked by an opening, the *vā*. The *vā* is a space-event enacted by the *fa'amatai*, or gathering of family chiefs in the circle of the *fono* (council; Tofaeono 2000: 32).[8] This *vā*, or co-openness,[9] located at the centre of every gathering, every sociality, structures Samoan identity. *Mamalu*,[10] a concept related to this co-openness, is a singular panoptic gaze at the core of Samoan values. It inhabits the centre of social space and exposes and discloses the being of *tagata* (human); being human in Samoa implies an exposure of *tagata* to this co-openness of the *vā*. As will become evident, everything must go towards this centre, and be lit up, to have any meaningful existence in the social world of Samoans.[11]

According to Serge Tcherkézoff, the *vā*'s co-openness is formed by the council of *matai* (chiefs), the "circle of *fa'amatai*" (the circle of becoming-*matai*). An eloquent visual example is the way in which people throughout Western Polynesia arrange themselves when they come together in a socially recognised group: they form into circles. Samoans speak of a 'sacred circle' (*alofi sā*). This figure is well suited to showing a single belonging: in which each person sits around the circumference and at the same distance from the centre, which is the place of the divine. Yet the circle is oriented, simultaneously and contrary to the geometry we are familiar with, by axes of value which divide the circumference into clearly differentiated arcs. Within these arcs, each point is different from the next. In Samoa, these points are represented by the posts holding up the conical roof of the ceremonial house, itself comprised of a circular base, a circle of posts and a roof, without internal partitions (2005: 246).

This "circle of *fa'amatai*" is a transposition of the first *fono* held between the god Tagaloa-a-lagi and the architects of the first house (Krämer 1994: 259; Buck 1930: 85). The prefix *fa'a,* like the Māori whaka (Biggs 1969: 102-103), denotes an action or a manner of becoming, so that *fa'amatai* means "becoming-*matai*". *Mata* (literally: eye, point, spot, or centrality) is related to the word *amata*, which is "to-begin" or "to-become". To orient oneself towards the ancestor is to become *a–mata,* or to be at the centrality of becoming-ancestor. Thus, in Polynesia, the concept of space-time suggests that we move towards a future by orienting our being to a collective opening that continues with us. Some call it the past, but I suggest that this past is not static but an ever moving ancestor-duration, which is always already woven within us and endures within our becoming. This constellation is commonly explained by the metaphor of walking with our backs to the future as we face the past (Whiteford/Barns 1999: 214; Salmond 1978: 10; Metge 1967: 70). This conception places time in the service of the ancestors. Together, we and they mark and make time, making it evolve as duration. It opens and

6. Marcel Mauss uses the term *habitus* (Mauss 2006: 80) to refer to techniques of the body. The point here is that the body in Samoan thought is seized and taken up by something other than itself.

7. Architecture belongs to a technical system performed and perpetuated by the *Tufuga-fau-fale* builders guild (Krämer 1994: 265; Buck 1930: 85-87). Bernard Stiegler developed the concept of an 'epiphylogenetic system' to describe the emergence of technics (tools and systems of know-how) as an external artificial mnemonic apparatus, through which people and tools share a memory. Architecture performs exactly this role in inscribing, recording, marking and fabricating space: a technical system which performs (Stiegler 1998: 17). This can be seen in the way tools were treated as being of sacred origins by the *Tufuga* and Tohunga cults of Polynesia. The cults were secretive about their trade, especially in relation to the tools; in one story, the *tufuga* fled when discovered in the act of gnawing timber with their teeth (Stuebel, 1976: 14-17).

8. For writings on the *vā* see Wendt (1996), Mageo (1998: 81) and Tuagalu (2008: 107-126).

9. Sheehan reads Heidegger's finitude as 'co openness', or 'co-extensive with finitude,' as the "first gift which makes it possible and necessary to take-as and to understand 'is' … the basis for all forms of interpersonal togetherness, the eyeball-to-eyeball of political struggle, the face-to-face of moral obligation, … what lets us live a co-history, …living and working together and making communal decisions" (Sheehan 2001: 200).

10. *Mamalu* goes hand in hand with *pa'ia* and is often cited as having dignity and sanctity (Tcherkézoff, 2005: 254).

11. See Albert Wendt's important discussion of the *vā* as a concept encompassing Samoan culture especially in relation to tattooing (Wendt 1996).

Top: Village Malae.
Photo: Thomas Andrews

contracts relative to our engagement: this is the meaning of the Polynesian word for time – *tau*. Outside our involvement, time becomes *ta*, unmediated action. Therefore, a collection of individuals gathered in space is a neighbourhood of ancestor-becoming, a duration – woven time – within the co-openness of the *vā*. The Samoan choreographer Lemi Ponifasio[12] suggests that rituals readily activate this *vā* opening and, if this is the case in performance, then it should be added that architecture is, as its setting, the instrument of this opening.

Architecture, in Samoa,[13] solicits the art of building from the *Tufuga* cult, to allow the dwelling to appear – to prise open the *vā*, and delay/defer the ancestor-becoming in the present,[14] thereby forcing the ever-moving present into the co-openness of the *vā*. The trick that Samoan architecture must perform here is not the necessary protection of the ancestors, as some might imagine, not the making of temples to house and delay the ancestors – but the opposite. Architecture as instrumental agency must expose the ever-moving present to the becoming-ancestor to submit the "now" to the panoptic gaze of the ancestor, to light it up and let it be enveloped by *mana*. Building is an apparatus for the becoming-ancestor.

Tufuga and technical culture

According to Rykwert, the idea of reconstructing the original form of building was deeply connected with the religious life of people. The hut, as the place where the divinity was worshipped, elaborated an "identification with a body, … human or some perfect supernatural one" (1995: 83), which reveals "a volume which man could interpret in terms of his body, … an exposition of the paradisal plan, … [which] established him at the centre of it" (Rykwert, 1981: 190). In Western thinking, the human body has served as the manifestation of a divine plan and canonic proportional system of construction since antiquity.[15] Building was supposed to reveal man as he is: the abstracted ratio that gives rise to the edifice itself.

The human body also plays a part in Samoan architecture but, rather than a universal ratio embodied within the building itself, the body becomes immersed/seized within the 'co-openness' emanating from the centre of the architecture. The body must not first be fused to the building for architecture to exist, because space already determines a particular ratio: demarcating a circular or oval form, which it must provide for the circle of the *fa'amatai*. An important point in Samoan thought is that the body is a divine agent of one's ancestors. Architecture is something required, but is other to the co-openness – the building is not the agent of the ancestor: the body is. Architecture is a technological system that materialises the *tau* (ordering) of space.[16] *Tau* means counting, recitation, order-

12. "For example, Samoan dance is not so much just the correct execution of a movement, but more importantly your appropriate state of awareness to the multiple relationships. Awareness is valued over the artistic. Knowing dance is knowing how to sit, walk and talk – to understand your relationship with humans and all things." (Ponifasio 2008)

13. I refer specifically here to the *faletele* (oval council house) and the *faleafolau* (long council house) because they are made to the configurations of the *fono* council of the *fa'amatai* and are generally accepted as the first order of Samoan architecture. Barnes and Green (2008) discuss the difference between these two houses; Buck, Krämer (1994) and Allen cover their construction in detail.

14. Delay and/or defer by way of an epiphylogenetic system, an organized inorganic system that concerns tools and the technology of construction which activate a memory exchange between the human body and technology (Stiegler: 140). As well as being guardian of the knowledge of building, the *Tufuga* cult was also concerned with the technological culture of art-making in Samoa, tattooing, boatbuilding and navigation (Krämer 1995: 239; Handy: 15, 22).

15. Building was supposed to reveal man as he is: the abstracted ratio that gives rise to the edifice itself. Rykwert explores this later in *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (1995).

16. Koskinen explores *tau* as a proto-Polynesian word related to recitation and song that bring things to life (Koskinen 1967: 34-40). *Tau* is to count, to recite, to order, to make time. All of this is also the task of the *Tufuga-fau-fale*. The *Tufuga-fau-fale* has to expose the materiality of the world – its organised matter – to the overwhelming glare at the centre.

ing, making time, and this was the task of the *Tufuga-fau-fale*. The *Tufuga-fau-fale* has to expose the materiality of the world – its organized matter – to the overwhelming glare at the centre of all spectacles.

Architecture as a technical system submits nature and its materiality to the co-openness of the *vā*.[17] Traditionally, to achieve this, the *Tufuga* had to negotiate, evaluate, manipulate and fabricate.[18] *Negotiate*: this began with a *fale agai* (contract) between the *Tufuga* and *Taufale* (the chief commissioning the house) guaranteeing payment and delivery of goods between the builders and family. The contract bonded the *Tufuga* cult to the family during the construction period. *Fale* is house; *agai* means "a-facing-with-one-another". Together, these words denote a bond consummated during the *kava* drinking ceremony between the parties, after which the guild members became extended family members and were housed and fed by the family. This ceremony usually took place at the *fono* discussed above. *Evaluate*: the selection of materials and timber for the house was made only after a formal contract or *fale agai* had been agreed. The *Tufuga* chose the appropriate timber for the house, but the felling was left to the family. The builders took over responsibility when all materials arrived on the site (Allen 1993: 109-110; Handy 1924: 15). *Manipulate*: all building components were shaped and dressed with notches and grooves for joints before they were assembled. This was predominantly the *Tufuga*'s and apprentice's task, as it concerned shaping and cutting with tools – and tools were part of their responsibility. A well-dressed house was synonymous with the work of the *Tufuga* cult. The *manufili* (scaffolding) was erected at the centre, around the central posts, and aided in the shaping of the house before all the components were fixed and lashed in place. *Fabricate*: locating the *manufili* scaffolding at the centre of the site allowed the builders to shape the building from the inside out. The scaffolding acted as a prop and ladder structure while the house was being shaped, joined and lashed together. The last parts to be made were the outer posts, the thatched roof and the *paepae* (house platform). Since no tools were required for these final tasks (except the lashing of the thatch to the roof and the final trimming of the excess thatch), they were carried out by the family.[19] It is clear from evidence in Buck and Krämer that the cult's contribution to building was mainly in tasks that required tools: the shaping of architectural components and determination of the overall form of the building. *Tufuga* dealt with those parts of the house which were generally referred to as being dressed or *teu*.

According to the Samoan creation story *Solo o le Vā*, the *Tufuga* were descendents of the progenitor Tagaloa-a-lagi and responsible for house and boat building (Fraser, 1897; Krämer 1994: 539-544). The story recounts how the cult members were present at the very first *fono* convened by Tagaloa-a-lagi, the supreme god of the Samoans, in the ninth heaven. Some 1000 *Tufuga* attended and were served the first cup of *kava* (Fraser 1897: 28; Krämer 1995: 543). The *Tufuga* cult was thus accorded the status of *agai o tupu* (companion of gods and kings). *Agai* comes from the word *feagaiga* (facing together); it was this first open faciality that oriented the cult to the progenitor.[20] Not only were the *Tufuga* in charge of making form appear, these skilled craftsmen, whom we might recognise in a Rykwertian sense as the clan of Adam,[21] were expected to keep the gods and kings company. The *Tufuga* cult became known as *Sa Tagaloa* (clan of Tagaloa).

The cult was sometimes granted permission to descend to the islands of Upolu, Savai'i and Manu'a to construct a number of houses and boats,[22] until a few of

17. It is important to note Allen's analysis of Samoan social space, which suggests a formal order that divides the materiality of the world into smaller compartments, "like a pomegranate, a macrocosm which contains within it many macrocosms, the seed that possesses the potential for production" (Allen: 3). She suggests that is how architecture comes about in the work of the *Tufuga:* "Their work, which results in the divided space we call architecture" (157).

18. These were the four parts of their role discussed in Buck (87-96) and Krämer (1995: 266-269).19. According to legends the *Tufuga* cult was the first to be in possession of tools (Krämer 1994: 543).

20. I use Deleuze and Guattari's terminology here because of the equation that the body (*tino)* "is" the face of the ancestor (*foliga*) in Samoan thought (Tui Atua 2009: 71-72): a face does not belong to a single individual but as a membrane/ tissue connected to the ancestor and distributed through the familial tissue, much like the complex machine of faciality as a signifying system in Deleuze and Guattari. See the diagram of Maritime Subjective Authoritarian Face (after Tristan and Isolde) where the face can become a reference point for the system of relations. "A face refers back to a landscape, … recall[s] a painting, … a piece of music" becoming a "faciality line, a consciousness line, a passion line etc." (Deleuze & Guattari, 185)

21. Rykwert's analogy of Adam's house in Paradise suggested that since Adam was exiled from paradise he had to build the first dwelling to protect himself and his children from the elements (118).

22. Tagaloa sent down the *Tufuga* cult to build a boat for his daughter Mataiteite (Steubel: 14-17).

them decided to build a house for the Tui Manu'a – king of Manu'a. This angered the god, who destroyed the house and banished the cult from heaven (Fraser 1897: 28). The forbidden house was a *faletele* (council house) called *Faleula* (red or crimson house; Krämer 1994: 528; Buck, 1930: 84), which was thatched with red feathers. Some believed that the posts were also stained with sacrificial blood. By all accounts, this first house lacked all the rustic naturalism of the primitive hut. It was not a supposed cradle of mankind, but a well-dressed, bright red house that gathered together the first technicians of the Samoan world.

Exiled from heaven and without their traditional home, the cult roamed Samoa, offering their skills to the highest bidder.[23] Its members were – and still are – known for their wanton reputation of moving from patron to patron to be housed, fed and entertained by anyone who wished to acquire their services. Being descendants of a god and companions of kings and princes, these men were afforded respect but were also always seen in a special category of the fallen.

Smoothing and clearing: the light of the world[24]

Members of the Salemalama *Tufuga* clan were present at the *fono* meeting in the ninth heaven (Buck 1930: 84; Handy 1924: 15).[25] In the A'ana district, the title *Salemalama* was thought to have originated from the first house built on Upolu, in the village of Faleolo, for the Tui A'ana (King of A'ana). Members of the Sa'anapu *Tufuga* clan believe the house was built with driftwood found by the *taupou* maiden Lemalama on the seashore, who suggested that they be used by the craftsmen to construct a house for her father Tui A'ana Lilomaiava. The builders' guild was given the title Salemalama (family of Lemalama) thereafter.[26] This first house was named Faleolo,[27] because the sea had smoothed the timber (*olo* means the act of smoothing, or the rasping of something, for instance when timber is being dressed; Pratt 1883: 94).

The Savai'ian version of the story proposes that the Tui A'ana sent for the *Tufuga* brothers Segi, Leifi, Moe and Solofuti from Fitiuta to build his house.[28] This became the first house to be dressed, *olo.* Because the men wore no clothes during construction, they were forbidden to erect the house during the day. Therefore, the house was built at night and at daybreak the house would miraculously appear in various stages of completion (Refiti 2007: 36-37). The Tui A'ana bestowed the title Salemalama upon the brothers at the final feast. It is important to note that the *Tufuga* are experts in manipulating raw materials and bringing the materials to an openness and display, clearing away and presenting the materiality of the world towards the openness of *mamalu* inside the *matai* circle.[29] The *Tufuga* expose things to this co-openness to make them *malama* – whitened or illuminated. Therefore, Salemalama, the title of the first architects, can be read as "the one who exposes the world to the light of the ancestors".

If we look at the name Salemalama itself, we find another meaning. *Sa* (sacred or forbidden in terms of *tapu),* and *malama* (light) suggests the meaning "forbidden to see the light of day".[30] This reinforces the notion that things oriented towards the ancestors are to be exposed/disclosed and made light by being stripped and rubbed, as in the Faleolo house, stained and thatched with redness, as in Faleula, the crimson house, the first house that was brightly lit in heaven like a beacon.

There is an interesting relationship here with tools and tooling that the *Tufuga* activate by way of *to'i* (felling the timber with axes) and the subsequent fash-

23. *Tufuga* were involved in houses made especially for overseas consumption. (See Engels-Schwarzpaul and Wikitera in this issue, p.42)

24. The "light of the world", a basic metaphor for divinity in Egyptian and early Christian thought, was later associated with the European Enlightenment and employed by philosophers such as Husserl, Heidegger and Henry. Being exposed to light, or coming into light, however, is a figure of thought used much more widely, as, for instance, in Samoa.

25. There are 10 heavens in Samoan cosmology, Tagaloa-a-lagi the progenitor resided on the tenth, the *Tufuga* cult built the first house *Faleula* on the ninth, but they lived in the eighth heaven (Turner: 3-9; Fraser: 25-27).

26. This is the belief of the Tufuga clan in Sa'anapu, Upolu, relayed to me by Matua Faiva Faivaaiga Kilifi Iuma in an interview in February 1998.

27. An old village, Faleolo, inland from the Samoan International Airport in the A'ana district, was the most probable location of this house.

28. Fitiuta is located on Manu'a Island where the Tui Manu'a – king of Manu'a – resided. There is a view that Fitiuta in ancient times was actually Fiji.

29. The *malumalu*, a smaller building type which did not differ greatly from the *faletele,* was set aside in every village (later replaced by the Christian chapel) for housing village gods in the form of objects, e.g. stones, baskets, sennit strings. Worship was usually carried out in the family *faletele,* though, where the *matai* chief would act as a priest. (Turner 1984: 240; Freeman 2004: 133)

30. This was the belief of Matua Faiva Segi Tutufaiga of Savai'i, who also suggested that the house was located in Faleolo. (Refiti, 2007: 36)

ioning and dressing with scrapers and adzes made from shells and rocks. The building is broken up into smaller components, so that every detail is worked and smoothed by the tools. With joints and grooves completed, the final work is a gathering of all components to be lashed in place using sennit ropes. Sennit is made of coconut and other natural fibres that have been bleached in the sun and then woven into rope.

One might be curious why so much attention is paid to stripping the timber of its bark and making it smooth, when the more natural state of the timber would give the house a rusticated appearance blending in with the green and lush surroundings. I want to suggest here that the function of smoothing is related to the Samoan notion of *teu*. *Teu* has a number of interrelated meanings: "to adorn", "to embellish", "to save or to store up" (Pratt 1893: 307), and "to cultivate" when used in the plural *teuteu*. When applied to craft, *teu* has to do with smoothing, bleaching and tidiness. *Teu* is commonly associated with fine mats. The finest of fine mats, *'ie sina* or *'ie toga* (Krämer 1995: 342; Tcherkézoff 2004: 167), are made from pandanus leaves soaked in sea water and then left to bleach in the sun; they become lighter in colour, or *sina* (white). A mat made from these materials by an expert weaver is considered the most precious of treasures and becomes the most revered form of *teu* that exists.

Teu happens in the context of relationships invoked by the motto *"ia teu le vā"* (Wendt 1996), which means adorn and embellish the *vā* and the networks of coexistence that are housed by architecture.[31] At the centre of the architecture is a clearing, which allows a co-openness of the *vā* towards the ancestors. Within the circle of the *fa'amatai* is the *mamalu* (dignity) and *pa'ia* (sanctity) of the community. From here emanates the highest form of *mana*. To *teu* is to make things *tatau* (proper), to make them appear in a display before and 'in-front' of this openness of the community. In the context of *"teu le vā"*, all things placed before the community demarcate and fix space towards the ancestors in an orientation, a faciality. What happens immediately behind or away from this openness is "*tausi le vā* (to support or look after the *vā*), which occurs outside the great openness.[32]

The *faletele* was considered to be the most important stage for *teu* (embellishing) the *vā* of the circle of *fa'amatai*. In its construction, bleaching was an important technique. The making of space, by extension, was oriented towards the production of things that were white, smooth and open, because these were to be placed before the circle of the *fa'amatai*, towards the ancestors. *Teu* was also an obligation to perform the rite of clearing, making order from the materiality of the world; to perform is to *teu* in readiness, and in readiness something is stored up, which is the other meaning of *teu*: storing and saving. Architecture has to perform, or *teu*, the co-openness of the *vā*.

Captive whiteness

The architecture of the primitive hut is premised on man's exile from Paradise: he is thrown into the "light of the world",[33] and this gives rise to a future for architecture, which revolves, represents, repeats and progresses without being able to still a lingering nostalgia.[34] In Western metaphysics, the self appears in the world as a being "showing itself … becoming visible in the light … the there of an outside … in the world" (Henry 2008: 84). The exterior nature of the "light of the world", which, as a source of understanding, distinguishes objective thought,

31. See Okusi Mahina's work on the *vā* and its relationship to *tā* in Tongan and Pacific art-making which shares a close relationship with the Samoan notion of *vā.* (Mahina 2002)

32. The work of Ka'ili and others have made what I believe to be a mistaken assumption that *Tauhi le vā* equates to *Teu le vā* (Ka'ili 2005 & 2008). *Teu* in Samoa happens before and in front of the circle of *fa'amatai*; *tauhi* (Tongan), which is *tausi* in Samoan, happens outside this circle, therefore it cannot be *teu;* the wife of a *matai* chief is known as a *tausi* and she sits outside and away from the circle of *fa'amatai*.

33. See note 24.

34. Rykwert makes an analogy to this in Le Corbusier's primitivism. (1981: 15-16)

is reversed in Samoan thinking.[35] Light, as knowledge and understanding in Samoan thought, is not something that comes to us from outside. Rather, it appears as a divine (*pa'ia*) force emanating from an interiority or, more precisely, from a centrality, as discussed above, a co-openness at the heart of the circle of *fa'amatai*. To its glare, objects and the materiality of the world are exposed. Architecture, with its task of *teu*, fashions things towards this centrality, which radiates beauty and order. Following Marshal Sahlins, Tcherkézoff contends that Polynesian notions of beauty emanate from those of chiefly rank: "Such beauty is properly called divine, for … it causes things to be seen" (2004: 122).

> What is a source of light if this source finds nothing to illuminate? What is a god without a world that he has created? ... A light is not seen unless it rests on some being or on some object. In the same way a Polynesian chief without dependants has no existence. But the relationship is directional: one of the participants is the source of light and the other becomes visible because he is illuminated. The dependant finds a way to participate in life (the world of 'light' *Ao*) solely through his relationship to the chief: he is then illuminated ... The same goes for the chief in relation to the gods. (124)

Tcherkézoff describes the figures in the circle of *fa'amatai* as a "source of light", because they are incarnations of gods, heirs to the legacy and names of the ancestors (124). Objects exposed or touched by this very sacred circle become *measina,* luminous-white things. *Measina,* like the Māori tāonga, are highly treasured persons or things. The three most important ones in Samoan thought are, first, fine mats, which are named in relation to a prominent woman of a *matai* family. Secondly, Faleula, discussed above as the first council house built in heaven and thought to be the most important *measina* in origin stories.[36] *Measina* is now used to describe traditional knowledge and art more generally, but this was not the case before European contact. Then, the concept was used only to denote things related to women of important stature: they were thought to be related to the origin of light and whiteness.[37] Therefore, thirdly, the *taupou* (ceremonial virgin) is presumed to possess all virtues of light and whiteness. Because of her value, she was confined to the interior of the *faletele*, attended to by young female assistants and chaperoned by the elderly women of the village. She was the main tenant of the *faletele*: her whiteness was to be preserved under its arched roof. Krämer noted that:

> [The *taupou*] normally does not have to subject herself to coarser work ... That is why … *Sina* (white) is the name of such elevated girls. That also accounts for the slender well cared for hands and the soft velvety skin, constantly kept clean and fragrant by the use of fine perfumed oil prepared especially for her. (1994: 34)

The *taupou*, as *measina,* is to be cared for and cultivated as *teu* (adornment and saving); she is to be dressed and chaperoned for the cultivation of social manners. Confined to the interior of the house, she becomes a captive of the circle of *matai*, and paradoxically this will, in turn, make her increase the finesse and lightness that are required of *measina*. *Measina,* as the bleaching and whitening of the materiality of the world, turns things and people into treasures, to be presented and touched and exchanged by the ancestor-beings that sit at the circle of *fa'amatai*.

35. See Michel Henry's radical revision of metaphysics in his *Material Phenomenology*, which breaks away from representation (exteriority) as a mode of articulating the self; he advocates a radical immanence (interiority) based on affectivity – a self for itself. (Henry 2008: 130)

36. *Faleula* is now used to describe the gathering of important *matai* of all of Samoa.

37. This was the meaning of the name *Sina* (Hina, Tina, Hine), which is the most common name for the heroine of Polynesian mythology. In these stories *Sina* is usually described as a young virgin highly prized for her virtues and courted by gods, men and creatures – the most famous in Polynesia being the story of *Sina and the Tuna*.

At the house's *mata*, or central interior focus, people and things are exposed to the co-openness of the circle of *fa'amatai*. The most central spot, the inner-most part of the house is, paradoxically, also the most public of places.[38] Interiority becomes externalised, everything is drawn towards, and exposed in, this grand internal openness. However, this interiority is externalised again: space does not recede into an interior but is *thrown* back onto the surface of the world. So is time: the past, the time of the ancestors, is not located in the vanishing horizon of a time that was, but takes place in the present. It endures in what Albert Wendt describes as the "ever-moving-present" (1996).[39] This is the mode in which space and time function in Samoan architecture. The house cannot be fixed in time.

The *matai* or chief is the spatial and temporal manifestation that enables ancestors to be here in the present. The *faletele* and the mythical Faleula are one-and-the-same house, an architectural construct that *teu* the present towards the ancestor. *Teu*, in this house, occurs first by providing, storing and saving the time of the ancestors in its interior, making the circle of *fa'amatai* possible under its roof. Secondly, it displaces and discloses this time in the present. The world is adorned, from the centre to the periphery, by lighting it up and obliterating the shadowy materiality of the world.

Architecture: central openness

So, what role does architecture perform? In Samoan thought, architecture is first and foremost an apparatus, which sets out and sets in motion the becoming-ancestor. As a technical apparatus, it performs by locating points, or situatedness, in the ever-moving present and articulating time through space. The simultaneity and ubiquity of the ancestors is momentarily focused and housed. Points (*mata*) alone fashion the plan of the house: they are the posts that denote ancestors and become the generator of space. The materiality of the world is corralled around these points, shaping a hut, a building. The building is *measina,* of whiteness. It is also *teu*, of smoothness. By being smoothed and whitened, the materiality of the world comes to face the ancestors. The architectural apparatus performs by *teu*.[40]

A collection of individuals gathered in space is a neighbourhood of ancestor-becoming, which each must always orient to the other in an open faciality, within the co-openness of the *vā*.

Houses orient us. In Samoa, *Faleula, faletele* and *faleafolau* fix the orientation of the world, they force the body to orient itself to a central openness. There is something in the centre, which will never escape our gaze: rather, it will seize our gaze. Samoa's primitive hut allows *matai* to be gathered close to this central openness. One cannot get any closer to the centre when one sits in the *faletele* in a group. One's *tua* (back) must rest on a post, the ancestor, so that one's back is concealed, or, to put it in another way, one's back is taken. With one's back taken, one is now opened up and made into a face – made to face other faces, one's companions in the circle. Openness, now, is not something located elsewhere, but right there, on the faces of the others. All are oriented towards the ancestors. In establishing this orientation, architecture plays a particular role. It ensures, through the circulation of time and space, that origins are articulated and dispersed. Origins are everywhere, all the time.

38. I have discussed this central space elsewhere as being a forked centre. (Refiti 2008)

39. Present-ness becomes radical exteriority, which complicates a simple reading of the binary opposition between interior and exterior. (Richter 2007: 119)

40. The other meaning of *teu* is "to put away" (Pratt) or to store away when items pertaining to *teu* are not on display.

Glossary

agai	to face or head towards something or another person
alofi sā	sacred circle
fa'amatai	hierarchy of ancestral names and titles associated with rule and government of Samoan society
faleafolau	long council meeting house
fale agai	building contract
faletele	oval or round council meeting house
Faleula	ritual name of the first house, meaning the "crimson house"
feagaiga	a sacred covenant, usually between brother and sister
fono	a council meeting
malama	light, illumination
mamalu	dignity
manufili	building scaffolding
mata	eye or centre
matai	an individual vested with an ancestral name
measina	treasure or a thing of utmost value
olo, olo'olo	smoothing, honing or rasping
pa'ia	sanctity
paepae	house platform
Salemalama	name of a branch of the builders' guild
Sa Tagaloa	ritual name for the builders' guild
Tagaloa-a-lagi, Tagaloa	Samoan god
to'i	axe, adze
tāonga	Māori word for treasure
tapu	sacred or forbidden
tatau	proper or apt
tau	to arrive or to count, also time of the seasons
teu	adorn or embellish, also to put or store away
Tufuga, Tufuga-fau-fale	builders' guild
tua	back or behind
vā	opening between or space between, to denote relationships

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Tauhi Vā: The first space

Charmaine ‘Ilaiu

In memory of my *kainga Tonga* aboard the MV Princess Ashika, tragically lost to the *moana vavale* during the final course of this paper. I dedicate these reflections of our *tala ‘o Tonga* to your passing *vā* with your *kainga ‘ofa ‘anga. ‘Ofa ange ‘ae ‘Otua ké Ne tataki ho’o fononga lolotonga ‘etau māvae, ‘ofa atu.*

Introduction

In ‘weaving’ together an architectural, cultural, archaeological and anthropological understanding of *fale* in Tonga, *tauhi vā* — maintaining beautiful social relations — is the essential underlying strand. *Tauhi vā* motivates certain *fakalahi*, or spatial enlargements, *teuteu*, or materialisations, *fakalokiloki,* or designated[2] spaces, and the application of *‘inasi.*[3] *‘Inasi* is a Tongan practice of appropriating architecture from non-original sources to advance indigenous intentions. *Fakalahi, fakalokiloki, teuteu* and *‘inasi* become outcomes that are not exclusively architectural, when *tauhi vā* informs *fale* architecture. Thus, the very concept of a ‘primitive hut,’ key to Rykwert’s thinking of architectural origins, may become an erroneous opening for discussion of Tongan architectural origins. Rather, such discussion could begin specifically with a Tongan understanding of ‘first space’: the realm of *kakai*, or people and their society.

The closing remarks in Rykwert’s book concerning “ … why we build and what we build for … ” gain pertinence in this respect (1972: 192). Since laymen are the primary commissioners and designers of domestic *fale* in Tonga, Rykwert’s appeal to an essential question of building can be responded to by investigating the laymen’s *fale*, as this paper aims to present. The question as to whether it is the architect or in Adolf Loos’s term, the “peasant” who holds more “tulleric wisdom” or *“Ausgeglichenheit* ” (27); or a discussion of “first men” having, as Le Corbusier terms it, “unadulterated reason” remains as a future discussion with respect to Tongan architecture and comparative study[4] (16). However, as a fundamental tenet of Tongan culture (Ka’ili 2007: 17), *tauhi vā* will unlikely be superceded in the making of Tongan domestic architecture, whether it be a specialist or layman who initiates the *fale*.

Perhaps *tauhi vā* may be thought of, in Rykwert’s terms, as a perpetuated ‘paradigm of building’. But again there is a nuanced thought: *tauhi vā* is not only about ‘building’ per se but the ‘making’ of Tongan architecture. ‘Making’ here implies a freedom to invent new architectural models rather than being fixed to a *modus operandi* of architecture. *Tauhi vā* substantiates these inventions, rejecting on the one hand the loaded label of ‘primitivism’ and, on the other, a notion of making as mere experiment. Guided by Tongan architectural history, the paradigm of making shows that the *fale* form certainly changes in correlations with Tongan’s *tauhi vā* in differing historical and socio-political settings.

1. ‘Making’ is more appropriate than just ‘build’, since *tauhi vā* can permeate the different stages of the *fale’s* realisation: conception, organisation internally and externally on site, materialization and building ethic.

2. The designation of rooms in a Tongan *fale* does not fix one purpose to a room, instead it demarcates a space for several appropriate activities. *Tauhi vā* helps to define what is ‘appropriate’ for a particular social engagement.

3. *‘Inasi* is a framework the author is developing to present an indigenous understanding of why Tongans appropriate non-original architecture; this paper continues to build this framework. Refer to ‘Ilaiu (2009) for further reading.

4. Ironically the concerns of Loos and Le Corbusier with ‘architectural baggage’ is already proven ‘nostalgic’ in Tonga’s case, since the *fale* of the Tongan laymen was inspired by non-original sources, even before Western contact. The more recent appropriations now include the Western-styled *fale*, including *fale ‘Amelika*, sourced from industrialised cities: Auckland, Honolulu etc (‘Ilaiu 2009). This may be seen to complicate the notion of architectural primitivism and simplicity implied in Loos and Le Corbusier’s commentaries.

'Uluaki vā: first space

Tauhi vā, which this paper acknowledges as the 'first' space of Moana[5] or Oceanic people, is discussed in the recent work of Tongan socio-anthropologist, Dr. Tevita Ka'ili *Tauhi Vā: Creating Beauty through the Art of Sociospatial Relations* (2007). Ka'ili builds upon the work of anthropologists Alessandro Duranti (1997); Helen Morton (1996); Heather Young Leslie (2002); Okusi Mahina (2004); poet Albert Wendt (1999); economist Sitiveni Halapua (2000); educator Konai Helu Thaman (2004), to name a few. They describe *vā* primarily as a relational socio-space (all referenced in Ka'ili 2007: 18-26). V*ā* is not exclusive to Tonga, since other cultures, including Japanese, Samoan and Māori, have a similar concept (Refiti 2009; Ka'ili 2007: 20). Concentrating on the Tongan condition, it is Tongan anthropologist Dr. 'Okusitino Mahina's *tā* and *vā* theory of time and space, which Ka'ili engages to explain *vā* as "… relational space between two time-markers (*tā*). It is a space that is fashioned through the relationship between time-markers – beats, things, or people." (Mahina 2004) *Vā*, in its widest sense, is the space between two bodies or entities, and 'the nature' of that relationship. By *tauhi* — literally meaning to nurture or maintain — the *vā* — or relational space in-between — a person can create harmony or beauty, particularly when there is a symmetrical or mutual exchange of *tauhi vā* in return.

The harmony is heightened when one maintains her connections to all of Tongan society. Mahina describes society as the horizontal *vā* to *'api*, or immediate family, and *kainga*, or kin. Simultaneously, as Mahina explains, society also maintains vertical relationship to *'eiki*. The divine representations of *'eiki* were once the high chiefs and now at national level they are represented by Tongan royalty and aristocrats. In addition, *'eiki* at a local level are the esteemed elders of one's immediate family: including *fahu* (female) or *'ulumotu'a* (male) (Mahina 1992). A Tongan can *tauhi*, or nurture his *vā* by performing social duties, or *fatongia* through these relationships. In performing *fatongia*, one reaps from the reciprocal or cyclical benefits of *mālie*, or beauty, *ongoongo,* or recognition, *lāngilangi,* or honour — the latter two are interchangeable with the Māori meaning of mana (Ka'ili 2007: 16; Mahina 2004). There is a Tongan saying, "*tu'a e sinó ka oku 'eiki 'a e fatongiá*": a person may be a commoner but his *fatongia* has chiefly status. This shows how fulfilling social duty becomes "… a source of honor and dignity, and a mark of good citizenship …" (Ka'ili 2007: 33). These various *fatongia* permeate Tongan society at familial level, locally, nationally, and internationally. Consequently, these social strata and exchanges influence Tongan architecture. *Tauhi vā* is an extensive topic, which exceeds the scope of this paper. However, to bridge an understanding of *tauhi vā*'s significant role in making Tongan domestic architecture, this paper responds firstly to critical notions raised in Rykwert's book, and concludes by investigating how *tauhi vā* makes the Tongan *fale*.

Neither paradisiacal nor primitive

In nurturing a good *vā*, one arrives at a state of *nonga,* or peace, *mālie*, *ongoongo, lāngilangi.* These aspects represent Tongan *palataisi*[6], or paradise. For this reason, the idealised Pacific hut in an idyllic paradisiacal setting is nostalgic and a one-dimensional image of Moana architecture. Hence, *palataisi* does not begin with scenery or architecture but is attained when one maintains good *vā* with others. So, when *tauhi vā* informs the making of the *fale,* architecture participates in a paradisaical moment. Paradise, then, according to the Tongan psyche is a state of

5. The author uses *Moana*, or Ocean instead of Pacific, because it empowers Pacific people in postcolonial discourse, which does not reference colonial naming and territories. The Tongan scholar, Epeli Hau'ofa, inspired this indigenous re-naming in his book *A new Oceania: Rediscovery Our Sea of Islands* (1993) which scholars use in support of this vision and according to its literal meaning.

6. The Tongan word for 'paradise' highlights that *pālataisi* is a non-indigenous term, perhaps introduced by early European travellers having visited the 'exotic' island setting. Historically the Tongan language describes the emotions and traits which this author attributes to the notion of paradise: *ongoongo, lāngilangi* and *nonga*. The linguistic variety of Tongan words used to express one western idea suggests an architectural parallel, where the Tongan *fale* and its various architectural traces do not objectify or clump an architectural experience.

being and not necessarily a physical setting in which to reside. The architectural outcomes of *tauhi vā* can be seen as attempts to achieve such paradise: *'inasi, teuteu, fakalokiloki* and *fakalahi*. To ensure the integrity of *tauhi vā*, these architectural attributes should not operate independently or be used to justify the *tauhi vā* of a *fale*.

Tonga's *'uluaki*, or first *fale* which, in Rykwert's terminology, may be thought of as a 'primitive hut', was not the now iconic and familiar *fale Tonga (*Fig. 1):

> This structure has a curved roof … [demarcating] an oval floor plan [below]. The roof supported by an even number of *pou*, or posts, arranged in a double row, offset from the perimeter of the house. On top of these posts there are a series of cross beams, from which struts rise to support the eaves. [The roof structure lashed beautifully using *'uli*, black and *kula*, red coloured sennit.] Non-structural *pou* and *pola* panels, or plaited coconut and sometimes sugarcane leaves enclose the circular interior. The main entry was a curtained opening, located centrally in one of the longer wall spans. Often there are side openings through the round ends into the *leke*, or private rooms. ('Ilaiu 2007: 26)

Although this *fale Tonga* was popularized as the paradigm for domestic buildings from the nineteenth century until the late twentieth century, narratives collected by contemporary historians, architectural researchers and commentaries of early explorers identify earlier buildings as Tonga's *'uluaki* fale (Potungaue Ako 2005; Kaloni 1990; Tuita 1988; Ferdon 1987; Anderson 1983; Anderson in Cook 1955-67; Ellis 1782). Today the domestic *fale Tonga* is rarely commissioned by families and many *fale Tonga* are left dilapidated or used only as ancillary structures to a new Western *fale* ('Ilaiu 2007: 26-68). This suggests that Tongan laymen no longer consider the *fale Tonga* as the ideal physical representation of their *'api*. Certainly Tongans have moved on to other *fale* models to support their *fatongia* of *tauhi vā*, such as *fale 'Amelika* that will be discussed in concluding this paper. Thus, the once paradigmatic formal model of the *fale Tonga* coupled with its antecedent forebears and its non-first-house status, complicates a simple transposition of Rykwert's understanding of the primitive hut as the image of perpetual reconstruction to a Tongan setting. Rather the Tongan *fale* is conceived first in the *kakai* space of *tauhi vā*, before it can be considered as a structural translation into the realm of architecture.

Tauhi *vā* makes architecture

The nuances of *tauhi vā* are best understood through Tongan conduct and ceremonies in customised *fatongia*. The designated ritual areas, the movement paths, arranged seating areas and the various tasks outlined by *fatongia* organize a *fale's* layout accordingly. Existing *fale* are modified over time to suit and new buildings are acquired or constructed because they help inhabitants carry out their *fatongia* of *tauhi vā*. As a corollary discussion, the architectural outcomes of *tauhi vā*: *fakalahi, fakalokiloki, teuteu* and *'inasi* are therefore the architectural means to fulfil *tauhi vā*. It is important to acknowledge that each *fale* has its time and place in Tongan architectural history. *Tauhi vā* can influence the *fale's* conception from original or non-original sources, considered in terms of *'inasi, teuteu* or the materialisation of the *fale*, the *fakalokiloki* or designated spaces and its increased scale or *fakalahi*, as it responds to the specific social, cultural and political milieu of the *fale*.

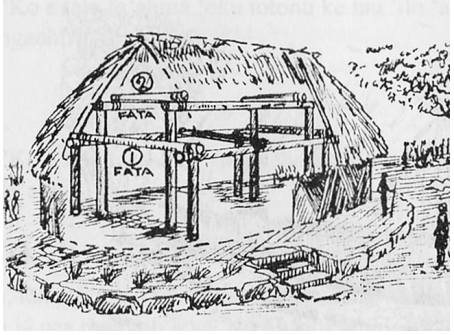

Fig. 1: Fale Tonga. Courtesy of Potungaue Ako (Ministry of Education, Tonga) 2005

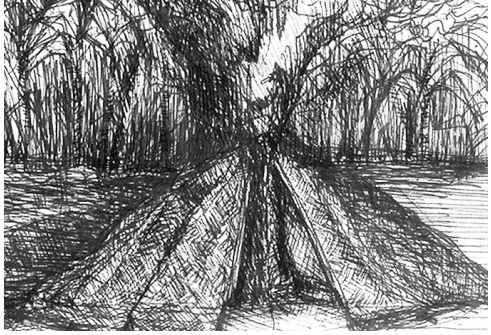

Fig. 2: Fale faka-Hekeheke. Drawing: 'Ilaiu 2009

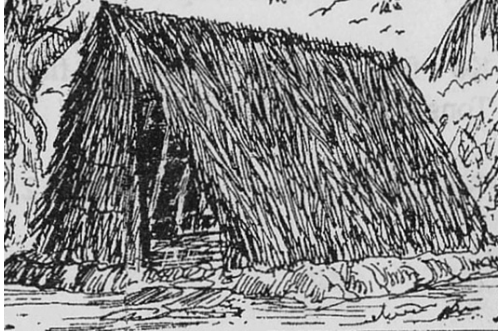

Fig. 3: Fale Hunuki. Courtesy of Potungaue Ako (Ministry of Education, Tonga) 2005

In his quoting of Vitruvius, Rykwert implies an evolutionist or progressivist development of architecture from rude beginnings to ever-improved refinements. Hence, his reference to the refinement of ideas and craft, from " … confused and wandering ideas … " to a certain " … reasoning of symmetry" (Rykwert 1972: 106). This evolutionary paradigm implies that the constructions of earlier societies may be mere huts, lacking substantial conceptual or structural significance. However, such a paradigm requires a holistic understanding of dwelling in its more complex socio-cultural milieu. This paper aims to address such holism in discussion of the *'uluaki* Tongan *fale: fale Hunuki, fale faka-Hekeheke*, *fale faka-Funa* and *fale Fa'ahiua*, emphasising that *tauhi vā* is the architectural substance of these early *fale*.

The Tongan architect Solomone Tuita suggests that the first *fale* was the *fale faka-Hekeheke* (Fig. 2), which he describes as being built around a tree:

> Branches from local vegetation were broken at the same length and the manner of construction was simple. One end of a broken branch was sharpened to a point and pierced the ground at an incline plane and the tops of these branches leaned inwards supported by a tree's trunk. The roof was covered with leaves, thick enough to keep the sun and rain out, and the floor, with layers of leaves, comfortable enough to sleep on. The basic function of this shelter was for sleeping at night and to provide shade from the sun during the day. (Tuita 1988: 40)

The New Zealand architect, Andrew Anderson, in his architectural thesis written before Tuita's work, begins with the *fale Hunuki* [7] as " … possibly the oldest form of shelter constructed" (Anderson 1983: 58) (Fig. 3). This is the commonly held view, as the educational Tongan history textbook *'Tala 'o Tonga'* explains that European explorers saw " … *fa'ahinga fale kehekehe na'e nofo ai a'e kakai he matātahi* … ": many different *fale* that people lived in by the sea. The *fale Hunuki* was " … *sipinga malohi … faka'aonga'i lahi 'i he taimi afā … "*: a strong typology, useful during cyclone times (Potungaue Ako 2005: 42). Structurally, the *fale Hunuki* differed from the *fale faka-Hekeheke* using a constructed post that replaced the tree, which Anderson calls " ... an architectural column positioned at the centre of the entry into the hut" (Anderson 1983: 58). This new column raised the roof entirely off the ground by resting also on top of a smaller post at the opposite end.

Anderson explains further that the structure consisted of " … rafters forming the roof and walls going from the ground up to a junction at the apex, and lashed together poles of 65 -100 with cross members lashed longitudinally" (58). This *fale* had a roof that was covered " ... with grass ... woven in layers similar to a mat" (Tuita 1988: 41). According to oratory, the *fale Hunuki* is the first rectangular planned *fale*, providing a larger interior space than its predecessors (44; Anderson 1983: 58, Lolo 2007). The structural lift from 'natural' ground level and support 'structures' highlights an improving expertise, but more importantly the desire for a larger interior space.

7. *Hunuki* is a word used to describe an object that pierces into a surface.

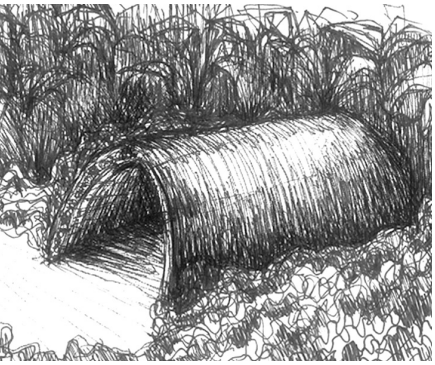

Fig. 4: Fale faka-Funa. Drawing: 'Ilaiu 2009."

The *fale faka-Funa* (Fig. 4), perhaps contemporaneous with the *fale Hunuki*, continued the tradition of wall and roof being one architectural element. Tuita points out that the *fale Hunuki* differed with the inclusion of two posts in the " ... centre of each end with a beam across on top … " (Tuita 1988: 41). However, the *fale faka-Funa* was achieved " … by using curved posts — two in each end facing inward to form an arch-type structure ... " with harvested vegetation covering this curving structure (Tuita 1988: 41), as the *fale Hunuki's* slanting roof allowed only a small volume of space at the rear end and was only used for sleeping. The *fale faka-Funa's* arching structure provided a uniform and again larger interior space, particularly with the two end posts now eliminated. Clearly, these *'uluaki fale* express the occupant's persistent desire for *fakalahi.*

Professor Futa Helu, a renowned Tongan scholar, suggests that prior to Western contact the idea of the nuclear family in Tonga did not exist: "It was never society … " since it is only a social unit that is " … on the way to society" (Helu 1999: 123). He elaborates on his position by emphasizing that Tongan society was made up of " … interacting groups of people … " of shared interests (Helu 1999: 121-124). This understanding helps to explain the small scale of earlier *fale,* which according to the available narratives must have accommodated approximately one to four reclined people at most. These first *fale* would have operated as an entity within a larger community of buildings. Hence *tauhi vā* had to operate more outwardly suggesting residents nurtured their *vā* with others beyond the walls of their own *fale*. This is conceivable since daily activities were more communal, operating on an outdoor *mala'e*, or open space or under larger structures. These may have been the double-height buildings that the early European explorer Ellis describes in his accounts as being " … fifty to sixty feet long, but only from sixteen to eighteen feet wide" (Ellis 1782: 75; Ferdon 1987: 18; Barnes and Green 2008: 29). The early *fale* is thus conceived of as a place of solitude where a person may look after her internal *vā* by, for example, being still and resting from sun. Regardless of their scale and simple construction, *fale faka-Hekeheke*, *fale Hunuki, fale faka-Funa* are significant in their accord with *tauhi vā.*

Archaeology settlement patterns would assist in developing a greater understanding of how *tauhi vā* organised the community of early *fale*. However Tongan archaeological records extend currently to ancestral and historical narratives, comprising information about burial grounds, road systems and floor depths of singular *fale* floors (Barnes and Green 2009; Burley 1998; Spennemann 1987). The raised floors are said to have been between 0.15m and 0.30m thick (Spennemann 1988: 40), which oratory and historical accounts explain were layers of sennit, coconut leaves and then woven pandanus mats (Lolo 2007; Ferdon 1987: 20; Cook 1955-67). Unlike Samoa's house mounds, which distinguish the house of a chief from the commoner, archaeological evidence on Tongatapu suggests that Tongans did not build large mounds for their chiefs (Barnes and Green 2008). Instead, one excavation revealed a sequence of layers of the normal type and thickness, representing 13 house floors. This indicates that Tongans constructed their houses in one location over a long period of time (Spennemann 1988: 41). The *fale's* fixed position and preferred site highlights an *'api's* connection to *fonua*, or land and the favourable *vā* to others in the vicinity, such as the chief's *'api* ('Ilaiu 2007: 20). These *'uluaki fale* were no longer built[8], from perhaps the early nineteenth century when other *fale* types became more desirable. However, the *'uluaki fale* did set an architectural precedence of *fakalahi* for the next

8. A contemporary temporal structure used for shade from the mid-day heat at plantations is called fale Hunuki; however its stylistic variety and scale indicates only nominal connections.

series of *fale*. These next models move their roof structures entirely off the ground, hence increasing an internal volume, reflecting greater emphasis on accommodating *tauhi vā.*

In the early 1800s, Tonga experienced significant socio-political changes as it moved away from a decentralised tribal system, to a more kingdom-nation, with greater emphasis on immediate kin and gender roles of individuals (Helu 1999: 319; Kaeppler 1999: 15; Gailey 1987: 178-188; Tuita 1988: 43-45). Certainly, this socio-political context significantly influenced the development of the next *fale*, as *tauhi vā* became more stratified. Helu suggests it was " … a new society that looked more to the land and less to the seas, a society which was becoming rigidly organized [into *'api* or family units], more centralised, and increasingly hierarchical [with more available aristocratic titles for commoners]" (Helu 1999: 128). As society changed, the *fale* appears to have increased in scale, expanding its internal purposes. Concurrently, the *'api* and its *kainga* mirrored the socio-politics of Tongan society at a micro-level within the *fale*. For example, the *tauhi vā* towards an individual with *'eiki* status — historically, the title of a village chief — is now represented by elders of a family, such as *fahu* and *'ulumotu'a* (Mahina 2009). Consequently, the *fatongia* to an *'eiki* — which functioned only in a *mala'e* and communal *fale* — can alternatively be conducted within the immediate realm of an *'api*'s *fale*. Hence, the *fakalahi* of the *fale* allowed such *fatongia* to continue 'domestically', as the subsequent *fale: fale fa'ahiua, fale faka-Fisi, fale faka-Tonga* and *fale faka-Manuka* exemplify. These models become more exclusive with defined openings and wall elements, as Tongans apply *teuteu* and *fakalokiloki*. However, these enclosed features are actually installed because the family want to *tauhi vā* with the wider community under its roof. From the *fale Fa'ahiua* onwards, it becomes clear that the Tonga *fale* 'domesticates' the communal aspects of *tauhi vā*. Therefore these 'community'-orientated *fale* are best understood by the customs and ceremonies that accomplish *tauhi vā.*

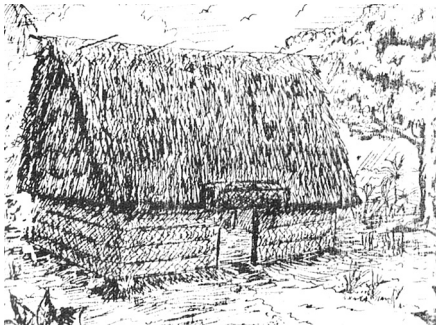

Fig. 5: Fale Fa'ahiua. Courtesy of Potungaue Ako (Ministry of Education, Tonga) 2005

9. Koloa, meaning 'treasure', describes women's labour or what they produce. Their koloa includes, amongst other items, weaving mats and baskets, tapa making and coconut oil manufacture. Men's ngāue are 'masculine' tasks: heavy lifting, outdoor cooking, fishing, boat and house building. Refer to Gailey (2003).

10. *Fa'ahiua* literally means something with two sides. This refers to the gabled roof and its two sides as opposed to a uniform oval roof. Note that some references have misspelt this *fale* as 'Fa'ahiva'.

Tauhi vā: *fale* for one's *fatongia*

The study of gender roles in Tonga is widely researched by Helu and Mahina, and anthropologists Christine Gailey and Elizabeth Bott (Gailey 2003; Helu 1999; Mahina 1992; Bott 1982). A particular example of Tonga's *fatongia* with respect to gender within the *'api* is the duty of a Tongan women to collect and store her valuable *koloa, including* bark cloth, fine mats etc[9]. Her production, collection and storage of *koloa* are important to *tauhi vā.* For example, a woman nurtures her family's relationship with others when she exchanges her *koloa* at a ceremony. Reciprocally, when her *koloa* is received, this honours her ethic and *'api* with *lāngilangi.* She is respected, according to anthropologist Ping Ann Addo, as a 'good Tongan' woman (Addo 2004: iv). Therefore *koloa*'s storage in a *fale* is very important for *tauhi vā.* The indigenous *fale Fa 'ahiua*[10] *ensured this important fatongia* was accommodated, as a historical narrative describes: *" na'e fa'u hono fata ki 'olunga 'a ia ne ngaue 'aki ki hono tuku ai 'a e koloa faka-Tonga kae 'ata pe 'a e fale ki he nofo 'anga"* (Fig. 5). In translation this means: the *fale Fa'ahiua*'s *fata*, or roof beam, was constructed above to create an area for the storage of *koloa* and allowed more room for many more people to commune (Potungaue Ako 2005: 43). The same narrative suggests that for these reasons the *fale Fa'ahiua* or *fakalakalaka* advanced the smaller *fale Hunuki* (43).

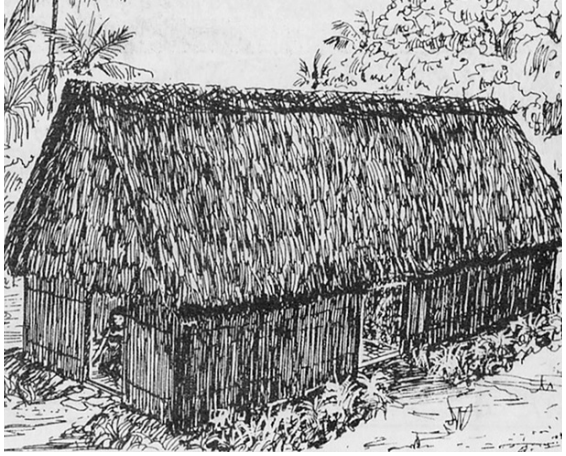

Fig. 6: Fale faka-Fisi. Courtesy of Potungaue Ako (Ministry of Education, Tonga) 2005

Fig. 7: Putu, or funeral ceremony in village of Pea. Living room converted into a focal area of ceremony where deceased lies. Photo: 'Ilaiu 2007, Tonga

The *fale Fa'ahiua* was popular between 1820 and the early 1830s (Gailey 1987: 178-188; Tuita 1988: 43-45). Tuita suggests a relationship between Tongan contemporary social hierarchy and the verticality of the *fale*. He interprets the *fale*'s vertical elevation off the ground as a Tongan desire to be free from customary social pressures and from being "buried" in their earlier low lying dwellings (46). Tuita's interpretation refers to the earlier obligations to chiefs, which the kingship government centralised with one line of royalty and selected nobles. Tongan people, having been released from their many chiefly obligations, could now focus their efforts on their own family and *fale*. Thus the *fale Fa'ahiua* reflects this interesting shift, the structural complexity suggesting the strengthening networks within the local vicinity. The *fale Fa'ahiua*'s structural verticality, complex roof structure, jointing and cladding systems reflect the wealth of ideas, skills and labour available in the community to build an *'api*'s *fale*. The building process is an important time for *tauhi vā*, and involves many opportunities for *kainga* and neighbours to fulfil *fatongia*. For example, to ensure an efficient working party, a prior *fatongia* involves collecting raw materials to fabricate the building elements, such as coconut fronds, which are then plaited to create the wall cladding. Another important *vā* for the host family to *tauhi* is the harvesting and preparation of food for the labourers during these weeks of construction (Gifford 1929: 145). This community build encouraged neighbours to *tauhi vā*. Assisting a neighbour's *fale* reciprocally secured workers for one's own *fale*.

Tauhi vā: *fale* for kin

The *vā* between *tuonga'ane* and *tuofefine*, or a brother and sister is historically the most esteemed relationship in Tongan society, nurtured by *faka'apa'apa* or respect (Helu 1997: 121). In particular for architecture, the *faka'apa'apa* between *tuonga'ane* and *tuofefine* organises where each kin sleeps and, to some extent, how they dwell. For example, at the onset of puberty the brother moves to the most distant sleeping quarter from his sister as a sign of *faka'apa'apa*. In doing so, the brother's *tauhi vā* maintains good relations with his sister and parents, whilst he is acknowledged and respected reciprocally for his appropriate Tongan etiquette.

During the popularity of *fale Fa'ahiua*, another model — the *fale faka-Fisi* — was appropriated from Fiji (Fig. 6) (Potungaue Ako 2005: 44). As an example of *'inasi*, Tongan people manako, or found the Fijian *fale* appealing because it was stronger. It also offered more room than the *fale Fa'ahiua* and was *fakalokiloki*, or organised into rooms (44). Thus, according to this narrative, the *fale faka-Fisi* set the precedence for the iconic *fale Tonga*, as described earlier, with rooms on curved ends and a general central space. This *fakalokiloki* supported the *tauhi vā* between *tuonga'ane* and *tuofefine* because the sister and brother can sleep separately when

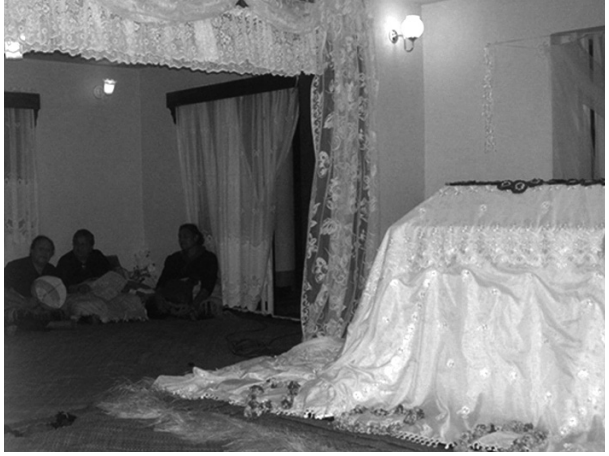

Fig. 8: Putu, ceremony in village of Pea. The hall way becomes a processional space, waiting/seating area for guests who have arrived. It is also a place to move koloa, as seen above, from presentation area to a bedroom converted storage area. Photo: 'Ilaiu 2007, Tonga"

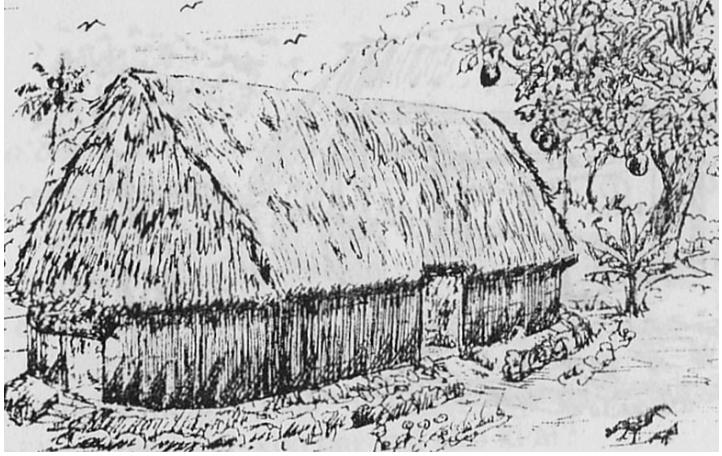

Figure 9: Fale faka-Manuka. Courtesy of Potungaue Ako (Ministry of Education, Tonga) 2005

needed. This custom also gave rise to the 'boy's hut', which is a smaller building commonly built near the main *fale* ('Ilaiu 2007: 54). This particular *tauhi va* persist in the organisation of the living arrangements of contemporary Western *fale*, such as the *fale 'Amelika*. This *fatongia* between kin has been considered architecturally in several ways: designating the most distant rooms within a *fale* to *tuonga'ane* and *tuofefine*, a modified garage space or as seen in Tongan villages now as an accompanying makeshift *fale* made out of coconut fronds beside a Western-style *fale* (54).

Tauhi vā: *fale* for ceremonies

Tongans have many ceremonies conducted in the *fale*, including *putu*, or funerals, *mali*, or wedding ceremonies, *fai lotu*, religious services, *kai pola* or banquets. All require different eating, ceremonial, gift collection and kava arrangements. For example, the *putu* includes an *'a pó* or a wake and *fai lotu* which could span from a week to a month in the *fale* area. Often the actual burial date occurs in the middle of that month with a *fai lotu* and *'a pó* prior, then post-burial there is another week or two of *fai lotu*. A Tongan funeral establishes *fatongia* for those involved. In fulfilling these ceremonial duties one ensures *tauhi vā* or the maintenance of good relationships, particularly with the family of the deceased. Ceremonies require an open and adaptable space to carry out *fatongia*, *viz*., food preparation, cooking, gift exchange and presentation, kava ceremony, religious ceremony, and the seating of the chorus and general guests (Figs. 7 and 8).

Therefore, the desire of early Tongans to *fakalahi* shows their concern for such ceremonies. The ideal *fale* would be a versatile interior with easy access to outdoor space, where ancillary shelters can be easily erected around the main *fale*. The partitioned interior of the early *fale faka-Fisi* with two rooms would suit the variety of areas that an *'api* requires. According to Anderson's commentary, in the early days the *fale Fa'ahiua* was re-used after its peak period as an ancillary structure to the new *fale faka-Tonga* (Anderson 1983: 55). Nowadays, tarpaulin structures are often erected for these outdoor activities. For these ceremonial reasons, *tauhi vā* prompted a *fale*'s *fakalahi*.

Another significant aspect, particularly for the next two models, is *teuteu*, or the adornment of a *fale*. The materialisation of a *fale* must consider its external appearance and how it reflects the family within. A *"ma'opo'opo"* or neat and securely fabricated *fale* shows the family's good working relationship (Taumoefolau 2007), as well as *fakapotopoto* or responsible Tongans. When ceremonies are hosted by a *fale,* the building inevitably is an observed building by community guests. Hence, *teuteu* is very important. In maintaining good relations, Ton-

gan people often adorn their *fale* to ensure the public's favourable opinion. The Samoan phrase, *teu le vā* has the same meaning as *tauhi vā*; however *teu*, meaning to adorn, is more pertinent for this notion of *teuteu* (Refiti 2009; Ka'ili 2007: 18). Hence, in 'dressing' the *fale*, a family also adorns its socio-relational space or *vā* with its community, as the next two *fale* exemplify.

The *fale faka-Tonga*[11] and the *fale faka-Manuka* appear the same from the outside but structurally their roof members are slightly different (Fig. 9). The *fale faka-Tonga* used *teke tau 'olunga*, or vertical struts, supported by *langa*, or beams, whilst the *fale faka-Manuka's* roof had three *teke*, or angle struts, supported on three *langa*. By employing a range of materials, Tongans *teuteu* their *vā*. The difficulty of sourcing and applying the material gave the selection greater value. For example, the *'api* gained more status when the family chose *au*, or sugarcane leaves instead of *lou niu*, or coconut branches for the roof cladding because *au* was rare (Potungaue Ako 2005: 44; Taumoefolau 2007). The internal roof structure of the *fale faka-Tonga* and *fale faka-Manuka* displayed the wealth and power of high-ranking Tongans, particularly in the complex *kupesi*, or design produced by the *lalava*, or lashings that held the roof members together (Kaloni 1990: 47). The *kupesi* also conveyed stories from the owner's heritage (Lolo 2007). In this way *tauhi vā* materialised the *fale* and promoted the *'api*. Early European explorers observed the variety of *fale* that signified their occupants' social status. The English missionary William Ellis claimed that dwelling size depended on wealth and rank of the inhabitants (Ellis 1782: 75). Furthermore, the explorer William Anderson described the houses of the lower class as small huts (Anderson in Cook 1955-74: 935). In this way *teuteu* became a dressing to reflect the status of its residents, an important aspect for *tauhi vā*.

Tauhi vā: *fale* across the *Moana*

Sometimes *tauhi vā* also applied *'inasi*, *viz*., the *fale faka-Fisi* from Fiji, *fale faka-Manuka* from the Manu'a Islands of Samoa[12], and more recently the *fale 'Amelika* from the United States of America (Fig. 10). The earlier *fale* were appropriated because they provided larger interiors for communal activities within *fale*. The *fale faka-Manuka* arrived during a time of inter-marriage between Tongan chiefs and Samoa's elite women (Potungaue Ako 2005: 49). In this nuptial arrangement, *" … na'a nau langa ai ha ngaahi fale tautau mo honau fale 'i Ha'amoa"*: they [Samoan residents in Tonga] built *fale* according to their *fale* in Samoa (49). Most likely the *fale* was seen as a 'gift' from Samoa to Tonga. In this case the appropriation of the *fale faka-Manuka* contributed to Tonga's strengthening alliance with Samoa — maintaining good *vā* between nations (Mageo 2002; Burley 1998: 338).

As Moana people migrate to urban Pacific Rim cities like Auckland, Honolulu and, to some extent, Sydney, the transnational Tongans maintain *tauhi vā* with relatives back in the homeland ('Ilaiu 2009; 'Ilaiu 2007). Good relations are sustained by sending regular remittance. *'Inasi* includes architectural remittance, which includes appropriated building materials, architectural concepts and sometimes an architectural kitset exported back to Tonga for the *'api*'s *fale*. Again, appropriated architecture from industrial cities constituting remittance complicates any simple reading between Rykwert's understanding of the primitive hut within Eurocentric architectural contexts and any idealism of a Pacific primitive hut. This is particularly so when the 'American dream' inspires many Tongan migrants to create wealth, enabling them to be the resource for relatives

11. *Fale faka-Tonga* is interchangeable with *fale Tonga* described earlier and *fale Hau*, or the *fale* of the King. These two models became the principle 'traditional' *fale Tonga* buildings because they were the most widely built *fale* at the time of European settlement (Tuita 1988: 46).

12. The anthropological and archaeological work of Shawn and Barnes (2008: 29) disagree that the *fale faka-Manuka* has historical and archaeological links to the Manu'a islands of Samoa. This opposes a historical and commonly held view that says *fale faka-Manuka* is an appropriated model from Samoa, as linguistically the place of origin and *'inasi* is documented in the Tongan name of that *fale*. This naming tradition continues as Tongans appropriate, e.g., Tongans call the 'American kitset' *fale 'Amelika*, in reference to the United States which is the primary source. According to linguistics and the history of *'inasi*, this paper for now supports the common view.

Figure 10: Fale 'Amelika in Nukunuku village. Photo: 'Ilaiu 2007

Figure 11: Pacific Island family living in Auckland loads a container of 'architectural remittance'. Photo: 'Ilaiu 2007

in Tonga. *Tauhi vā* motivates the architectural remittance of Tongan people, even though it is easily read within contexts of western imagery and idealism. It is interesting that once transplanted to a Tongan village, the *fale 'Amelika* is soon appreciated by Tongans as an image of connectedness, *'ofa* or love. In other words, the transnational Tongan has fulfilled *fatongia* to the family. Locally the *fale 'Amelika* gives the residents *ongoongo*; it shows the *'api* has external assistance and resources abroad ('Ilaiu 2009). So as *fale* that have traversed the *Moana* — with origins recorded in their names — *fale faka-Fisi*; *fale faka-Manuka*; and *fale 'Amelika* are architectural markers, or *tā*, of Tongan expanse, representing the strong network of Tongan people operating according to *tauhi vā*, even across oceans.

Conclusion

In tracing successive paradigms of the Tongan *fale*, from what is considered to be the first *fale* to those imported from Fiji or Samoa, and to contemporary architectural remittances, this paper has emphasised, in its reference to Rykwert's primitive hut, a necessary distancing with respect to the understanding of origin and primitive. Clearly Rywert's argument of a perpetuated image of the primitive hut in architectural history does not fit precisely with Tonga's architectural situation; nor does it need to. Tongan society, like many other non-western cultures, operates within its own customs, insights and social nuances constituting the essential contexts for its architecture. As this paper shows, the *fale* of the Tongan layman historically changes its structure and was never fixed to an ideal form. Such form was contingent. However, what has persisted is *tauhi vā* — the essential space of all Tongan *fale*. As *tauhi vā* operates on a socio-relational level, it inevitably permeates the making of Tongan domestic space. Thus, when *tauhi vā* is eventually accomplished through architecture, *nonga, ongoongo, lāngilangi, mālie* — the paradisiacal state of being good Tongan men and women — is also realised.

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Constructing the Pacific Hut

Mike Austin and Jeremy Treadwell

Frontispiece to 2nd ed. of Essay on Architecture, Marc-Antoine Laugier, 1755.

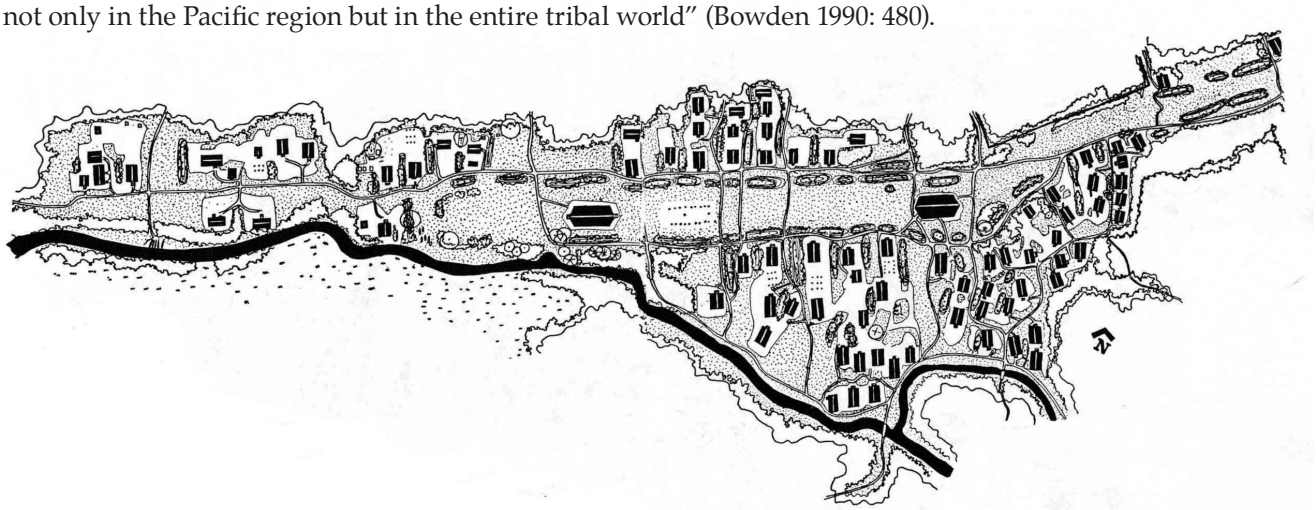
Building a primitive hut is not quite as simple as Laugier's well-known illustration would have us believe. The arrangement requires four judiciously placed, identical, trees to provide its support and, more importantly, its lateral stability. This is as far-fetched a fantasy as any utopian sky-hook, but we are diverted from appreciating this by the figures in the foreground pointing to the hut as the origin of architecture that is activated by this symposium. The wider question relating to the issue of origin is, what kind of knowledge systems are brought to bear on it? Traditionally, such questions are framed by considerations of environmental determinism, cultural signification and history.

Tectonic issues are often neglected, but the instability of architectural origins becomes immediately apparent to anyone trying to build even the most primitive of huts. Somehow the supporting posts have to be stabilised, which is often achieved by burying them in the ground. However the vertical cantilever of the posts is usually not enough to resist the outward thrust of the rafters. The Pacific solution to the spreading posts is to support the ridge beam itself on posts, thereby eliminating the lateral load. The ridge beam is the ubiquitous sign of the Pacific hut. This paper will consider some examples of the ridge beam and its supports (or lack of) on the houses of just two Pacific Island nations – Samoa and Papua New Guinea.

Rykwert discusses the situation at Ise temple ("perhaps the best known of Japanese religious buildings") towards the end of *On Adam's House in Paradise*: "the oddest feature is that the roof is not supported on the walls … [instead] … the ridge beam is independently carried by two large columns which go directly into the ground" (Rykwert 1981: 178). He also points out that the post that is housed on the unused site at Ise is "shin-no-mi-hashira (literally 'the august column of the heart')" (Rykwert 1981: 177). This ridge-beam support is given all sorts of significances in the Pacific. In Polynesia the post is often identified with the authority of the chief, also as a mast, making the ridge the keel of the upturned boat. In the Māori meeting house the main supporting post is the pou tokomanawa – the heart of the anthropomorphic house.

Wallace and Irwin say the prehistoric Māori house "could be seen as being built from the top down" (Wallace and Irwin 1999: 80). They suggest that the technology of house construction derives from canoe-building traditions (Wallace and Irwin 1999: 84). Māori sometimes used old canoes as a ridge (Neich 2001). Consequently, houses in Oceania tend to be tied down rather than built up as with the compressive earth-based technologies of walls and arches. In the Pacific, when the rafters cross at the ridge, there is generally an upper ridge as a constructional device to secure the top ends. The upper ridge is sometimes tensioned down on to the ridge beam itself, which pre-stresses the rafters, increasing their spanning capacity and reinforcing the upside-down-boat cross-section.

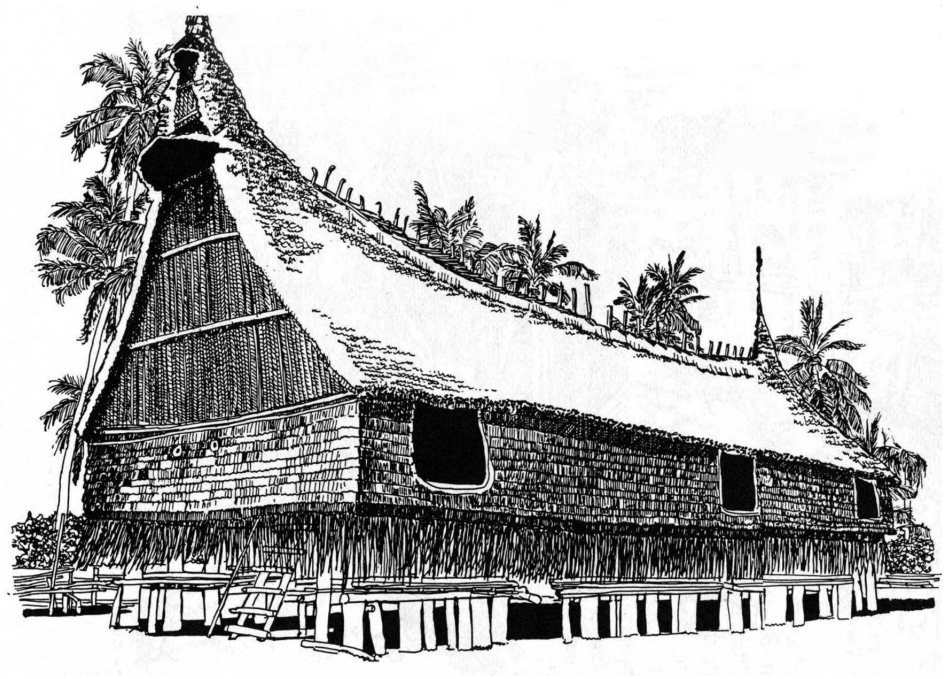
The middle section of the Sepik river system in Papua New Guinea is separated by mountains from the northern coast, to which the river drains. Several groups live in the Sepik but there are differences in the architecture between those who live on the river (the Iatmul) and the people who occupy the mountains (referred to generally as the Maprik area). There have been forays into the region for over a century by well-known commentators such as Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, and the Sepik area has been described as "excessive" in its cultural elaboration and aesthetic production. In the early 1980s an anthropological conference on the Sepik was held, followed by the publication of *Sepik Heritage: Tradition and Change in Papua New Guinea*. In this there is frequent reference to the houses, particularly the ceremonial or 'spirit' houses (*haus tambaran*) which, as Ross Bowden says, "... constitute some of the most impressive forms of vernacular architecture not only in the Pacific region but in the entire tribal world" (Bowden 1990: 480).



Site plan of Palimbei, 1978.
Drawing: Wallace M. Ruff

Opinion on whether the ceremonial houses are elaborations of the domestic houses seems divided among the anthropologists. Certainly the ceremonial houses are much bigger than the domestic houses. The *haus tambaran* and the dwellings are differentiated within the settlement patterns. "The important differences, socially and structurally, between the men and women who compose clan settlements can be correlated symbolically with the physical layout of villages." (Bowden 1990: 481) Men constitute the residential cores of a group whereas women occupy the periphery (Bowden 1990: 482). On the banks of the Sepik river, the Iatmul people site their *haus tambaran* parallel to the river, sitting centrally in its open space dancing ground while the domestic houses are at right angles to the river. Both buildings are elevated on piles because of regular floods.

The characteristic saddle-shaped roof of the *haus tambaran* is made by propping the upper ridge at each end of the building. The prop is known as the *meri* post, which has at its lower end a carved figure of a woman. (*Meri* is the word for woman in *tok pisin* – the lingua franca). The access ladder to the upper level goes up between the legs of the carved *meri*. The *meri* in turn sits on a horizontal beam supported on the cantilevered ends of the wall plates, which are themselves cantilevered beyond the supporting posts. These supporting posts are usually richly carved and are often constructed (as are the canoes) from trees salvaged from the river. At their bases the ridge posts have the orator's stool, a significant location in the house where the men spend their days (and nights) in important discussions.



Ceremonial house called Paiyembit, 1978. Drawing: Wallace M. Ruff

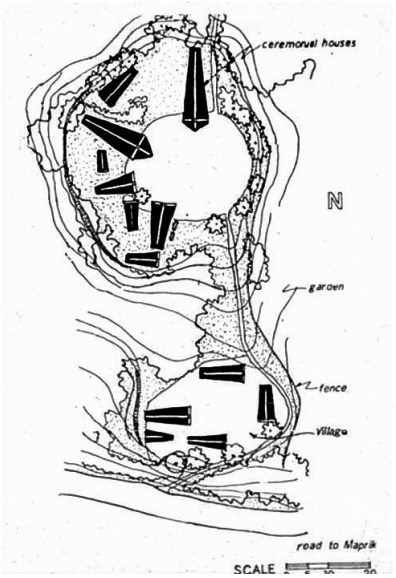
The upper level is used for storage, and for secret initiation ceremonies where the presence of the *tambaran* is announced by flutes and bullroarers. The secret is, of course, that it is the men who play these instruments. The floor (as again is characteristic with Oceanic houses) is a quite separate structure – supported on its own system of posts and beams, and again using cantilevers to increase the load-bearing capacity of horizontal members. The outer skin of the house is hung off the roof structure.

By contrast the *haus tambaran* in the Maprik area has no floor, and the settlement pattern consists of hamlets sited on mountain ridges and organised around living courtyards. The houses here appear quite different to the Iatmul, their richly painted bark facades towering above the courtyards. Forge (1971) and Tuzin (1980) have each described the construction of these houses for the two main groups in the area (Arapesh and Abelam respectively) in some detail.

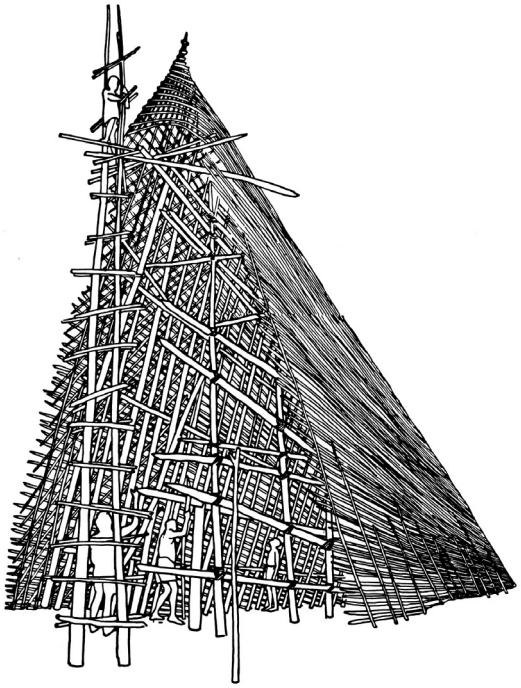
First the heavy wall plates that slope to the rear both in plan and section are erected on their supporting posts buried some three metres into the ground, using bamboo poles to excavate the holes. The ridge is similarly massive and raised (usually at dawn) on temporary supports – a major ritual and structural undertaking (said to be carried out by the *tambaran*). Once the roof framework of slender bamboo has been installed it acts as a diaphragm, and the ridge pole supports are removed, "... with the terrific weight of the ridgepole being borne entirely by the rafters the latter bow very slightly. The house takes on a slightly 'hunched' appearance." (Tuzin 1980: 151-152)

The question is of course why the Maprik ridgepole needs to be so massive when in fact it is the building which supports the ridge pole rather than vice versa. This support can be compared to the competitive display of yams, each in their own netting hammock, the growing of which is a principle activity of the men and where size is the issue. Both ridge-pole and yam are of course phallic and there is apparent sexual imagery in the elaborate hooded treatment of the end of the ridge pole which is similar in both Iatmul and Maprik houses. It is also said, however, that the people themselves deny this association (Forge 1974: 306).

This might be a reason why some anthropologists have gone to considerable lengths to argue that the Maprik houses in the mountains are the same as the Iatmul houses down on the river. "Although Abelam and Iatmul ceremonial houses do not look alike, they are homologous at a more abstract level; that is



Site plan of Mambauro village (nd). Drawing: Wallace M. Ruff



Maprik ceremonial house under construction. Drawing: Wallace M. Ruff from a 1950s photo by Anthony Forge

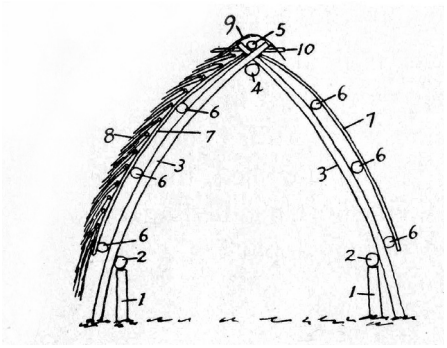
their symbolic functions and ritual forms are virtually identical." (Forge 1990: 166) The two locations are less than 50 kilometres apart, and the two people are part of the same language family, in a country that has over 700 separate languages. However we are being asked to accept that a house on the ground with a triangular plan, no walls and a sloping ridge pole is the same as a saddle-roofed, rectangular house on stilts.

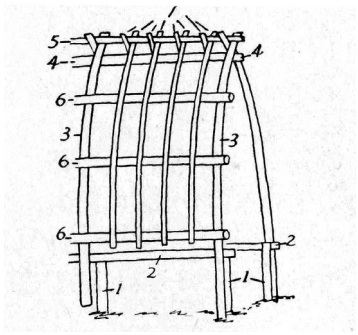
We have no space here to go into the tortuous arguments proposing this, except to say this ridge beam is argued to be one of the important similarities. What is certainly different is that in one case the ridge post is a significant location, and in the other there is no ridge post, leaving an empty interior. The gable-end treatments are also different, with magnificent painted bark facades in the Maprik area, and mask screens hanging off the saddle roof for the Iatmul. The origin for both is claimed to be a house on the plains between mountain and river, a story which again is too lengthy to go into. What is certain is that there have been complex migrations of people and architectural ideas, as well as means of construction, associated with this version of the Pacific hut.

We now shift across the Pacific to Samoa (where, incidentally, Margaret Mead began her career) to build a discussion about the *fale Samoa* in these terms. This discussion proceeds on the basis of the scholarly work of others but also from experience in the construction of a *fale Samoa*. As in the physical building this discussion will be structured by key tectonic elements and operations: the ridge pole, the ridge support and the closure of the gable end.

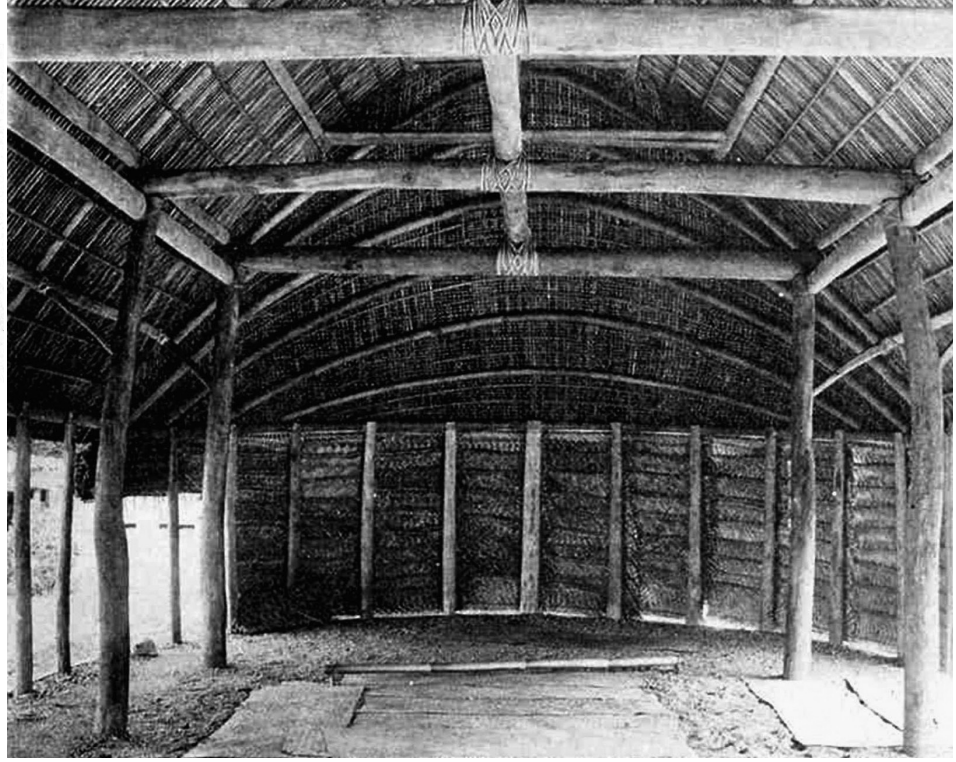
Evidence shows pre-historic housing in Samoa to have been variable, both across sites and within topographical regions. Stone pavements, perimeter kerbing and the geometries of postholes constitute the evidence of buildings, sufficient to demonstrate that houses consistently differed both in size and tectonic strategy (McKinlay 1974: 28). We also find that this variability of house form extended into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In his 1930 book *Samoan Material Culture*, Te Rangi Hiroa (a.k.a. Peter Buck) lists and describes the full range of buildings he encountered: the canoe shed (*afolau*), the cook house *(fale umu)*, the dwelling house (*fale o'o)* and the two types of guest house (*fale afolau* and *fale tele*). Underlying this *fale* taxonomy is a tectonic distinction by which these buildings are understood. The *afolau* is constructed without any vertical ridgebeam supports. Median posts would preclude the housing of





a)



b)

a) Cross-section and side view of canoe shed at Tufutafoe showing fa'asoata *construction, from Buck, 1930: 12.*

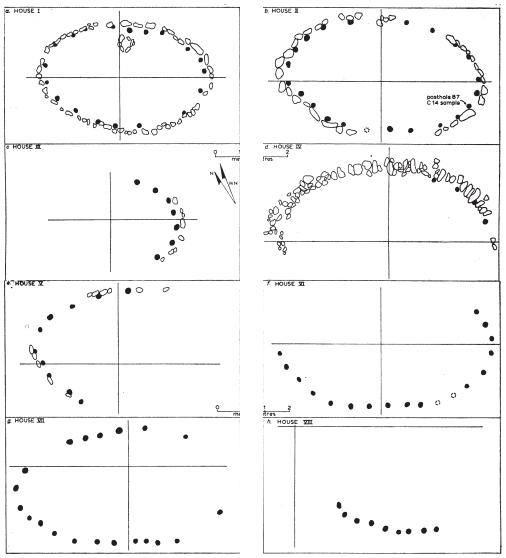
b) Interior view of fale afolau *showing* utupoto *construction (Handy, 1924: 10)*

outrigger and double hull canoes. Instead the ridgebeam is supported on curving rafters. This form of construction is termed *fa'asoata* and constructs a clear uninterrupted interior space (Buck 1930: 20).

Other *fale* have alternative tectonics, one of which also constructs an empty centre. Employing a strategy called *utupoto*, the *fale umu* and the *fale afolau* both achieve ridge-beam support, not with curved rafters, but with a system of additional internal perimeter posts, cross beams and king posts. Buck described the *fale o'o* (the ordinary dwelling house) as being built entirely with this *utupoto* method. He also made the inference that, perhaps because of the uniform constructional strategy of the *fale o'o*, that it evolved into the *fale afolau* (the long guest house) leaving the *fale tele* (round guest house) with its central post as a more recent development (Buck 1930: 20).

In 1974, archaeologist Jack McKinlay compared findings from an early post-contact excavation at Sasoa'a with a pre-contact site at Folosa-a-lalo. Neither site revealed posthole configurations that indicated *utupoto* construction. The houses either presented median central posts, as in the *fale tele,* or were without any evidence of post support for the ridge beam. While the houses that lacked evidence of vertical ridge support were the smaller houses of those excavated at Folosa, the implication was that their construction was of the *fa'asoata* system. Another significant finding at these Upolu sites was that the older houses at Folosa tended to be oval, if not elliptical in form, while the more recent and often larger houses at Sasoa'a were of a more circular plan (McKinlay 1974: 20).

There are two important implications of this research for this paper. The first is that *fa'asoata* construction was used for some dwelling houses in the eighteenth century, and that there was no evidence of the use of *utupoto* construction at this time (McKinlay 1974: 28). Archaeology of *fale* shows both variety and continuity: variety, in the sense of tectonics and in geometry, but what we also find, in all forms of plan, from the array of post holes excavated, was the continuous and persistent presence of the round end of the *fale*, the *tala*. The *tala* is the part of the *fale* that from the western viewpoint becomes the signifier of the building. As the *tala* rounds off the open gable structure so it constructs the *fale* as an enclosed centralised form. In keeping with the formal significance of this transformation, the relationship of the *tala* to the central gable section (*itu*) deserves more scrutiny.



c)

d)

c) Plans of elliptical houses lacking central or utupotu *posts at Folosa-a-lalo (Kisao Ishisuki, 1974: 43)*

d) The itu *is the sectional shape of the inverted canoe and is built first. Photo: Treadwell 2003*

The *afolau* or canoe shed was the first building discussed by Buck in his bulletin *Samoan Material Culture* and was his exemplar of the *fa'asoata* construction strategy. Buck measured and drew one of the last two surviving *afolau*. The critical characteristic of the *afolau* is that it shares the sectional profile of the centre of the *fale* but lacks the closure of the *tala* at the gable ends.

When the Tongan long house arrived in Samoa in the 1830s as part of Christianity's dispersal across the Pacific, the linkage between buildings, canoes and voyages was re-made (Barnes & Green 2008: 7).

Buck was to confirm this relationship etymologically:

> The word *afolau* (canoe shed) is widespread in Polynesia. In Tahiti, *farau* is a shed for a canoe and in the Tuamotus *horau* is a shed. In Hawaii halau is a long house with the end in front used mostly for canoes. In Māori, wharau has come to mean a particular kind of long house, but also means a rough shed which included that built over a canoe. In the Moriori dialect of the Chatham island wharau is a ship. (Buck 1930: 2)

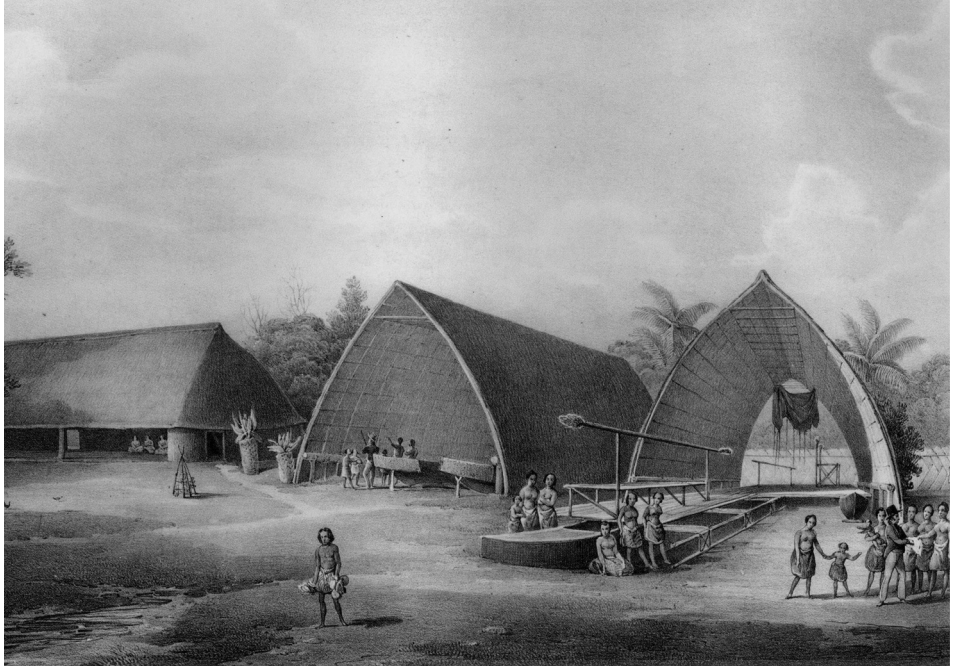
Afolau is also used as descriptor of sea voyage (Barnes & Green 2008: 7). This Tongan building, the long house, became known in Samoa as *fale afolau*, calling up both the name and the clear centre of the canoe shed and perhaps the voyage that brought it.

Polynesian architecture has been repeatedly linked to both the canoe and the sea. Albert Refiti has concluded, "The ocean is the single most powerful architectural device in the evolution of Polynesian architecture and culture" (Refiti 2002: 209). On this basis we may explain the presence of the *fale* as a building type in both Tonga and Samoa.[1] But while a history of voyaging between archipelagos can explain similarities, questions about origins remain. What can be said, from the archaeological evidence in Samoa, and from drawings and descriptions from Cook's experiences in Tonga, is that both island groups used a building type that featured both a clear centre and rounded ends in the late 1700s (Beaglehole 1967: 935).[2]

When Louis Auguste de Sainson visited Tonga in 1833 with Durmont d'Urville, he made a number of architectural drawings. Prominent in one image are two

1. Neich, R. (2006). Pacific Voyaging after the Exploration Period. In K.R. Howe (Ed.) *Vaka Moana Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific.* Auckland: David Bateman. 290. Neich wrote of Tonga's historic maritime "empire", "… whatever it has been called, this relationship is very important as the only prehistoric Polynesian large scale network of political and social relationships reaching beyond separate archipelagos for which some degree of documentation is available. For archaeologists trying to explain the presence of artefacts of exotic materials such as the widespread distribution of Samoan adzes in prehistoric central Oceania, the Tonga maritime empire has been seen as a possible explanation."

2. J.C. Beaglehole (Ed.) *The Journal of Captain Cook on his voyages of Discovery, vol 3 The voyage of the Resolution and Discovery pt 2* (Cambridge 1967), p. 935. "The divisions of the middling one [house] is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof shade, rounded at the ends, reaching two feet and a half (or at the most three) of the ground all round …"



Two canoe sheds and a long house in Tonga 1833. From: Durmont d'Urville, JSC, 1833 voyage de la Corvette Astrolabe Pt ll Pl 81, ATL Wellington NZ Neg 54013 ½

large, open-gabled canoe sheds and, in the background, the Tongan long house, the *fale hau*. From this image it becomes clear that both buildings feature the same long gable section and open interior space. The distinguishing feature between them is the round-ended *tala* on the *fale*. The inference might be drawn that the *afolau* and *fale* share ancestry, but visual similarity alone is superficial. This question might be further traced through tectonics and representation.

In his introduction to Samoan buildings, Buck wrote, "In describing the various types of Samoan houses, it is better to follow their natural evolution and work upward from the simplest form to the highly organised guest houses" (Buck 1930: 10). Buck was also trained as a medical doctor, a discipline structured by Darwinian thought, in which species evolved through favourable mutation and natural selection, from simple to complex structures.

In this context, the *fale umu*, the simplest of houses, contained, for Buck, the preconditions for development into the larger complex houses. Of its *tala* and the single curved purlin (*fau*) he wrote:

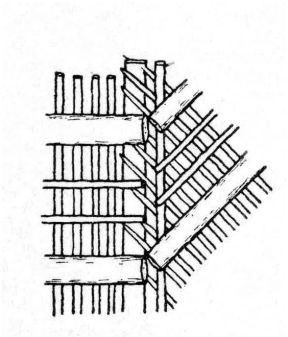
> The single *fau* is in one piece, but in order to take the curve the pole is thinned by splitting of a section on either side, such a purlin is termed a *fau sasae*. The *fau sasae* is important in that it forms the precursor of the very elaborate curved purlins used in the guest house. (Buck 1930: 15)

Acting as it does to stabilise the rafters as they fall in an array from the ridge end, the *fau sausae* becomes for Buck the 'origin' of the curved *tala*.

There is however no inevitability that such a sequence took place. In order for this thinking to be convincing, it becomes necessary to believe only in a one-directional functional model of development. It is, of course, equally possible for a feature to be retrospectively applied to a building because of any number of cultural or functional priorities, and the split *fau saesae* could be an approximation to the *fau*. Functional determinism as an explanation for the round end of the *fale* is also unsustainable in the face of a huge diversity of gable-end strategies elsewhere in the Pacific and even in Samoa. Further scrutiny of the *tala* of the larger *fale* seems to suggest that there are other than the traditional structural priorities of continuity and stability.

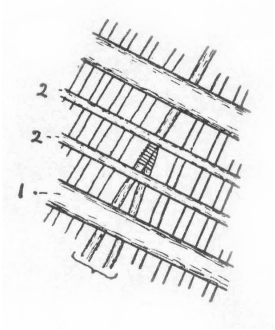
Buck's drawings of the junction between the *tala* and the *itu* show that the junction is achieved by connecting the thinnest of the thatching astles to the much reduced rafter element. The large curved purlins (*fau)* transmit no direct load

through major structural members of the *itu*. It is as though the two sections of the building were simply stitched together. This junction is also a delineation between builders, a signature of identification and limitation. Buck comments on this 'dotted line': "The weakness of Samoan houses is the joint of the rounded ends to the end rafters of the middle section. There is danger that the wind will lift the thatch directly and take the roof with it." (Buck 1930: 82)

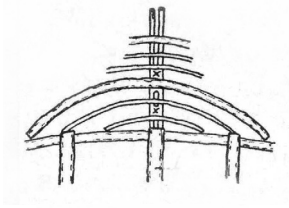


Junction between itu *and* tala *(from Buck 1930: 53)*

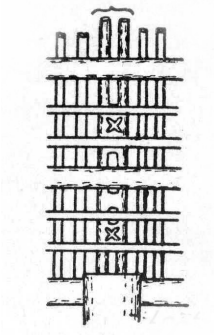
It is possible, however, that the *fale* still has some commitment to mobility. German anthropologist Augustin Kramer wrote of the *tala*, "Next to this centre part on each side is the round part of the *tala* which however is attached so loosely that it can be removed at any time which is very important in transporting such houses." (Kramer 1994-5: 270) There is an accompanying image of Samoans carrying a *tala* past Kramer's front gate. Because, elsewhere in the Pacific and even in Samoa, gable ends are routinely closed off using straight members in various configurations, and because of the detachability of the *tala* from the *itu*, an inference might be drawn that other systems of knowledge are implicated, both in the potential mobility of the *tala* and its constructional relationship to the gable end.



Edward Smith Handy observed the construction of a *fale afolau* in Samoa some six years before Buck. He described a small timber element fitted to complete the ridge beam at the apex of the *itu* gable and its junction with the top of the *tala*. *"Moamoa"*, he wrote, "were carved in symbolic representation of the moon and the stars." (Handy 1924: 8)



Stars make another appearance in the *tala*. In a description of builders' guild marks, Buck pointed to an inscription of stars on a narrow timber batten standing vertically at the mid-point of the *fau lalo* (lowest and horizontal element of the *tala*) and behind the ascending arcs of the *fau*. Although Buck dismisses the significance of this as being of modern origin, it is curious that star symbols, in this context, combine to construct an arc from the midpoint of the *fau lalo*, to its zenith at the peak of the gable and the *moamoa*. Latent within the structure, but perhaps more compelling, are the arcs of the rising purlins of the *tala*, each lifting in succession from the 'horizon' of the *fau lalo*, like stars rising in sequence before the progress of the canoe and the rotation of the earth.



Central split rafter decorated with stars and fixed to fau lalo *– in line with ridge and* moamoa *(from Buck 1930: 87)*

In this sense the *tala* is the mobile element that reinvests the voyage and its progress by stellar navigation. It also may be read as an activated cosmological model, an association between roof and sky readily made elsewhere in the Pacific (Budgett 2007: 39; Maude 1980: 5).

While the sectional shape of the *itu* recalls the hull of the canoe, the entwinement between architecture and canoe proliferates elswhere. In Kramer's translation of the constructional sequence of the large catamaran we learn that before the carpenter issues instructions to begin building the canoe, he instructs the builders to build the house that the canoe will be built in. After the keel blocks are placed in the completed *afolau*, the keel is laid underneath and in line with the ridge pole, Kramer records, "then the builders take a round pole and stand it upright against the ridge beam of the house at the same time placing the other end on the keel" (Kramer 1994-5: 291). The ridge pole of the house stabilises the keel of the boat as the planking is scribed to fit. Momentarily architecture and boat become one again.

Ascending purlins (fau)
Photo: Treadwell 2004

Glossary

afolau	canoe shed
fa'asoata	method of supporting the ridgepole with curved rafters alone, without any intermediate supporting post
fale afolau	the long house – a *fale* built using *utupoto* construction
fale o'o	the ordinary dwelling house
fau	curved purlins used to support the thatch rafters in the *tala*
fau sasae	a *fau* longitudinally split to enable it to curve around the *tala*
haus tambaran	ceremonial or spirit house
itu	the middle section of the *fale*, between the *tala*
meri	woman in *tok pisin*
moamoa	a small timber element fitted to complete the ridge beam at the apex of the *itu* gable and its junction with the top of the *tala*
pou tokomanawa	central ridge post in a Māori meeting house
tala	the round end sections of the *fale*
tok pisin	Pidgin, the lingua franca in Papua New Guinea
utupoto	the use of a tie beam to support king posts which support the ridge pole
wharau (Māori)	a particular long house including a shed form built over canoes

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Take me away ...
In search of original dwelling

A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul
and Keri-Anne Wikitera

> Take me away. ... Somewhere I can rediscover what is most important in my life (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, n.d.-c).
>
> The term "primitive" is increasingly … a response to a mythic necessity to keep the idea of the primitive alive in the modern world and consciousness. And it will stay alive because there are several empires built on the necessity of the "primitive"… (MacCannell, 1990: 18).
>
> An object which has always been lost cannot … be remembered. The memory of which we speak, however, is … of a state – of something that … was done, was made: an action. It is a collective memory kept alive within groups by legends and rituals (Rykwert, 1981: 14).

When the morning sun bounces off the dew drops on *teuila* leaves, Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa's natural and man-made beauty are striking. In this "careful blend of 'traditional and contemporary' architecture" (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, n.d.-b) orthogonal axes connect several buildings in the traditional Samoan style with modern ones.

Visitors approach the resort from the southern coastal road of Upolu, Samoa. Driving through its lush grounds, they eventually arrive at a palm tree-lined grass *rondeau*, which is divided into semi-circles by a central axis connecting the entrance with the ocean. Here, palm trunks merge into poles and palm fronds into roofs, as in the illustrations on pages 98-9 of Joseph Rykwert's book *On Adam's House in Paradise*. The entrance lobby looks like a *fale tele*,[1] the round Samoan meeting house. The eyes wander down the long walkway leading to the beach, crossed by subsidiary axes that connect to a restaurant in a great, oblong *fale afolau* and, further down, to a bar in another *fale tele*. The layout at times seems to illustrate notions of the primitive entertained by Le Corbusier and Gottfried Semper. The former imagined primitive builders as guided "by instinct to the use of right angles, to axes, to the square and the circle", or by the "truths of geometry" which is "the language of the mind" (quoted in Rykwert 1981: 16). The latter saw "primitive man" taking "more pleasure in the regularities of the oarstroke and the handbeat … than in the less differentiated one which nature offers him directly" (quoted in Rykwert 1982: 127). Le Corbusier and Semper were interested in the potential of architecture's origins, and shared with their contemporaries a view that modern life had been emptied of meaning and creativity. This perceived lack produced, then as now, a desire to experience authenticity, to escape to Paradise. The idea of the 'primitive hut' suggested renewal by returning to origins, serving as a *leitmotif* in the recreation of the existing (Rykwert 1981: 17).

1. See Glossary for Māori and Samoan terms.

Thanks to the anonymous reviewers and to Frances Edmond for her help in crafting the final text.

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, site map. © Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, entrance area. Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

Today, Sinalei's slogan, "Take me away …", plays on similar desires and conditions of lack. However, once made concrete, Paradise always seems to harbour the seeds of corruption: now as then, only a few can afford to enjoy paradisiacal beauty. Few have the means to stay at Sinalei as guests, and only some of those are Samoan.[2] The flows of globalisation have always been unequal: over the last two centuries, not all who arrived in Samoa felt they arrived in Paradise. Many, for instance, had been "taken away" from their homes by colonial powers as indentured labourers. At the same time, in a reverse flow, people and houses were taken away from their communities of origin in Samoa and Aotearoa to glorify Empire in European and American exhibitions. Later, as people, finance, information, and objects became increasingly mobile, kit-set 'primitive huts' were produced in their countries of origin to be sent away as exhibits to the countries of former imperial powers, now 'global players'. This paper explores the circumstances under which some Māori whare and Samoan *fale* travelled overseas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – taken away to fill a perceived gap resulting from an erosion of meaning in the West. Today, the flow of houses from the Pacific to the "West" continues – while grand elaborations of Adam's House are built in Paradise for the few who can travel there.

2. Sinalei's employees, who walk to work along beautiful beaches, are not likely to lead the idyllic life the resort's brochures suggest.

3. See Benedict (1991: 7).

Taken away: original dwellings

In the 1880s and 90s, with imperial modernisation reaching new heights, several Māori whare nui left Aotearoa/New Zealand to be exhibited, reassembled as curios, sold on, circulated or put into storage in museums. In 1893, as part of the routine display of exotic peoples at international exhibitions, Samoan *fale* were exhibited on the Midway of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Despite significant differences between Māori whare and Samoan *fale*, on many levels, they came to play similar roles in this scenario.

The story begins with Mataatua, whare tūpuna of Ngāti Awa, opened in 1875 as a "symbol of reconciliation between Ngāti Awa and other Iwi of the region" and the Crown (*Wai 46*, 1994). The Minister of Native Affairs, however, accused Ngāti Awa in the same year of "building Mataatua 'to raise an army'" (Sissons 1998: 42). In 1879, the Government requested Mataatua to be sent to the British Empire Exhibition in Sydney "as one of the finest examples of traditional Maori art" (39) – presumably to flaunt New Zealand's possessions to a rival colony.[3] Despite internal opposition, Ngāti Awa leaders reluctantly agreed, perhaps to win favour with the government (*Wai 46*, 1994). However, they would hardly have anticipated the transformation awaiting the house at the exhibition: it was erected with the walls "reversed so that the carvings showed on the outside; and the total cost, including painting and roofing with Chinese matting was reduced

to 165 pounds" (AJHR 1880, quoted in Smith, 1999: 53). Not only was the house's state of being changed – from "a 'living' meeting house, which the people used" to a "traditional curio" exhibited out of context and looked at by strangers (53)[4] – but, after the exhibition, the New Zealand Government forwarded Mataatua, without consultation, first to Melbourne and then on to England. At the 1924 Wembley British Empire Exhibition, Mataatua was eventually displayed next to a Samoan *fale* from Mulinu'u.[5] Next, Mataatua was expedited to the 1925 South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin, New Zealand, and then handed over to the Otago Museum. For decades, Ngāti Awa negotiated through various channels for its return as an ancestral house. "The house and our ancestors are standing in a 'foreign land' where they do not belong. It is time for them to come home." (Ngāti Awa Māori Trust Board quoted in Smith, 1999: 53) In 1996, the New Zealand government paid the museum "$2,750,000 in return for acknowledgement of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa ownership of Mataatua Whare" and its return home (Butt 2003: 98). Ngāti Awa's capacity to retain a committed relationship with Mataatua, to 'own' the house even while it was alienated, eventually also re-established legal and physical ownership, creating new potential for its community of origin (see Thomas 2009: 172).

Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito's story is different, since she was conceived originally not only as a traditional meeting house for tribal gatherings, but also a venue to entertain visitors during the early days of New Zealand tourism.[6] She was built by master carver Wero Taroi, assisted by Tene Waitere, at Te Wairoa in 1881, near Mount Tarawera and the famous Pink and White Terraces. Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha named her Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito, or Hinemihi of the old world, emphasising the sense of a 'new world' emerging from the 'old'.[7] Hinemihi's carvings represent significant ancestral genealogies. They also show signs of Western influence and changes in the economic environment: the ancestors wear bowler hats and Victorian shoes (Neich 1990-1991). After the 1886 volcanic eruption of Tarawera, Hinemihi was sold to Lord Onslow, then Governor General of New Zealand, who relocated her to his estate at Clandon Park in England in 1892. Today, Clandon Park is a tourist destination and Hinemihi thus continues her connection with the industry. Her physical presence, as a Māori whare, has not significantly changed over the past 127 years. What has changed since her relocation, though, is what she represents for the diasporic communities related to her. For those who connect to her through genealogy she is their whare tūpuna, while the members of Ngāti Rānana (the Māori expatriate community in London) have adopted her as their marae, the place where they congregate for the annual Kohanga Reo hangi, and where the children stage kapa haka and Pacific dance performances. Through those connections, her identity has remained intact in important ways, even when her function changed repeatedly: from a memento of Paradise to the Onslow family, to a boat shed, and storage room for outdoor furniture (Gallop 1998). While physically dislocated from her tribal origins, she has stayed present in tribal memory and kept alive by Ngāti Rānana. Thus, she is able to give rise to new ideas and concepts in current debates.

In Chicago, several Samoan *fale* were displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition – their names are not recorded. With many other buildings, their display contributed to a juxtaposition of buildings that made a visible comparison of the world, on a sliding scale between progress and underdevelopment. The Midway was the exhibition's amusement zone, and many of the nations exhibited there were perceived as "obsolete people", coming to the exposition "out of

4. "Carved wall slabs and lattice work which had defined and given contemporary meaning to an interior space of inter-tribal debate and political dialogue were transformed into mysterious and passive surfaces, now readily available to the European gaze". (Sissons 1998: 44)

5. This *fale* was possibly the first 'kit-set *fale*' – purpose-built for an exhibition (unless the replica of Mata'afa's *fale*, below, is included in this category).

6. Hinemihi is referred to as a person as she represents an important ancestor of Ngāti Hinemihi and Tāhourangi.

7. See Gallop (1998: 33).

their mist" (Midway Types, "A Peep at Algiers" quoted in Armstrong 1992). The "Samoan Islanders" (only two of them Samoans) and their *fale* were located next to the South Sea Islands Village (Johnston 1999) and the Hagenbeck Animal Show (in Herdrich 2000). Harry Moors, an American-Samoan trader based in Apia, had shipped a *fale* and additional materials from Samoa (Johnston 1999: 108). The 'villagers' re/constructed the building/s on site, thus giving "an atmosphere of authenticity to the village" (111).[8] During the exhibition they could be seen, like other groups of exotic peoples, "living and performing against backgrounds like those at home" (Furnas 1948). Moors probably also created a well-tended myth to enhance the exhibits' attraction: the largest *fale* had supposedly "belonged to King Mata'afa, the deposed ruler of Samoa, who occupied it for years".[9] Whether or not it belonged to Mata'afa, the "subliming of the exotic and oriental" had, by that time, become a "requisite of the commercialization and commodification of exotic others" (Armstrong 1992: 200).[10] In contrast to Mataatua and Hinemihi, the *fale*'s fate following the Chicago exhibition seems unknown, and no connection with Samoan communities seems to exist.

Sent away: kit-set authenticity

Before the middle of the twentieth century, indigenous houses were usually taken away without much consultation with, let alone involvement from, their original communities. From the 1960s, alongside continuing globalisation and beginning decolonisation, tourism and leisure industries expanded to an unprecedented extent. Simultaneously, rationalisation and "disenchantment of the world" (Weber 1917) continued in Western societies. While exhibitions of 'traditional' dwellings in modern edutainment contexts perpetuated the display of exotic others, the buildings were often no longer built for community purposes but pre-fabricated in their countries of origin to be sent away for display overseas. The 'natives', as it were, now colluded with Western interests, motivated by an ongoing quest for origins in modernised countries. The two instances of theme park exhibitions discussed here were both conceived by entrepreneurs who were not only outsiders to the houses' communities of origin, but also to the environments in which they set up native or tropical villages. Both appeal to a yearning for authenticity and Paradise.[11]

Since 1963, several *fale* and whare have been on display at the Church of Latter Day Saints' Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) in Lā'ie, Hawai'i. The seven "native villages" were conceived in 1951 by Matthew Cowley, a missionary in New Zealand during the 1920s, who anticipated "the day when my Māori people down there in New Zealand will have a little village … at Lā'ie with a beautiful carved house ... the Tongans will have a village too, and the … Samoans and all those islanders of the sea" (Polynesian Cultural Center, n.d.-b). Cowley, who assumed that Polynesian cultures and traditions would "endure if they were shared with others" (Polynesian Cultural Center, n.d.-b),[12] had probably been a driving force behind the Church's funding for Kahungunu, a carved meeting house in Nuhaka, New Zealand, honouring Māori returned WW2 soldiers. PCC plans to ship Kahungunu to Lā'ie in the 1960s, to form the nucleus of a Māori village, met with an uproar in Nuhaka, and it was decided to commission a new whare instead (Skinner 2008). Te Aroha o te Iwi Māori was produced by carvers and weavers in New Zealand, then shipped to *PCC* to be assembled on site.[13] Thus, Māori (and possibly Samoans) were to some extent involved in the decision-making about aesthetics and performance of their buildings from the beginning.[14]

8. While the impression was created that the villagers were Samoans, probably only two women were from Samoa: the "'Mulunu'u Government' had opposed the enterprise and … refused to allow any Samoans to accompany [Harry Moors] to the United States" (Johnston, 1999: 111, 112).

9. A myth promulgated by Prof. Culin, in his report on the exhibition, and by Frank Smith (1893: n63). More likely, the *fale* was a replica since "during the exhibition, the original *fale tele* was destroyed when Mata'afa was forced to burn his entire village following his defeat" (Johnston 1999: 113).

10. While undoubtedly belonging to those artefacts at the exposition which, by signalling 'underdevelopment', provided the contrast needed to make the White City stand out, the Samoan *fale* were nevertheless admired for their ability to keep out the heat in a smouldering Chicagoan summer (Johnston 1999: 114).

11. See (Polynesian Cultural Center, n.d.-c) and (Tropical Island Management GmbH, 2008).

12. See Webb (1998: 35).

13. According to the website, Te Aroha o te Iwi Māori was the first whare nui ever built outside of New Zealand.

14. See Polynesian Cultural Center (n.d.-a).

Tropical Islands Resort, dome exterior.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2007

Tropical Village at Tropical Islands Resort.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2007

15. See Engels-Schwarzpaul (2007).

16. Samoa was a German protectorate from 1900 to 1914.

17. Contractual relationships were fraught and, today, relationships appear to have lapsed.

At *PCC*, marketed as a "living museum" for several Pacific cultures, Church College of Hawai'i (now Brigham Young University) students entertain tourists with Polynesian songs and dances to pay for their education (Stillman 2004; Webb 1998).

A recent instance of a *fale*'s exhibition in a foreign context occurred in 2005 at the Tropical Islands Resort at Brand, 60km southeast of Berlin. Colin Au, a Malaysian multi-millionaire, wanted to bring the tropics to Germany. He set up a resort in the dome of a gigantic disused hangar, where "rainforest flora and fauna and six [houses represent] indigenous cultures" (dpa, 2004).[15] Au assembled what he considered the best specimens to convey a sense of authentic tropics: all houses were produced in their countries of origin, specifically for the resort. Thus, he went to Apia and commissioned the Samoan Tourism Authority to deliver a *fale* matching an image he brought with him, constructed by local *tufuga fai-fale* using local traditional materials. Months later, the *fale*'s components were shipped to Germany and erected by the *tufuga* in the resort's Tropical Village.[16] In 2005, a Samoan troupe came to perform *The Call of the South Sea* to a German and international public in the vicinity of their *fale*. Samoans were not asked for their advice when Au chose the *fale* he wanted built and, while they had a certain amount of control over its construction, they have no say in its ongoing use.[17] The *fale*'s presentation on the website bears only a tenuous relation with reality: it is described as a "typical Polynesian straw hut", "a sort of 'community house' for several villages", with "28 beautifully carved wooden posts [representing] one of the participating extended families" (Tropical Island Management GmbH, 2005). While its initial display at the resort at least indicated a sense of taste and quality, by November 2008 it was a cocktail bar and smokers' lounge littered with cigarette butts, empty glasses and bottles.

In the heart of the Pacific

> … Samoa in the South Pacific. So many have called it Paradise but we call it Home. Our staff walks to work along the beach from the villages nearby. … (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, n.d.-b).

On the other side of the world, in the heart of the Pacific, Sinalei Reef Resort was built "to the desired concept of its Samoan owners" and opened in February 1996 (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, n.d.-a). "Set in 3 acres of lush tropical garden on the south coast of Upolu", its blend of traditional and contemporary architecture fits square utilitarian buildings with corrugated iron roofs between straight axes and traditional round buildings.

Tropical Islands Resort, dome interior.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2007

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, entrance area with stump.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

For anyone unfamiliar with Samoan architecture and social context, the traditional buildings appear authentic.[18] Raised floors, layouts and roof shapes, the materiality and intricacy of lashed timber joinery and weaving – these are iconic elements, not only of Samoan architecture but also of the notion of the primitive hut (Rykwert 1982: 124). Remarkably, though, one enters both *fale tele* (entrance lobby and bar) through the *tala*, the curved part of the roof, where the highest ranking participants in a *fono* would sit in the village context. In the entrance *fale*, the *tala*'s middle post (marking the most important place) is cut off – the remaining stump perhaps indicating a significant absence to the initiated. I asked a *tufuga fai-fale* about this irregularity in 2008, the *tufuga* laughed and commented that this *fale* had nothing to do with *fa'a Samoa*. While Refiti (2008) holds that the Samoan architectural motivation does not stem from a fascination with a "return to origins" or a "renewal of human activity" (Rykwert 1981: 192), Samoan resort architecture does play on this fascination. At Sinalei, it meets the Western imagination of a return to origins when traditional dwellings are imbued with a potential to help visitors "rediscover what is most important" in their lives.

Visitors can book a paid walk with a staff member and "share the local village" or "sample what village life has to offer" (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, 2008). In Dean MacCannell's terms, this expedition involves *staged* authenticity, the "pretentious revelation of back region 'secrets'" which belongs to a realm between front-of-stage and backstage.[19] It creates a sense that one "'got in with the natives' or experienced local life as the natives experience it" (MacCannell 2008: 336). In Sinalei's brochure, village life stands for a home in paradise,[20] which the visitor is implicitly invited to share. Some aspects of this invitation are more obviously performative than others: dancers, waiters and bartenders at Sinalei act clearly front-of-stage in MacCannell's terms, while cooks and cleaners act backstage. Clearly not all is revealed – and what is revealed tends towards the "performative primitive". To "act-primitive-for-others" is an adaptive strategy of non-modern peoples to modern existence, in which they "combine *modern* elements of self interested rational planning and economic calculation with *primitive* costumes, weapons, music, ritual objects and practices that once existed beyond the reach of economic rationality" (1992: 19)

Visitors at Sinalei are likely to register the performances staged for them in the front regions – the open and round spaces of *fale afolau* and *fale tele*. Around and between them, service and private areas (kitchens, offices, conferences, toilets, accommodation) are housed in unstaged back regions – square and closed-off buildings.

18. That is, corresponding to images and descriptions in, for instance, Buck (1949) or Krämer (1994).

19. MacCannell inserted this realm "between [Goffman's] front-back binary to name a new kind of space that could not be assimilated into either one of the original pair" (2008: 335).

20. "You'll call it Paradise, we call it home" is an established slogan of the Pacific tourism industries, beyond Samoa.

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, dining area in Fale Afolau. *Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009*

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, central walkway. Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

Linear spaces of movement – axes at the resort, or the beach between resort and village – provide a transitional realm: between staged authenticity as "a quasi-fictional locus of fantasies of fulfilment" (MacCannell 2008: 337) and an authenticity which does not bear staging (toil, poverty and private secrets). In relation to the resort, life in the village is placed backstage – and the walk through the village promises a glimpse into "local life" in Paradise. But, if the village is a back region to the resort, it is itself also constituted of front and back regions: traditionally, *fale tele* border onto the *malae* in the front, with the family's other *fale* clustering behind. The enclosure of back regions, so typical of Western building traditions and increasingly common in Samoa since the 1970s, adds a further layer to this series.[21]

In search of original dwelling: relationships, identity and place

> [The primitive hut] will continue to offer a pattern to anyone concerned with building, … situated permanently perhaps beyond the reach of the historian or archaeologist, in some place I must call Paradise. And Paradise is a promise as well as a memory" (Rykwert 1981: 192).

There is an affinity between the *fale Samoa* – typically open, allowing air movement without restriction – and Gottfried Semper's notion of a house built by man in a world of wonders and unknown forces, as a "small world of his own, in which the cosmic law acts in a small, but independent system" (Semper 1878: XXI).[22] While, until the eighteenth century, the primitive huts of architectural speculation "were always situated in an idealized past" (Rykwert 1981: 190), Semper writes during a time which increasingly located them in an anthropological present. Idealised past and anthropological present allow for a perception of a universal "drive in man's creative activities: that of echoing the essential rhythm of nature as the spur to the acquisition of skills" (191). A century later, Rykwert postulates "a house for Adam in Paradise", an assimilation of his body to the world, which establishes him "at the center" of the "paradisical plan" (190).[23]

Donald Preziosi sees a "strong centripetalism of an inescapable metaphorical machine" at work here, one that projects a cosmology organized around the centre of a labyrinth "in which one is already prisoner". Thus, "even in the midst of a purportedly demystifying discourse, metaphorical knots and ideological double binds … may yet retain an inescapable power" (Preziosi 1982: 321). Metaphors can stimulate interest and understanding, or turn into clichés. To an extent, this happened to Rykwert when he assumed the primitive hut to be stationary and earthbound, while buildings in the Pacific have a closer connection to the sea.[24]

21. Sinalei's covered walkways stream movements, not unlike the way in which flows are channelled in airports – a feature not found in villages.

22. The embodiment of cosmological order at various levels in Polynesian culture, e.g. in the *fale*, was frequently observed by outsiders in the past (e.g., Finley & Churchill 1923: 114) and is elaborated today by Tui Atua (2008).

23. In *On Adam's House in Paradise*, he speculates on the Jewish *huppah*, a suspended canopy under which marriage vows are taken. Rather than keeping the weather out, it provides the couple with "a mediation between the intimate sensation of their own bodies and the sense of the great unexplored world around", "a model of the world's meaning" (190). Preziosi (1982: 320) detects a strange lapse in Rykwert's conclusion, given that most of the book is devoted to demonstrating architectural theories' implication in myths of origins. Rykwert seems to fall victim to his own myth of origins when the description of the *huppah*'s primary function, to provide an image of its occupants' bodies and a "model of the world's meaning", leads him to "postulate a house for Adam in Paradise" (Rykwert 1981: 190).

24. Austin remarks that Rykert's 'primitive hut' appears fixed in place and proto-classical (2004: 229) whereas, in some Pacific myths of origin (though not in Samoa), houses might have originated from sea craft and roofs resemble naval vessels (225-6; Tcherkézoff 2008: 282). Semper's Caraib Hut (reproduced but not discussed in *Adam's House in Paradise*) is mostly open, and thus related to the *fale Samoa* and other Pacific house types. However, most other illustrations of the primitive hut in *Adam's House in Paradise* tend towards wall enclosure (e.g., pp. 39, 70, 72; 106, 138, 174).

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, subsidiary walkway.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

Fale *at Lalomanu Beach resort, Upolo, Samoa.*
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

A longing for a common origin within all given diversity may have ordered the unknown in the form of the known and blinded Rykwert, and the generation of architectural theorists that followed him, to alternative readings.

This blindness may even be related to a blindness caused by the desire for "profit without exploitation", which can be so strong that "even intellectuals can trick themselves into finding it where it does not exist … The touristic ideal of the 'primitive' is that of a magical resource that can be used without actually possessing or diminishing it" (MacCannell 2008: 320). Thus, the paradise Samoans call home, although certainly not Paradise before the Fall, is portrayed by natives and visitors alike as a inexhaustible resource.[25] It remains the forever displaced locus of a desire that cannot be sated (neither in psychoanalytic, nor in aesthetic, economic or political terms). One of the problems of the Samoan *fale* at Tropical Islands Resort might therefore be its ordinary closeness, which collapses desire for authentic origin.[26] Authenticity, in the West, has posed a problem ever since modernity's differentiation produced, *inter alia*, the division of social "front" and "back" areas, and with it a weakened sense of reality.[27] "Great blunders", wrote Heinrich von Kleist in 1810, are unavoidable once the door to Paradise is locked and bolted, and the only way to Paradise may be to "journey around the world, to see if a back door has perhaps been left open" (1982: 216).

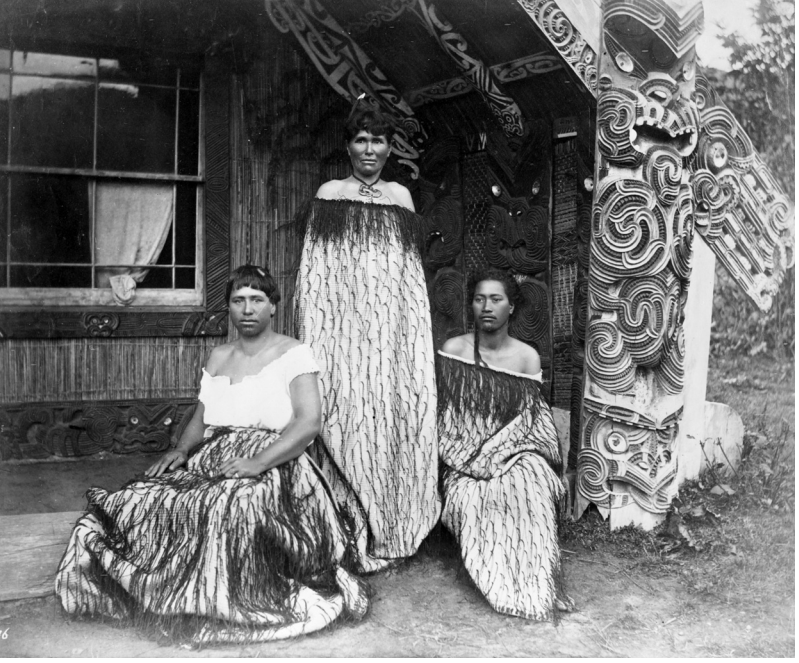
Multidirectional journeys have already taken place and more may be required. Mataatua, taken away from Whakatane in 1879, travelled to Australia and England and back to New Zealand as an ethnographic artefact and national icon of sorts, finally returning home to Whakatane as a tāonga and core of a future tribal cultural centre. As for Hinemihi, the National Trust now work with Māori to ensure that future development represents the whare's cultural and conservational authenticity.[28] In this, contemporary Māori's capacity "to identify with, celebrate, and reclaim tāonga fosters not despair but a sense of hope" (Thomas 2009: 172) and the development of new perspectives. On the other hand, ongoing collaboration of institutions with the communities of origin promotes an understanding that looking after tāonga includes actively maintaining relationships with their spiritual owners. "'Keeping the tāonga warm', from a Māori point of view, means re-establishing links with Māori people where they have been broken, and by so doing, helping to conserve the essence … of the tāonga themselves" (Terrell, Wisse, & Philipp 2007: 96).[29] Changes of structure, location, ownership and usage have not stopped Hinemihi from embodying her original cultural and spiritual reference points, which now have relevance to Māori in England, her people at home in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Māori visiting England. Originally linking people through whakapapa, she has become a focus through which

25. Similarly, *Adam's House in Paradise*, aka the Primitive Hut, may still serve as a lost origin for modern and postmodern architects, a locus where their very own superfluidity might suggest a healing of wounds caused by the partially factual, partially perceived disenchantment in Western societies. Le Tagaloa Pita, former Minister of Tourism and Member of Parliament, suggested in a 2009 interview that an environment in which hunger and cold are never life-threatening is conducive to a practical philosophy centred on love, rather than self-interest (Engels-Schwarzpaul & Refiti, 2006-2009).

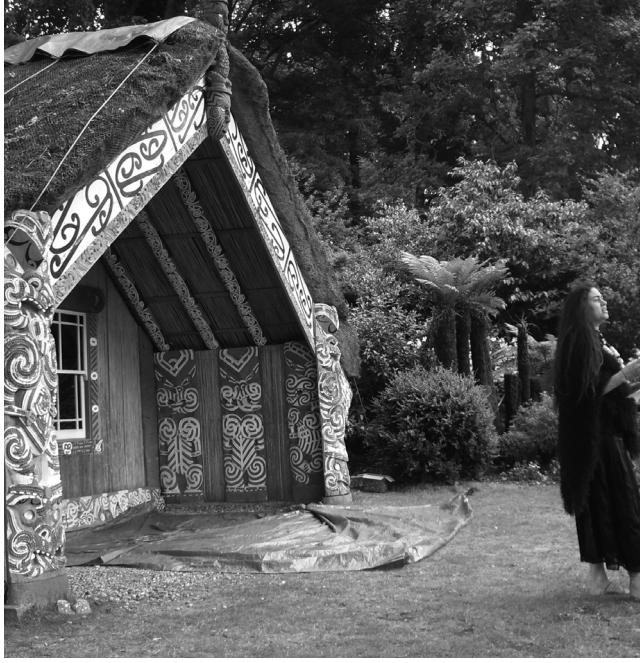
26. The production of familiarity in the exotic has a long tradition in German organised encounters with the strange, but these encounters always included people with whom a co-production of iconicity was at least in principle possible (see Ames 2004). One consistent difference between the whare and *fale* discussed here is that the whare are embedded in contemporary Māori social relationships, to varying degrees, whereas the *fale* seem more like commodities for their owners to sell.

27. By a strange twist, conservation's concern with authenticity as 'original condition' now conflicts with a form of authenticity that centres on Hinemihi's place in the community: Ngāti Ranana want to use her as a living whare and add facilities to the existing structure. The National Trust was originally opposed, instead wanting to reinstate the 'original' shingle roof – even though, more 'authentic' at the time, she might have been covered in raupo (bulrush).

28. In the 1980s, the English National Trust approached tribal members to assist with restoration work, which has essentially restored her relationship with her people. A working relationship between hapū and Trust arose, as Hine28.



Sophia Hinerangi (standing) - Te Paea Hinerangi, Kati and an unknown guide standing on the terrace of Hinemihi Meeting House, Te Wairoa (1861-1881). Photo: Pulman. Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington



Rosanna Raymond in front of Hinemihi. Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2008

mihi became 'home away from home' for many Māori expatriates in England.

29. A collaboration arose between the Chicago Field Museum and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare of Tokomaru Bay over Ruatepupuke, another Māori whare nui leaving Aotearoa in the nineteenth century and recently placed into the museum's care.

30. See Durie (2008) and Houkamau (2006).

31. See Sir Apirana Ngata's 1930s marae development project involving the carving of whare nui in rural areas (Sissons 1998: 44). On the other hand, traditions were invented in nineteenth century Europe to legitimise the rising nation state.Hinemihi is, in certain aspects, the opposite of *Adam's House in Paradise*. According to some, her authenticity was originally compromised by Western influences. One has to wonder what the "entire generation of architects and theorists" influenced by Rykwert's *On Adam's House*, who saw "the modern as one who returns to original sources" (Wesley 1998: 120), would have made of her. Today, relationships brokered between Hinemihi affiliates (including Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Ranana, the University College of London and the National Trust) have led to a co-production of iconic representation: cultural performances, rituals, traditions, and processes of sharing and learning have most recently 'elevated' Hinemihi to iconic status for a large public. For Ngāti Ranana, she is their marae and their responsibility.

32. MacCannell uses Bakhtin's approach, closely attending to concrete people participating in concrete situations to co-produce iconic representation (1992: 242).

more contemporary notions of Māori identity can be performed. This shows how iconic cultural references can operate regardless of where they are.[30] Furthermore, Hinemihi provides a context for socio-cultural issues facing many Māori who, like her, no longer reside in or connect to their tūrangawaewae in Aotearoa. She thus supports the diasporic communities of her ancestral origins as well as other non-traditional communities such as Ngāti Rānana. She acts as a ground on which new forms of cultural kawa can be created – in an environment that, on the surface, is foreign to Māori concepts of place.

Rykwert's suggestion (1981:14) that memory is the memory of action may explain why it is so prominently transmitted through rituals enacting a shared origin. Origin can provide orientation for future relationships and, thus, icons of commonly shared values are often consciously created to rebuild pride and self-esteem in communities.[31] Preziosi's "metaphorical knots" are not only visible in Hinemihi's carvings. They are further elaborated in a performative history recording events involving her original owners and, simultaneously, providing figures of thought for conversations about her and her community's future. In this contemporary community, a diversity of people seek the traditional and/or authentic – and a Māori identity which, while fabricated, still provides "a model of the world's meaning". Similarly, in Tui Atua's reflections on mythology/history and residence, metaphors are used in an exploration of the Samoan future (2008: 94-6).

Metaphors of Paradise or authentic origin were employed, at different times and for different purposes, in the deployment of all houses discussed in this paper – Mataatua, Hinemihi, the *fale* at Chicago and Wembley, the whare and *fale* at *PCC* and the *fale* at Tropical Islands Resort. To the claims of Sinalei Resort's brochures, that it "embraces all the elements that make Samoa a special place to visit", that its owners "are Samoan and proud of the 'fa'a Samoa' living culture that nurtures the spirit of our People", or, "unspoilt and sincere when [they] say 'afio mai ma tala mai aao' – come in and let us embrace!" (Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, n.d.-b), we can respond in various ways: for instance, by projecting our own fantasies into those statements or by taking a critical distance and unmasking them as inauthentic. Such declarations are, however, made to oneself as much as to others. The iconicity of Samoan values – be they considered original or fake – can only be vital and effective, MacCannell suggests, if the iconic sign is part of a shared semiotic production between addresser and addressee, in which both elevate the iconic image.[32]

Powhiri at Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito, Clandon Park, Surrey.
Photo: Wikitera 2009

Sinalei Reef Resort & Spa, entrance area with employee.
Photo: Engels-Schwarzpaul 2009

For many and complex reasons, the semiotic production of *Adam's House in the Pacific* has been ongoing since Europeans displaced the primitive hut's origins into far-away places. It may be increasing under escalating globalisation, which augments fragmentation and differentiation for more and more populations and makes Pasifika peoples ever more dependent on tourism and, with it, staged authenticity. MacCannell mentions an "urgent intimacy, a mutual fragility and co-dependence between icons and social life" (1992: 251), implying that a sustained engagement with the contemporary equivalent of original dwelling in the Pacific is immediately required. Such engagement cannot simply use Paradise as "a screen for our unrealizable dreams and desires, an opportunity for make-believe, a chance to enter a myth, a fantasy-land" (2008: 337).[33] It cannot be left to an industry producing ever new versions of saccharine Tropical Islands and *Adam's House*. Nor can it be an authenticity promoted (and insisted upon) by conservationists. Paradise, as something that never existed but has forever been imagined in endless forms, can be critically engaged and then perhaps become "a promise as well as a memory" (Rykwert 1981: 192).

33. This engagement must confront the downsides of tourism and iconic architecture in the Pacific: environmental destruction, negative trade balances, and the continued political and economic vulnerability of Pasifika nations *vis à vis* a growing global expansion of Western trade and investment. See the exhibition *Paradise Now? Contemporary Art from the Pacific*, whose exhibits critically engaged with "myths of the Pacific as paradise" (Chiu 2004). It must also grapple with similarities and differences between the backgrounds and effects of whare and *fale*, resulting from an old history and from a recent one, in which Samoa is part of a Third World (independent and according to some in need of development) and Māori in New Zealand belong to a Fourth World (where indigenous people are still under a neo-colonial regime that shapes their sensibilities in different ways).

Samoan Glossary

ava	traditional drink, consumed at ceremonial occasions
fa'a Samoa	the Samoan way
fale	house
fale tele	also, *fale fono*: guest house, meeting house
fono	assembly, council
malae	gathering place
tala	apse-like round ends on either side of a fale tele
tufuga fai-fale	expert, specialist builder

Māori Glossary

hangi	earth oven, where food is cooked with steam and heat from stones
hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kapa haka	concert party, haka group, Māori performance
kawa	protocol
kohanga reo	language nest, Māori language preschool
marae	Māori gathering place
powhiri	welcome ceremony
tāonga	rized possession, heirloom
tapu	sacred, restricted
tohunga	expert, specialist
tūrangawaewae	place where one has rights of residence
whakapapa	genealogy
whare nui	also, whare whakairo, whare puni, whare tūpuna, whare runanga: meeting house, ancestral house

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Sites of Defence Within Picturesque Scenes:

Late eighteenth century representations of natural architecture in New Zealand

Paul James and Robin Skinner

> Candles that flicker in the fissured tombs
> Are the departed ghosts where only stones remain
> Articulate, Dolman or menhir
> Are giant's teeth, sown in a promised land,
> Which promise has abandoned. (Rykwert, 1951: n.p.)

Joseph Banks and the arts-science model

On 24th October 1769, inland of Tolaga Bay on the East Coast of New Zealand, the gentleman naturalist Joseph Banks (1743-1820) recorded:

> We saw also as [sic.] extrordinary natural curiosity. In pursuing a valley bounded on each side by steep hills we on a sudden saw a most noble arch or Cavern through the face of a rock leading directly to the sea, so that through it we had not only a view of the bay and hills on the other side but an opportunity of imagining a ship or any other grand object opposite to it. It was certainly the most magnificent surprize I have ever met with, so much is pure nature superior to art in these cases: I have seen such places made by art where from an appearance totaly inland you was led through an arch 6 feet wide and 7 high to a prospect of the sea, but here was an arch 25 yards in lengh, 9 in breadth and at least 15 in hight. (1962: I.419)

It was an extraordinary setting and Banks was openly struck by it. Although he had seen similar sites in Britain, none were quite like this. Between February 1777 and January 1778 he had made several scientific excursions through England and Wales, where he had visited Iron Age caves and several country seats with newly constructed sham temples, ruins and grottoes (Carter 1988: 42-54). He visited recent projects including Burton Pysent in Somerset by Capability Brown and Piercefield in Monmouthshire by Valentine Morris with its grotto and sham Giant's Cave (Carter 1988: 44-45). Despite – or possibly because of – this experience, the scene at Tolaga Bay clearly moved him.

Although he did not discuss the arch in his journal, James Cook (1728-1779) marked it on his chart. In the subsequent 1773 official account of the voyage, London-based John Hawkesworth (1720-1773) included a drawing of the arch produced from a drawing by J. J. Barralet after an in situ drawing by Banks' secretary during the voyage, Herman Diedrich Spöring (1733-1771) (Joppien and Smith 1985: 171-73). Sydney Parkinson also produced his own drawing (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 "View of a curious arched Rock, having a River running under it, in Tolago Bay…" In Parkinson, Journal of a voyage to the South Seas. 1784. J.C. Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington. Fildes 1533.

As Bernard Smith has noted, there were two interconnected ways of relating to the landscape in the eighteenth century. One was scientific and required accurate recordings of the natural phenomena in order to meet the requirements of the Royal Society. The other attitude was aesthetic, which demanded that the landscape be transformed to conform to various pictorial conventions (Smith 1985: 1-7, 29). Francis Pound has described the dominant pictorial conventions influencing the representation of the New Zealand landscape. Banks' poetic description of the "noble arch" contains qualities that link it with the conventions of the picturesque and the "ideal landscape" (1983: 21). One of the features of the ideal landscape was that it was a construct of the artist's imagination. Images formed through this convention were only intended to give a general idea of the specific landscape represented. The landscape becomes a vehicle for the "pleasures of formal and poetic arrangement" (Pound 1983: 21). Banks' description reveals a clear tension between the two interconnected frameworks through which landscape was understood. His suggestion that there was not only a view of hills on the other side, but an opportunity to imagine a ship, aligns with the practices of the picturesque and the ideal. The landscape is being mined for its potential to form a seductive image. His description is initially of the potential of the noble arch for creating an artistic image. He then follows this with the arch's physical dimensions. The inclusion of such data conforms to the type of information demanded by empiricism. The authority generated by the inclusion of neutral description sits alongside the earlier comment's loose relationship to accuracy.

Two weeks after leaving Tolaga Bay, crewmembers of Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*, recorded another natural arch, surrounded by water at Mercury Bay in the Coromandel Peninsula of New Zealand's North Island. This was known to Māori as Te Puta-o-Paretauhinu (the hole of Paretauhinu) (Porter 1978: 75). Banks declared it to be the "most beautifully romantick thing I ever saw". He continued:

> It was built on a small rock detachd from the main and surroundd at high water, the top of this was fencd round with rails after their manner but was not large enough to contain above 5 or 6 houses; the whole appeard totaly inaccessible to any animal who was not furnished with wings, indeed it was only aproachable by one very narrow and steep path, but what made it most truly romantick was that much the largest part of it was hollowd out into an arch which penetrated quite through it and was in hight not less than 20 yards perpendicular above the water which ran through it. (1962: I. 432)

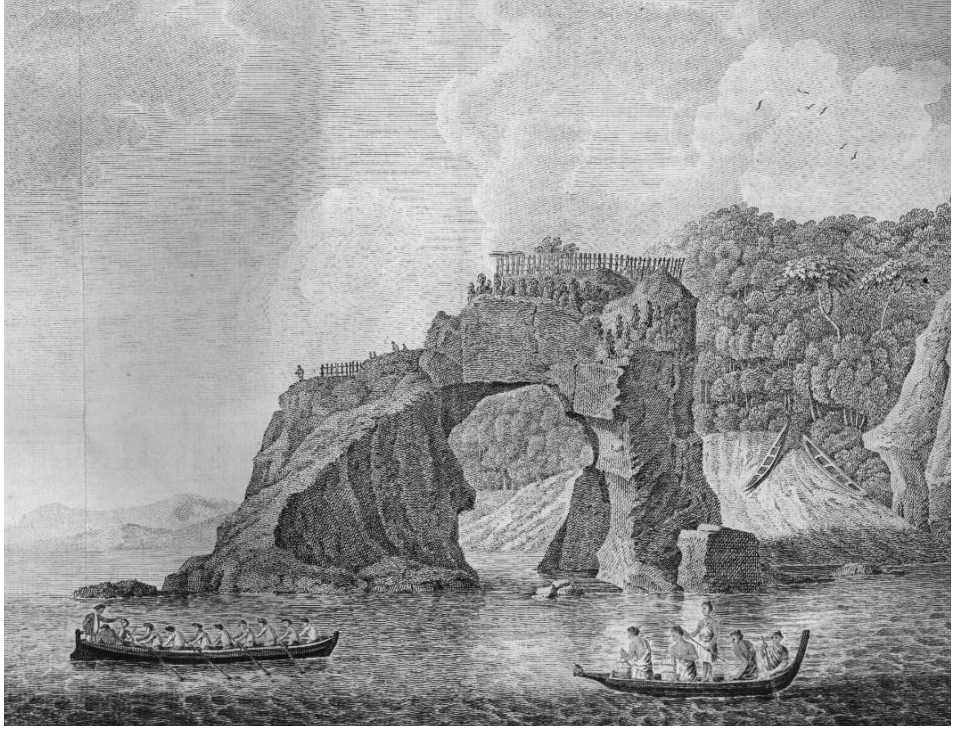

Fig. 2 "A fortified town or village called a Hippah built on a perforated rock at Tolaga in New Zealand." In Hawkesworth, An account II, 1773. J.C. Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington. Fildes 1524.

Banks' omission of the function of the arch is a reflection of the aesthetic framework through which he perceived the feature. Within the aesthetic framework of the picturesque, the geometry of the arch signifies the presence of an order within nature. Banks' aesthetic appreciation of the ocean outcrop demonstrates his cultural capital as he draws upon the image repertoire of Western landscape painting to locate an art affect within natural phenomena. Banks' cultivation of the practice of aesthetic appreciation is in keeping with the advocates of the picturesque, who shifted aesthetic knowledge away from a vocabulary of ideal forms to the practice of sensitivity to sensual experience.

Spöring illustrated the Te Puta-o-Paretauhinu pā on the outcrop, labelling it "Spöring's Grotto" (Salmond 1991: 203). He showed the eastern side of the arch with a large figure standing on the ridge waving a cloth or eel trap. Two canoes were drawn up on the mainland shore, although none are visible in the sea. A waving figure is over-scaled. If Banks' estimate of the arch height of 18 metres (20 yards) is reliable, then this figure represents a man over four metres high. This exaggeration is odd given Spöring's otherwise accurate topographic record. It is reminiscent of the giant and somewhat intimidating armed figures depicted by Isaacs Gilsemans in his drawing of the Three Kings Islands in the account of Tasman's voyage to New Zealand in 1642 (Salmond 1991: 83). In London, J.J. Barralet produced a pencil drawing, from Spöring's image, for reproduction as an engraving in Hawkesworth's official account of the voyage (Fig. 2). He appears to have reduced the size of the figure to be proportionate with the 18-metre arch. In the foreground he added two boats: an eight-oared boat from the *Endeavour* holding 11 people, and a small Māori canoe holding five. The European oarsmen are rowing strenuously, while the Māori figures (which are taken from sketches made by Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771) at Queen Charlotte Sound) are relaxed and stationary. Together these groups contrast the modern European work ethic with notions of native sloth. To use Anthony Vidler's expression, this view was "ratified by anthropology" (1987: 11).

Parkinson also illustrated the pā on the natural arch, showing the western face of the promontory. Although the original image is lost, it formed the basis for an engraving entitled *View of an Arched Rock, on the Coast of New Zealand; with an Hippa, or Place of Retreat, on the Top of it* that was included in Parkinson's posthumous journal, which was controversially published almost simultaneously with the Hawkesworth edition (Fig. 3) (Joppien and Smith 1985: 53-54). The im-

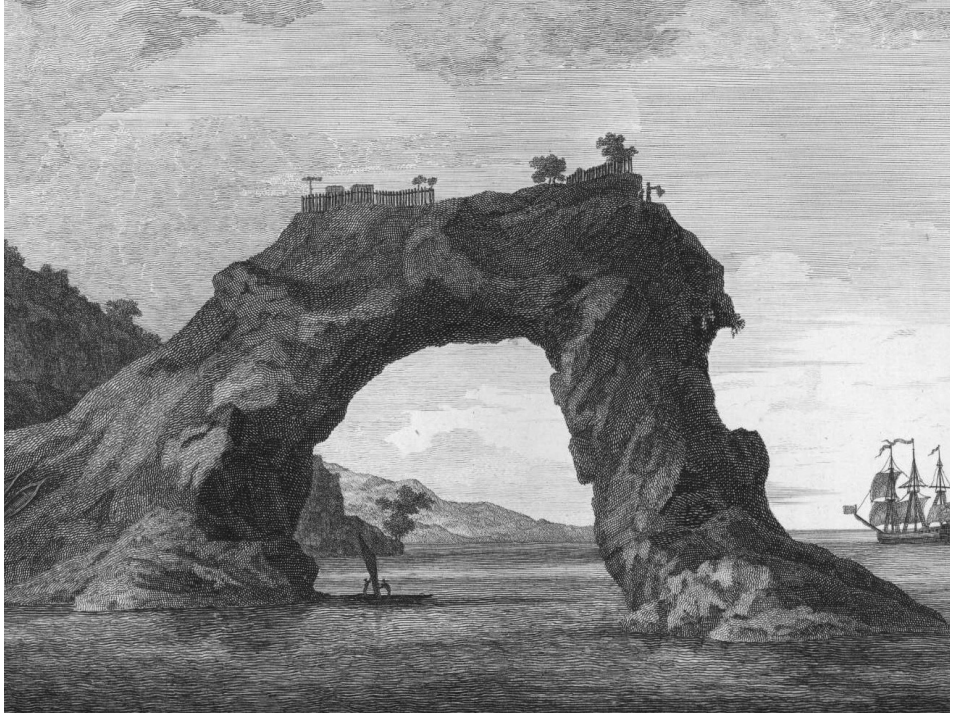

Fig. 3 "View of an Arched Rock, on the Coast of New Zealand; with an Hippa, or Place of Retreat, on the Top of it." In Parkinson, Journal of a voyage to the South Seas. 1784. J.C. Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington. Fildes 1533.

age shows two canoes hauled up on the landward side of the arch, one Māori canoe with a sail under the arch, a Māori waving from the ridge and on the right in the distance the Endeavour was shown under sail. Parkinson's journal noted:

> We saw one of their Hippas, which was situated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a most grand natural arch, one side of which was connected with the land; the other rose out of the sea. Underneath this arch a small vessel might have sailed. It was near a pleasant bay, and almost inaccessible: one of the natives came out and waved a large garment, or piece of cloth, to us as we passed along. (Parkinson 1773: 160)

A few months later, the image was reproduced in the *London Magazine* in a composite engraving entitled, *Hippa, or Place of Retreat on an Arch'd Rock in New Zealand, with a War Canoe: & a Non Descript Animal of New Holland* (illustration of the engraving annexed 1773). As with the Parkinson image, the cut showed a Māori waving a piece of cloth from the ridge, two canoes hauled up on land, and a Māori canoe with a sail under the arch. To this was added another elaborately carved canoe taken from another engraving from Parkinson's volume and a kangaroo, which was probably derived from an engraving in Hawkesworth: that, in turn, was copied from a painting by George Stubbs (Smith 1985: Pl. 1; Parkinson 1773: Pl. XVIII). There was no sign of the *Endeavour* to the right. The accompanying text stated that there were two pā on the arched rock.

Two years later, this image formed the basis for another similarly titled image of the arch with canoe and kangaroo, which was reproduced in a pirated Dublin edition of Hawkesworth's text (Fig. 4). This mirrored the image in the *London Magazine* engraving, although the waving figure was removed and the arch was instead shown covered with rampant vegetation. Through the next few decades, European draftsmen and engravers retraced and reworked the seminal images to the extent that they became emblematic views of the newly discovered lands. Joseph Michael Gandy included the arch, *sans* habitation, in his 1838 composite landscape, *Architecture its natural model* (Smith 1985: 35). Hawkesworth's 1773 description of the settlement on the arch relied heavily on Banks' journal. This is not surprising as Cook made only limited reference to the Te Puta-o-Paretauhinu pa, instead focusing on two other more extensive examples in the vicinity (1968: I.197-203). Cook discussed the fortification, topography, ditches, palisades and internal arrangement of the larger nearby pa called Wharetaewa. With a popu-

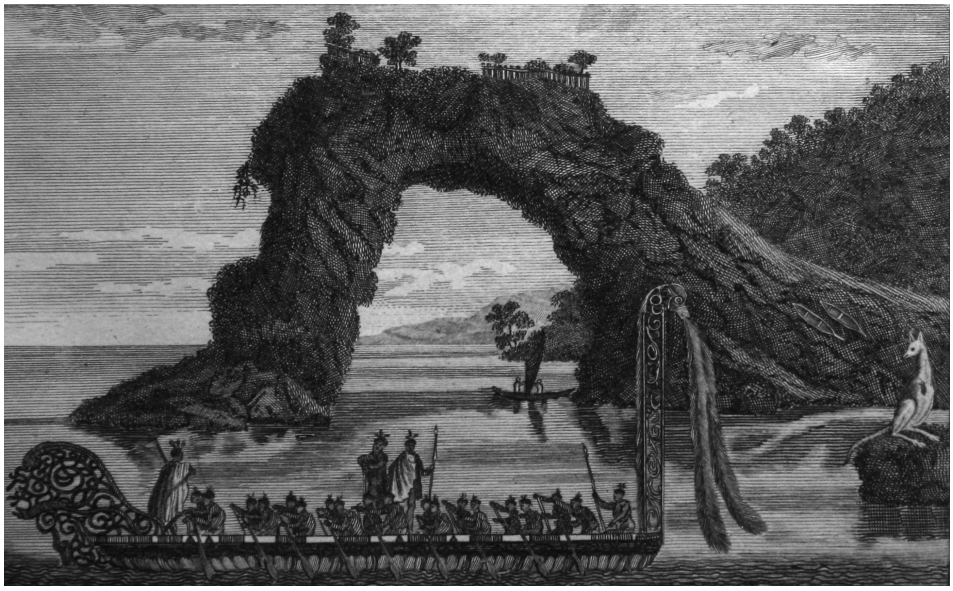

Fig. 4 "Hippa or Place of retreat on an Arch'd rock in New Zealand with War Canoe & a Non-Descript Animal of New Holland." In London Magazine, August 1773, Private collection.

lation of 100 people when he visited, it was an elaborate development, and he took pains to describe its difficult access and how defensible it would be under attack. He also praised the site of another highly structured remnant pā (near the present day settlement of Whitianga), writing "the Situation is such that the best Engineer in Europe could not have choose'd a better for a small number of men to defend themselves against a greater; it is strong by nature, and made more so by Art" (1968: I.197). Cook's use of the word 'Art' here refers to fortification rather than artistic creation. In keeping with the tone of his journal, he did not indicate any aesthetic engagement with the natural structure. His discussion of the settlements at Mercury Bay focuses on the design of the fortifications created by Māori. He was clearly impressed by their military function. His attention to the Māori fortification is understandable given Britain's economic and political interests in the new territories within the Pacific. Assessing indigenous peoples' ability to resist colonisation was an obvious advantage from the voyage. Cook does not appear to share Rousseau's romantic view of primitive people as free from the desire for acquisition of power and wealth. Cook noted the intense rivalries between Māori tribes and the energy expended on warfare. He connected the relative simplicity of Māori dwellings and objects to their frequent battles and territorial rivalries, rather than to their close connection to nature, writing:

> … their Canoes are mean and without ornament, and so are their houses or huts and in general every thing they have about them. This may be owing to the frequent wars in which they are certainly ingaged, strong proofs of this we have seen, for the people who resided near the place where we wooded and who slept every night in the open air place'd themselves in such a manner when they laid down to sleep as plainly shewed that it was necessary for them to be always upon their guard. (1968: I.203)

During times of siege, Māori retreated to their pā, taking defensive positions. Cook understood the pā on the natural arch to be a defensive strategy, rather than a manifestation of an aesthetic appreciation of the landscape. He wrote of the Wharetaewa and Te Puta-o-Paretauhinu pā:

> Under the foot of the point on which this Village stands are 2 Rocks the one just broke off from the Main and other detatched a little from it, they are both very small and more fit for birds to inhabit than men yet there are house[s] and places of defence on each of them, and

> about a Mile to the Eastward of these is a nother of these small fortified Rocks which communicates with the Main by a narrow pathway where there is a small Village of the natives; many works of this kind we have seen upon small Islands and Rocks and Ridges of hills on all parts of the Coast besides a great number of fortified towns, to all appearences Vastly superior to this I have described —
>
> From this it should seem that this people must have long and frequent wars, and must have been long accustom'd to it otherwise they never would have invented such strong holds as these, the erecting of which must cost them immence labour considering the tools they have to work with which are only made of wood & stone … . (1968: I.199-200)

In contrast to Cook's accounts, there is a tension between two models of truth at play within Banks' encounter with the natural arches. The essential truth of the landscape that art can bring to presence is in tension with the scientific model of truth where attentiveness to the specific qualities of appearance of phenomena is required. Operating like a hinge between the two attitudes is Banks' declared preference for the natural arch over the man-made arch. It signals the eighteenth century fascination with natural curiosities and the desire to locate a natural or primitive origin for architecture. The idea of nature and the primitive are interwoven during the eighteenth century in Europe. The enlightenment project proceeded from the classification of natural forms to the classification of human behavior. The terminology used to describe natural forms on occasion slips into the language used to describe non-Western people. The result of this blurring is that descriptions of natural phenomena can start to read emblematically. Banks' description of the natural arch as "noble" resonates with the eighteenth century convention of the noble savage.

Rykwert on the natural source of architecture

In *On Adam's House in Paradise*, Joseph Rykwert discusses the ambivalence to a natural origin of architecture that developed during the eighteenth century in Europe. The competing theories regarding the role of nature, and by extension the primitive in architecture, manifest in the ambivalence expressed in the descriptions of the New Zealand landscape and native population by the early explorers. Rykwert provides several examples of advocates and adversaries of a natural or primitive origin of architecture. The description by Ribart de Chamoust of the natural chamber he stumbles across in the woods on his estate, resonates with Banks' description of the natural arches located in New Zealand (Rykwert 1981: 80). Helpfully, Ribart provides an expedient example of the relationship to nature, informed by theorists such as Laugier and Rousseau.

Ribart argued that for architects to be successful in competing with "the Greeks, they should *not imitate them closely, but go right back to the primitive theory, which is Nature herself*" [our emphasis]. Rykwert summarises Ribart's account of forming a small hall from the modification of a fortuitous grouping of trees within the woods on his estate. The young trees were grouped in threes, arranged triangularly to form "a natural chamber" (1981: 80). Ribart's account weaves together a natural origin with a Greek origin for architecture, stating:

> I almost imitated the ancient people of Achaia, in their composition of the Doric [order]. I had the trees of the chamber cut just above where they branched out … and all at the same height. I had the distance between them spanned by wall plates or lintels, then had beams placed above that, then a ceiling and a roof, and so I rediscovered the Greek type, but under a new species and with considerable differences. (Rykwert 1981: 80)

Rykwert noted that for Ribart the order was something that he encountered rather than devised: the order was somehow implicit in nature.

Writing in 1797 and 1813, Sir James Hall illustrated his attempt to locate a natural origin for architecture. Hall attempted to prove his hypothesis that Gothic architecture was imitative of timber huts by constructing Gothic building elements out of willow rods. He hoped to prove that the ornament and forms created out of stone in Gothic buildings were imitative of an earlier model of timber building rather than the result of the arbitrary molding of form. By establishing a clear mimetic logic for Gothic buildings, he hoped to raise the esteem for Gothic buildings within the general populace (Rykwert 1981: 82-87).

Rykwert provided examples to illustrate the argument, countering the positive reading of a natural or "primitive" origin for architecture, suggesting:

> Schlegel condemns the attempts to find the original forms of Greek architecture in such 'rude contrivances, suggested by the *necessities of savage life*'; he finds the analogy between such a theory of Gothic origins and an equally unproven theory about Greek architecture gratuitous. Romanesque architecture, he further points out, shows no traces of its origins in wickerwork or suchlike. Gothic architecture develops from early Christian and Romanesque, by the operation of the Gothic spirit. (1981: 87, our emphasis)

The conflicting meaning of the concept of the primitive presents itself in the shift in terminology used by Ribart in relationship to Schlegel. Ribart romanticises the primitive by theorising it as a state aligned with a natural order. Schlegel demonises the primitive through his phrase, "savage life". The primitive shifts from a category or state aligned with an essence beyond art, in Ribart's commentary, to a condition of debasement in Schlegel's. Schlegel exorcises the primitive: he distances it from an origin of architecture. It was this flickering of meaning between primitive and savage that informed the intellectual framework and image repertoire of explorers such as Banks.

Banks' attraction towards the natural arch relates most strongly to the version of the primitive established by theorists such as Laugier and Rousseau. The recourse to the illusions of the ideal and picturesque landscape romanticises the notion of the primitive. The description of the natural arch as noble is indicative of the representational mechanisms utilised by the explorer/colonist to psychologically alleviate the threat of the native population. The primitive subject is woven metonymically into the noble arch as an image of a natural origin for architecture. Within his essay "Notes for an Alternative History of the Primitive Hut", Stephen Cairns argued that Laugier's primitive hut "is a theoretical deduction predicated upon a generalised figure of 'man' who, 'by imitating the natural process', comes to discover the correct and proper principles of architecture" (2006: 92). He argued that Laugier's hut is not formed by empirical observation

of either primitive people or their building practices. As Vidler noted, Laugier represses any explicit connection between architectural form and a specific culture. Rather, he favours the formation of a universal form which transcends culture (1987: 20). In these terms, the primitive hut becomes another instance of the attempt to universalise Western culture through the strategic use of the image of the primitive. Cairns describes this process of establishing an essence of architectural form in terms of the domestication of the primitive. The negative and threatening dimension of the primitive are eliminated in the transformation of the primitive into universal man.

Ambivalence and the primitive

In his 1835 posthumous text, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, Thomas Hope wrote that the purpose of shelter was to provide comfort, security and space for possessions. He continued that it was developed with respect to climate, materials, and the influence of soil and atmosphere. He perceived shelter to be an indigenous response to needs, and to the opportunities available to meet those needs. He further observed that however primitive and simple different people were, their buildings would "offer a distinctive form and character, evidently suited to these contingencies, and different from the architecture of other nations not similarly situated" (1835: 2). He discussed and appraised architectural development chronologically from antiquity to the Greek Revival. In his introduction, Hope made early mention of Māori houses. (It is probably the first mention of Māori in an architectural publication.) He wrote:

> The savage, on the shores of New Zealand, possessed of no goods; indifferent to wife and children; with no care beyond that for his own hideous person, and for that person merely requiring, during the hours of repose, shelter against the fury of the blast or of the bird of prey, digs in the sand, for his living body, a hole little larger than that which he might require for his grave. (1835: 2)

By locating extreme depravity in the part of the world that was farthest from Britain, Hope's observation implied that Britain was farthest from such depravity. His description of the home of the New Zealander was unusual and inaccurate and it appears that he conflated reports of architecture in different parts of the South Seas – possibly Australia. His account runs counter to a positive reading of a natural or "primitive" origin for architecture. Hope's description of the Māori house was far more degraded than other early nineteenth century writers, such as J.L. Nicholas and R.A. Cruise, described in the 1810s and 1820s. Even earlier, Hawkesworth had quoted Banks on the houses of Māori, writing:

> Their houses are certainly the most inartificially made of any thing among them, scarce equal to a European dog-kennel and resembling one in the door at least which is barely high and wide enough to admit a man crawling on all fours. (1773: III. 54)

Banks described how over the door, or in the house, a plank was fixed "cover'd" with their carving (carving for Banks was applied). This Māori call a pare. Banks wrote that Māori valued this "much as we do a picture, placing it always as conspicuously as possible" (1962: I.17). Finding equivalence between the homes of Māori and those of animals implicitly equated the two and served to debase, rather than elevate, the New Zealander.

Banks' positive reading of natural architecture of the sublime geological formations that has been discussed earlier is here countered by his negative descriptions of Māori buildings, as noted above: "Their houses are the most inartificially made of any thing among them". Within Banks' writing, then, we can find both positive and negative readings of the natural and primitive. The alignment of the primitive with nature is, however, twisted to justify a negative response to Māori architecture. The eighteenth century fascination for natural arches lay, in part, in their potential to help establish a natural origin for architecture. The emblematic role of the natural arch was to provide an example of the elemental components within architectural construction. The rhetorical figure of the arch was deformed by its deployment by Māori within a defensive military strategy. The gaps between Cook's and Banks' descriptions of the natural arch provide useful insights into the complex processes involved within the early explorers' attempts to comprehend the newly discovered lands of the Pacific. Banks' privileging of the aesthetic value of the arch ignores the cultural and pragmatic value of landscape to Māori that Cook observed. Cultural constructs such as the natural and the primitive were tested and reformed through their transportation to such new contexts.

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What's in a Name?

The First House in New Zealand architectural discourse[1]

Julia Gatley

In the writing on new New Zealand houses of the 1990s and the opening years of the twenty-first century, frequent reference was made to "the Group", taking in the Architectural Group (1946), Group Construction Company (1949-51), Group Architects (1951-64) and sometimes Wilson & Juriss (1964-68). Architects of award-winning houses acknowledged the influence of the Group on their work, and comparisons to Group houses became an accepted practice among critics. Meanwhile, historians of New Zealand architecture focused particular attention on one Group house: their first, designed and built by the Group Construction Company in the North Shore, Auckland, suburb of Takapuna and known as the First House. In this later historicising literature, the 1948 assertion by the acknowledged Group leader, Bill Wilson, that "there is no architecture in New Zealand. NONE!" was framed as anticipating the 1949-50 design and completion of the First House. Justine Clark recognised that the First House "is now understood ... as the moment that modernism came to New Zealand" (2004: 51). In the 1990s and early 2000s, then, the Group in general, and the First House in particular, were entangled in a discourse about the origins of New Zealand architecture.

This paper considers the two bodies of literature: that on award-winning houses and origins; and that of history and the First House. It shows that in the case of the houses, recourse was to the notion of the Group rather than to specific Group houses. That is, the Group were cited as an origin, but an actual house was not. Unlike Rykwert's origins, however, which were "memor[ies] of something which cannot but be lost" (1972: 14), there really was a First House – it existed; it still does. For a time in 1992-93, there was even a second version of it, a partial recreation within the walls of the Auckland City Art Gallery.

In considering the house's privileged place in architectural history, this paper gives particular attention to its name. As Clark observed, using Juan Pablo Bonta's ideas about canon formation, "The First House is embedded in the New Zealand canon partly because of the rhetorical potential contained in its name." (2004: 50)

This paper, in following one of Bonta's suggested approaches of arranging texts in chronological order to identify changes over time (1979: 131), shows that the Group were not the ones to elevate their first house with the capitalised and categorical name, First House. It identifies the original name, Experimental House, as well as two subsequent name changes, showing that the capitalised name only came into use in 1991-92. This is important because the name has captured architectural imaginations and has had subsequent effects. In particular, the assumed link between Wilson's claim about the country's lack of architecture and the completion of its "first house" a short time later, hinges upon the name. To question the purposefulness or intentionality of the name, is to destabilise the house's primacy.

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The "Jesus Christ of New Zealand Architecture"

In the mid-to-late 1990s, three award-winning New Zealand houses were interpreted and discussed in terms of reference to and influence of the Group: the Clifford House, Auckland, 1991-95, designed by Architectus: Bowes Clifford Thompson for Architectus director Patrick Clifford; the Livingstone Street Townhouses, Auckland, 1996, by Felicity Wallace; and the Heatley House in the Bay of Islands, 1997, by Pete Bossley Architects. The three were *Home and Building*'s Home of the Year for 1996, 1997 and 1998 respectively and the Clifford House was also the winner of an NZIA-Resene National Award for Architecture for 1997.

Of the Clifford House, Debra Millar wrote: "There are strong, and acknowledged, links to the Group Architects' houses from the 1950s; houses with a humble, make-do quality and directness of purpose." (1995: 56) Kevin Brewer interpreted the house solely in terms of references to the Group, quoting Bill Wilson at length, referring to the Group's "rationalisation", "structural honesty" and "clear articulation of the post and beam structure", and concluding that "[t]he development of these techniques is the (real) beauty of the Clifford House" (1997: 92).

Pete Bossley himself acknowledged the Group's influence on his Heatley House: "House and sleepout are concerned with modernism's investigations of transparency, combined with a critical use of timber construction which develops some of the explorations of New Zealand architects from the 1950s onwards, especially the Group." (1999: 103)

The references to Wallace's Livingstone Street Townhouses being in the tradition of the Group are more subtly worded: "Firmly rooted in the New Zealand tradition [of "the 1960s and 1970s"], it is a home that makes use of materials – concrete block, rough-sawn timber and corrugated iron – that are commonly associated with a 'Kiwi' vernacular." (*Home of the Year*: 61). However, Wallace was soon to be more heavily entwined in the discourse by Giles Reid, who suggested that in every lecture he had ever heard her give, she had cited the Group as an influence on her work (1999: 70). In response, she made a plea for the continual comparisons to end: "The difficulty I have with the Group is that they – 'it' – has become the Jesus Christ of New Zealand architecture. All our architecture has become referenced to this period ... And for Christ's sake, do we need to be compared to them?" (1999: 6)

Wallace's plea was to no avail. Indeed, such comparisons were not limited to award-winning houses but were *de rigueur* for reviews of houses more generally in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. For example, in 1997 Ken Davis suggested that Gerald Parsonson's Gibbs House "appears to owe a debt to … the extruded form of the houses by the Group Architects." (61) Jasper van der Lingen, Chris Kelly and Amanda Hyde de Kretser, writing of Architecture+'s Wairarapa fishing cabin, stated that "[r]elevant precedents are well understood and interpreted, from Le Corbusier's Petite Maison through to Glenn Murcutt, with an awareness of the typical New Zealand 1950s Group home." (AHI Roofing 2000: 62) Architecture Workshop's Andrews House, Blenheim, was a winner because: "In the spirit of the Group houses of the 1950's this building is stunningly clear in its thinking and immaculately detailed." (Nelson/Marlborough 2002: 60)

More generally, Amanda Reynolds referred to the Group in a comment on origins: "I'd particularly like to see some reference to the origins of New Zealand architecture, post-50s housing architecture and that's Vernon Brown, the Group,

and ... baches." (Everybody's Talking, 1998: 115) The G4 Exhibiting Unit, under the title *Connections: The House in the Auckland Scene*, combined an exhibition of 23 mostly recent houses designed by Auckland architects including Bossley, Clifford and Wallace, with a catalogue celebrating the 1950s houses of the Group, Wilson & Juriss and others, reiterating the lineage of the 1990s houses in 1950s and '60s houses in general and Group houses in particular. In 2001, the NZIA awarded its Gold Medal to the Architectural Group.

The 1990s houses attracting these comparisons were predominantly by graduates of the Auckland School of Architecture in the 1970s or early '80s, when former Group member, Allan Wild, was Dean, and influential commentator on the Group, David Mitchell, was teaching at the School. Mitchell wrote about the Group in the *AAA Bulletin* in 1977, his article published alongside an interview with Wild. The six-part television series and book, *The Elegant Shed*, followed. Perceptive and engaging, the TV series reached a general audience while the 1984 book remains that decade's "watershed" publication on New Zealand architecture (Wood 2005: 72-79). Within its geographic structure, Mitchell and Chaplin identified the Group as Auckland's leading architects after World War II. At the School, Mitchell taught a course on New Zealand architecture with content including the Group. This is not to suggest that he was solely responsible for teaching this generation about the Group, but to acknowledge that he in particular was liked, admired and had influence. The AAA's symposium "in honour of the Group" was also held in this period (Extracts, 1982). Speakers included Wild and Mitchell, as well as former Group members Jim Hackshaw and Ivan Juriss. Students and members of the AAA attended.

Notable through the "Group Guru" (Wallace 1999: 6) articles of the 1990s and early 2000s is the extent to which the comparisons were to the Group in general rather than to particular buildings, and certainly not to the First House. And clearly, there was expectation that New Zealand architects (Auckland-trained ones, at least) had some sense of what a Group building looked like. First and foremost, it was assumed to be a house, even though the 1950s architects did produce other building types. The imagined Group house was usually of timber, but sometimes it was of brick or concrete block. When built of timber, it might have had a post and beam construction. The imagined house often had a wide gabled roof, but on other occasions it had an extruded plan and a skillion roof. A range of other attributes was often cited: structural and aesthetic economies; minimum materials and maximum spans; open plans; efficient plans; modular plans; and an overall simplicity, directness, clarity or honesty.[2]

This reading of the Group as an origin for 1990s and early 2000s practice casts them as what Rykwert has termed "hero-inventors" and "primitive builders" (1972: 16), appropriate in that the Group were not only the designers but also the builders of the first couple of houses. Photographs record and celebrate the act of building (Fig. 1). This reading might also seem to imply the location of their 1950s and '60s houses – suburbia – as some kind of paradise. But this was not the case. The Group themselves had railed against the suburb in their 1946 manifesto: "We New Zealanders live in a chaos of unplanned speculative building under an unthinking, self-seeking system of land-subdivision. Our suburbias spread their tentacles along all city traffic routes." (Architectural Group 1946: 2) Suburbia has been the subject of much criticism since this time, yet the detached house has remained Auckland's desired norm. If there is paradise in here, then it is in the idealised New Zealand dream of the detached house and garden rather than the reality of the location of such houses in suburbs.

2. Setting them apart from the 1950s precedents, the 1990s renditions were often for wealthier clients, with the Group's moral imperative, the egalitarianism and the unpretentiousness articulated by Wilson (1957: 28), often overlooked or forgotten, recalling the loss of early modernism's social underpinning as it was taken up by the corporate world, particularly in the United States.

Fig. 1: The First House under construction in 1950. Source: Architecture Archive, The University of Auckland.

From Experimental House to First House

If *The Elegant Shed* was one of the key moments in the mythologising of the Group, the Auckland City Art Gallery's *1950s Show* (September 1992-March 1993) was among those that focused explicitly on the First House, including as it did a partial recreation of it inside the gallery walls: a building within a building. Clark describes it as the "most public manifestation" of the house's canonisation (2004: 49). Exhibition-goers walked through the recreated house to experience other parts of the show. To reflect upon the complexities of this rebuilding, it is useful to first step back to 1949-50 when the house was designed and built, and to trace its changing name.

The Group Construction Company were not the ones to capitalise the name, First House. The original 1949 drawings were labelled "house at … Northboro Rd Takapuna" (Shaw 1992: 25). In 1950, when the young designers and builders pursued the publication of the house, they clearly gave some thought to giving it a catchy name. As it was built speculatively, it could not follow the established practice of taking the name of the client. Instead the name Experimental House was used (Group Construction 1950: 27; Fairburn 1950: 6). The selection of this name followed the precedent set by Wellington's Architectural Centre Inc., in naming its 1948-49 student-designed and -built house, the Demonstration House. The *Architects' Journal* described the Wellington and Auckland houses together as "experimental houses" (House Built: 362).

The name Experimental House continued to be used in the 1950s. In the exhibition, *Home Building 1814-1954*, for example, recent graduate James Garrett labelled it "Experimental house, Takapuna, 1950" (1954: 22). In 1966, in his entry on architecture in the *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Garrett made reference to the Group's "two experimental houses in Northboro' Road, Takapuna" (1966: 69).

Two years later, Graham Pitts, in his B.Arch. building report on the Group, did not use the name Experimental House, but instead referred to the building as their "first house" (1968: 10, 36, 53). Though an undergraduate assignment, Pitts' report nonetheless signalled important changes in the writing on the Group. Garrett had been their near contemporary and had written about them with currency, whereas Pitts' report acknowledged Wilson's death that year and provided a survey of their work. More than 40 years later, it remains the most substantial source on the Group. It has been repeatedly consulted by subsequent writers and has had much greater influence than an undergraduate report would normally enjoy.

Indeed, from this time on, the name Experimental House was largely replaced by the name, "first house". This occurred in a wave of published references that were increasingly retrospective. They begin in 1977 with Mitchell's article, "Group Architects: Hot and Cool," and the associated interview with Wild; and continue with Miles Warren's 1978 article, "Style in New Zealand Architecture"; and Mitchell and Chaplin's 1984 book, *The Elegant Shed*. Mitchell's 1977 article does not mention the house by name, even though it is the subject of all four photographs used to illustrate the article and interview. Wild referred to "the first house we put up" (Wild 1977: 9). Warren (1978: 2) and Mitchell and Chaplin (1984: 32) referred more explicitly to the "first house".

Responsibility for the third wave of publication on both the Group in general and their first house in particular lies with curator and writer, Peter Shaw, whose *Metro* article, "The Group Architects and the Auckland House", appeared in mid-1991 and whose extensive survey of New Zealand architecture was launched later that year. The following year, Shaw curated the architecture section of the *1950s Show* at the Auckland City Art Gallery – designed by McKay Pearson Architects – and wrote the accompanying essay on architecture in the special issue of *Home and Building* that served as the exhibition catalogue.

It is in Shaw's work of this period that the capitalised name, First House, first occurs. In the *Metro* article and in the first edition of his history of New Zealand architecture, the capitalised name was used only in the captions to photographs (1991a: 121, 122; 1991b: 155). A year later, in the *1950s Show* catalogue, it featured in the main body of the text – not once but three times – along with its sibling, the now also capitalised Second House (1992: 26-27).

Shaw (2009) acknowledges that the capitalisation was a conscious decision on his part. On the one hand, in print publication, it made these (the first and second) houses typographically consistent with the many houses named after their clients. The name "First Group House" would have served this function adequately and accurately, but Shaw also recognised that dropping "Group" left behind two words with the potential to capture the public imagination, a particular consideration for someone conscious that he was taking architecture beyond the profession to general audiences: readers of *Metro* and of an accessible survey text on New Zealand architecture; and, particularly, visitors to the Auckland City Art Gallery.

The capitalised name adorned the recreated house. Photographs capture it in the foreground with quotations from Wilson's 1948 essay printed on the wall behind, ensuring that the link was made between his claim regarding the country's then lack of architecture and the subsequent completion of its "First House" (Figs. 2 and 3).

This dominant exhibit attracted attention and etched itself on the memories of exhibition goers, including reviewers. Tim Nees concluded that: "As this house was the seminal local modern work it was the appropriate choice for such treatment." (1993: 9) Seminal is a potent word. Its use was not supported by evidence or rationale, implying that readers were expected both to know and appreciate why it was the appropriate choice. Yet other authors have found primacy in other houses. For example, in 1942, H. Courtenay Archer identified the Robin Simpson House, Auckland (1938-39), as "one of the most uncompromisingly con-

Fig. 2: The photograph of the recreated First House that illustrated reviews of the 1950s Show. Source: Auckland City Art Gallery.

temporary buildings in New Zealand, yet built in timber" (55), the "yet built in timber" implying local difference from international models. Simpson's house was of course too early to have been included in the *1950s Show*, but even other authors representing the Group with just one building have used a range of different houses: Garrett (1958: 42) chose the All-Pine Prefab; Nikolaus Pevsner (1959: 213) chose the Mallitte House; John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven (1972: 91) chose the Robertson House (too late to have been a candidate for the *1950s Show*); Martin Hill (1976: 37) chose the Catley House; Terence Hodgson (1990: 83), like Pevsner, chose the Mallitte House; and Jennifer Taylor (1996: 1665) chose the Rotherham House.

From recent (2009) conversations with Shaw and McKay, it is clear that the name of the house and its link to Wilson's 1948 claim was just one factor governing the decision to recreate the First House. Another was that, with its Group-designed and -made furniture, and Anthony Treadwell mural, this house best demonstrated modern architecture's dialogue with art and other design disciplines, and this relationship was therefore reflected in the one exhibit. Pragmatics were also a factor: a portion of the First House would fit within the gallery space whereas some of the other houses, such as the two-storeyed Rotherham House, would not.

During and after the *1950s Show*, individuals writing about the First House adopted the capitalised name (Packer 1992: 9; Nees 1993: 9). Philip Thomas, in his B.Arch. research report on the house, recognised Shaw's capitalisation and its effect in raising the house to "an exalted position" (1993: 20, 39). Paraphrasing Wilson (1948), he suggested that "NZ goes from architecture NONE to architecture ONE" (1993: 30). He chose not to follow Shaw's lead, referring to the "first Group house" except when quoting Shaw's "First House". This clarity of attribution was lost from the article he contributed to *Modern New Zealand* two years later, where the capitalised version of the name appeared without specific mention of Shaw (1995: 20, 25).

By the late 1990s, the capitalised name, First House, was entrenched and widely used (Shaw 1997 [1991]: 200; McKay 1998: 260; McKay 1999: 211; Clark & Walker 2000: 30-33, 70-74, 87; Lloyd Jenkins 2003: 22-23; Lloyd Jenkins 2004: 118-19, 309; Clark 2004: 48-52; Lloyd Jenkins 2006: 47). Creative interpretation had made a seamless transition into the canon as a result of iteration. More than this, the capitalised name was assumed to have been used intentionally:

> The Group's first house, built without client at … Northboro Rd, Belmont, had been given the emphatic name First House. The house was their first but the name also signalled that this was the first house of a new New Zealand approach to architecture. The claim was bold. (Lloyd Jenkins 2003: 22)

Fig. 3: A visitor to the 1950s Show *gazes at a state house and Bill Wilson's 1948 words: "there is no architecture in New Zealand. NONE!" Photograph courtesy of Rick Pearson.*

Indeed it was bold: boldly made in the 1990s. And it was not adopted universally. A smaller number of commentators, particularly those of the Group's generation, continued to refer to the building as the "first Group house" or the "Group's first house" (Petry 1993: 51; Lasenby 2001: 93; Beard 2004: 12; Rotherham 2004: 16). Peter Bartlett, who as a student had worked on the 1954 *Home Building* exhibition, resurrected the name Experimental House (1998: 15). Allan Wild, one of the builders of the house, has been consistent in using lower case letters for both the "first" and "second" houses (Wild n.d.: 6; Wild 1999a: 17-18; Wild 1999b: 7-8). Indeed, he commented on this very matter thus: "What did we call them? Our first house, and our second house; no capital initials, no implications of 'negating the past'." (2004: 2) He also commented that the Group quite often called themselves "group architects". Similarly, their manifesto and their magazine were both published with titles written in lower case letters: *on the necessity for architecture* and *planning* 1. This consistent use of the lower case followed developments in typography, a particular interest of Group member, Bruce Rotherham, who did their graphics. As the editor of *Long Live the Modern*, I hereby admit to capitalising Wild's "first house" and "second house" for the publication in that volume (Wild 2008: 57). Typographic consistency was my priority.

Conclusions

The first part of this paper has suggested that for architects who trained at the Auckland School in the 1970s and early '80s and rose to profile in the 1990s, Group-designed houses operated as an origin. The return to origins was part of a renewal in New Zealand architecture, combining the rejection of the decadence of post-modern architecture with the rediscovery of the modern (see Clifford 1995: 2-5). The particular modernism rekindled was that which had been admired, discussed and taught to them by an earlier generation. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the influence was interpreted and communicated in terms of general attributes rather than specific references to one or more particular houses.

Yet there really was a First House. Or was there? The second part of this paper has questioned the privileged status of the first Group house by showing that it was only given its current name comparatively recently. The change from Experimental House to "first house" followed Wilson's death and marked the beginning of the Group as an historical phenomenon; that from "first house" to "First House" confirmed their fate as historical fact.[3]

Having traced the changing name of the house, a later comment by Wilson takes on new and perhaps greater importance than the famous lines of 1948 regarding New Zealand's lack of architecture:

3. Meanwhile, Wellington's Demonstration House retains its original name. This house is not embedded in the New Zealand canon in the way the First House is. Rather, it was largely forgotten until the mid-1990s when it was recovered through archival research conducted in conjunction with the Architectural Centre's 50th anniversary celebrations. For information on this house, see Gatley (1996).

Fig. 4: The international modern room within the 1950s Show, *a counterpoint to the regional modernism of the First House. Source: Auckland City Art Gallery.*

> This sort of question [about firsts] belongs after the event, to be answered by critics and historians, not by the practising architect. He cannot properly say, 'Now I shall build a New Zealand house' any more than the writer can say, 'Now I shall write the great New Zealand novel.' (1961: 11)

As theorised by Wilson, it had indeed been left to critics, historians and commentators to decide which house would be recognised as the first house of the New Zealand modern. They – we – have read and written this significance into the house, its changing name both reflecting and reinforcing its evolving place in the historical record. To recognise the introduction and then increasingly collective and consensual use of the capitalised name, First House, is not to pin down the canonisation of this one building, but rather to confirm the "shaky foundations"[4] on which the current interpretation rests.

4. "Shaky foundations" are Bonta's words. He concludes that "the canonical interpretation of Barcelona [i.e. Mies' Barcelona Pavilion] was based on somewhat shaky foundations" (1979: 203).

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Uncovering the Strategic:
The appeal to nature in early twentieth-century architectural discourse in Australia

Paul Hogben

Reference to nature as a source for architectural inspiration has been an enthusiasm for many architectural theorists and practitioners in Australia. Interpretations of this relationship, and its various incarnations and renewals, have been germane to a certain discursive construction of what characterises Australian architecture and the Australian architect. The most fulsome example of this is presented in *Leaves of Iron: Glenn Murcutt, Pioneer of an Australian Architectural Form*, in which Philip Drew insists on an integral relationship between Murcutt's buildings and the architect's love of nature. Drew states that one of Murcutt's demands is that architecture, while maintaining its man-made identity, should "approach nature, that it possess a comparable richness, variability, and overall continuity" (1985: 45). Murcutt's attachment to nature is depicted as Thoreau-like, inspired by the idea of attaining higher understanding, rationality and truth through an immersion in the "genius loci" of a place and the natural elements of Australian landscapes. This attachment, Drew explains, was fostered at an early age and through a studied fascination with nature and the practical and poetic potential it held for the creation of architecture.

Drew differentiates Murcutt's position from the enthusiasms of a group of Sydney architects whose "escape into nature" in the 1950s and 1960s, he states, was motivated by "a rejection of industrialism and Modern architecture as a symbol of the industrial order" (1985: 21). Unlike Murcutt, with his interests in steel technology, the Miesian floating pavilion and abstraction, these architects favoured rustication, exposed rough-sawn timber and clinker bricks as ways of relating to and representing nature in their buildings. For Jennifer Taylor, the "fresh vision" and poetic response of these "romantic" architects had historical precedents in the Heidelberg school of painters of the 1880s and the landscape movement in eighteenth-century England (1986: 50).

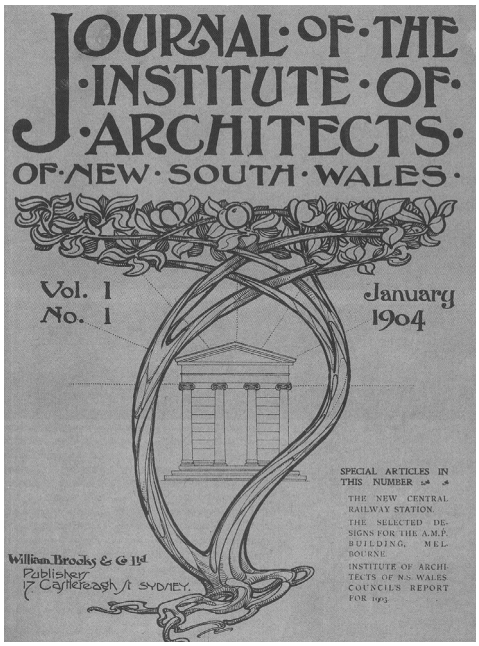
In Drew's and Taylor's accounts, nature is treated as something that touches their subjects through empirical observation, bodily sensations and the imagination. We are given the impression that this encounter is mostly an intimate or meditative affair that prompts a philosophical and practical ethic of architectural decision-making relating to material choices and treatments, relationships with site and surrounds, proportions and architectonic expression. Attributed with Thoreau-like associations and qualities, these Australian encounters are generally not considered part of a formal discourse and carry the suggestion of being the antithesis of institutionalised knowledge. Said to be based on a sympathetic connection with nature and the embrace of its rawness and difficulty, these experiences are presented as being unaffected by the conventional demands and manners of professional and institutionalised discourse. But can they be so disassociated? What are the conditions of 'the said' in describing these experiences? Are these conditions negligible? When turning to primary sources, we find that there are verbal and written formulations involved, in which thoughts and ideas

are communicated, and there are particular sites from which these formulations have been spoken, written, heard, read and reproduced, all suggesting the existence of discourse. In recognising this existence, it becomes possible to consider frameworks of analysis that uncover dimensions to statements about architecture and nature in Australia that have been obscured by the dominant tendency to sanctify the mytho-poetic idea and encounter.

Moving away from a method that saw discourse as having its own autonomous life, with system-like rules of formation, to a genealogical pursuit of the workings of power that act to objectify and discipline the human body, Michel Foucault gave discourse a special status in the history of the human sciences. In an interview in 1977, Foucault described his focus as the "problem of the 'discursive régime', of the effects of power peculiar to the play of statements" (Foucault 1980: 113). In his work, discourse is treated as a site and instrument of power as strategic action, where the effects of power are attributed to "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings" and that "one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity" (Foucault 1977: 26). When there was talk of meaning and value, virtue and goodness, Foucault would look for the play of wills and for strategies of domination (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 109).

This essay argues that there are dimensions to statements about architecture and nature that reveal the play of wills and strategies for attaining control and authority over the space in which design practices and associated subjects get ascribed with meaning and legitimacy. This 'space' is defined by discourse, as supported by the media, in which ideological, institutional and commercial interests are active. The essay shows that discourse on architecture and nature has had the strategic function of setting up terms for the critical assessment of domestic architecture in Australia. These terms are formed within arguments about the virtues of nature as an inspirational source for architectural design and decoration. The evocation of the primitive and original forms of expression has been used to provide these terms with historical credence. Having the institutional and media resources to foster this discourse meant that certain powers of legitimisation could be created and used for the purposes of making aesthetic and ethical judgements and distinctions. When considering the strategic functions of this discourse, it is the powers of legitimisation that come to the fore.

The focus of this study is the post-Federation period of the 1900s, a time when an appeal to nature was a central tenet of architectural discourse in Sydney. Ideas about using nature as a source of artistic and architectural inspiration were fused with sentiments about national character in architecture and architectural decoration. The first section of this essay describes the thrust of this discourse as it was published in *Art and Architecture*, the journal of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales. The second section examines an extension of this discourse in the attention that was given to images of South Pacific islands and islander building. These were the first images of the South Pacific islands to be published in the Institute's journal and were editorially valued as potent projections of artistic inspiration coming from a close study of, and sympathetic connection to nature. The final section of the essay examines the strategic functions of this discourse which, as indicated above, centred on establishing critical authority over domestic architecture in Australia.



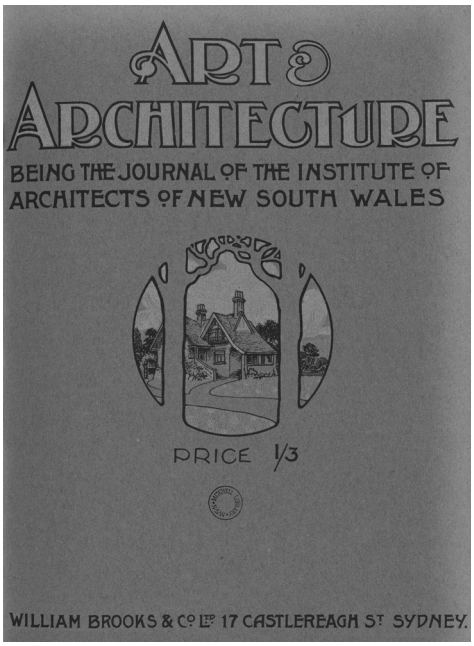


Fig. 1: Journal Cover. Journal of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales, *1(1), (1904).*

Fig. 2: Journal Cover. Art and Architecture, *2(2), (1905).*

The appeal to Nature

The Institute of Architects of New South Wales was founded in 1871 and in subsequent decades it underwent decline, revival and decline, even to the point where disbandment was contemplated in 1897. Over this time the Institute endured a wavering association with the Sydney building press as a medium for its publicity, an association that often broke down on occasion in outright hostility.[1] Following the lead of its Victorian counterpart, the Institute initiated a journal of its own in 1904 with the hope that "it may appeal to all who care for Architecture, and not merely to those who follow it as a profession" (Prefatory Note, 1904). The first cover design shows two tree trunks that bow and then intertwine to form a wreath of leaves and floral decoration that couches the name of the journal (Fig. 1). The tree frames an Ionic temple front, an image Philip Goad suggests was meant to reinforce the natural basis of architecture and which echoes the fin-de-siècle ideals of William Lethaby (Goad 2004: 19). Indeed, Lethaby is present on the pages of the journal, in an occasional citation, but more so as part of a general set of Ruskinian themes that held sway. In 1905 the title of the journal became *Art and Architecture*, a name felt more expressive of the ambitions of the editors[2] and Institute supporters to claim an artistic platform for the architectural profession and to manufacture an image of synchronicity between architecture, art and artistic craftsmanship (Fig. 2). This had been modestly available to Institute members in their previous involvement with the building press and the establishment of their own journal, under the banner of *Art and Architecture,* breathed new life into architectural discourse in Sydney, with the editorial aim of raising it to a class of literary excellence. The new cover design shows two tree trunks acting as a frame, this time for a rendering of an Arts and Crafts style house nestled in a picturesque landscape, testimony to the rising status of domestic architecture as a focus of discussion. J. M. Freeland stated that the new journal was heavily biased towards the first word of its name and that it was a "luxurious, lavish, art-paper publication full of dilettante articles" (Freeland 1971: 76).

1. The Institute of Architects of New South Wales had entered into arrangements with the *Australasian Builder and Contractors' News* and the *Building and Engineering Journal* for access to Institute meetings and the publication of Institute announcements and reports. These journals also published the work and writings of Institute members. What seemed to be mutual good will was broken in 1891 when hostility broke out between John Horbury Hunt, then President of the Institute and the journal editors over allegations of misrepresentation.

2. I use the plural term 'editors' here to refer to the people who edited the *Journal of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales* (1904) and *Art and Architecture* (1905-1912) at different times. John Barlow was editor from 1904 to 1908. George Sydney Jones and David Henry Souter were joint editors from October 1908 to January 1912. Souter was the journal's art editor under Barlow. Nicholas Shiels took over from Jones for the last two issues of *Art and Architecture* in 1912.

Freeland's judgement of dilettantism should not belittle the zeal with which the journal's editors and some of it key contributors articulated an argument about the true source of artistic and architectural creativity. They argued that art was not to be based on classical mimesis but on the interpretation of the "spirit" of the Australian landscape: its tone, atmosphere and "dreamy wistfulness", as George Sydney Jones put it (1908: 167). As good landscape artists attempted to capture this spirit in their paintings, architects could represent it in the decorative details and ornaments of their buildings. They believed the impulse towards representing natural beauty in decorative form could be traced back to the earliest acts of primitive man in which lay the seeds of social organisation and the germination of national identity. In an article entitled "A Plea for National Character in Architectural Decoration", George Taylor wrote,

> The desire for decoration has always been a characteristic trait of human nature, and the world's most precious historical records are the examples of decoration of ancient peoples. It is doubtful if primitive man would have ever progressed if he had not struggled to make things beautiful, for the appreciation of beauty is not to satisfy the eye alone; the ear and other senses must also participate in the delight; hence pleasant sounds and motions naturally followed. Such expressions being social, to enjoy them there had to be leisure for individuals–hence intercourse between families and so development into tribes and nations. From records preserved we find mankind ever went to Nature for inspiration in design; so primitive man decorated his habitation by picturing the animals of the chase. We find throughout history the style of decoration correlative with the methods of life of the time; and nations adopting decoration more and less peculiar to the aims and temperaments of those nationalities. (1904: 29)

Taylor's article was a case for sgraffito, the technique of inscribing patterns into wall surfaces by making cuts into coloured layers of tinted plaster or cement. He argued that sgraffito, which he said had been used by the Romans, provided a permanent form of decoration in the modern home in comparison to the "make-believe" and "temporary effect" of things such as machine-pressed leather used to resemble "carved wood" or friezes made of pressed paper pulp. New ornamental shapes and patterns could be taken from fern fronds or the curves of waratah petals. "Nature in Australia is replete with new and suggestive detail," Taylor claimed (1904: 31).

John Bede Barlow, editor of *Art and Architecture*, held the same opinion as Taylor, stating that Australian flora and fauna provided "endless suggestions" for decorative motifs:

> Nature furnishes us with an overwhelming series of designs; and we cannot do better than follow her guidance, for in our reproduction of her glories we write in our decoration a language that those who come after us can easily interpret and understand ... We should leave behind us buildings or decorations that are in harmony with the true and the beautiful, for we should work, not only for the present, but for future generations. (The Editor, 1905a: 136)

One of *Art and Architecture*'s most regular and prominent contributors was George Sydney Jones, who repeated the mantra of nature as a source of artistic and decorative inspiration. In an article entitled "The Spirit of Architecture",

Jones (using the alias A.B.C.) cited M. Caesar [sic] Daly who, "in one of his works", suggested that architects ought to take thought of the "higher studies" in their art, which Jones interprets as "study of the ideas which lie at the back of all good architecture, and of the thoughts which put those ideas into form and feature" (A.B.C. 1908: 133). For Jones, this was best done by commencing with the study of "Nature".

> It is surprising how greatly–oftentimes unconsciously–the study of flowers and plant growth, if regularly undertaken, will influence one's senses of form, and assist in some subtle way to make easier the power of design. For the student, it is a good method to take a particular plant or tree, say a gum-tree, for instance, and make studies of its general form and its parts–the stem, the branch, the leaf–and by this means to get to know and feel the growth and life of the tree. So with flowering plants, such as the Epacris and others, which suitably lend their form and colour to decoration. Gradually, if the student have it not already, that sense of fellowship with all Nature will come, which, having once enveloped him, will be with him at all times–the feel of the plant, the nearness of the distant landscape, the attachment to all living things–in a word, he will enjoy communion with Nature; it will be a "joy for ever," and his design of architecture will be assisted in ways before unknown to him. His work will catch the spirit of the landscape, be in harmony with its tone, and, as an architect, he will move at least one step forward. (A.B.C. 1908: 133-134)

This line of discussion was used by Jones in an article on "Art of the Day", in which he argued that there were signs that artists were "striving to interpret the spirit of Australian life and landscape" and from which architects, as artists having to address utilitarian requirements, could take inspiration (1908: 168). It also formed part of one of his grandest speeches delivered to Institute members, a *tour de force* of Australian architectural theory in the early twentieth century. In this speech, published as "Architecture–A Factor in National Life", Jones quoted from Vernon Lee's essay "Art and Life" (1896), which posited that the beautiful was "in some manner one of the primordial and so to speak, cosmic powers of the world" (1910: 91). He then cited the English translation of Fustel de Coulanges' *La City Antique* (1864) in making a point about the way ancient people lavished the Temple with all the art they were capable of and this in turn acted as an enlightening influence on them "as they loved to look upon it, and delighted in its beauty" (1910: 92). It was the combination of proportion, the treatment of light and shade, colour and beautiful details that constituted a beautiful building, the "soul of architecture", and produced the "mysterious influence" it had over people (1910: 92). The great ages of the civilised world had upheld this ideal, the French, the "most brilliant of nations in modern times", cherished it, and the Americans were awakening to it in the present (1910: 93). Jones quoted from Ruskin's *The Two Paths* in asserting that architecture extended the fellowship of man and in doing so formed the national life of countries (1910: 95). For Jones, architects had to forgo their interests in money and business to put the art of their profession first, and this meant following the credo of "Back to Nature": "[h]e who has the eye and the knowledge to appreciate nature–the beauty of line in the growth of a tree–the colour tones in a landscape, the subtle curve of a path for instance, has much to assist him in creating the beautiful which will be lasting" (1910: 97).

Fig. 3: Hans Heysen, Mystic Morn, 1904. Art and Architecture, 1(4), (1904): 150.

Jones, Barlow and Taylor were pronouncing nationalistic ideas about aesthetic and decorative production being based on the study of nature. They claimed that the study of nature, its growth patterns, lines and organic form, approached in a sympathetic and soulful way, would bring architects and students closer to the essence of truth and beauty in design. They argued that the Australian bush, gum trees, native flowers and plant life had a vitality and distinctiveness that lent itself to the development of a mode of national expression in art and architectural decoration. Living an urbane working and cultural life in the young metropolis, their perceptions and imaginings of nature would have been conditioned by the bush sites around Sydney's harbour, its coastline and suburbs and also by depictions of Australian bush scenes, gardens and idyllic landscapes in the work of artists such as Julian Ashton, Hans Heysen, William Lister-Lister and Sydney Long (Figs. 3 and 4).[3] Sydney Long was particularly favoured by those associated with *Art and Architecture* because, due to his "isolarity" – his native birth and attachment to his home state (NSW) – he had developed a "keen perception of the subtler beauties of Australian landscape" (Souter 1905: 60). Long appreciated "the delicate effulgence of our sub-tropical twilight" and took inspiration from "the mysticism which hallows the birth and death of a day" (Souter 1905: 66). The support given to Long's work by the journal is also seen in the publication of his first article, "The Trend of Australian Art Considered and Discussed", in January 1905. Within this, Long argued that an "imaginative" school of Australian figural and landscape art would arise by using subjects that more aptly expressed "the lonely and primitive feeling of this country" (1905: 10). Such subjects were not the "Pans" and "Centaurs" of earlier years. Instead, the artist should "bid the Aboriginal blossom out in all the graceful proportions of manly vigour ... He will be depicted as a heroic figure in his tribal fights. The lonely gullies will be wakened to life with graceful pastorals of native children." (Long 1905: 10)[4] This was part of Long's suggestion for a new Australian mythology that was not reliant on foreign characters but on native forms and subjects that he felt could truly reveal the "weird mystery of the bush" (1905: 10).

In studying the work of Long and his romantic contemporaries, Bernard Smith recognised the emphasis that was placed upon landscape painting as a means for achieving a peculiarly national art (1979: 180). The editors of *Art and Architecture* looked to these same artists and genre of painting as an interpretative guide to assist the nationalistic theories of architectural design and decoration they were promoting. Unlike Long, however, the interest of the journal editors in the primitive as a form of native expression was not directed towards the Australian aboriginal, but at another horizon of artistic representation that had captured their imagination, that did not contradict their nationalistic views, and which they were keen to assimilate into their discourse on art, decoration and architecture – the islands of the South Pacific.

3. Two of these artists, Ashton and Long, were members of the Society of Artists, a group formed in Sydney in 1895 and which existed until 1902 when it amalgamated with the Royal Art Society. In 1907 it broke its connection with the Royal Society, assuming its old name. David Henry Souter, art editor of *Art and Architecture*, was active in the Society of Artists and had close personal and working relations with its other members.

4. Long's 1904 painting, *The Music Lesson*, features a young Aboriginal girl figure playing the flute, in a bushland setting, surrounded by a charm of magpies. The author would like to thank Deborah van der Plaat for drawing his attention to the representation of the primitive and of Aboriginal subjects in the work of Sydney Long.

Fig. 4: Sydney Long, The Bathers, 1894. Art and Architecture, 2(2), (1905): 63.

Inflections of the South Pacific

With the confidence and optimism that followed Australia's Federation in 1901, there was a renewal of interest in imperialist agendas for Australia regarding the Pacific Islands, especially New Guinea and the New Hebrides. These agendas had been formed in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, motivated by colonial commercial enterprises, security concerns and missionary endeavours (Thompson 1980). Australian colonies had to defer to the desires and European complexities of the Colonial and Foreign Offices in Britain in seeking action that would support their interests in the South Pacific. After Federation, Australian imperialist engagement increased, and it was not long before Australia became a colonising power itself, assuming responsibility for British New Guinea in 1906 and pressuring for greater support for its settlers and trading interests in the New Hebrides, in competition with the French. In the light of the Boer War and the Russo-Japanese conflict, Australian groups lobbied for increased influence in decision-making regarding regional matters, including the colonial affairs of Fiji and the Solomon Island. Greater imperialist activity in the South Pacific occasioned growing interest in the islands within the cultural arena. The imperialist quests of the late nineteenth century prompted an influx of art and artefacts into Europe from colonial enterprises in Africa, Australia and the Pacific Islands. This saw the emergence of "primitive art" as an aesthetic category of art criticism and museum collections, and as a source of both avant-garde and commercial artistic interest: "[n]ovelists, poets, painters and musicians, whether in the sphere of high art, that of popular culture, or somewhere in between, also imported the primitive for their own purposes, whether through expropriated images or through the inflections of mediating discourses" (Barkan & Bush 1995: 10). The editors of *Art and Architecture* can also be included in this group as they saw in the South Pacific a space of exemplification of the themes they were promoting, publishing three articles on South Pacific buildings and images in the journal.

The first article was entitled "Some Examples of Māori Art", written by Sydney F. Hoben, a music composer who had a familiarity with the anthropological and cultural debates in New Zealand at the time. It is obvious Hoben had read and was reiterating Augustus Hamilton's major study of Māori art that had been published as a collected work in 1901. Hamilton was the first to systematically compile an analysis of "the art workmanship of the Māori" and to recognise its position in the ranks of the decorative arts. Both Hamilton and Hoben held a high admiration for the traditional Māori wood carver and decorator who they claimed possessed skills in "rhythmic accuracy" born from a love of the craft and its significance in their life. Hoben stated:

Fig. 5: Norman Hardy, On the Fringe of a Primeval Forest. Art and Architecture, 4(5), (1907): 193.

> The ancient Māori carved everything he esteemed–his house, canoe, ornaments, domestic utensils, weapons and himself. It was a labour of love, sometimes extending over many years, sometimes over a life-time. Yet in his special theory of ornament, there was always a sense of the eternal fitness of things. (Hoben 1905: 70)

The carvings of Māori houses had an "artistic quality and force and balance" that Hoben suggested might have sometimes been taken from Greek originals, such as those reproduced in Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* (Hoben 1905: 71). The "ancient" Māori carver, however, "knew neither Greek or Jones" and their designs rarely represented plant or animal life.

The second article was a book review of *The Savage South Seas* written by Ernest Way Elkington and published by A. & C. Black in 1907. The reviewer's interest in the book was two-fold: firstly, because "its subject lies so near our own doors" and, secondly, because the book's illustrations were by Norman Hardy, claimed to be one of Australia's "most enthusiastic and able ethnologists, who devoted his attention solely to the savage races who inhabit our continent and the adjacent seas" (Elkington 1907: 192). Hardy's pictures were praised as "an artistic contribution of facts", one of which was reproduced for the review and called *On the Fringe of a Primeval Forest* (Fig. 5). This image shows a forest clearing in which stand a cluster of small huts and from which a line of Solomon Islanders trail into the forest. The sublimity of this image is reflected in the commentary about the

Fig. 6: Stevenson in Samoa. Art and Architecture, 5(4), (1908): 144.

writer's journey into the forest depths in which "long streaks of sunlight were streaming through the tree tops, reminding us of the lights coming though the windows of a cathedral," an echo of the theoretical association that forests have with the origins of Gothic architecture.

The third article to be published in *Art and Architecture* was entitled "Stevenson in Samoa", containing an image that shows the linen-clad writer reclining on the ground with three others; tropical palm trees provide a background to the scene (Fig. 6). This was a print taken from an original photograph Stevenson had sent to a Sydney photographer along with other negatives from his personal collection, a point that does not escape the interest of Barlow, the article's author, who saw a publishing opportunity to be had. He said that, even though the "Stevenson cult has to some extent of late declined", images of Stevenson's life in the Pacific Islands would still have charm because of the flavour of romance they held in an "unromantic age" – the idea of the artist in fellowship with nature and such "primitive and poetic people as the Samoans" (Barlow 1908: 145). For Barlow, the bond between art, architecture and nature that this represented was seen in the emotional expression and respectful peace that surrounded Stevenson's island home and death chamber.

The editorial selection of these articles, images and books to review demonstrates the value seen in the South Pacific as a space of projection and exemplification of artistic inspiration coming from a close study of, and sympathetic connection to nature and, in the case of the Māori carvers, the "old-age" skill in achieving "decorative agreement" in their houses. Both were prominent themes in writings published in *Art and Architecture* and these articles and images were utilised editorially as "evidence" of a regional expression of these themes.

Strategic functions

According to the view being espoused by *Art and Architecture*, those willing to undertake the study of nature were on the path to discovering the source of truth and beauty in design. Many of the arguments around this view had a didactic quality, setting up the oppositions of honesty and deceit (or sham), the spiritual and the dull, the permanent and the temporary, the free and the confined. This set of oppositions was important for the proponents of this view in that it offered them an entrée into the realm of critical judgement and a framework through which to claim authority in such matters. This was the most strategic aspect of this discourse – to establish and lay claim to the terms of architectural criticism

and by doing so control the means by which aesthetic and ethical legitimisation could be determined, especially in relation to one of the most lucrative areas of architectural practice in Australia at the time, that of domestic architecture.

The planning of new suburbs and the sub-division of older ones around Sydney in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century created a rich market for modern domestic architecture. Architects were actively positioning themselves to gain commissions in these suburbs, many involving large properties and sizable houses. *Art and Architecture* offered a valuable site where Institute members could have their house designs presented and discussed and where these members and their clients could look for an indication of current directions. The journal also offered a vehicle through which the legitimacy of particular design practices and decorative trends could be established. In order to initiate this engagement and the potential it held, John Barlow experimented with the publication of two illustrated articles on domestic architecture in New South Wales and Victoria respectively. These articles were followed by a series of four articles on recent domestic architecture in Sydney. Within these articles, aesthetic criteria were used to review selected houses designed by Institute members, employing references to nature and the oppositions described above. In a review of houses in the eastern suburbs of Sydney, it was stated, "Nature could hardly have done more for an architect in the way of providing picturesque sites than she has done on the southern shores of our harbour, but unfortunately her kindness has not always been reciprocated." (Sydney Domestic Architecture 1905: 27) This led an attack on clients who "forced" their architect to "carry out their whims," resulting in "building atrocities" ignorant of aspect and site conditions. The critique of the poor and negligent siting of houses was also an avenue to criticise those architects who were planning buildings to look good on the drawing board, or were copying from foreign magazines, but who were not taking the time to think about the natural features and orientation of a site. In the critique of ornamentation in houses, an area where journal contributors argued nature could be most visibly represented, the commentary centred on notions of decorative restraint and the tendency toward simplicity. This was said to contrast with the ostentation, showiness and "meretricious detail" of houses in which poor client tastes had dictated the outcome.

Mounting a critique of modern domestic architecture in Sydney allowed for the privileging of particular conceptions of architectural practice that were considered ethically and socially responsible. An appreciation of the natural features of a site in the orientation and design of a house and the use of decoration that was restrained and naturally inspired were overarching factors in this. Those practices that showed no interest in these were cast as misguided and irresponsible. Such criteria constituted a grid in which to place and promote the work of Institute members, especially those who were thought to share an affinity with the theories and values of *Art and Architecture's* editors and main contributors.[5]

There was also another area in which this critical authority carried important legitimising powers. One of the main challenges for the editors of *Art and Architecture* was to draw in and maintain advertising revenue for the journal. They announced: "[w]e aim at bringing our advertisers in close touch with the class who can afford to pay for more than mere utility and who appreciate the difference between the craftsman and the mechanic" (Jones & Souter 1908). Appealing to the socio-economic and cultural class of the journal's readers was a way of promoting the advertising value of the journal over its competitors, especially *Building*.[6]

5. Of the 46 houses illustrated in the 1905 series on domestic architecture in Sydney, designs by George Sydney Jones and John Barlow featured prominently. Jones had five designs included.

6. *Building* first appeared in September 1907, published in Sydney and edited by George A. Taylor (not to be confused with the George Taylor mentioned earlier). It claimed to be in the interests of architects, builders, craftsmen and property owners with a focus on the building industry, matters of legal importance, new construction technology and building systems, and although championing its independence from any professional or industry association, it had good connections to the Master Builders' Association of New South Wales (Freestone & Hanna 2007: 154).

Fig. 7: Advertisement. Art and Architecture, 4(6), (1907): xviii.

Fig. 8: Advertisement. Art and Architecture, 5(5), (1908): xviii.

This was an important audience for those advertisers wanting to increase their presence in the burgeoning marketplace of domestic architecture. Two of these advertisers were the Wunderlich Patent Ceiling and Roofing Company and G.E. Crane & Sons, both escalating marketing campaigns for their decorative wall and ceiling panels in the 1900s. In 1907 and 1908, advertising by Wunderlich featured images of large suburban houses showing the interior use of its metal ceiling panels embossed with natural patterns and motifs (Figs. 7 & 8). Several years earlier, Wunderlich had hired Samuel Rowe, a designer trained at the South Kensington School in London, to create modern panel patterns, some of which were based on native flora, including the waratah (Bures 1987: 60).

How could ideas of beauty and truth inspired by a soulful connection with nature be reconciled with the promotion of such mechanically-produced decorative panels? The strategy used to overcome any possible conceptual conflict was to extend the discourse of architecture and nature, with the constructed critical authority it carried, to the aesthetic and ethical legitimisation of particular products and advertiser interests. This is evident in a 1905 article entitled "Stamped Metal-Work", in which Barlow argued that the embossing of metal plates for the decoration of ceilings had ancient origins and, despite the "eloquent invective" of writers such as Ruskin and Morris who argued for a reversion to old methods of production, the "special adaptability of certain materials to certain kinds of workmanship" reduced the loss of artistic individuality and aesthetic value through mechanical repetition and reproduction (The Editor, 1905b: 179). This, Barlow stated, was the case with embossed metal. The distinguishing quality was that of "honesty in intention" and "the absence of any attempt to deceive" in the case of metal panels being made to masquerade as another material. Barlow's article was illustrated with images showing metal ceiling plates made by the Wunderlich Company and G.E. Crane & Sons, two of *Art and Architecture's* most prominent advertisers.

The strategic function of drawing in advertisers through the aesthetic and ethical legitimisation of their products served *Art and Architecture* well. The Wunderlich Company and G.E. Crane & Sons remained regular advertisers in the journal,

investing in considerable advertising campaigns. It also meant that the critical authority on domestic architecture that was desired would not run up against the interests of some of the journal's main advertisers, who, in turn, were necessary to financing the publication.

Conclusion

Following the contours of the discourse on architecture and nature as recorded on the pages of *Art and Architecture* has revealed the strategic functions of this discourse. They centred on the construction of critical authority over domestic architecture and the powers of legitimisation this could carry: of what was considered truthful and ethically and socially responsible in design practices and of what was artistically and professionally admirable. Ideological, institutional and commercial interests acted within this discourse, energising its production and channelling its powers in certain directions: in this case, towards the work of particular journal contributors, Institute members and journal advertisers.

These findings can be used as a starting point for an analysis of the discourse on architecture and nature in subsequent periods, and the strategic functions that it has held. As with the discourse studied here, the construction of critical authority over domestic architecture was also central to the discursive regime fostered by the publishing interests of Sydney Ure Smith from the mid-1910s onwards, which supported the architectural theories of Leslie Wilkinson, Hardy Wilson and John D. Moore. Unlike the discourse studied here, these theories were based on a romantic conception of architecture and nature that looked to the Mediterranean and the colonial Georgian past for inspiration rather than the wistfulness of local gum trees or the rhythmic decoration of Māori wood carvers.

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Benoît Goetz:
A French reader of Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*

Tim Adams

Introduction: the end of theory

When Joseph Rykwert started teaching his *History and Theory of Architecture* course for masters students at the University of Essex in 1968 this marked, among other events, the beginnings of a profound shift from the way history was being taught in architecture schools.[1] No longer would history be taught as a study of precedents purely for the sake of guiding future architectural practice (condemned by Manfredo Tafuri as "*critica operativa*" or the ideological use of history to defend current bourgeois practices of architecture): from now on architectural history and theory would be intertwined as a critical engagement with cultural ideas for their own sake. And in place of the iconographic connoisseurship of the Courtauld method, well known to Rykwert since he was taught by Rudolph Wittkower at the Courtauld Institute, he would establish a "socially committed art history in which you start off by looking at objects … and treat them all as evidence of how they were made in their context."[2] What historians like Rykwert and Tafuri did, in effect, was to take the history of buildings out of the design studio and expose it to all the cultural and political ideas of the day. Their method was to immerse themselves in the archives and a hitherto impossibly-wide range of texts and intellectual currents in order to create a legitimate role for the architectural historian, independent of architectural practice. If we heed the calls for the end of theory in architecture – and these calls are now too numerous to ignore – then this period of intertwining history *and theory* is itself being eclipsed by another way of teaching history within architecture schools.[3] Theory is being replaced by research, which is once again intended to be directly useful to the practice of architecture, and masters theses and PhDs are fast becoming design theses and creative practice PhDs. Whether this is a return to ideologically naive *critica operativa* that predates Rykwert and Tafuri, or whether practice is now itself reflective, is a question that needs to be asked with a seriousness and a sophistication that we no longer possess. Whatever the case, it is timely to re-examine the history and theory of architecture through a reading of Rykwert's early work *On Adam's House in Paradise*, in particular as it is read by someone well-qualified to appreciate its nuances and far-reaching consequences: the French philosopher, Benoît Goetz.

The four kinds of primitive hut

Before beginning any discussion of the primitive hut it is helpful to keep in mind that there are in fact four kinds of primitive hut. Firstly, there is the purely historical object treated dispassionately as simply a stage of building left behind in the progress towards today's house forms, by constructing better and better kinds of huts, the *meliora genera casarum* of Vitruvius.[4] Secondly, there is the hut revisited

1. For the origin of this claim and for an account of Rykwert's early years of teaching at the University of Essex see Thomas (2004). Rykwert was not the only catalyst for this change because Tafuri published his *Teoria e storia dell'architettoria* in the same year, and four years earlier an American Institute of Architecture teacher's seminar, and later book, used the term "history, theory and criticism" in the context of architecture, see Whiffen (1965). Many thanks to my anonymous referee for pointing this out to me.

2. Joseph Rykwert, quoted from an interview with Helen Thomas, 21 January 2003, in Thomas (2004: 39).

3. For the claim that theory is dead in architectural education see Pasnik (1999), Varnelis (1999) Speaks (2005), Vallier (2005) and Pavlovits (2005).

4. Vitruvius Pollio (1931) *On Architecture: II.i.3*. See page 78 for the Latin version and page 79 for Granger's translation.

in our imaginations in order to make an unflattering comparison with today's over-sophisticated and overly self-conscious architecture. This is the famous rustic cabin, Marc-Antoine Laugier's *petite caban rustique* (1753: 12). Thirdly, there is the anthropological hut, an actually existing non-Western pre-industrial dwelling, dissected in order to rediscover the universal elements of architecture, for example the Caribbean bamboo hut of Gottfried Semper's *Bambus-Hütte* (2005: 666). Finally, there is the primitive hut as a continuously inaugurating event, something that reoccurs every time we make a place for ourselves or construct a building that is both unconsciously naïve and self-consciously sophisticated. This is the meaning that Joseph Rykwert gives to the primitive hut in *On Adam's House in Paradise* and, as Benoît Goetz (2001) makes clear in his book *Dislocation*, this condition affects all human habitation.

When *On Adam's House* was first published it received a surprisingly hostile reception simply because this new meaning of primitive hut passed unnoticed. Ernst Gombrich (1973, not paginated) wrote in the *New York Review of Books*, "It is pleasant to think of Adam, the perfect man, living in a perfect house in Paradise ... Alas, like so many other pleasant fantasies this one must be heretical. Adam no more had a house in Paradise than Eve had a dress."[5] Note that this does not in fact invalidate Rykwert's thesis; the house in paradise is indeed heretical because, in Goetz's terms, the house introduces heterogeneity into a field of purity. Once inside paradise it brings paradise to an end. Strictly speaking, the first house is situated on the threshold of paradise and the Fall of Man. The failure to notice the implications of this new meaning of the primitive hut also led Kenneth Frampton (1973: 9) to surmise that "Rykwert's erudition seems to become gratuitously recondite. The structure becomes diffuse and the reader is projected into an anecdotal morass of facts, the relative relevance of each to the discourse at hand being left inexplicit." In effect, Frampton admits here that as a reviewer he had failed to grasp this new meaning.

Rykwert's French reader

One who does not fail Rykwert as a reader is Benoît Goetz.[6] In his 2001 book *La Dislocation: Architecture et Philosophie* (Dislocation: Architecture and Philosophy), Goetz makes it very clear that Rykwert does indeed know that the Bible makes no mention of any house in paradise, and he continues:

> We should allow this allegory to be subjected to a slight modification of detail: in paradise *Adam did not have a house*. Or if he had one, it would not have been outside, and consequently would not have constituted an inside either. Paradisiac space is without division, strictly speaking it is *nowhere* and only the tree of knowledge introduces rupture into the field of immanence such that an *anywhere*, a "this is paradise" becomes possible. On leaving this place, on leaving Place, the first man and first woman did not only discover suffering and shame, they discovered an outside, and by trying to construct an inside they then, and only then, invented architecture. The meaning of this apologia is that the partition of space that constitutes "the first dislocation" is constitutive of architecture itself. (2001: 27)[7]

Goetz extends Rykwert's theme of the persistent haunting vision of the first house, which concerns everyone involved with building, into the theme of dislocation, which is the precondition of all human contact with the world. In both

5. Gombrich's review demonstrates that he himself had been researching the topic of the primitive; he points out several references that would have helped Rykwert and even corrects the misspelling of the 14th-century monk's name "Opicimus de Castris" which should have been Opicinus de Canistris. We now know, with the release of The *Preference for the Primitive* (2002), that Gombrich did indeed share this area of interest with Rykwert his entire life but nothing major in this area was published until after his death in 2001.

6. Benoît Goetz is a senior lecturer in philosophy at the Paul Verlaine University of Metz.

7. This and all subsequent excerpts translated by the author.

cases, however, it is something more fundamental than the nostalgia for a lost origin that can never be retrieved, the imagined hut that is used to show up the pretence of our over sophisticated luxury-dwellings, or the anthropological hut as a demonstration of the primal elements of architecture.

Goetz states that there was no Adam's house in the Garden of Eden because, prior to the expulsion from paradise, there could not have been any division of places nor any inside or outside. Paradise lacks nothing, so every space in it is equivalent to all other spaces; paradise is, in other words, an indivisible field of immanence without otherness and without limit. The Expulsion, the first dislocation, creates the first division of inside and outside. Adam and Eve have to leave Eden. Now, therefore, the world is fragmented for the first time into Eden and non-Eden. This first division is constitutive of architecture as such, so it is only after the Fall that Adam can build the first house. The Expulsion from Paradise is also the fracturing or singularisation of spaces. Space is "architectured", and this architecturality of space is the precondition for architecture.

Thinking *from* architecture

So, rather than a single event, dislocation is something that never stops taking place. This is how Goetz thinks *from* architecture rather than reflecting *on* it. Architecture for him is not an object to be encountered in some pre-established philosophical field, it is the field of thought itself. So, instead of confining architecture to aesthetics and academic problems of form and style, Goetz's strategic shift makes architecture become what he calls an "ethical substance",[8] a physics of space touching the very heart of existence, because existences cannot be disposed and dislocated without there first being an "architecturalisation" of space that makes the world a place of heterogeneous spaces with multiple insides and outsides. "The 'doctrine' that would render architecture worthy of consideration," writes Goetz,

> would not belong to the technological register nor the aesthetic register. It would lie in this affirmation that architecture is a way of setting up a *modus vivendi* between man and the space in which he moves. It would consist of hazarding a proposition that architecture is an 'ethical substance', to borrow one of Michel Foucault's terms. (2001: 86)

Architecture, in Goetz's view, is the very thought of space, therefore well able to teach us about the art of living or the way of being in the world. So, by thinking *from* architecture, Goetz arrives at an architectural physics of space (the theme of the second chapter of his book), an architectural ethics (chapter three), a political theory of places (chapter four), and a noetics or spatial condition of thought (chapter five). Because thought cannot be everywhere and nowhere as if we were still in paradise, thought must be placed somewhere, it therefore depends on certain preconditions of space. Therefore, all great thinkers also invent a singular way of dwelling, they "make the world" in different ways and this is above all, claims Goetz, what makes their thought essentially different. Heidegger makes the world differently from how Levinas makes the world, to use Goetz's example.

Goetz's redefinition of architecture as an endlessly recurring event of dislocation at once solves the problem of where architecture sits in relation to the other arts and, curiously, this takes us directly to the heart of the matter of Rykwert's latest book, *The Judicious Eye: Architecture against the Other Arts* (2008). *The Judicious Eye*

8. Goetz borrows this term from Michel Foucault, see The Foucault Reader, edited Rabinow (1991: 353), where Foucault gives the following examples of "ethical substances": for the Greeks it was aphrodisia, the acts, gestures and contacts that produce pleasure and for Christians it is flesh, the carnal body as a source of sinful temptation. The point being that in both cases (aphrodisia for the Greeks, "flesh" for the Christians) the "ethical substance" is the material to be worked over by the practice of ethical living.

chronicles, with Rykwert's typical thoroughness and characteristically digressive style, the decline of architecture as the synthesis of the arts or *Gesamtkunstwerk* and revisits the many failed attempts to bring art and architecture together. The implicit yardstick for such a synthesis is of course *disegno* (investigative drawing), the defining concept of the Renaissance. *Disegno* is the art of drawing that uncovers the Platonic *eidos* or ideal form behind appearances, which Alberti, Vasari and others saw as the unifying technique underlying architecture, painting and sculpture. This unification through *disegno*, however, cannot be sustained outside a Platonic world view. If we no longer believe in the existence of any underlying essence, how can the arts be unified by their search for it? So the location of architecture among the arts is once again cast adrift in the Romantic period and we still carry the burden of this legacy today. For example, in a small sample of the many discussions on architecture taking place after the Renaissance, by two philosophers who have been very influential in the discourse on the arts, we find Kant placing architecture alongside sculpture as a *Kunstoffkünst* or "plastic art". Kant inherits the French opposition between *beaux-arts*, the fine arts, and *arts mécaniques*, the mechanical or applied arts. He then divides the fine arts into a further three categories consisting of the arts of speech (rhetoric and poetry), the formative arts, and the play of sensations (music and colour). The formative, or form-making, arts are further divided into plastic arts (sculpture and architecture) and painting. The plastic arts use figures in space, the "sensuous truth", while the non-plastic art of painting relies on "sensuous semblance." Sculpture differs from architecture in that only sculpture directs our attention to purely aesthetics ends. "In architecture," Kant (1988: 186) explains, "the chief point is a certain use of the artistic object to which, as the condition, the aesthetic ideas are limited." Then there is Hegel's (1975) well-known placement of architecture on the bottom rung of all the arts, which are now placed in a serial and teleological development towards ever more fluid ways of capturing the human spirit (first architecture, then sculpture, then painting, music, drama, poetry and so on). This is a position from which architecture has struggled to elevate itself ever since. So, for example, in our own time it is hard to imagine architecture holding the attention of the public for long, since they now have such easy access to the faster-moving arts of music and film, and efforts to make architecture more musical or filmic by making it reactive or mobile seem to have their basis in a system of the arts that precludes anything other than failure in advance for architecture. So, once again, when placed alongside the other stronger and less constrained arts, architecture is presented as a frail and overburdened art form.

The singularity of architecture

In place of these regional descriptions of architecture as one (usually quite minor) art or discipline among other arts and disciplines, Goetz gives us, based on his reading of Rykwert in Heideggerian terms, the singularity of architecture. According to this view, architecture need no longer be compared unfavourably to other stronger, more developed and more expressive forms of art. Firstly, because architecture forms the framework for all the arts and secondly, because it is not itself framed in the same way. Nevertheless architecture is not in a position to judge or control the arts in any way simply because it is the stage, the workshop, the theatre, the studio, the gallery and so on: it only appears with them as part of the same situation or event. Architecture is the framework for the

An example of buildings being droll: the Adams Cheng Residence under construction, Avondale, Auckland. Photo: Cheng.

other arts and disciplines but architecture is not itself framed. It passes beyond the boundaries of built form to participate in all human activities, as "a space that surrounds the bodies that inhabit it", as Goetz so delicately puts it:

> A work of architecture is not limited by the envelope of the building, but that it works on the field outside the envelope, that it makes itself *explicit* with the outside. Architecture is, in essence, bordered by the space that surrounds the bodies that inhabit it. Any work of architecture is an opening to that which it is not, to that which it neither relates to nor comprehends. It listens with surprise to what it calls forth and provokes. Above all it makes something happen that is not of the order of art. Thought, actions, attitudes are carried and sustained by it. Thus there is no architecture without a non-architectural assemblage that architecture thereafter contributes to the construction of. Sébastian Marot is not uninspired when he speaks about a "constructed situation" to name a space in the singular (as a synonym for architecture). The difference therefore is this, works of art take place in the world, a work of architecture is one *moment* of this world where we, works of art and other things coexist. (2001: 20–21)

In place of architecture taking a minor place among the arts we have an architectural singularity, a moment of the world in which everything takes place including the other arts, ourselves, our thoughts, our actions and attitudes, a moment in time when everything coexists. Architecture is the condition of our existence, says Goetz. Little wonder, then, that he adds that architecture listens with astonishment (*étonnement*) to what it calls forth, what it frames. This sense of astonishment reflexively leaves its mark on the works of architecture themselves because "*edifices sont de 'drôles de choses*'" ("buildings are 'droll things'"), says Goetz (2001: 23). When one searches in Google for images under the title *drôles de choses* one

will find pictures of, among other things, a small car mounting a truck tyre, a square of sidewalk splashed in paint that looks like a beautiful abstract painting, and an old tradesman's boot with a Nike label attached to it. Invariably, these are scenes from everyday life that are unexpectedly funny or beautiful. Buildings are strangely humorous and beautiful because "our existence resides in and concerns itself with architectural spaces."

> This is why architecture is always, in some way, a hollowed out cast of those beings whose essence resides in and concerns itself with its existence. Architecture is a technology of beings whose essence lies in existing *between the walls of architecture*." (2001: 23)

In brief, buildings are droll because we witness with astonishment what they bring forth as negative imprints of own selves.

Dislocation as factical dispersion

The dislocation inherent in human existence is an event that has two aspects, the first of which has nothing to do with architecture. The first dislocation is a property of human existence, our essential dispersion, our scattering and distraction towards a multiplicity of spaces. In Heideggerian terms it is Dasein's *faktische Zerstreuung* or factical dispersion/distraction (Goetz: 30). Heidegger has this to say about it in *Being and Time*:

> *Dasein*'s facticity is such that its Being-in-the-world has always dispersed [*zerstreut*] itself or even split itself up into definite ways of Being-in. The multiplicity of these is indicated by the following examples: having to do with something, producing something, attending to something and looking after it, making use of something, giving something up and letting it go, undertaking, accomplishing, evincing, interrogating, considering, discussing, determining … (Heidegger 1990: 83)

Heidegger differentiates the "factual" (*tatsächlich*), the fact of being present-to-hand, from the "factical" (*faktisch*), taken up into human existence, but not necessarily proximally close. Factical dispersion is, therefore, the human ability to expand the individual's sphere of concern beyond the body's immediate vicinity to ever-increasing numbers of spheres until we are in a state of continuous distraction away from our present location.

> To exist is therefore to (self) dis-locate, existence *is* dis-location. Dislocation is our essential dispersion; we are scattered, expanded, distracted by a spatial multiplicity … . A "factical dispersion" (*faktische Zerstreuung*) belonging properly to *Dasein*. This dispersion is no different from the original spatiality of *Dasein* (from its *Räumlichkeit*). (Goetz 2001: 30)

The second aspect of dislocation does involve architecture: it is what we do with the first existential dislocation. We dispose of it. We cover over human distraction with compositions that hide the first dislocation. So, where *Dasein*'s facticity is dispersed into a multiplicity of ways of being-in – having to do with, producing, attending to, looking after, making use of, and so on – buildings used as structures to house these multiple ways of dwelling pull *Dasein* together and unify its spheres of concern. It is no surprise, then, that Heidegger's list of ways of

being-in should sound very much like the necessary steps that an architect must take in designing a human habitat: first they have to *do something with* the existing habitat, then they must *produce something* new which is *attended to*, drawn up, and further *looked after* and improved upon until it is finally *made use of* by others, and then they have to *let it go*, leaving others to inhabit what they have built but also clearing their minds, offices and schedules in order to be able take on new projects. Goetz thoughtfully applies Heidegger's uncovering of *Dasein*'s ontological dispersal to architecture and finds that:

> Architecture 'composes' with this first dislocation of the existents from existence, by dis-posing their places, in other words by distinguishing them, separating them, specifying them. The 'dis-' of dis-location is not therefore, to start with, anything destructive … not therefore a catastrophe, an annihilation, an apocalypse ... It is an event, a cascade of events that has always occurred from the beginning, but one that architectural modernity will leave uncovered. Because architecture has also been the activity that most fiercely resists the remembering of the first ontological dispersion, by erecting fortresses against the outside, monuments to tyranny and temples to house the gods. (Goetz 2001: 30)

As the etymological origin of the term archi-tecture indicates an art of control, Goetz adds, "all power is exercised architecturally". Any power able to give things a location is, in effect, architectural, and this power is synonymous with religious ritual and the sanctification of places. Dislocation, from this point of view, is the moment when a space becomes de-sacralised. This is why the primary existential dislocation is left uncovered by modernity and the death of God. Here Goetz's thinking might fruitfully lead us towards the profound spectulations of Jean-Luc Nancy (1991: 110–150) on divine spaces and Massimo Cacciari's (1993) neglected work on architecture and nihilism, both of which well deserve to be reexamined in more detail for their architectural implications. Note that Nancy did in fact contribute an excellent preface to Goetz's book which deserves to be analysed in its own light.

Microspherical architectural space

Architecture composes, and disposes of, the fundamental human quality of being dispersed among many places and many spheres of interest. It responds to the first dislocation by making many re-locations for human activities: factories for working, libraries for reading, schools for learning, hospitals for convalescing, giving birth and dying in, and so on. Thus, it is part of an effort to cover over the original dislocation with a multiplicity of locations. The relocation of human activities in specific locations, however, requires great force and is traditionally bound up with religion and the making of sacred places, or with the tyrannical building of walls and the necessary policing of movement through their openings this brings.

The spatiality of human life is split into an ever-increasing multiplicity of places, as is attested by the third volume of Peter Sloterdijk's *Sphären* (Spheres), which deals with today's human microsphere in a section headed "Foam Architectures".[9] "One can speak of the presence of an egosphere," Sloterdijk tells us elsewhere,

9. For small translated selections of Sloterdijk's *Sphären* (2004) see Sloterdijk (2007a and 2007b).

The primitive haunts our work whenever we are self-consciously naive: the Adams Cheng Residence, Avondale, Auckland, Design and photo: Elizabeth Cheng

> when its inhabitant has developed elaborate habits of self-pairing and regularly moves within a constant process of differentiation from himself – that is, in *Erleben* (experience). Such a form of life would be misunderstood if one were to fixate only on the attribute of living alone in the sense of being partner-less, or incomplete as a human being. The nonsymbiosis with others that is practiced by the single occupant in the apartment turns out, after closer investigation, to be an *autosymbiosis*. Here, the form of the couple is fulfilled in the individual, who, in constant differentiation from himself, perpetually relates to himself as the inner other, or as a multitude of sub-egos. (2007b: 96–97)

According to Sloterdijk's analysis, the individual adapts to the contemporary dislocation into multiple microspheres by narcissistically self-pairing. Sloterdijk names some of today's microspheres: that zone close to hand, which is now overflowing with handy and essential appliances; the individualised sound bubble of portable players and cell phones; the zone of autoeroticism in which the individual becomes both the lover and the object of love; the private gym for the trainer-trainee; and the sphere where the autodidact performs cognitive self-care.

Reading Rykwert's *On Adam's House* alongside Goetz's *Dislocation*, it appears that Sloterdijk's innovative spherology is, strangely, a continuation of Rykwert's exploration of the primitive hut as a recurring concept as old as architecture itself. The primitive hut is a perennial theme in architecture because it exposes the permanent dislocation of human existence into multiple spheres of interest. The primitive hut is, after all, where one can be, if one wants to be, an historian, anthropologist, archaeologist, horticulturalist, primitivist and so on, each activity corresponding to unique spheres of concern.[10] The hut promises to locate us in nature, yet it fails to return us to a state of unknowing nature since it must take place after the Fall from paradise and after the introduction of the heterogeneity of inside and outside into any field of immanence. Instead, it returns us to our existential dispersal into multiple spheres of interest: hence the incessant attraction of the Japanese tea house in the mountains or the New Zealand bach by the sea. Their knowing naivety draws us in by promising to return us to some kind of therapeutic harmony with nature and at once reveals this desire to be the very product of our highly self-conscious and reflective existence.

10. For a well-documented argument that the New Zealand bach is a site that provides the time and opportunity to enable its inhabitants to become masters of multiple disciplines, see Cox (1995).

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Contract, Crowd, Corpus and Plasma:
Architectural and social assemblages

Carl Douglas

This paper springs from Joseph Rykwert's observation, in *On Adam's House in Paradise* (1981), of a conceptual correlation between Marc-Antoine Laugier and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It discerns, in the condition of joints in Laugier's *Essay on Architecture* (1753) and social bonds in Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762), an underlying structural logic: what I will call an implicit theory of assemblage. From this initial reference point in the mid-eighteenth century, the paper moves to consider theories of crowds in the late nineteenth century as implicit theories of assemblage, and ultimately advocates the work of Gabriel Tarde as a basis for explicitation of these underlying theories.[1]

Contractual obligations

"Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains." *The Social Contract* begins with chains, and remains entangled in questions of binding (Rousseau 1968: 49). The chain is a figure of arbitrary constraint, and is represented as something to be thrown off. But in Rousseau's text it is not a matter of aspiring to a state of absolute unconstraint. The very concept of society, of a social order, implies some kind or degree of attachment, and it is the proper form of this attachment that is the concern of *The Social Contract*.

Rousseau makes a primary distinction between the arbitrary bond of the chain and the natural bond of the family, "the oldest of all societies, and the only natural one" (1968: 50). The child is bound to the father by necessity (the maternal bond is never raised), and once the child becomes independent, this bond dissolves: the child and father are freed from this relation and, if it persists, it is by mutual consent: "If they continue to remain united, it is no longer nature, but their own choice, which unites them; and the family as such is kept in being only by agreement" (50). In this shift from dependence to agreement, Rousseau locates the shift from the natural to the social. All legitimate authority, asserts Rousseau, must be based on agreement, and he sets himself the task of describing a society of this kind. Rousseau, who has occasionally been misunderstood as advocating a return to nature, actually describes the social as a second nature.[2] Natural order does not authorise social order. Social order must consist of covenants, freely entered into.

As Mark Wigley points out, Rousseau explicitly describes the constitution of social order as a building project, for which the ground must be cleared and tested, the structure carefully maintained, and collapse avoided, "as an architect who puts up a large building first surveys the ground to see if it can bear the weight" (Rousseau 1968: 88; see Wigley 1993: 133). The state is a collective identity formed by very specific relationships between individual elements. By freely entering

1. Although French sources are predominant in this paper, I believe the applicability of this study is not exclusively limited to France. However, the development of theories of social cohesion was particularly strong in France due to the experience of the revolutions. See Moscovici (1985) and van Ginneken (1992). 'Explicitation' is Sloterdijk's term (2005).

2. See Lovejoy (1923), who points out that the term 'nature' in Rousseau's writing has a number of meanings that must be distinguished. In *The Social Contract*, as in the *Discourse on Inequality*, Rousseau does not look back to an idyllic past, but seeks to disclose the moment at which nature and culture become discrete.

Fig. 1: Frontispiece to Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes, 1651

Fig. 2: Frontispiece to 2nd ed. of Essay on Architecture, Marc-Antoine Laugier, 1755

into the social contract, an aggregate is formed, a corporate body, a "public person ... once called the *city*" (61). This agglomeration is given its internal cohesion by the social contract to which each individual subscribes. The contract is the fundamental joint, the bond or bind by which the entire social edifice takes shape and holds together. The social body acquires unity, life and will.

Although a social whole is formed, however, the parts must remain autonomous, such that each individual has a private will distinct from the general will: "His private interest may speak with a very different voice from that of the public interest" (63). This freedom runs to the extent that the individual may at any time withdraw from the contract entirely. Society exists only so long as the social contract is freely maintained by its constituents. The freedom to renounce society is essential. The joints of Rousseau's social structure must not be bound or fused. There cannot be forceful constraints in the social contract.

Rousseau's social contract is in many respects a gloss on Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes proposed that the state should be conceived as a collective body, of which the sovereign was the head. The famous frontispiece of Hobbes' treatise (Fig. 1) shows what he had in mind: a body comprised of individual humans as cells, all looking up towards the sovereign. Apart from his insistence on the right to withdraw from the collective, Rousseau's innovation is in shifting focus from the exterior relations to interior relations. Where Hobbes begins with the image of a human organism, and proceeds to show how society can be fitted into this authorising metaphor, Rousseau begins with individual connections, and attem pts to discover what the whole body might look like.[3] Put simply, where Hobbes tendentiously assumed the primacy of social *form*, Rousseau was concerned with social *formation*.[4]

Joseph Rykwert has suggested a correlation between Rousseau's primitivism and that of his contemporary, Marc-Antoine Laugier. The famous frontispiece image of Laugier's *Essay on Architecture* (Fig. 2) is one of the key coordinates for

3. There is a useful criticism of the "organismal metaphor" in De Landa (2006: 8-12).

4. For a fuller discussion of the spatiality of power-relations in Hobbes's *Leviathan*, see McEwen (2007).

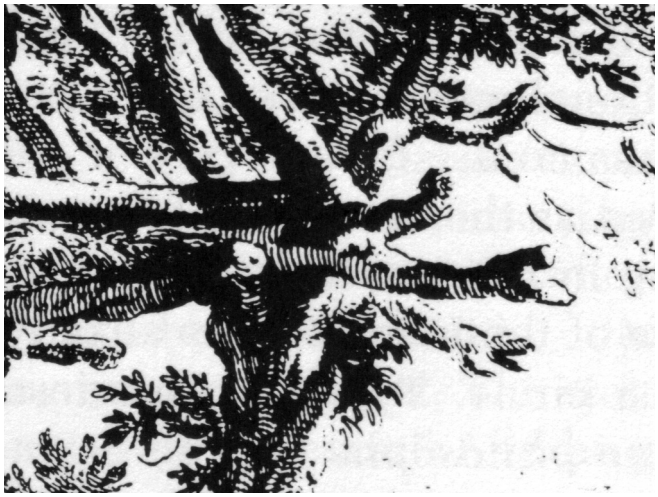

Fig. 3: Detail of Fig. 2, showing column-entablature joint

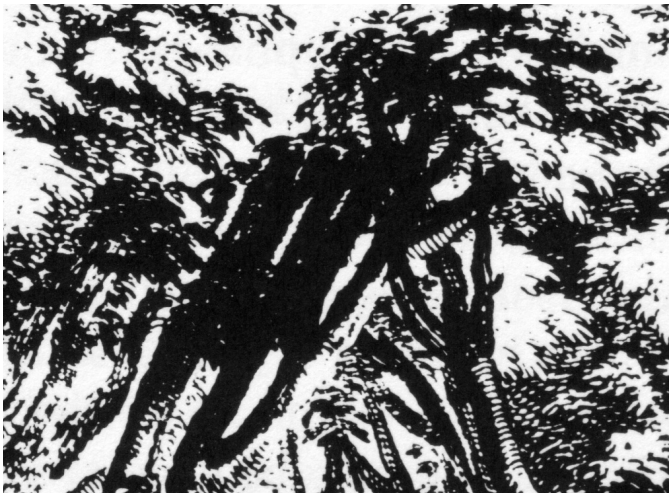

Fig. 4: Detail of Fig. 2, showing ridge joint

Rykwert's study of the idea of the primitive hut in architectural theory, *On Adam's House in Paradise*. Laugier proposes that the basic elements of the classical tradition in architecture are already present in an imagined primitive scene: seeking environmental control over light, heat, dampness and air, a primitive man finds four trees arranged in a square, and constructs a raised roof, thus inventing column, entablature, and gable. Rykwert writes, "Allowing for the inevitable differences between the two men, and the differing scale of their enterprises, this view of the authority of the primitive hut is not unlike that which Rousseau attributed to the family as the archetype of social organisation" (1981: 44). In his *The Contribution of Art and Science to the Refinement of Manners*, Rousseau describes in parallel the socialisation of human beings, and the degenerate elaboration of architecture:

> Here is a calm riverbank, dressed by the hand of unaided nature, towards which the eye turns constantly, and which you leave with regret ... then came the height of degradation, and vice was never carried so far as when it was seen, to speak figuratively, supported by marble columns and engraved on Corinthian capitals. (Rykwert 1981: 46-47)

How to house human beings properly is a question allied to that of proper social relations. In his drawing for the second edition of the *Essay on Architecture*, Laugier's hut is conspicuous for its structural self-sufficiency. The individual elements – the still-living columns, the cross beams and the rafters – all rest together naturally, without pins or bonds (Fig. 3). The four tree-columns have been pruned, and the stumps of the branches become brackets to support the beams. The trees retain their leafy growth, except possibly for the front left tree, which looks as if it has been trimmed back to the trunk. The rafter branches sit up at an improbably steep angle. They rest on the beams without any evident support: under close inspection, the expected bindings are found to be absent, and the rafters do not appear to be notched onto the beams. At the ridge, the rafters rest against one another (Fig. 4). A ridge-beam is possibly hinted at, but looks as if it is suspended under the rafters rather than providing any substantive support. Again, there is no hint that the rafters are bound or pinned together at the top; and they cannot be interwoven, because the branches are conspicuously thick and blunt. Perhaps the gesture of Architecture personified in the foreground could be re-interpreted as a gesture of blame for the collapse of the

Ionic edifice in the foreground that has attempted to follow the structural logic of Laugier's hut – in which case it is no wonder that the cherub appears shocked.

It is evident, of course, that Laugier did not intend his hut to be understood as an exemplar of construction practice, but as a moral "first model" (Laugier 1756: 11). It is used to demonstrate the essential elements of architecture, and to exclude those elements that are superfluous additions, "essential defects" (12). It performs the same role (and has the same anthropological non-specificity[5]) as Rousseau's primitive family. But to point out the strange condition of the joints in Laugier's image is not entirely perverse – his model does, after all, deliberately express principles of construction. And, in fact, the disjointedness of Laugier's hut is entirely consistent with his thinking about architectural attachment, and the relationship between part and whole. In the *Essay on Architecture*, there is little written directly concerning joints. Jointing may be amongst those details with which Laugier felt disinclined "to load this little work" for fear they might "trouble and distaste the reader" (xvi). Connection and attachment are, however, important sub-themes of Laugier's text.

In the chapter of his essay that directly addresses construction, the strength of a building is said to depend on the choice of good material, disposed with consideration of load-paths and bearing. Laugier writes, "There are three things which render a wall strong and immoveable. The foundation upon which it bears its thickness, the connection and right line of its parts" (138). It is obvious that in his text he has in mind one type of joint, stacked masonry: this is in spite of what he has asserted about the timber origins of architecture. Stones are to be laid accurately and tightly, "that there may be no void in the thickness of the wall" (141), and the use of mortar, a concession, is to be minimised. Laugier's ideal structure would be held together by nothing other than gravity. Beams are "laid" on the columns. Columns are to "bear immediately upon the pavement, as the pillars of the rustic cabin bear immediately on the ground" (15).

For Laugier, working from the model of his primitive hut, the column was the only proper means of bearing vertical loads. Walls were to be treated as infill panels, concerned solely with sealing up a spatial envelope. Engaged columns are only permitted as a "licence authorised by necessity" (16), but must not be lost into the mass of the wall – they should be engaged "a fourth part at most ... so that even in their use they may always retain something of that air of freedom and disengagement" (16). For Laugier, parts must remain distinct, even while they form an integrated architectural body. They must be seen to be distinct (as the columns must be seen to be distinct from the wall), and they should need a minimum of concern for attachment: there is an expected natural co-dependence of parts. The disconnection of parts, which Laugier encourages, could be seen as a foundational principle for later tectonic conceptions of the joint, the role and expression of which became one of the central preoccupations of modernist architecture.[6]

Laugier and Rousseau share more than an authorising appeal to a fictional primitive scene. Both idealise connections in the same way, envisaging a kind of joint that is held together without binding. Their respective edifices, social and architectural, are complete wholes comprised of individual elements, which must remain free and discrete, even as they constitute this wholeness. Both edifices are only conceivable on the basis of a very particular mereology. The joint is primitive, in the sense that it is taken to emerge from primitive social and

5. Rykwert writes that Rousseau's natural origin exists "in the notational rather than in the paleontological sense" (1981: 47-8), and this is true of Laugier's also.

6. See Frampton (1995).

technical conditions. Although these conditions place the joint close to nature, the joint itself is not understood as natural, except insofar as rationalism is natural. For Rousseau, there are three joints: the paternal bond, the agreement and the chain. The first is natural and primitive, the second rational and natural, the third unnatural and irrational. The social contract is of the second of these orders. Laugier fumbles the question of origin by treating it over-literally, but he too seeks to authorise architectural production by demonstrating it to be a rational and natural assembly.

Crowds as a source of anxiety

Rykwert's observed correlation indicates the presence of an underlying philosophy or logic of part-whole relationships: an implicit theory of assemblage. This theory structures Rousseau's politics and Laugier's theory of architecture. It was problematised, if not superseded, by the emergence of the crowd. By the end of the nineteenth century, Europe looked back to Rousseau through a hundred years of episodic revolutions, particularly in France. By jumping to the end of this traumatic period, it will become clear just how drastically this underlying philosophy had shifted.[7]

In the nineteenth century the behaviour of collectives, in particular the crowd, became a crucial concern. Associated through revolutionary actions with violence and unrest, it was a source of bourgeois anxiety. During this period, discourses of sociology, criminology, politics, economics, psychology and urbanism are all heavily marked, and in some cases redefined, by a new concern for crowds. In 1895 Gustav Le Bon introduced his book *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* by noting the urgency of a satisfactory account of collective behaviour. He did this with an accusatory barb aimed at Rousseau and his philosophical descendants:

> Today the claims of the masses are becoming more and more sharply defined, and amount to nothing less than a determination to destroy utterly society as it now exists, with a view to making it hark back to that primitive communism which was the normal condition of all human groups before the dawn of civilisation. (Le Bon 2001: 9)[8]

Where Rousseau's collectives are essentially the product of rational minds, Le Bon's are essentially irrational. The crowd, Le Bon argues, is a psychological entity:

> Under certain given circumstances, and only under those circumstances, an agglomeration of men presents new characteristics very different from those of the individuals composing it. The sentiments and ideas of all the persons in the gathering take one and the same direction, and their conscious personality vanishes. A collective mind is formed, doubtless transitory, but presenting very clearly defined characteristics ... It forms a single being, and is subjected to the *law of the mental unity of crowds.* (2001: 13)

Like Rousseau, Le Bon is concerned with the formation of a greater unity from individual elements, and in both cases there is an appeal to a primitive state of humanity. But while for Rousseau this is a matter of agreement and elevates humans, for Le Bon it is a matter of instinct and degrades them. In becoming part of the crowd, an individual regresses atavistically to a barbaric state.

7. The revolutionary century began with the French Revolution of 1789, and included the July Days of 1830, the February and July Revolutions of 1848, and the Paris Commune of 1871, as well as many smaller uprisings. Moscovici writes, "If crowd psychology was born in France rather than in Italy or Germany, it was because of the effect of the simultaneous existence of waves of revolutions and the appearance of schools of hypnosis, the aftermath, so to speak, of the Paris Commune and the Nancy hospitals or the Saltpêtrière" (1985: 82).

8. Le Bon, of course, misunderstands Rousseau. See note 2 above.

> By the mere fact that he forms part of an organised crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilisation. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian – that is a creature acting by instinct. He possesses the spontaneity, the violence, the ferocity, and also the enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings, whom he further tends to resemble by the facility with which he allows himself to be impressed by words and images – which would be entirely without action on each of the isolated individuals composing the crowd. (2001: 19)

The subjection of the individual psyche to the crowd is understood by Le Bon as an actual physical effect on the body. The individual does not retain autonomy, as it does in Rousseau's society. The body enters a special state close to that of hypnosis, in which the higher functions of the brain are suppressed. A collective persona is formed, but this is no society, merely a crowd. A crowd is therefore a state of collapse of the individual, willing, subject. A crowd attains its mental unity at the expense of individual civility. In Le Bon's view, essentially rational civilised individuals degenerate through the formation of crowds, becoming savage, mentally weak, and violent. Rousseau's view is less stark. On their own, humans are savage but, for Rousseau, this also means they are free. The formation of social structures allows the arrival of civility, even as it entails certain vices. There is a loss of savage individualist innocence. There is thus a fundamental disagreement between Le Bon and Rousseau about the state of savagery: for Rousseau the savage is innocent and free, but for Le Bon he is animalistic and irrational. More importantly, from the point of view of the structure of the collective, Rousseau's society is jointed without constraint, while Le Bon's crowds have entered a state of subjection.

The idea that the crowd is something to be mistrusted and feared was shared by many in the later nineteenth century. Baron Haussmann's restructuring of Paris was motivated by a concern for social order and anxiety about crowds. His urban surgery aimed to clarify, de-densify, and provide a spatial hierarchy to chaotic Paris, suggesting a direct correlation between the social patterns that lead to revolution and the spatial organisation of the city: "We have to attack the old neighbourhoods head on ... we have to force the population away from the centre [à une excentricité favorable] ... we have to have the audacity to remake 'quartiers' from top to bottom» (Jordan 1995: 110). In the 1860s, a memo from Haussmann's office worried that Paris had become filled with:

> a floating mass of workers who have come to the city [today], ready to leave tomorrow, of families whose members are dispersed throughout the city by their diverse places of work, of nomad renters who are incessantly moving from quarter to quarter, without knowing a fixed residence or a patrimonial place. It is an accumulation of men who are strangers to each other, who are attracted only by impressions and the most deplorable suggestions, who have no mind of their own, since they are not dominated by a strong national feeling (217).

There is no governing structure to this population. They do not have any particular allegiance to place, have fluid connections to each other, and the institutions of the city, and act animally, according to mere stimulations of their senses. Of course, the anxiety in Haussmann's office is directly related to the experiences of the barricades. These provisional structures, thrown up across the narrow

Fig. 5. Schematic plan of Paris in 1871, following Haussmann's public works; and cumulative plan of barricades in Paris, 1795–1871 (after Philippe, 1989).

streets of Paris, had been a dominant feature of the revolutionary uprisings of 1830 and 1848. Comprised of detritus and repurposed urban materials (pavers, gates, street furniture, rubble), they had reconfigured the power-relations encoded into the city (Fig. 5). Part of Haussmann's intent in modernising Paris with wide, clean boulevards, was to discipline this unruly material, and hinder the agglomerative architecture of the barricades from forming. Barricades are not constructed so much as they accumulate, and it is precisely in this sense that they reflect the properties of the crowd mistrusted by Le Bon and Haussmann: fluidity, lack of ties, and expedient relationship to place.[9]

There is a symptomatic difference in conceptions of collective action between Rousseau and Haussmann. For the eighteenth-century philosopher, the collective is a desired construction, and the task at hand is the definition and institution of proper social relations. For the nineteenth-century urbanist, the collective provokes unease, and the task at hand is the prophylactic, or at least palliative, disciplining of the materials and population of the city. At the more abstract level of the implicit theory of assemblage, there are also shifts. Crowds and barricades share the property of accumulation, of fluid and *ad hoc* relations, of detachment and provisionality. This is what, fundamentally, makes them threatening to the intended order of the Second Empire. Haussmann wants to be able to treat the city as a single, cohesive organism that can be restored to health. Haussmann aims to give the city the order of a body, and suppress the order of crowds.[10]

What has not changed is that the management of social assemblages (the crowd) is entangled with the management of built assemblages (the barricades and the city). For Haussmann, politics and the design of urban space are not separate enterprises. Socio-political and spatial orders are essentially connected. Also invariant is the idea that these assemblages can be understood with reference to the primitive. Change happened in how these assemblages are seen to form and the anxiety they now engender. Social structure is no longer seen to be hierarchical and benign, but turbulent, disruptive, even essentially violent.

The body of an organic society

Peter Sloterdijk writes that in "the disassembly of social conglomerates into individualised complex entities, and their recombination into cooperative ensembles, it becomes clear that the formula of the 'entry of the masses into history' also articulates an architectural problematic" (2007: 64). This problematic is disclosed by the spatial difficulties experienced by revolutionary crowds: "As early as the French Revolution, it became evident that its protagonists would have to

9. On the architecture of the barricades, and their reconfiguration of the city, see Douglas (2007).

10. For this interpretation of Haussmann's work, see Benjamin (1999) and Jordan (1995).

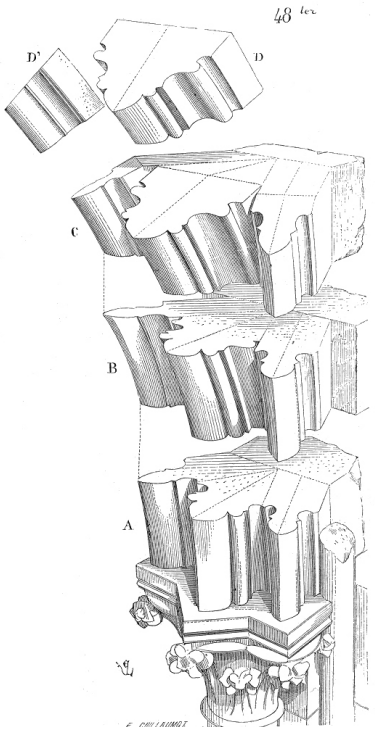

Fig. 6. Drawing of the springing-point of a Gothic arch, Dictionary of French Architecture, *Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1854).*

rely on the buildings of the *ancien régime* and public urban spaces, particularly the squares in front of large buildings, for their gatherings" (2007: 65). Existing palaces and meeting halls simply could not accommodate either the number of participants or the types of event involved, and it was necessary at first to commandeer tennis courts, churches, and public squares. What would be the architecture of the new social order? This question was not easily resolved and remained difficult as the political pendulum swung back and forth. The case of Viollet-le-Duc is noteworthy.

Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc was among the barricade-builders in 1830, and lent his support to the Paris Commune in 1871, although he had worked extensively for the Second Empire government alongside Haussmann. Perhaps due to these sympathies he does not seem to have shared Haussmann's fear of crowds. In fact, he was fascinated by crowd spaces. In his second *Discourse*, he demonstrates the potential of new materials by proposing spaces for crowds: a concert hall, a market.

> Calling for a mixed system of construction, in which cast and wrought iron, brick and stone masonry, and even enameled tile infill would all be developed to maximize their individual capacities in relation to one another, Viollet-le-Duc called his invention an 'organism' which took its place as the next link in a long chain of architectures for mass gatherings. (Bergdoll 2000: 232)

Viollet-le-Duc showed a progressive concern for establishing a proper architecture of the masses. Architecture, in his view, was deeply implicated in the development of a new, organic society. For Viollet-le-Duc, architecture is governed by a principle of growth, working from the level of the individual joint. Kenneth Frampton points out that Viollet-le-Duc, in his *Lectures on Architecture* (1858-1872), does not once use the term space "in a modern sense" (Frampton 1995: 1). Viollet-le-Duc's theory of architecture is almost entirely concerned with the practice of jointing and assemblage. Viollet-le-Duc's reading of Gothic order is a response to the logic of autonomy that had, at least since Laugier, dominated classicism. In it, Viollet-le-Duc sought an organic structural model for an organic society. The fascination with an organic logic is played out in Viollet-le-Duc's painstaking analysis of the Gothic system. A detail of the springing-point of a Gothic arch, taken from his *Dictionary of French Architecture* (1854-1868), illustrates this (Fig. 6). The detail is a fragment, an excised portion of a larger structure, which is in turn severed into parts. Each severed segment is revealed to be distinctly shaped as part of a fluid whole. The arch is not itself present in any one element, but in a line which passes through multiple elements. Unlike Laugier's discrete components, each part of Viollet-le-Duc's ideal architecture has a niche, and no element is autonomous. While Laugier works from an overall diagram, Viollet-le-Duc works from local relations between individual elements. For Laugier, architecture is a fulfilment of the diagram, and the only rule governing the joints of this structure is the principle of discernible detachment.

The influence of Viollet-le-Duc's organic and tectonic conception of architecture on the development of modernism is well known. But the metaphor of the architectural organism, of organic development, was not ultimately progressive. Although Viollet-le-Duc responded to Laugier, and refocused his interest on the question of connection rather than hierarchy, the sense of a coherent architectural order remains. While he addressed new social organisations, Viollet-le-Duc's

implicit theory of assemblages persists as a descendant of the Laugian ideal: a singular architectural body. Although the organism metaphor is shared between Viollet-le-Duc and Haussmann, Viollet-le-Duc begins to shift this metaphor towards the interrelations of parts rather than subdivision of wholes. Viollet-le-Duc attempts to show of Gothic cathedrals, for instance, that the whole is in many ways the organic development of a system of parts and details. In this respect he betrays, I suggest, the influence of a changing implicit theory of assemblages.

Plasmatic assemblages

So far, I have tried to demonstrate the existence of implicit theories of assemblage that are manifested in both architectural structures and social structures. Rousseau and Laugier share a theory premised on the irreducible discreteness of parts. Interest and concern about the behaviour of crowds lead to studies such as Le Bon's, in which a new theory is implicit; one which not only posits a new kind of flat, chaotic assemblage, but codes such assemblages as primitive and hostile. Revolutionary barricades threaten the built order of the city in the same way that crowds threaten social and political order. Haussmann arrays the fabric of the city against barricades, attempting to ensure its conceptual, political, and practical manageability. He contends not only against particular crowds but also against the very concept of crowds and he does this by appealing to the ancient image of the city as a body. Viollet-le-Duc's organicism is subtly different from Haussmann's, even accounting for the differences in scale and emphasis of their respective projects. Where Haussmann works down from an idealised image of the whole, Viollet-le-Duc works up from the interrelation of parts.

In what remains of this paper I want to point out a radical, prescient and underexploited analysis of assemblages that arose from the end of the nineteenth century, that of sociologist Gabriel Tarde. Although Tarde's work was not influential at the time of its writing, his analysis has been recovered and refurbished by several important recent theorists of assemblages and provides a bridge to the present for the ideas I have been considering so far.[11]

According to Tarde, the multiplicitous order of the crowd is not an exception: rather, it is the rule, and not only the rule for accumulations of people, but for all accumulations. Tarde insisted that it is proper to talk of cellular, atomic, and stellar societies. A body is a society of organs. A mind is a society of thoughts that cannot properly be said to belong to it. Bruno Latour explains that for Tarde, "to be a society of monads is a totally general phenomenon, it is the stuff of which the world is made" (2001: 121). Tarde generalises the structure of the crowd as a model for all assemblages, human or nonhuman.[12]

Tarde came into direct conflict with sociologist Émile Durkheim by being fundamentally opposed to the idea that the study of societies was the study of unities at a scale greater than that of the individual. His *Social Laws* (1898) criticises the fallacy "that in order to see the regular, orderly, logical pattern of social facts, you have to extract yourself from their details, basically irregular, and to go upward until you embrace vast landscapes panoramically" (Latour 2001: 124). Durkeim's sociological explanations, Tarde felt, explained the detail with respect to the large-scale, when it was in fact precisely the large-scale which was in question:

11. Tarde is in fact the source of Le Bon's idea of the group mind, although Le Bon misinterprets this by describing it as a collective ego. It is perhaps because Le Bon's anxious simplification of Tarde's theories appealed to popular conservatism more than the Tarde's own counterintuitive and (apparently) abstract theory that Le Bon was celebrated and Tarde almost ignored.

12. Tarde's concept of societies is taken up by Gilles Deleuze (see, for example, Deleuze, 2004: 157-58) and, subsequently, De Landa (2006).

> Instead of explaining everything by the so called imposition of a *law of evolution* which would constrain larger phenomena to reproduce, to repeat themselves in some certain identical order, instead of explain the *small* by the *large*, the *detail* by the big, I explain the overall similarities by the accumulation of elementary actions, the large by the small, the big by the detail (Tarde 2002a: 21-22, translation by Latour).

Tarde refused the premise shared by both Rousseau and Le Bon that there could ever be a point when we could move cleanly from talking of interactions and ties at the microscopic scale to analysing the macroscopic operations of a collective. Society was, to borrow Latour's terms, a "confusing plasma ... a brew" instead of an edifice (Latour 2001: 125). For Tarde, a society is not a greater whole, but a radical partiality. Individual elements:

> soldiers of those various regiments, provisional incarnations of their laws, pertain to them by one side only, but through the other sides, they escape from the world they constitute ... [they have] other leanings, other instincts coming from previous enrolments ... [they are] made only of sides and facades of beings (124).

The individual is faceted, multiplicitous, split by 'previous enrolments', traversed by tendencies outside itself. At this point it is worth recalling Laugier's hut, the elements of which report such prior engagements. The branches, although repurposed as linear elements, retain the forks, bends and inconsistencies of the tree, and the living columns themselves exhibit stumps where their unruly growth has been disciplined by the hut-builder. The individual is far more complex than its place in a larger unity would indicate. For Tarde, as Latour puts it, "the big is never more than the simplification of *one* element of the small" (123). Each branch, Tarde would claim, using the Leibnizian vocabulary of his *Monadology and Sociology* (1893), contains the entire tree monadically, the tree being entailed in every branch. We might also recall Viollet-le-Duc's detail drawing, in which individual elements literally commit only certain facets to the whole, or the barricades comprised of elements with allegiances elsewhere.

Tarde recognises that the emergence of theories of the crowd is not just the prompt for a new social theory. It requires a wider-ranging theory of assemblage. Tarde has little, if anything, to say about architecture under that name. But the theory of assemblage he develops has direct relevance to some of the most fundamental architectural questions: how parts are put together in service of some greater unity. His thinking may seem excessively abstract, but in fact it is highly concrete. What Tarde proposed was that, in any circumstance where we confront an assemblage, we should not immediately interpose a greater unity to which it belongs, but should examine the processes and networks of interaction at work. Put simply, our concern should be *formation* rather than *form*.

Conglomerates as an architectural problematic

When Sloterdijk discerns an "architectural problematic" in the new social assemblages of the French Revolution, it is important to recognise that this is not merely a matter of society's implications for architecture, nor conversely, architecture's implications for society. Sloterdijk says that the very subjectivity of crowds depends on the production of space:

> the forming of a multitudinous, metropolitan crowd into a present mass was an architectural, organisational, and ritual task ... 'The masses', 'the nation', or 'the people' can only exist as a collective subject when the physical assemblage of the magnitudes is the object of an elaborate production. (2007: 75)

Architecture, society, culture, technology – these cannot be seen as autonomous fields, even overlapping ones.

It is admittedly unorthodox to argue that the form of crowds and building tectonics can be connected in anything but a symbolic register. To take this further step, however, it is only necessary to recognise that both domains are structured by a theory of assemblage, even though this theory often remains implicit. Having recognised this, the relationship that Rykwert indicates between Rousseau's social contract and Laugier's primitive hut can be seen to be more than analogical.

I have had two aims in this paper. The first of these has been to indicate the value of examining implicit theories of assemblage for historical understanding. The organisation of collectives and understandings of architectural organisation describe an interwoven trajectory. The disengaged assemblage that structures Rousseau's and Laugier's respective arguments is drastically shifted by theories of the crowd. Haussmann, who implicitly shares Le Bon's theory of assemblage, sets in place an architecture of resistance to the crowd, while Viollet-le-Duc's organicism hints at a reformulation of architecture more sympathetic to the crowd.

My second aim is projective and open-ended: to seek a trajectory for this analysis into the present.[13] Architectural assemblage and social assemblage should not be seen as problems from entirely separate domains. It is not a matter of discerning how one domain informs the other, nor a matter of delimiting an area of overlap between them. In place of many separate and communicating discourses of assemblage, Tarde proposes a unified discourse of assemblages governed by relations of exteriority.[14] His treatment of the structure of crowds and structure of architecture as cases of a more general theory of accumulation, conglomeration, and multiplicity is a radical restructuring that should drive us to renewed questioning of the relationship between architecture and society, and would result in a more fluid, precise, and intricate view of both.

13. There is not room here to follow the twentieth-century career of theories of the crowd. Le Bon sets the tone for much of this career: Freud follows him for the most part. Canetti's *Crowds and Power* (1960), a freeform treatise on human social behaviour, was influential, but it was not until empirical studies of the 'emergent' behaviour of crowds, flocks, and herds appeared in the later part of the century that a distinctly separate theory of assemblage can be discerned. See, for example, Kelly (1995), a popular account of this new research. A more intensive account is found in De Landa (2006).

14. The term "relations of exteriority" is Deleuze's. See De Landa (2006).

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Adam's House Again

Joseph Rykwert

The vision of a paradisical and hypothetical hut has motivated many thinkers, reformers, and – yes, even architects – to give body and vigour to their proposals for a return to a natural, organic community, as well as to a way of building which might be its home.

A house as home: our demand for such an option has been questioned recently: "… since the Enlightenment we have no longer needed a universal house in order to find the world a place worthy of inhabiting. What suffices is a *unité d'habitation*, a stackable number of inhabitable cells …" Here is a doctrine to encapsulate the individual in a world, not so much of the essentially sociable, even aspiringly communitarian Corbusier'ian *unités*, but in the manner of a high-tech or emirate-style conglomerate. Unlike a *unité*, such high and bulky buildings almost inevitably desertify their immediate surroundings. This doctrine therefore speaks of an environment which is designed to deny the inter-active nature of social space. Only the sports stadium can offer any shelter to sociality in such a world.

Public social space in a city so constituted is constantly eroded by private interest: any conspicuous building is expected to act as a carrier of advertising. Some buildings are effectively solidified advertisements, and a whole skyscraper might even be seen as a trade mark which will inevitably have to be fancifully and often arbitrarily shaped. Such buildings require no response from the passer-by beyond that of bewildered astonishment at their sheer height and bulk. And the force of their impinging on the public realm is only as effective as it is destructive of sociality.

The constant demand for ever higher high-rises intensifies the atrophy of the public realm that I mentioned earlier. In such palsied regions, works of art cannot solicit the visitor's attention, never mind appreciation. And indeed, such products, however defined, have in the last few decades of the twentieth century grown in bulk and changed in their nature. They may be: sectioned animals in huge formaldehyde tanks, dead children hung on trees, pneumatic canons shooting liquid wax, or even vapid acrylic still-lives painted on oversize, inflated canvases.

Such works, or for that matter the happenings which have to some extent replaced them in public attention, cannot be incorporated into the physical setting in which we pass our daily life. They require specialised spaces: great warehouses, disused factories and bus or train depots, where they can be isolated from the everyday social round; even the museums in which the older paintings and sculptures are displayed and conserved will not quite do. They are much too small for them. Some artists have even ensured that their whole production will be gathered together in an isolated location so that you need to make a pilgrimage to be able to experience them at all.

Their growing bulk corresponds to the exponential rise of commodity art-work prices. Like the buildings, they are all products which testify to a blind belief, which has already motivated society in the second half of the twentieth century, the belief in the dominion of the free market and the ever-growing benefits of its unlimited growth. The association between this kind of art and the buildings with which they are contemporary is exemplified by the nature of the public attention that is directed to them: they occupy as much – if not more – space in the real estate and financial pages of newspapers than as in the cultural ones.

Bulk aside, you may think that I take too solemn, too grave a view of those objects, many of which, as my description of them suggests, are playful emulations of Marcel Duchamp's irony. He memorably and mythically signed a urinal so as to exhibit it as a work of art (the art being in the act of choice, not in any quality of the object). He also bottled – and sold – his breath; while Piero Manzoni tinned his faeces and, guaranteeing their freedom from additives, sold the tins for their weight in gold.

With time, the irony has been turned against their originators. An 'artist's work' turned out to be to pee into Duchamp's urinal at an exhibition. He claimed that he was reversing Duchamp's choice by returning the urinal to its original use … and when an art dealer used a can-opener on one of Manzoni's tins, he found it filled with dried plaster, not faeces. The relatively modest prices originally charged for such productions have been so inflated that their sale at auction for mind-blowing sums is considered by some later artists as a 'happening' in itself.

Irony has often been invoked in the discussion of twentieth-century art; artists like Damien Hirst or Maurizio Cattelan (I quote among the most expensive) have appealed to Duchamp as their forerunner. Yet when their graceless happenings involve tons of material and millions of dollars, then the sly smile of irony may turn to the snarl of sarcasm.

If there is power in symbolic coincidences, it might just be worth noting that the colossal auction sale, in which Damien Hirst acted as his own dealer, netting the sum of £111,000,000, the highest achieved in a single-artist sale, happened to coincide with the collapse of Lehman Brothers, one of those catastrophic failures to which we have become inured, but which then marked the opening of the great financial melt-down of 2008.

Whether the changed economic climate will alter the way we perceive our environment is not yet clear. Perhaps it will require a deeper social change than can be provoked by a mere fiscal crisis. But the dominant faith of the last half century in the self-regulating and wholly beneficent free market has been shaken. This can neither be forgotten nor repaired, though we have yet to come to terms with the chasm it has opened in our world.

It will, at some point, force us to set public authority above the operations of the economy. That, I suspect, will imply the erection of some visible and tangible index of the social good in our social realm. Some of you may be aware of straws in that wind. The vast and chaotic city of Sao Paulo, the largest in Brazil, has forbidden all advertising in its public spaces in 2007. Electric signs have been switched off, bill-boards and hoardings blanked out, even shop signs restricted. Paulistas, if their vocal reactions are to be believed, love their *cidade limpa*, their clean town, and some even hope that the mayor's modest proposal to reintroduce posters on bus stops and bollards will never be accepted.

When buildings are stripped of their motley, what will appear? Will we, once we have to face the stripped public space, demand that our buildings, our streets and squares take up some quite different organisational principle? It is too early to tell if the Sao Paulo precedent points to a trend which will be followed elsewhere, but it certainly does seem as if the model which has served for urban development in the free market has had its day.

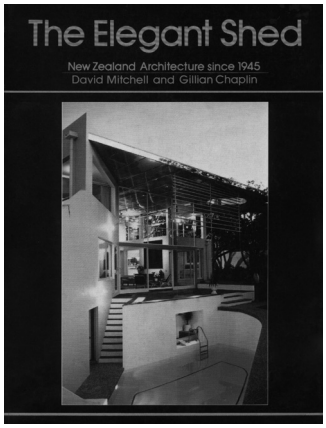
If we now look to a notion of urban sociality in which the citizen takes freedom of assembly for granted, to a place of personal, face-to-face exchange quite different from that of the football stadium (and which therefore requires quite other considerations from those we have come to accept as a commonplace – a space that is the leftover of private development), we may be able to formulate one that will actually welcome the inhabitant on his daily round. But we will then also need to look again at the ways in which the public realm was created and occupied in the past.

It is worth recalling -– and some of the speakers will surely remind us – that the Southern Pacific once offered seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers the spectacle of Adamic ease within a friendly physical environment, as well as a free sociality unwarped by the trammels of constricting civilisation. The thinkers of the Enlightenment were the most enthusiastic proponents of this vision, and however idealised their picture may have been, it seems again to exercise a new attraction in the twenty-first century. It may be, though, that the reported rise in the sales of the books of Karl Marx and Maynard Keynes provides no real demonstration of a cultural shift, and for that matter the demonising of bankers throughout the Anglo-Saxon world does not indicate anything more – as yet – than a glitch in the fortunes of the market, but the signs do seem to be pointing to a dissatisfaction with the shopping mall as the image of public space.

Can we believe, then, that the model which Adam's house and its elaborations once offered can become relevant again? It is not only as the family home but as a 'great house' that the Pacific offered Enlightenment thinkers a shelter for sociality and a community which they envied and wished to emulate, one which throughout the nineteenth century returned in the writings – and the designs – of political reformers and of utopians. Perhaps a close look at its variation throughout the region will help us to understand this fascination and indicate why we need to examine this model again in the light of our present condition.

Five Houses

David Mitchell & Julie Stout



Gibbs House, Auckland (1984), on the cover of The Elegant Shed. Photo: Gillian Chaplin.

In 1984, the Gibbs House appeared, even to the author, to owe nothing to New Zealand architectural traditions. The owners wanted it like this, and their architect, David Mitchell (who had been brought up on the virtues of mid-Century Modern New Zealand timber construction and humanist values) enthusiastically obliged. Mitchell had already tried several times to re-invent the local architectural language (e.g., Walford House, Begg apartments project), but this project took it to a whole new level. When the house appeared on the cover of *The Architectural Review* (July 1987), Mitchell felt his internationalist disguise had been perfected. Yet that same journal also carried pictures of a shed-like corrugated iron house he had designed for an impecunious jeweller: the Preston house could only have come from the Antipodes. These two contemporaneous houses suggested the notion of "the elegant shed" (which was to become a book title). Importantly, though, it was not the shed that held particular interest, but rather the notion of elegance.

Heke Street House (1988-90), Auckland

While the Gibbs House was being built, Julie Stout was designing a timber house two doors down the road. The Baragwanath House had a vaulted garage with latticework sides, cantilevered timbers, and sliding louvred screens covering the windows. These elements acknowledged local precedent, as well as an apprenticeship in Cook, Hitchcock and Sargisson, and gave the architecture a 'slatty' and soft-edged skin.

As a student, Stout had designed a town house invaded by a water garden, which originated in the back yard. A little later she worked in Fiji, where she designed a pavilion house in a walled court. The house's wall panels swung up to meet the top of the courtyard walls, modifying the size and enclosure of the pavilion.

The Heke St House was designed a little later by Stout and Mitchell, on a yacht in the South Pacific. The first designs brought together the featheriness and vaulting of Baragwanath, with the pole-and-tin structure of Preston, and the airiness of the Fijian pavilion. It was a romantic vision of Pacific life. The water garden was there from the start. Alas, back in New Zealand, the architects realised the limitations of the 290-square-metre site, overlooked on all sides except from the street, and trapped in a suburb of nineteenth-century worker housing. They looked more closely at the narrow, high, worker housing of the district, felt the winter gales, and started again. Eventually, the house was designed around a sequence of four rooms, blinkered like the old houses of Collingwood St. The most open room was a verandah above the street, with vines covering the street edge, followed by translucent roofing, then solid cover. The kitchen, built around the dining table, opened onto it, while the heart and hearth of the house were dark and central. The fourth room had to be the water garden – a flooded court,




to be contemplated, but not entered. To feather the edges and control the view, slatted screens on yacht rigging wire were suspended on each side of the street face, like ears on the face of a spaniel.

Left to right:

[frontal] Heke Street House (1988-90), Auckland, The cantilevering verandah from the street.
Photo: Simon Devitt. [diagonal]

The house from the street. Photo: Simon Devitt. [verandah]

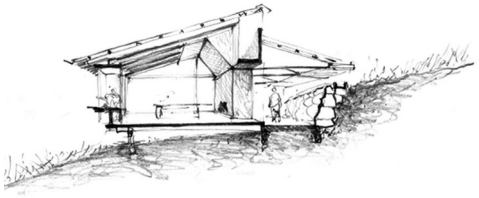
The verandah from the kitchen. Photo: Patrick Reynolds.

The fourth room - a courtyard of water. Photo: Mitchell/Stout.

'Otoporae', House in the King Country (2002-2004)

The clients were lively, bright and physical. So was the site, perched above a great valley carved out of rhyolite, part forested, part farmed. "Touching the earth lightly" makes sense on the rock of Australia. In contrast, Māori and Pākehā are earth-movers. Mitchell/Stout decided to make shelter by digging in.

The design is based on the cross-section. One significant manoeuvre distinguishes it – the verandah is on the 'wrong' side: while the house looks outwards across the valley, the verandah looks inwards at the cut bank. The bank is retained by loose (and cheap) local rhyolite boulders and thereby seems to be part of the exterior. However, it is also enclosed by a translucent roof, aluminium shutters above the rock wall, and glass doors at each end. Is this inside or out? The goal was something akin to van Eyck's "in-between realm". Thus, this place is verandah, entry foyer (with front door) and access way all at once – the bike and the rug are equally at home here.



Top: 'Otoporae', House in the King Country (2002-2004): The aluminium shutters open in fine weather. Photo: Patrick Reynolds

Left: Drawing by David Mitchell. Right: The house from the entry path at night. Photo: Mitchell/Stout

Fishman House (2005-2008), Waiheke Island

One could find a source for this house in the tent fly slung between two tents, and that might help sustain myths of local origins. However, the inspiration came from a glimpse out of a bus window in Paraguay in 1974, which David Mitchell never forgot. He saw, just for a moment, a table in an open space between two rooms – a basic house, with a bread-oven smoking beside. In the Fishman House, this glimpse became the roofed space between two towers, table and fire in the middle, the private domains on either side.

The house looks out to the Gulf- Photo: Patrick Reynolds

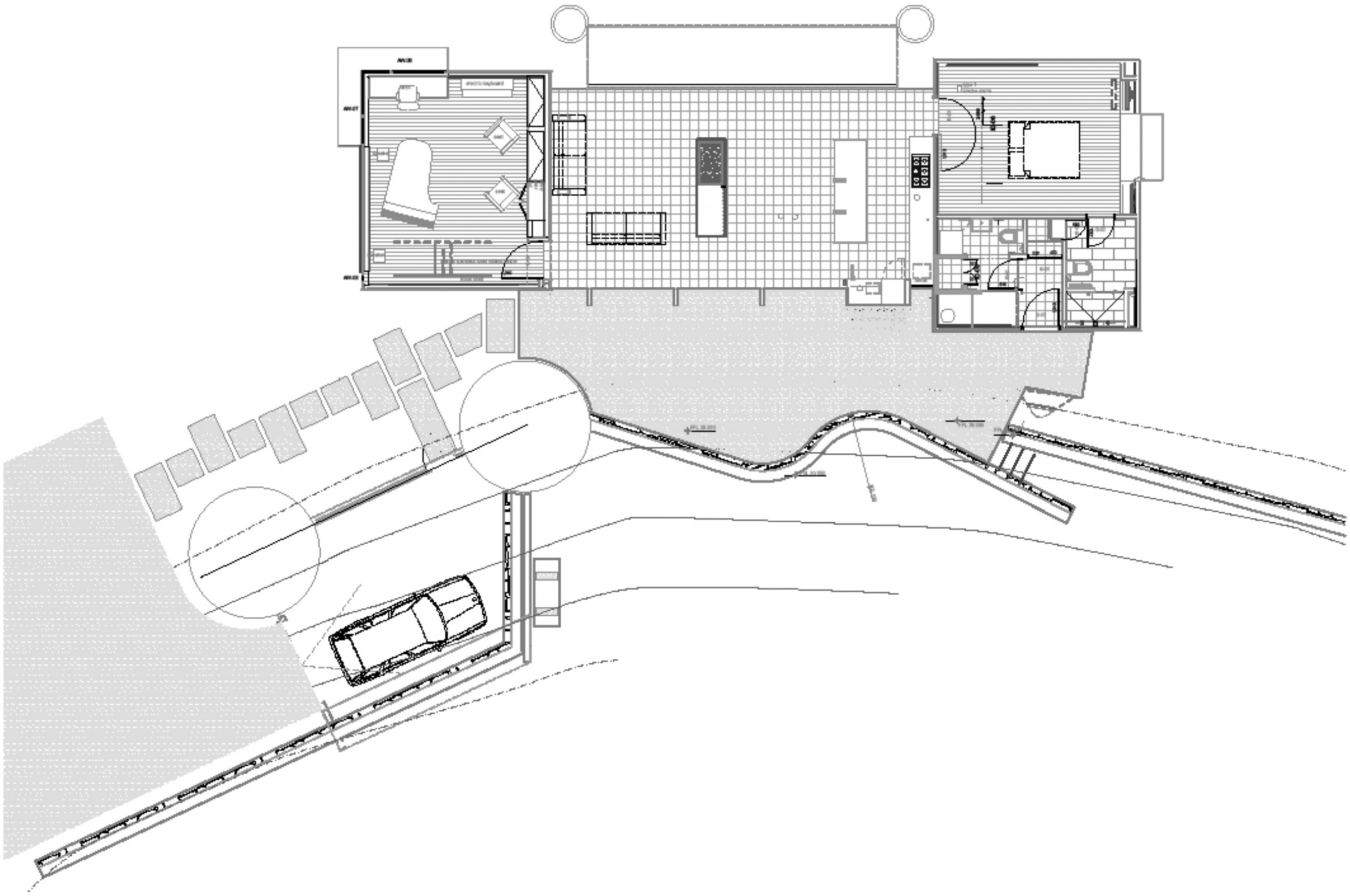
left to right:

Bedroom shutters open. Photo: Patrick Reynolds

Music Room. Photo: Patrick Reynolds

As architects, Mitchell/Stout look for what is distinctive and unusual in their clients. When the Fishmans asked for a room in which to think, read, play the piano and listen to music, they provided the key. With it, the panoramic views of the Hauraki Gulf (which the site indeed offers, but which too often have to substitute for architecture) could be left aside and, instead, Mitchell/Stout could make interior space. The result is a high, arched room, naturally lit down and along the edges of walls, with a heavy sound-insulating door which cuts the space off from the rest of the house.

The sleeping tower had to answer the call of the piano room, with its own odd shape. Upstairs it's a birds-nest of tiny bedrooms, precipitously glazed. The view is 'digitised' by lattice screens to different degrees: when the screens are open, the view is free at bed level. Closed, the screens cradle the sleepers on windy winter nights.

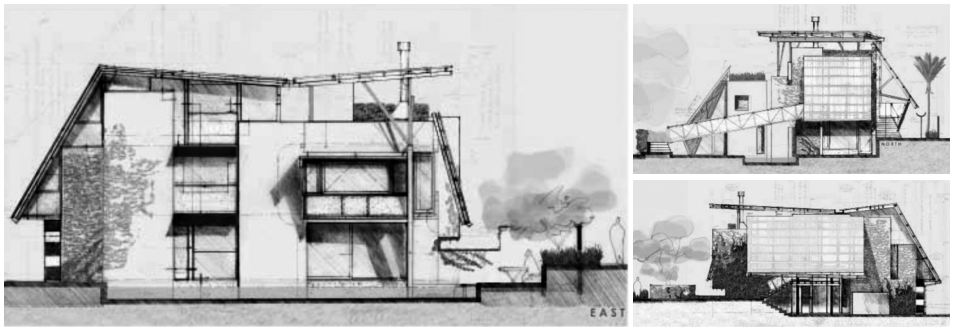


Narrow Neck House (2005-2008), Auckland. View from the street. Photo: Lucas Doolan

Narrow Neck House (2005-2008), Auckland

Like the earlier Unitec Landscape and Plant Science Staff Studies Building, the Narrow Neck House features precast concrete panels. Twenty-five years after the Gibbs house, Mitchell/Stout were again looking for a language outside the local residential, this time using materials common in industrial architecture because of their cost efficiency. The concrete came straight off the steel beds of the factory: 10-tonne panels, stripped and lifted in 24 hours. Other materials included precast rib flooring, covered in terracotta tiles from the North of the North Island. The translucent areas of wall and roof are single-skin corrugated fibreglass. They were used in the design process to block unwanted views – the road, the neighbours, a house the architects don't like … soon, there were big planes of it, leaning on the concrete, gleaming like ice-walls.

There is no reference here to the heritage housing of nearby Devonport – the design owes more to an excitement with the concrete fortifications of the local Fort Takapuna, the stormwater "houses" on the beach below the cliff, the tile-roofed bus shelters with bus-viewing ports carved out of their end walls. The 'house' is really a little village on 530 square metres of land, with a multi-functional studio, an apartment for Stout's mother, and a two-bedroom house for Mitchell and Stout. There is also a ramping bridge reaching for the beach, and another water garden. Once again, the relationship between inside and outside is an issue. 'Living-dining-verandah' was too obvious a set-up, and one already explored. Mitchell pitched for 'living-verandah-dining': going outside to the TV from the table. Stout put in a veto. And so 'living-dining and a roof deck above' prevailed. But will anyone make the trip to the roof from the comfort of the floor below? Time will tell.



Elevations- top: Street side, mid: sea side, bottom: neighbour side

Houses, ideas and resisting the natural

Pete Bossley

As an introductory gesture, I offer the following very personal response to some key elements of *On Adams House in Paradise/Pacific*. "Adam", for instance, comes hand-in-hand with Christian sin, falling, a web of guilt. For me, these have no personal relevance. "House": an interesting idea, worthy of lifelong architectural study. "Paradise": the notion of an abode of righteous souls after death is (or should be) of waning significance. The Persian metaphor of a walled garden of delights seems more architecturally fertile. "Pacific": peace(ful). Many would consider the action of humans upon this island to be aggressive and not in the least peaceful.

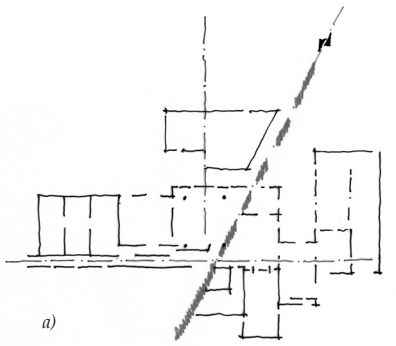
A superficial response? Yes. Of course Adam's position in European mythology is hugely important, but the central notion implicit in the title *Adam's House in the Pacific* is the idyllic primitive hut in untended, yet benign, vegetation. Man at peace with a benevolent nature: a nostalgic fantasy. For my part, placing a house in the landscape has nothing whatsoever to do with origins (first man), singularity (man alone), origins (primal house form) or paradise (benign nature). It has more resonance with Persian notions of paradise: a garden, created by humans, walled to keep chaos at bay.

The New Zealand landscape is, largely, a human project of burning off, clearing and eviscerating, controlling and domesticating the land. The forest (which we enervate by calling it bush) is far from benign: it is chaotic, aggressive, uninhabitable. We have corralled it into zones and driven roads, tracks and paths through it which let us venture into it – without venturing into it.

We have modified the country radically. We have designed it. Where forest was, there are now fields, paddocks, roads, windbreak treelines, dammed lakes, skifields, racecourses, farmhouses, towns. Heavily fertilised fields, horrendously polluted lakes. But we persist in calling it natural. As a nation, whether or not we believe in it, we seem to glean pleasure from believing in our phenomenally successful international PR hype: Clean Green and 100% Pure.

References to Adam, to the idyllic, and to 'man alone' myths deny our role in the reworking of the country. So, too, does our obsession with the 'bach', which gets increasingly sad as the cultural and social conditions which spawned it fade into history. Instead, we should accept that we started redesigning the country the moment we set foot on it. We need to acknowledge and celebrate this fact and, as designers, accept responsibility and do our job well.

The houses we insert into this man-scape are no primitive huts, nor do they purport to be. Nor do the clients believe that they are returning to Nature. When they



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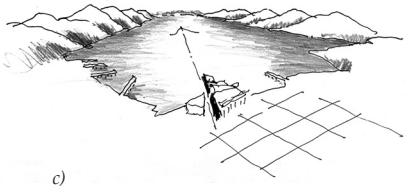

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d)

a) Heatley One, St Heliers (1985). The architecture is 'faulted' in plan and section. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects

b) Museum of NZ Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, (1997). The diagonal 'fault' through the building mirrors the Wellington Fault to the west. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects

c) Heatley One. Photo: Simon Devitt

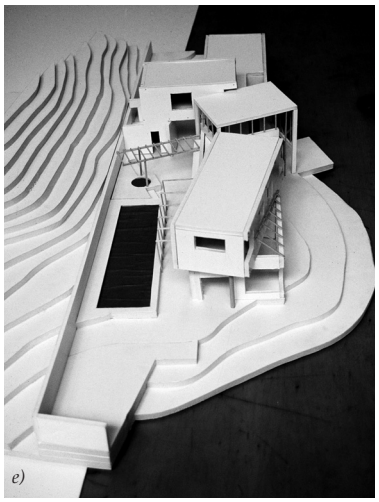
d) Museum of NZ Te Papa Tongarewa. The four-metre-thick wall slices through and beyond the building. Photo: Te Papa

leave for their holiday houses, they leave the city temporarily. In their country houses, they are very aware of, and enthusiastic users of, the city. Their houses can be complex and sophisticated like small ships. They hum and they whir. They are seamlessly linked to the world. They incorporate complex passive and active environmental concepts. Some create their own electricity. They occupy fabricated and controlled landscapes and are no more linked to the primitive hut than the primitive hut was to Adam. There is no attempt to 'return to origins'. There may be a sense of contrast with urban busy-ness, but not a sense of escape.

Many of the houses we have been invited to design are on waterfront locations, on the edge between the inhabited world and the sea with its islands. We have explored a number of themes: encampment, the peril of the land (skin and heave), imbalances and eccentricities, formlessness. Present in all of these are our preoccupations with natural light, the importance of sky-scapes, and the sensuality of space and material.

The geological forces shaping the New Zealand landscape will probably never be domesticated. In Wellington, despite this perilous situation, we place our government and largest national collection of artefacts on a major earthquake fault line. In Auckland, the largest gathering of our population lives on a configuration of 50 volcanoes. Architectural responses to these conditions were incorporated in our projects in various ways. In the Heatley House, St Heliers (1985), a succession of orthogonal spaces is ruptured and sliced by a clearly defined diagonal wall running through the house, and extending outside and above the building. This gesture reappeared in The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington (1997), where a four-metre-thick black wall gouges the plan, parallel with the nearby fault line similarly gouging the Wellington terrain.

The depth of geological forces contrasts with the taut qualities of the realm of human habitation. The site of the Emirali House (1986) in West Harbour had been cleared of all vegetation, leaving a bare, rolling clay surface: exposed, vulnerable, mobile land. The impact of slippage and heaving, of expansion and contraction, were evident. This unsettled condition was incorporated into the design. Five discrete elements offer interpretations of disruptions of a previous mode of balance, or of the process of finding that mode.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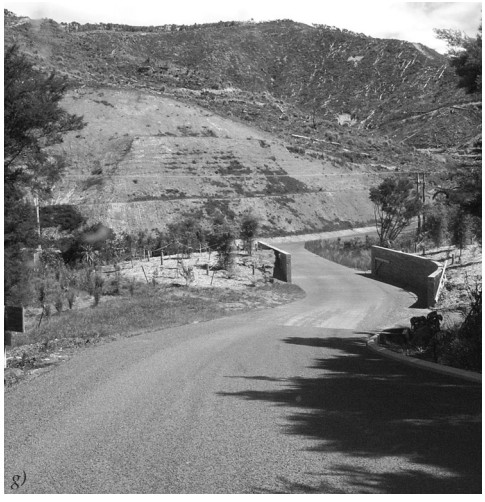
e) Emirali House, West Harbour (1986), model. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects

f) Emirali House. The unsettled composition is highlighted by the different materials ascribed to each block. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects

The insubstantiality of vegetation, as a skin draped over and covering the flesh underneath, is often illuminated by the cuts made for road works. The experience of passing through vertiginous walls of clay, as well as over the undulating surface, was central to the design of the Z House. The two-storey building, on rolling countryside near Hamilton, is partially buried. When approached along the rural driveway, it appears as single storey. A Z-shaped masonry retaining wall, cutting into the ridge, leads into the east-facing arrival court, where the experience of being under the surface begins. In the sub-surface spaces, awareness is focused on the sky overhead, as though lying on one's back looking up. The Z curves through the house eventually to define a west-facing courtyard. Where the ridge drops away towards the west, courtyard and house resurface and become two visible storeys again.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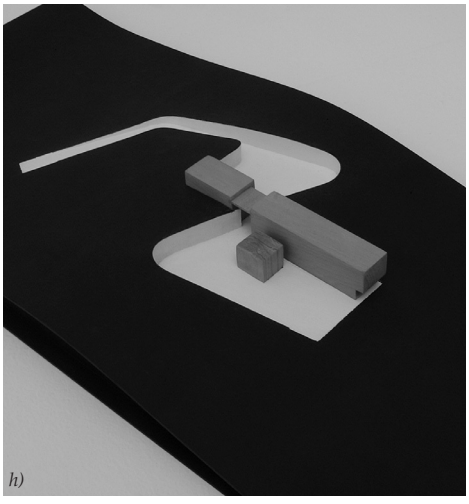
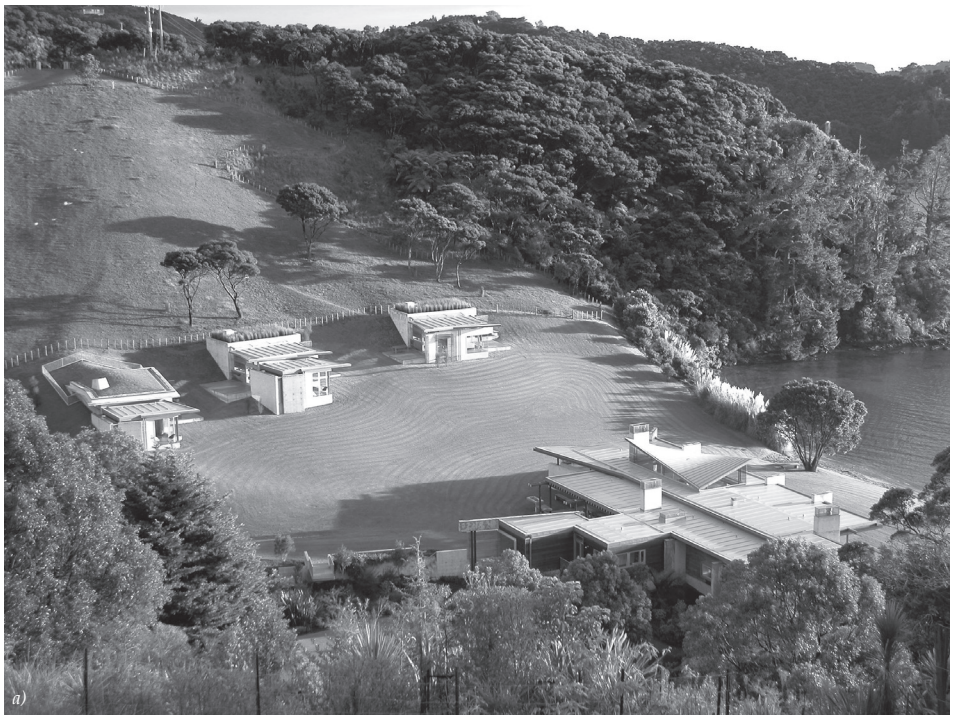

h)

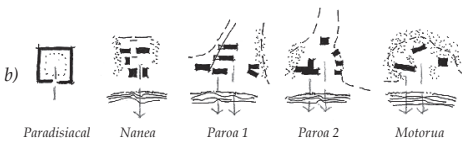
g) Roadside cuts expose the 'flesh' of the land. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects.

h) Z House (Hamilton, 2001), model. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects

Z House. The curving cut in the land passes through house from south to north. Photo: Simon Devitt.

The notion of encampment suggests ways of playing with ideas of courtyard housing without providing courtyards. Comfort with openness is contrasted with dis-comfort with closure, when large buildings are split into a number of smaller forms, gathered about the site in ways that imply multiple relationships (building to building, building to landscape). New spaces are generated within the cluster, and between the buildings, as the delicate balance between too much attachment, too much closure, too much solidity is explored. For me, the intention is only to suggest desired spaces and relationships: to make abstract connections rather than literal ones. There should be room for misinterpretation.





a) Paroa 2 House (Bay of Islands,2003), from southeast. The partially underground sleep-outs gather around the lawn and the large terrace of the living wing. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects.

b) Varying degrees of closure in PBA designed 'encampments'. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects.

These holiday houses recall camping grounds, caravans and tents, and childhood holidays by sea or river, often in untended paddocks with overgrown grass. Teeming with pleasurable nostalgia, these memories and references thread into the architecture, which leaves the links between buildings uncharted and unprotected. When crossing between buildings, one feels the damp grass under one's bare feet, the chilly air on one's skin. The sense of being on holiday contrasts with the urban condition, which nevertheless continues to be present in its absence.

Such ideas have underpinned our designs for many years. There are others, like the pavilion, or the fluidity and sensuality of space, which always offers the power to enthral, or the opportunities offered by concepts relating to formlessness. Surface and decoration frequently exercise our wits. The delicate balance between suggestion and overstatement, between a light touch and a weighty one, provides an endless field of study. New Zealand conditions of openness, and its ever-shifting zones of slippage and disturbance, offer ideal grounds for such explorations. This place is fascinating and open and fertile. Fortunately, it is not Paradise.

c) Motorua (Bay of Islands, 1999). Pavilions in recreated nature. Buildings, vegetation and contours suggest enclosure without formally creating it. Photo: Patrick Reynolds.

d) Nanea (Hawaii, 2009). The semi-enclosed area 'leaks' space at the corners and through the buildings themselves. Photo: Simon Devitt.

e) Paroa 2 House. The relationship between discrete buildings draws the exterior space into the composition, with the exterior terrace becoming the summer 'heart' of the encampment. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects.

f) Paroa 1 House (Bay of Islands, 2001). Pavilions arrayed with varying formality to provide a variety of exterior enclosures. Photo: Pete Bossley Architects.

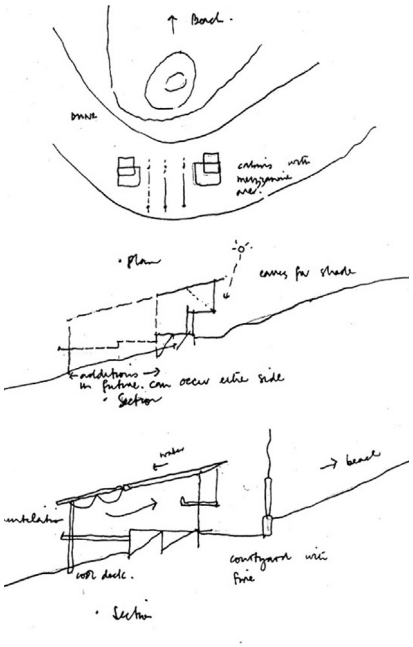
Simple or Simplistic?

Patrick Clifford

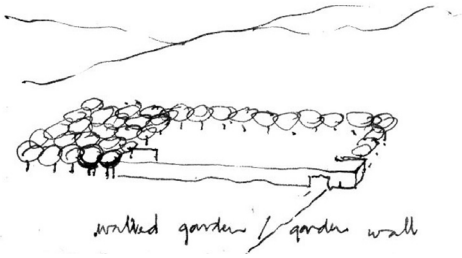
Consideration of the symposium's title, *On Adams House in the Pacific*, brought to mind questions around the rhetoric of "simple or simplistic?" We have often felt that we walked a tightrope between those poles, as we sought to make rigorous and clear architecture, beautiful but not pretty, and challenging but not challenged. We have described our work, to ourselves at least, as dense (i.e., simple, but not simplistic).

We come from the "Man alone" tradition in New Zealand and some of our early projects, in particular, were small and often idealised versions of 'the bach'. This work continues in more recent, similar projects, and its influence even extends to the design of what we might call sheds, rather than huts. The striving for a non-simplistic simplicity has informed not only our approach to the 'product', but also to the process of building. When thinking about the sequence of work resulting from our designs, we have endeavoured to create sequences which would benefit and enable the site, and make the process smooth and efficient: in the tradition of lightweight building culture, the roof is constructed on the ground (whole or in parts) and then erected to provide shelter for the processes to follow.

House at Great barrier I (1993)

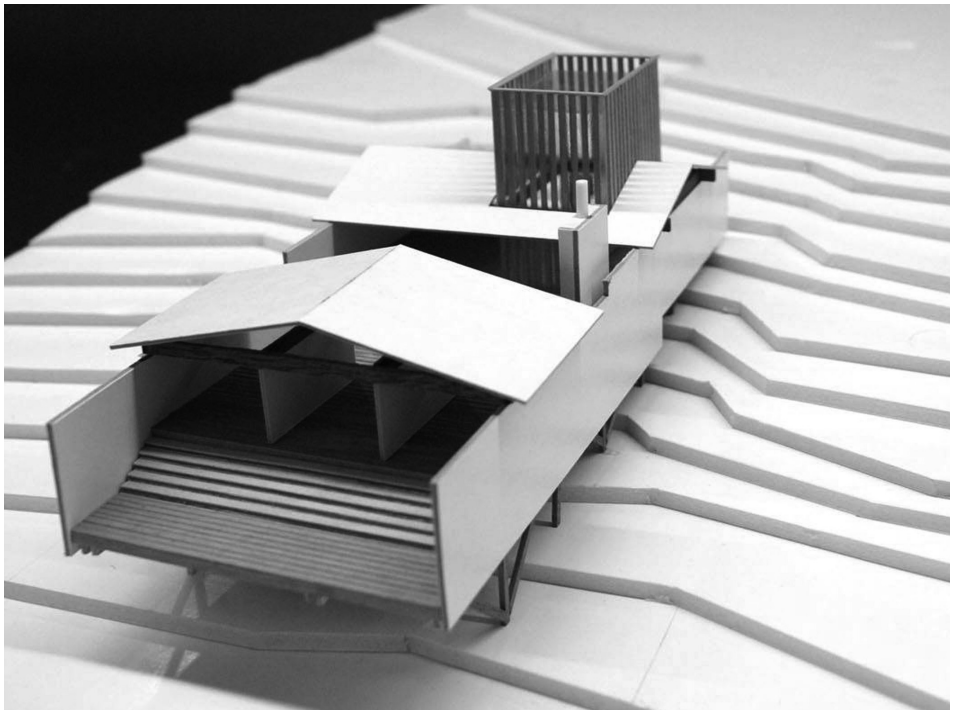


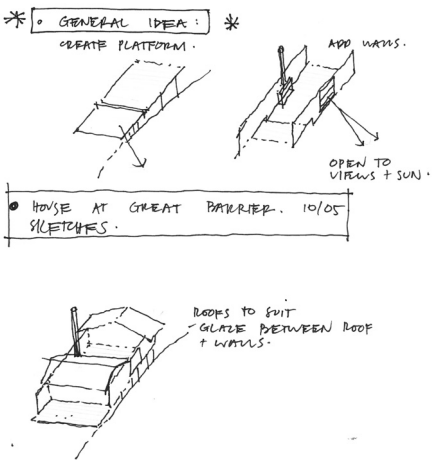
House at Te Horo (1994)



A variation on a theme – two small cabins, this time living, organised on a wooden platform defining an outdoor living space. Photo: Simon Devitt

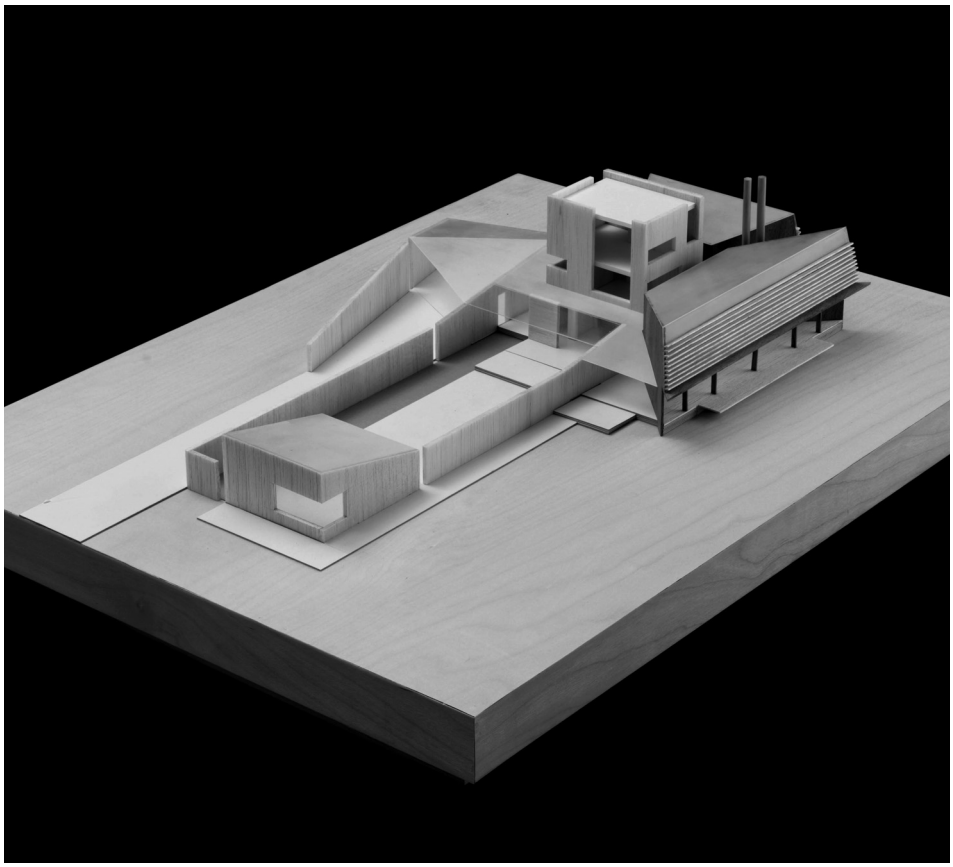
House at Great Barrier II (2008)



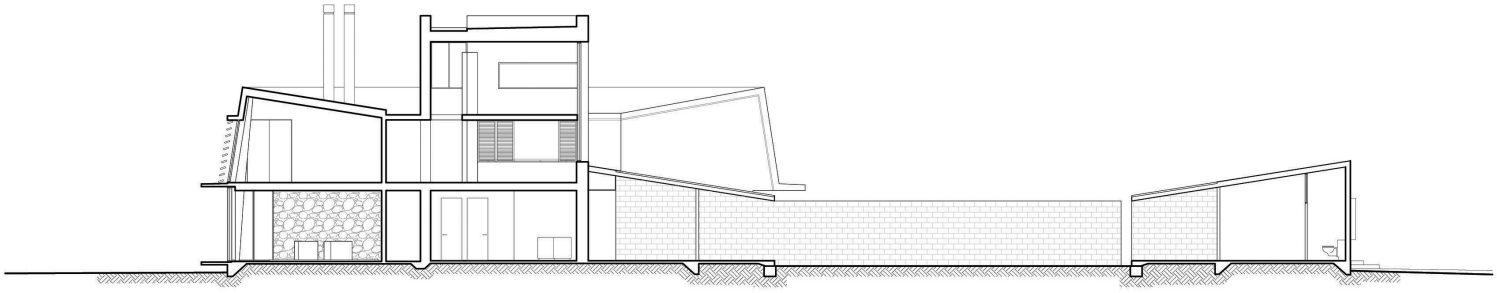


Two small cabins – for two families or groups – organised on and around a wooden platform. The cabins define a shared living space, the whole covered by a skillion roof. Photo: Patrick Reynolds

Wairarapa House (2007)



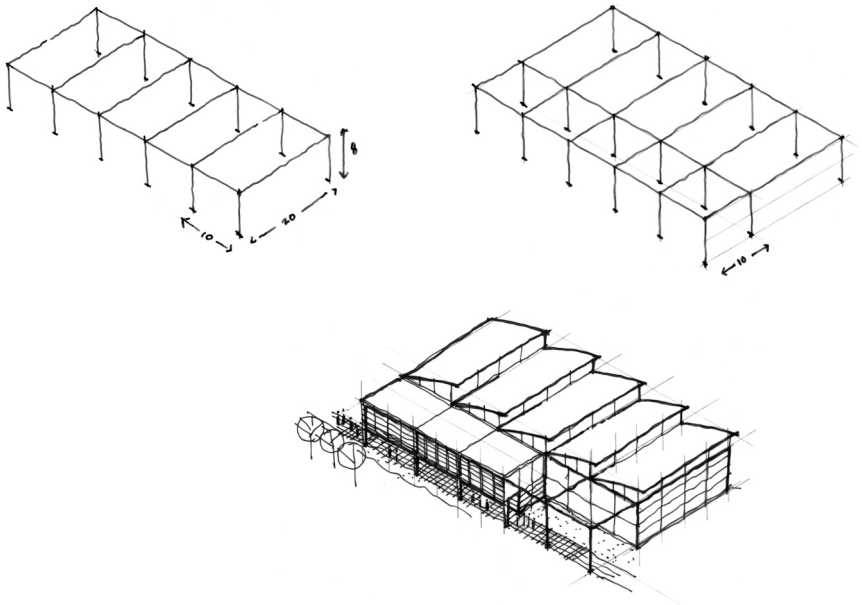
A further variation – two sleeping areas, lightweight in construction, define a living space under a skillion roof. The clients' suggestion of a walled garden is translated into a connecting element that further organises the project, adding weight and definition both in the front and in the back. Photo: architectus auckland



The design explores the relationship between heavy walls – in this case enclosing a courtyard, a farmyard and a small tower – and lightweight rooms. The programme is more extensive than in the Te Horo House and the material roles reversed: in general terms, the living spaces are light, whilst the bedrooms are massive. Photo: architectus auckland

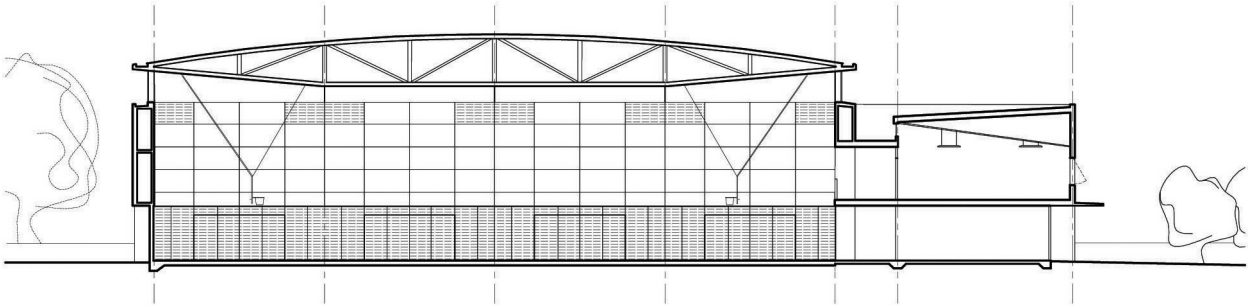
Engineering and Science Research Centre (2001)

A South light shed – 100m long and 20m wide, with an attached 10m wide bar of service spaces and a colonnade. The 10m-wide roof elements are assembled on the ground, complete with the waterproof membrane, and then craned into place .The concrete slab is poured and the walls constructed after this shelter is made. Photo: architectus auckland



Auckland Grammar Sports Centre (2007)

Another variation on a theme – working with the same contractor, a 36m x 36m roof element was again constructed on the ground, then finished and craned into place. Everything getting bigger and heavier means more cranes and less tolerance. The slab is poured in advance, and the corners are filled in when the erection is complete. Photo: architectus auckland



Public/Private
Concerning the Concept of Threshold[1]

Riken Yamamoto

> In the past, the city was made up of communities, which in turn were made up of families. Some things were definitely public and other things definitely private, and we built our cities with spaces that corresponded to these two classes of things. However, it has been pointed out for a number of years now that such an approach is becoming slightly problematical. I believe that ultimately the problem boils down to the question of what is public and what is private.[2]

1. Adapted from *Theory of Dwelling* (1993). Unpublished manuscript (excerpted version), translated into English by Hiroshi Watanabe.

2. From a keynote speech by Fumihiko Maki at a symposium organised by the Italian Trade Commission.

We are no longer certain what is public and what is private or, to put it another way, what is privacy and what is community. These questions are not particularly new but are nonetheless difficult to answer clearly. I think the reason we cannot answer them is because they are bound up in ideas. They are bound up in values that are closely tied to space or architecture. That is, the difficulty lies in the fact that the question, "What is public and what is private?" implies a second question, "What is public space and what is private space?" The boundary between those two questions is quite ambiguous.

We believe that words like 'privacy' and 'community', or 'public' and 'private' are abstract concepts of relationships between human beings. We believe that those abstract concepts are only actualized and made manifest when they have been translated into space. That is, when they have been made concrete. Therefore, the difficulty actually exists on two planes, in two layers of meaning. There is the difficulty of evaluating ideas called privacy and community, and then there is the procedural difficulty of translating those ideas into space or architecture.

Concepts such as privacy and community can be discussed as theory. They can also be evaluated as ideas. However, to translate those abstract concepts into space or architecture requires another, separate process: a process involving a theory concerning space, or, a theory for converting abstract concepts into spatial concepts. We do not have a theory. We do not have a clear logic, either. We discuss the idea of community one moment and then, in the next moment, suddenly turn the discussion to apartment buildings with tiled roofs, or traditional wall materials, or the adoption of some European style of apartment building. We do not have a clear process for converting an idea into space or architecture.

The reason we have no qualms about calling an open area that is just a bit spacious a 'plaza', 'common space' or 'public space', or the reason why we matter-of-factly refer to the bedrooms in a house as the 'private quarters' and the living room as the 'public area', is that we have no means of converting schemas of human relationships (or ideas about the way human beings congregate) into spatial schemas. Therefore, such ideas can all too easily be replaced by questions regarding the atmospheric or superficial treatment of architecture.

Riken Yamamoto - Xystus, Inter-Junction City, Ryokoentoshi, Kanagawa. Photo: Andrew Barrie

Riken Yamamoto - Xystus, Inter-Junction City, Ryokoentoshi, Kanagawa. Photo: Andrew Barrie

Is there, though, a convenient measure by which we can convert abstract concepts into spatial concepts? The fact that architects have laboured endlessly since the start of the twentieth century, without discovering an effective measure for doing so, may mean we are erring in some way in the way we frame the question. The idea that there is a process for translating something into space, by which we can bridge the gap between ideas and spatial schemas, may itself be wrongheaded.

We talk about public versus private, or about the community, but when we talk about such concepts, are we not already talking about spatial relationships? I suspect that such concepts are impossible to explain except as spatial relationships. It isn't that we first conceive abstract concepts or ideas, such as privacy and community, and then try to translate them into space. Instead, spatial concepts may be implicit in concepts such as privacy and community.

To put it another way, concepts such as public, private and community, which concern the relationship between group and individuals, may be impossible to actualize unless they are translated into space. To translate something into space means to substitute for that something a relationship between spaces. If that is so, then we are indeed able to describe concepts such as public, private and community as relationships in spatial arrangements.

For example, Narifumi Suzuki's view below is a more realistic, that is, more architectural expression of what Maki said in the statement quoted at the outset.

> One other thing I felt, having lived in an apartment building, is that an apartment layout is completely cut off from the outdoors. I have often studied the closed or open character of, or communication between inside and outside in, housing, but it is quite frightening to actually live in such housing. I climb stairs but all I see are closed steel doors; I know absolutely nothing about what goes on inside the units. Once I enter a unit and close the door, I am in another, completely isolated world.[3]

Suzuki's approach is to frame the questions, what is public and what is private, in stark, spatial terms. That is, he uses direct, graphic expressions such as *closed* or *open character*, *inside*, *outside*, and *isolated*. Words such as closed character, open character, inside and outside are words describing space, spatial characteristics or relationships. The expression "closed character" means the "closed character

3. There may be other methods for conceptually schematising a closed relationship. For example, there are more general methods of schematisation, such as the relationship between the inside of a closed curve and the outside. However, even if we assume a condition in which the enclosed space is completely cut off from the outside space and there is absolutely no communication between the two spaces, it would realistically have little meaning. Or if we try to determine whether the space is closed or open by means of the character of that closed curve itself, that is, the character of the boundary, it would merely be another variation on the abovementioned discussion concerning the material at the boundary. Being closed or open is a question, not of being physically cut off or not, but of the presence or absence of some sort of constraint on communication between the spaces. And that constraint is the "threshold".

Riken Yamamoto - Xystus, Inter-Junction City, Ryokoentoshi, Kanagawa. Photo: Andrew Barrie

Riken Yamamoto - Xystus, Inter-Junction City, Ryokoentoshi, Kanagawa. Photo: Andrew Barrie

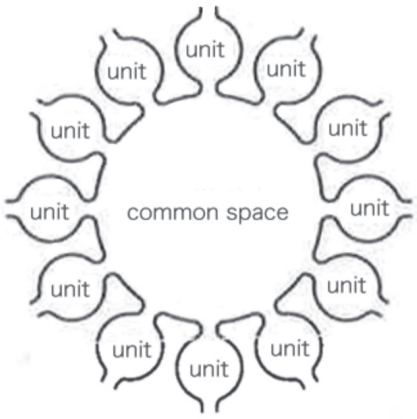


Fig. 1

of space"; by "openness", we mean the "openness of space". "Inside" and "outside", too, mean the inside and outside of a particular space.

It is obvious. Despite that, if we are asked what sort of space is closed or open in character, we cannot say for certain. I believe the central question is a question of spatial arrangement. Being open or closed is more a question of the interrelationship of two spaces, which come into contact with each other, than a question of the material at the boundary between those spaces. Is there a way of describing the relationship between those two spaces (that come into contact in general terms, not as a problem of materials)? If it is possible to describe a closed relationship, or an open relationship, as a spatial relationship, then it should logically be possible to describe such things as public or private in terms of spatial arrangements.

Riken Yamamoto - Hotakobo Housing Kumamoto City, Kumamoto. Photo: Andrew Barrie

The concept of threshold

Fig. 1 is a schematic of the way units are arranged in the Kumamoto Prefecture Hotakubo Daiichi Public Housing project, completed in 1991. Units for 110 households are arranged around a central open space. There have been other housing projects organised around open spaces, but this is different in that there is no entrance allowing free access to the open space from outside the project. There is a community centre that serves as a gateway but, basically, the central open space can only be accessed through the individual units.

Each of the units arranged around the central open space has two entrances. One is the front door for accessing the unit from outside. The other is an entrance that connects the unit to the central open space. The 110 units are divided into three buildings – an east building, a west building, and a north building – and the buildings are in turn divided into blocks. There are 16 blocks in all, and each block contains five to eight units. Each block has two stairways, one on the front access side and the other on the central open space side. Using these two stairways, anyone living in that block is free to go through his or her unit and on down to the central open space. That is, each unit serves as a gateway to the central open space.

The arrangement is quite closed to the outside world. There is in fact an emergency entrance to one side of the community centre; if it is kept open, then the central open space is open to the outside world. In that case, the housing project is not exactly represented by the schematic; however, conceptually, the spatial

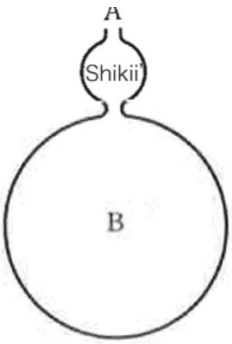


Fig. 2

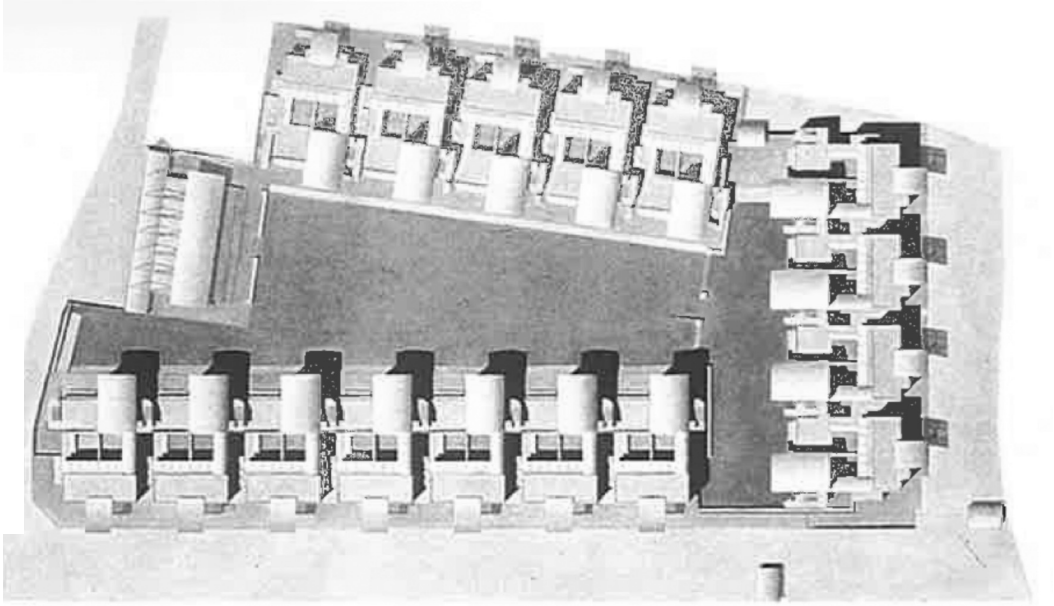


Fig.3

arrangement is closed to the outside world. "Closed", here, simply refers to the spatial arrangement. By "the outside world", I mean the world outside this arrangement – the outside created by this arrangement.

The way the units are arranged – so that the central open space is accessed through the units – creates this closed central open space. That is, the units serve to cut off the central open space from the outside world, or, to connect it to the outside world. The function individual units serve, with respect to the central open space, is that of a "threshold". Simply put, a threshold is "a spatial device situated between two spaces of different character that separates or connects the two spaces". It can also be a spatial device, when a space of a certain character is placed inside a space of a different character, to preserve the character of either space (fig. 2 is an abstract schematic of this). To put it another way, a threshold is a device for cutting out a space of character B from a space with the character A. And the relationship of B, cut out by means of the threshold, with respect to A can be called a closed relationship.[4]

The spatial device for communicating with the outside world is the threshold. I believe the space that is protected, so that there is no mutual interference between it and the outside world, the space beyond the threshold, that is, the space whose communication with the outside world is restricted, can be called a private space. If that is so, then "private space" is nothing more than a term used in reference to a certain characteristic of space created by a spatial arrangement. A spatial characteristic is not something created in response to some pre-established relationship concerning, say, the number of persons or the inherent nature of the space itself. Rather, the spatial arrangement itself serves to prescribe human relationships in that arrangement.

Thresholds – devices that create spatial units

I have stated that a threshold serves to cut out a space with the characteristic B from a space with the characteristic A. And I went on to say that the relationship of B to A can be called a "closed relationship". To put it another way, the threshold cuts out a unit called B from A. The space called B is separated from A as a space that is inherently different in character from the space called A. The threshold can be said to preserve that inherent character. If that inherent character is something that is always maintained, and it is always separated from the outside world by a threshold, then the space with that inherent character can be called an individual spatial unit – an autonomous spatial unit.

That spatial unit can be referred to as, for example, a house. Or the spatial unit may be a much larger community, for example, a village or a collection of houses.

If that unit is called a house, then the space that corresponds to the threshold can be called a "reception room" or "guest room" – that is, a room for maintaining public relationships. A space in the inner recesses of the house, which is used to maintain private relationships, can be called a "family room". Or, we can, as in the Islamic or Hindu world, call the public spaces "rooms for men" and the private spaces "rooms for women". A room may be named for the use to which it is put or with respect to a relationship between people. It can vary, depending on region, culture or period. The layout, too, can vary. Nevertheless, we call those spatial arrangements houses and can tell that, though diverse, they all have the same structure, because we can tell that they are all closed spatial units.

The families that live in a house vary widely as well. The reason we call all of them families and can tell that they are similar in organisation is because they all live in spatial units called houses. They are all constrained by spatial units called houses. That is, we can tell that all groups constrained by spatial arrangements called houses are variations of the same group, no matter what sort of group that may be, because all spatial arrangements called houses have the same structure.

The reverse can also be said: the human relationship constrained by the spatial unit created by means of the threshold is called the family. We can say that if we look at it from just the point of view of spatial arrangements. The spatial arrangement created by the threshold constrains and reinforces the relationship called the family. If it is true that the spatial unit constrains the human relationship and forms it into a unit, then that idea applies also to the relationship to a collection of families.

Threshold of a multi-unit housing project

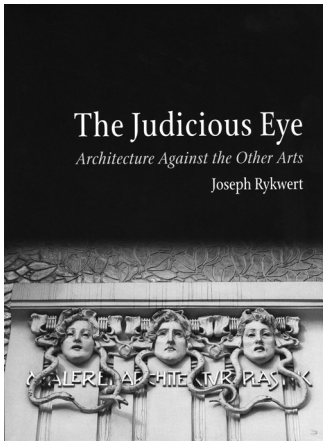
How can we describe a collection of houses as a spatial unit? I believe there are two ways. One is an arrangement that provides a threshold for the collection as a whole. The other is an arrangement in which each housing unit is itself a threshold for the collection as a whole. They are both able to create a closed space. The former is an arrangement that suggests an extremely powerful system of supervision, in which a single threshold controls the entire collection of units (as in the system of feudal communities of the past). By contrast, the closed space created by the latter arrangement is controlled independently by the individual units. It is a collective form with a system of supervision that is the reverse of the former – the collection of units as a whole is controlled by individual units.

The Hotakubo Daiichi Public Housing project uses a system of arrangement in which each unit serves as a threshold. This project has an arrangement – a central open space that is a private space closed by 110 thresholds, and units that are each directly connected to the outside world – that is the complete opposite of the conventional collective method and is intended to organise a collection of 110 units into one larger, complete unit. The relationship inside that complete unit can be called a "community". That is, the most private space of that larger unit is the central open space which is closed by thresholds; this can be called a "common" space possessed by the 110 units. The relationship established around that "common" space is a community. Conversely, the relationship of that complete larger unit to the outside world is a "public" relationship.

That is one possible way of expressing as a spatial arrangement the relationship called a community, or the relationship called public versus private.

The Judicious Eye:
Architecture against the other arts by Joseph Rykwert

Review by Gevork Hartoonian



No contemporary account of architecture's rapport with the other arts will be able to do justice without considering Adolf Loos' remarks on the subject. Exasperated by the Secessionist and Art Nouveau movements, and the utopian claims underpinning the objectives of the reformist schools of the time, Loos made a characteristically modernist distinction between art and architecture. In his opinion, art has no responsibility to anyone. Thus, it can be radical or even revolutionary. Architecture, however, is responsible to everyone. There is a purpose to it, it is a public art. This was enough for Loos to depict the art of building as a conservative, and yet, collective practice.

Karl Kraus, an artist and friend of Loos, underlined the difference between art and architecture, saying that what he and Loos were trying to do was to "show the difference between the urn and a chamber pot". The distinction turned out to be significant, considering Loos's design strategy, the *Raumplan*, where interior spaces are theatrically juxtaposed in plan and different levels. Loos also believed that a building should evoke the sentiment proper to its purpose. Still, the interiors he conceived would restrict the inhabitant from a closer visual proximity to any external relation to the environment of the metropolis. Loos' theorisation of architecture suggests that the *res publica* was no longer available, at least in the way public space was appropriated and experienced before the "Fall of the Old Regime", to recall the title of the first chapter of *The Judicious Eye*.

The opening pages of Joseph Rykwert's text speak for the untold story of how the bodies of contemporary cosmopolitan cities are tattooed with electronic images. This in conjunction with the author's modest claim that he has no intention of inviting the reader to consider "whether the reconstitution of a useable public space is possible or desirable". Rykwert's judgement is rooted in history, even though it is not spelled out in reference to the conventions of historicism.

Starting with the title of the book, one is reminded of the Renaissance discourse on *disegno* and *guidizio*. Considered the father of the three arts of painting, sculpture and architecture, Giorgio Vasari wrote, "we may conclude that *disegno* is not other than a visible expression of and revelation of our inner conception or that which others have imagined and given form in their ideas".[2] First, we have the notion that the foundational arts are embedded in *disegno*. Then we have the issue of *giudizio,* or judgement, where the visual turns out to be the critical aspect of any public judgement. Therefore, what we have here are two juxtapositions: one between visible expression and revelation and the second between judgement and eye.

Of further interest is the iconographic dimension of the two concepts of *disegno* and *giudizio*. In the Renaissance treatises, a well-dressed person holding a

1. A different version of this review appears in *Architectural Theory Review* 14 (1), 2009

2. Quoted in Ackerman (2002:16)

compass in one hand and a reflective tablet in the other represents *disegno*. *Giudizio*, by contrast, is represented by the figure of a naked old man sitting on a rainbow holding a square, rule and pendulum. What is implied here is the possibility of reducing the secret of *disegno* to the skills of the artist. This was believed to be the case with Donatello's abacus (1400), at least until the artist revealed that the alleged secret lies in his capacity to hold on to what is called "the judgement of the eye". In the dictionary, the word "abacus" is defined as both a flat slab and a device for solving arithmetical problems. More interesting, and related to how I would like to end this short review, is the Hebrew origin of the word, meaning "dust".[3]

3. Dictionary.reference.com

Rykwert might not like to have anything to do with the naked figure of *giudizio* described earlier. This is too visible an association, which in the manner of Vasari has to be balanced with the notion of revelation. To this end, I would like to draw your attention to a short essay Rykwert published in the summer issue of *October*, 1984. I will skip the autobiographic account in an article titled, "On First Hearing about Hermeneutics". Toward the end of the essay, we are cautioned against the hazards of "matter-of-fact piety and rationalised sifting of sacred laws". Instead we are told that every utterance could contain "a coded revelation", and that a "text could flower into gesture and excess". Rykwert concluded that only the person who sees the possibility that the whole world "may well be a succession of theophanies come nearer the truth" (Rykwert 1984). Having said this, the intention of his book, *The Judicious Eye*, is to unfold a rationalised argument against the nihilism of modernity, which should be interpreted in reference to Donatello's abacus. Here, I am interested in the Hebrew meaning of the word, connoting "dust" which, if removed, might make a revelation that should be decoded "against historical realism", to recall an essay by Hayden White (with whom Rykwert might not want be associated). For White, history unravels itself without any moral or metaphysical purpose. To understand history one should endure it, "if lucky" (White 2008).

In his last chapter, Rykwert makes a comparison between the Sistine Chapel and a work by Monet. The French painter's *Water-Lilies* is presented as an example of a work that has the capacity to provide "the totality of a sensory experience through which every member of the audience should be able to overcome his individuality and have access to another, an ambiguous transcendent reality" (299). What is involved here does not concern Rykwert's long lasting dislike of instrumental rationalism. At stake is a theoretical mind that inclines to a quasi-phenomenological approach to everyday life and a critique of modernism that draws from anthropological structuralism, popularised by Claude Levi Strauss. This is spelled out not only in his review of the 15th *Triennale di Milano* published in *Domus*, 1974, but also discussed in an introductory essay for a book titled *Meaning and Building*, 1960. In this latter text, Rykwert resonates with Aldo van Eyck, the Dutch architect, who in 1950 wrote that the time has come for architecture to reconcile basic values. In his essay published in 1960, however, Rykwert famously said that, when entering his house, a person needs to have the conviction that "he is, in some sense, at the centre of universe".

Whatever the statement was intended to convey at the time, it demonstrates, as one reads through the final pages of the book, the difficulty in reconciling architecture with other arts even in a revolutionary situation of the magnitude of post-October 1917. The urge to create a different "Man" under circumstances that were marked by feverish events of making and unmaking ended, ironically,

with an official decree that architecture by definition should conduct a conservative practice (compare this to the work produced by painters and sculptors, let alone the agitprop quality of the films produced, and the plays staged, during the first five years of the Russian Revolution). We are back full circle to Loos and the fact that, in modernity, architecture has little to do with the business of changing the scope of everyday life, let alone creating a totalised ambience of the kind the author attributes to Monet's painting.

The Judicious Eye is informative and demonstrates the author's comprehensive knowledge of the history of art and architecture. Rykwert also challenges the state of architectural education. He reminds architects of their ethical responsibilities. More importantly, the author exhorts academics to take architectural historiography more seriously without reducing it to a story telling, or formulating an operative criticism that reduces history to an intellectual enthusiasm for a particular period or, for that matter, a particular architect's work.

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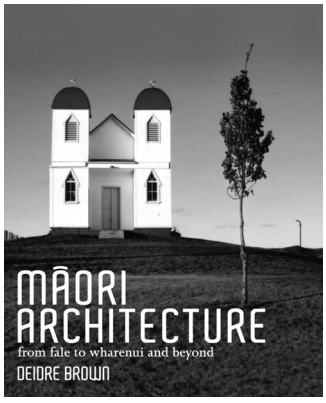
This Is Not a Book Review

Māori Architecture: From *fale* to wharenui and beyond by Deidre Brown

Review by Derek Kawiti

I was approached by Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul to review Dr Deidre Brown's book *Māori Architecture: from Fale to Wharenui and beyond*. It was hoped that, as a reviewer, I would offer a perspective on the book, which lies outside of general publishers' and distributors' review formats. After reading the book, I met with colleagues to discuss the merits and implications of a more in-depth engagement with what I consider an important work (which is referred to as the first of its kind). As a person of Māori descent, and being involved in the field of architecture, I consider it crucial that this book be assessed and evaluated in a more culturally specific and appropriate way, which the general review format does not envisage.



A Raupo book, Penguin Group, North Shore, Auckland.

In short, it was agreed to postpone a detailed discussion of the book's content to the next issue of *Interstices*, by which time we expect to be able to include a range of perspectives and interpretations. It is possible that these will highlight the dilemmas and issues facing Māori researchers and authors when reading and writing about this type of subject matter.

Significantly, the book has opened up an opportunity for us to discuss these issues within the context of an academic architectural discourse initiated by Māori practitioners and designers. The latter are at present lacking greatly in numbers. However, the advent of Nga Aho (The Network of Maori Design Professionals) has recently provided a critical forum, in which Deidre's book can act as a catalyst for creating an ongoing research peer support system. Such peer support would help to consolidate Māori research, especially in areas involving sometimes sensitive material. We yet are to develop protocols and processes for dealing with sources of historic-cultural information that are often non-written accounts which operate in parallel with documented/written sources.

Often, though, it is the role of the author to substantiate process or rigour and, for Māori, an important component in any publication is the issue of appropriate processes when undertaking research work of a cultural nature (e.g., citations, endorsements, etc.). The emerging Māori research support network will hopefully develop definitions and interpretations of processes and parameters that will offer consistency and support for researchers and authors regarding the assessment, adoption and framing of Māori cultural material. Māori research ethics, for instance, are still not well known within architectural academic discourse. Nevertheless, they do exist and are able to borrow from consistent and established frameworks and procedures, such as those developed by post-graduate students in conjunction with Graham and Linda Smith (Department of Māori Education) some 20 years ago, at The University of Auckland. Māori research ethics, and wider Māori cultural ethics strongly inform each other, highlighting issues not so far removed from the 1990s discussions of cultural

appropriation and authenticity. These ethics can also inform any assessment of process, methods and content as they apply to Māori writing and ensure that important protocols and standards are upheld. Obviously, such culturally appropriate ways of working will usually be of a consultative nature, which may be seen as an obstacle by some. However, even if such consultations may be lengthy, they can provide a positive testing of any material and ideas, and ultimately enhance research process and outcome. This approach can, in turn, contribute to an overall strengthening of the collegiate of Māori architectural academics or, even, a singular academic study or career.

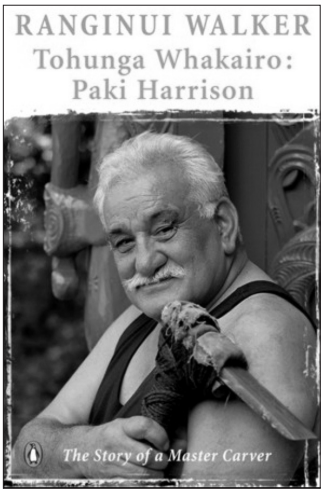
Finally, the processes and protocols guiding research and writing on Māori culture also have implications for readers. While reviews of *Māori Architecture* mostly suggest a wider 'coffee table' audience for the book, it will also come to influence the views and approaches of students and practitioners – just as Peter Shaw's *A history of New Zealand architecture* became a key text informing architectural academic discourse. It will stimulate discussion and raise new questions. The Nga Aho academic forum provides a timely and fertile ground for such discussions.

Paki Harrison:
Tohunga Whakairo. The Story of a Master Carver by Ranginui Walker[1]

Review by Carin Wilson

The great pleasure of reading one of Rangi's books derives from his uncompromising approach, which firmly contextualises the content in a Māori point of view. Chapter headings and subheadings, events and places, narrative detail – they all transport the reader to a place where we cannot but engage with the Māori world. Slowly, carefully, we track in this book the young Pakāriki Harrison through the stuff of biography: his whakapapa, childhood in Ruatoria, early influences (especially those of his indulgent grandmother Materoa, matriarch of Ngati Porou), and his training as a schoolteacher, which gave him insight into the lives of less privileged communities. There are hints in these early pages of what is to come: from adventures while felling and sawing timbers with his father Harangi, to an account of a pivotal phase during Paki's teacher training at Palmerston North: Pine Taiapa came to visit Paki in the evenings to tutor him and carefully encourage his interest. Yet it is easy to see that destiny was made in these formative years in a kind of old-fashioned Māori way, in which the inevitable forces of whakapapa swing into action. We watch how Paki's life was being carefully moulded, to equip him with the tools needed for what was to unfold. Nevertheless, his was not to be the tapu life of the tohunga of the traditional world.[2] Paki revels in being the occasional rabble-rouser, Paki falls in love and marries Hinemoa, Paki buys a Ford Zephyr, Paki carves in the presence of his grand-daughter.

Despite its focus on the life of this carver, the book provides a fascinating insight into the massive shifts in Māori society over the last few generations. Today, we see how the functional values of tohungatanga have become reframed in Aotearoa/New Zealand's hybrid society of Polynesian and Occidental practices. The Ngata method, whereby students were schooled in compositional and tool skills alone, did not resonate with Paki, in spite of his Ngāti Porou heritage.[3] This carver challenged conventions about value, establishing models for estimating time-related costs in a world where scant attention was paid to the passage of time; he railed against the sometimes inadequate evidence of skills transfer in the training of his contemporaries; he pioneered the development of unit standards,[4] where some would have deemed it impossible to establish a standard on artistry. Pakāriki Harrison was unquestionably a Master of Whakairo, but it is clear that an expansive vision led him to master many other skills during his lifetime.



1. Ranginui Walker (2009) *Paki Harrison: Tohunga Whakairo. The Story of a Master Carver*. Auckland: Penguin Books (New Zealand), ISBN: 978-0143010067.

2. For Māori terms, see Glossary.

3. Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874–1950) was a Māori leader, politician, statesman, and scholar. Ngata was intensely involved in the revitalisation of Māori culture. He placed great store in carving and encouraged the building of carved memorials or meeting houses.

4. Unit Standards were introduced by the New Zealand Qualification Authority in the 1990s as part of the National Qualifications Framework, with the intention of standardising courses offered by public and private educational providers.

Rangi Walker recognises that it would be futile to try and chronicle the majesty of his body of work (such is the importance of the direct sensory experience which massive creative works like wharenui have on our neurology). Instead, he seizes the opportunity to give us an insight into ways in which the carver handles the responsibility of managing his own creativity. This involves, for instance, finding a way through a prescriptive narrative, embodying tribal styles, whakapapa and formal decorative elements (such as maihi, tāhuhu, poutokomanawa, kowhaiwhai and tukutuku, to name a few). For those who want to understand Māori architecture at a level that calls us to probe beyond stunning visual images, the book offers some substantial material detail in karakia, waiata, and primary gestures in the carver's repertoire. Accepting the range of Paki's work as given, some of the most intriguing passages in this book deal with attempts by patrons or commissioning committees to challenge his authority as an artist and manage, or even control, his artistic input. We are to discover how the weight of the responsibility of unveiling and arranging a narrative, which reveals characters and events spanning hundreds of years, is handled. Time after time, project upon project, we are exposed to the spectacle of interlopers who would seek to borrow or trade on the mana of the work of the carver. We watch the frenzy of positioning, swelling up around the time of the house's opening. This frenzy often manifests in the account as unseemly posturing and shameless borrowing, out of highly questionable motives. In the nature of things, these actions were hardly minor skirmishes, but rather engagements on the scale of pitched battles, where sustained assaults on the authority of the carver were mounted. It becomes increasingly clear over the course of the narration that the work of the tohunga of whakairo is still so influential that insubstantial ambitions will seek to enlarge their own stature by hitching a ride in the slipstream. Some of these encounters would have tested the mettle of the strongest of characters, and it is a measure of Paki's early upbringing that he was able to face these challenges with forthright authority and character. Ultimately, Rangi Walker guides us skilfully through Paki's world beyond the mallet and chisel, through a world of training schemes, degree-level tertiary programmes, the development of the *Toi Iho* mark and the odd squabble over land at Harataunga. More importantly, he leads us to understand and respect the compelling values of whānau and kāinga as underlying forces in this odyssey. Paki's partnership with Hinemoa proved to be as much evident in their artistic collaborations as in their marriage. Later, their children also became involved in their projects. While he was working on Tane-nui-a-Rangi at the University of Auckland, Paki began taking work across to the studio workshop he had built at Harataunga in Kennedy Bay on the Coromandel Peninsula. This was to set in train a pattern of commuting from project to the home kāinga, which would continue until his work in this world was done.

I was eager to read this biography, and my anticipation has been well rewarded. A body of work including 10 houses and numerous individual commissions is a remarkable achievement in one lifetime. The fertile mix of skill, intellect and unending appetite for knowledge on the part of both biographer and subject have given us a great story.

Glossary[5]

kāinga	abode
karakia	invocation, prayer
kowhaiwhai	pattern used on rafters of wharenui
maihi	gable
mana	dignity, control, power
poutokomanawa	central heart post of the meeting house, supporting the tāhuhu[6]
tāhuhu	ridgepole, ancestry
tapu	sacred
tohunga	craftsman, expert
tohungatanga	craft, expertise
tukutuku	lattice-work
waiata	chant, song
whakairo	carving
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family, birth
wharenui	meeting house

5. Unless stated otherwise, translations are adopted from H.M. Ngata, *English-Maori Dictionary* at http://www.learning-media.co.nz/nz/online/ngata

6. http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/education/onlineresources/sgr/pages/rongomar-aeroa.aspx

Contributors to this issue

Tim Adams teaches history and theory courses at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Auckland. His research interests include the ethics and aesthetics of architecture, architectural theory from Vitruvius to Mark Goulthorpe, with a special interest French theories of architecture after 1968. He is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Auckland and has been awarded the Chick Doctoral Scholarship in Architecture.

Mike Austin is Professor of Architecture at the School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture at Unitec, New Zealand, where he teaches theory and design. His research area is the architecture of the Pacific Islands.

Pete Bossley is Director of Pete Bossley Architects, a 15-strong practice based in Auckland. Pete was previously a partner in Bossley Cheshire (1987-89) and a Director at Jasmax (1989-96). He was Adjunct Professor at the Unitec School of Architecture, and Chair of the Auckland Branch NZIA (2006-07) The work of PBA has been frequently published nationally and internationally, and has been highly awarded, including 27 NZIA awards, and 2 House of the Year awards. A monograph on the practice was published by the NZ Architectural Publications Trust in 2005. As well as residential projects the practice has been involved in galleries, public and urban design projects.Recently competed projects include the extension to the NZ National Maritime Museum in Auckland, and currently underway is Te Awahou in Foxton, a cultural facility incorporating the NZ Dutch museum, iwi gallery and carving school, public library and flax museum.

Patrick Clifford, in partnership with Michael Thomson and Malcolm Bowes, established Architectus in the late 1980's. All three graduated from The University of Auckland in the same year and worked in various practices both in New Zealand and Europe before opening their own office. The work has moved over the years from an initial diet of small houses and house alterations to larger projects – competitions providing the opportunity in the first instance to make that transition. The work of Architectus has been recognised for its clarity of intent and resolution, its careful reading of context and content and ability to advance a broad cultural agenda. There is a real commitment to research both programmatically and technically. The ongoing success of projects like the Mathematics Statistics and Computer Sciences Building from both a human and material resource perspective attests to this. The work of Architectus has been published both nationally and internationally and has been the recipient of numerous awards – including six NZIA National or Supreme awards. Patrick Clifford has lectured widely on the work and maintained an ongoing association with the Auckland Schools of Architecture. The practice has recently developed an international interest with offices in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane – Architectus Australasia recently joined a number of other invited firms to submit a proposal for the permanent premises of the International Criminal Court in the Hague.

Carl Douglas is a Lecturer in Spatial Design at the School of Art + Design, AUT University, where he teaches Spatial Theory and leads Unit 2, a speculative studio concerned with the intersections of architecture, interior, landscape, infrastructure, and urbanism. Recent research has addressed the Parisian barricades of the nineneenth century; theorised lateness; and explored the spatiality of archaeological sites. He is also a member of the Emergent Geometries experimental practice group, and co-edited Interstices 09.

A.-Chr. (Tina) Engels-Schwarzpaul is Associate Professor of Spatial Design at the School of Art and Design, AUT University, Auckland. Her research interests cluster around thresholds and interfaces in design, architecture, theory, and everyday life across cultures. Recent publications include "'A warm gray fabric lined on the inside with the most lustrous and colourful of silks': Dreams of airships and tropical islands", "Tillers of the soil/travelling journeymen: Modes of the virtual" and "At a Loss for Words? Hostile to Language? Interpretation in Creative Practice-Led PhD Projects".

Julia Gatley lectures in the School of Architecture and Planning at The University of Auckland. Her book, *Long Live the Modern: New Zealand's New Architecture, 1904-1984*, was published by Auckland University Press in 2008. It was included on the *New Zealand Listener*'s list of best 100 books for that year and helped to earn Julia an NZIA President's Award and a NICAI Early Career Research Excellence Award in 2009. She is currently working on a book on Group Architects, to be published by Auckland University Press in 2010.

Paul Hogben is a lecturer in architecture at the University of New South Wales. His research focuses on promotional politics and the discourse of architecture over the twentieth century. This research has been published in Architectural Theory Review and Fabrications, the journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand. With Xing Ruan he co-edited *Topophilia and Topophobia: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Human Habitat* (Routledge, 2007).

Charmaine 'Ilaiu is a trained architect, avid researcher, creative entrepreneur and developing artist. Her work contributes to the discourse of Pacific Architecture and art in New Zealand and the Pacific islands. She has presented her research at various international and national art and architectural symposiums including Pacific Arts Association hosted in Musée du quai Branly in Paris, 2007. As an architectural designer, she has worked on residential projects in Tonga and recently designed the concept for Manukau Institute of Technology's Pasifika Centre. Recently selected by Manukau City Council's ART source creative entrepreneurial programme, Charmaine is establishing a consultancy for Pacific architecture, which she hopes to advance more research-informed architecture that is responsive to our Oceanic region. Whilst practicing architecture with the Auckland firm design TRIBE, Charmaine continues to teach part-time in architectural design at Unitec Institute of Technology and The University of Auckland's School of Architecture and Planning.

Paul James teaches design and communication at Victoria University in Wellington.

David Mitchell is an architect whose work has figured prominently in New Zealand over the last twenty years. As well as winning numerous other awards, he received the NZ Institute of Architects highest honour - the Gold Medal in 2005, for his contribution to the theory and practice of architecture in NZ. He has designed master plans for large-scale urban areas, university and teachers' college buildings, schools and community projects, art galleries, office buildings, public housing, apartments, and numerous private houses. Though he travelled and worked overseas for most of the 1990's he continued with private commissions in New Zealand. He returned to Auckland with Julie Stout to set up practice again in 2000. He has taught design at The University of Auckland School of Architecture, written two books and many articles and presented a 6-part television series on New Zealand architecture

Andrew Patterson is arguably New Zealand's most internationally recognised architect, for example his firm Patterson Associates Limited is the only New Zealand architectural practice to be published in Phaidon's 10x10 book of the Worlds Best Architects. He has been described as the 'Virtuosi of New Zealand architecture' by Herbert Ypma, Metro Magazine calls him 'The architect responsible for the sculptural buildings'. Andrew graduated from Auckland School of Architecture in 1987 with its senior prize. At age 28 he received his first National Award for Architecture, and represented New Zealand in The New Breed Architectural Exhibition in Sydney that year. Patterson won the inaugural 'New Zealand Young Architect of the Year Award' in 1990 and since then, his Auckland based firm has gone on to become one of the most respected architectural practices in New Zealand, with an acclaimed 20 year portfolio of buildings ranging from intimate residential projects to large scale infrastructure urban housing and public, commercial and tourism developments. Last year Patterson and Associates was the most awarded Practice of any Architects in New Zealand gaining four New Zealand Institute of Architects honours including The NZ Supreme Award for Architecture 2008, for the Michael Hill Clubhouse in Arrowtown and being shortlisted into two categories at the recent World Architecture Festival awards, an achievement that is both exciting and humbling.

Albert Refiti is a PhD candidate at AUT University and has worked in architecture and design in Auckland and London. He has lectured at The University of Auckland's School of Architecture and Planning, Unitec School of Architecture and Manukau School of Art and Design. He is currently the Head of Department in Spatial Design at AUT University. Albert has published articles and papers on design, architecture and art in a number of publications.

Robin Skinner teaches history, research methods and Pacific architecture at Victoria University of Wellington. He recently completed a PhD on perception of architecture and New Zealand in mid-nineteenth century Britain.

Julie Stout has 25 years experience in architecture and urban design, both in New Zealand and overseas. She has been involved in a number of large scale masterplanning projects from early Albany Town Centre to Estuary Estates, Maungawhai and Eastern Boat Harbour, Whangaparoa Peninsula. She also worked on urban projects in China, while working in Hong Kong. She collaborated with others on the Aotea Precinct 'Outside the Square' project. Other major projects include the New Gallery for Auckland City Council, Tauranga Art Gallery and 146 apartments in Orakei. She is currently working on the redevelopment of Lopdell House in Titirangi. She is a member of the Auckland Mayor's Task Force on Urban Design plus a member and past chair of the NZIA Auckland branch's Urban Issues Group. She was awarded the NZIA President's Award for Services to Architecture in 2005.

Jeremy Treadwell is a senior lecturer at the Department of Architecture at Unitec New Zealand. He teaches architectural history and design. In 2003 he initiated and managed the construction of a *fale* Samoa on the Unitec campus. His current research interest is colonial architectural history in New Zealand and the Pacific.

Keri-Anne Wikitera is currently studying towards a PhD in Tourism Development in the Faculty of Applied Humanities, AUT University and is a recipient of a NZ Tourism Research Institute/School of Hospitality and Tourism scholarship. Her hapū, Tūhourangi, are recognised as one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's first Māori tourism entrepreneurs and her research is specifically positioned within the tourism industry and Māori economic development.

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Notes for contributors

Submission

The manuscript should be submitted in the form in which the author wishes the paper to appear. Preliminary consultation with the editors about the suitability of the article does not guarantee its publication. Authors are strongly encouraged to seek comments from colleagues before submitting a paper for publication.

To facilitate 'blind' reviewing, no references to the author/s, the institution, department or firm or any other form of identification may be included in the paper itself. Papers that include identification will not be reviewed. Author name and details must be supplied on a cover sheet (name of paper, contact details in full, and word length of paper). Manuscripts should be emailed, in Word, to the editors for consideration.

Referee process: All papers are read first by the editors, then sent to two referees ('blind' reviewers) who will return a referee report and make suggestions regarding suitability for publication, editing, reworking or development of the paper. The recommendations will be forwarded to the writers for reworking, with the expectation that the referees' comments are addressed, before the paper is accepted and edited for publication.

Final submission: When a paper is accepted for publication, the author(s) will be asked to forward it electronically with the following file name: *Interstices* (issue number)_author name_final.doc. The editors reserve the right to make amendments, alterations or deletions to articles without consulting the author(s), so long as such changes do not affect the substance of the article. Usually, the authors will be consulted about such changes. Authors are responsible for obtaining permission to publish images or illustrations with their papers and will be asked to sign a declaration to that effect.

Abstract

Papers must be accompanied by a short abstract (100-150 words) on a separate page.

Length

Refereed papers should not exceed 5000 words (including title, main text and endnotes). Non-refereed full papers should not exceed 2500 and reviews should not exceed 1000 words. Longer papers are only accepted in special circumstances.

Biographical Note

Include a short bio-note of the author(s) on a separate page (50-100 words).

Format

Manuscripts should be 1.5-space throughout, A4, with 2.5 cm margins all around. Use standard fonts such as *Times* or *Arial* and format the text in 12pt. Please use only one empty space between sentences and do not use more than one consecutive tab for formatting. All titles and subtitles must be in Title Case (lower case, with Caps. for first word). Justify all text.

With a few exceptions, the *Interstices* format follows APA conventions as stipulated in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th edition, 2001). For reference see http://www.apastyle.org. Unlike APA, however, in-text citations should be formatted as follows: (Author, year: page numbers), i.e. (Rykwert, 2000: 78-9). See further details below.

Layout **tables** on a separate page, with as few lines as possible, and indicate the placing of the table in the text with a note [Insert Table 1 here]. Tables should be numbered in Arabic numerals with a clear identifying legend.

Use **endnotes,** not footnotes, in all manuscripts.

Graphics or images should be provided on good quality white paper and on separate sheets. Also send digital files, saved as JPG, in anticipated size and publishable quality (300dpi).

Abbreviations (and punctuation):

cf.	compare
e.g.	for example
etc.	and so forth
i.e.	that is
viz.	namely
vs.	versus

Quotations: Double quote marks around a quoted word, phrase, or sentence, as follows:

Heidegger would make this point very clear in two later essays, in which he introduces the "*primal* oneness" of the fourfold where "to be 'on earth' already means 'under the sky'" as a counter to a world in a process of planetary dissolution, in which "everything is washed together into the uniform distance-less-ness" (1954: 149), and "airplanes and radio sets are … among the things closest to us" (1975: 21).

Use single quotations marks for quotes within quotes.

If the quotation is 40 words or more it must be indented by 1 cm on both sides, without quotation marks around the whole quote. Quoted words inside the body of the 40 words are indicated in single quotation marks, e.g.

> The axonometric drawings of Sartoris can be considered ... the locus of a cognitive transcendence: in the finished perfection of the design, where geometry discloses its suprahistorical authority, the architect-theologian catches the 'philosophical and poetic matrix' of the new architecture in the mirror of the 'dreamt image', and anticipating the ends by the mastery of the means, prefigures a reality to come. (Reichlin, 1978: 91)

Note that if a word or group of words is omitted from the quotation then three stops are used with a space before and after (see above).

References: Type the sub-heading *References* at the top of a new page. References should be formatted as 'hanging indent' style. Do not use tabs. Set up 'hanging indent' by selecting 'Paragraph' in Format menu in Word. Be sure to reference every author and text cited in the body of the paper. Incomplete references will not be accepted. Authors are encouraged to use Endnote software (Version 6 or higher). Examples:

Book:
Leatherbarrow, D. (2000). *Uncommon Ground: Architecture and Topography.* Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

Translated Book:
Agamben, G. (2004). *The Open. Man and Animal* (K. Attell, Trans.). Stanford (Ca.): Stanford UP.

Edited Book:
Hawkins, G., & Muecke, S. (Eds.). (2003). *Culture and Waste: The Creation and Destruction of Value.* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

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