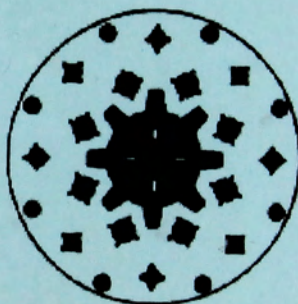


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**11th Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS):
Planning Models and the Culture of Cities/Modelos urbanísticos y cultura
de las ciudades: 14 – 17 July 2004.**

Organised by Malcolm Burns, Javier Monclus and Manuel Guardia, of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, with its many fine sessions, good facilities, enjoyable tours and of course the exciting ambience of Barcelona, the conference was a great success. The organising team are also to be thanked for the high quality of the documentary materials that accompanied the conference, notably the conference book and the CD.

Held in the impressive surroundings of Arts Centre, signature papers were given by Michael Cohen, Dolores Hayden, Michael Hebbert and Roberto Segre. These also make up the main articles in the conference book. A major theme of the conference, and discussed by Guardia and Monclus in the prologue to the conference book, was the nature and strength of urbanism. 'The urbanism of Barcelona', they write, 'is the subject of one of the plenary conference sessions and forms a good gateway to the range of the themes of the conference.'

This range of papers given however was very wide, incorporating many different countries, with Latin countries especially well represented. As ever with IPHS conferences, the event attracted papers that were not always historical in approach, but concerned for example with architecture, geography and urban morphology. This only adds to the richness of the event.

It was encouraging to see so many new and younger PhD students giving papers, in addition to the regulars who make their way to the conference every two years.

Some major themes of the conference emerged, including the city as a collective work of art; the opposition of ideas inspired by Camillo Sitte with more functional town plans; the management of historic town centres and other heritage issues; the 'event' city; large sporting events and exhibitions as catalysts or motors for urban growth and renewal; Latin 'urbanística' versus an allegedly more boring suburban model; urban regeneration; the new urbanism; suburbanisation in North America; imaging the city, and diversity in cities and suburbs. Also to be welcomed was the inclusion of a paper on mediaeval town planning. Earlier periods are generally neglected in planning history.

The winding up of the conference saw the awarding of the bi-annual prizes. For the first time, a postgraduate award was issued to the best PhD research paper in progress given at the conference. This was made to Michael Short of the University of Manchester. Other prizes are reported in the next section.

**Mark Clapson,
University of Westminster.**

International Planning History Society-Book-Prizes 2004 awarded in Barcelona

At the biannual IPHS conference in London 2002 the IPHS Council decided to have two book prizes to be awarded in 2004 in Barcelona. The first prize is awarding the best and most innovative book on planning history written in English and based on new research. The second prize is awarding the most innovative book addressing Spanish and/or Latin American planning history written in Spanish or English. The prizes are Pfd. 250,- and free registration for the IPHS conference.

The members of the Book Prize Committee included Peter Larkham (University of Central England), Helen Meller (University of Nottingham, England), Nihal Perera (Ball State University Muncie USA) and Dirk Schubert (Technical University Hamburg-Harburg). We received several excellent books on different topics in the field of Planning History and this is underlying again the importance of Planning History. We want to thank all colleagues for their submissions.

The committee reviewed all entries and made an anonymous vote for the best publication.

The winner for the first book prize is André Sorensen and his book 'The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and planning from Edo to the twenty-first century', published in 2002 by Routledge. André Sorensen got his PhD at the London School of Economics for a thesis titled: 'Urban Planning and Urban Sprawl in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area' and he is now teaching at the University of Toronto, he also was Assistant Professor at the University of Tokyo. He has published many articles and several books dealing with planning, sustainability, New Towns, land policies etc. especially based on Japan or comparative studies.

In his awarded book he is examining the phenomenon of Japanese urbanisation. During the twentieth century Japan was transformed from a poor, primarily rural country into one of the world's largest industrial powers and highly urbanised countries. This new pattern is a product of Japanese urban traditions and cultures, the topic of the Barcelona IPHS conference. This is probably the first book examining the Japanese way of urbanisation and planning with successes and failures. Different chapters are dealing with the prioritisation of economic growth, the dominance of

the central government and the tradition of local self-reliance. The book offers many detailed case studies for the management of urbanisation and can be used as a basic English-language textbook for teaching.

The winner of the second prize is Arturo Almandoz and his book on 'Planning Latin American Capital Cities 1850-1950', published in 2002 by Routledge. Arturo Almandoz is Associate Professor in the Urban Planning Department, Simon Bolivar University Caracas and he was the Chairman of the Urbanism programme. He has published many articles and books which received national and local awards. He has been a lecturer or speaker at more than 50 events world wide.

This is the first work in English, combining descriptions of Latin American urban culture and the emergence of urban planning in the post-colonial period. The capital cities of Latin America were and are unique. Partly shaped by European culture, the planning traditions reflect local and European architecture and ways of planning. Many of the planners were trained in Europe and created the myth of 'Creole Haussmanns'. The original title of this book was 'Paris goes West' and sums up the theme. The chapters of the book (Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Lima, Havana, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro etc.) are written by specialists whose work has never before been published in English.

As the IPHS endeavours to foster the study of Planning History world wide these two prize winning books are excellent examples for Planning History with a comparative approach. On behalf of the IPHS and the book prize committee I want to thank again all contributors. The decision was not an easy one.

The Council decided that there will be again two book prizes for the period 2004-2006 awarded at the next IPHS conference in New Dehli. If you want further information, don't hesitate to contact me or the members of the Book Prize Committee.

**PD Dr. Dirk Schubert
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Regulating the impact of proposals for new tall buildings on the built heritage

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Introduction

In recent years there has been increasing concern amongst built environment professionals in England about development proposals for tall buildings and their impact upon the city in general, and upon the built heritage in particular. Talk of an urban renaissance (ODPM, 2001) and attempts at re-imaging cities (McNeill, 2002) have also fuelled this concern. Whilst many of these development proposals have been submitted in London, there are high profile examples in the larger regional cities of Birmingham, Brighton, Liverpool and Manchester. Internationally, the regulation of the impact of high-rise development is critical for the conservation of the built heritage of cities such as Kyoto, Jerusalem and Paris. Many other cities suffer from a lack of a strategic approach to managing tall buildings. Buenos Aires, Tel-Aviv, Sao Paulo and Mexico City are losing the local distinctiveness of urban form through the ad-hoc building of such tall structures (Cohen, 1999). Responses to the impact of tall buildings include height control, architecture panels, digital modelling, transferable development rights and characterisation studies. In many instances the regulation and assessment of the merits of such development is highly politicised and contentious.

This paper is based upon a preliminary literature review for an English Heritage sponsored PhD at the University of Manchester. Firstly, a definition of what is meant by 'tall buildings' is discussed thus providing an understanding of why the topic is of relevance in contemporary urban studies. Secondly, an analysis of the context for the regulation of tall buildings will be attempted looking at why building height is regulated and by whom. Thirdly, an analysis of how tall building regulation operates within England will be attempted, followed by the use of two proposals for tall buildings in London as case studies to illustrate conflict inherent in regulating building. Finally, in the conclusions, it will summarise the main issues in tall building regulation, thus setting a context for the primary PhD research.

Tall buildings

It is first useful to define what is understood by a tall building and why this issue has contemporary

significance. The urge to build tall is not new (Abel, 2003) yet the definition of what may constitute *tall* depends upon the urban, cultural and societal context. For centuries building height was controlled by the limit of a person's ability to build staircases, thus setting a maximum attainable height of around 4 or 5 stories (Yeang, 1996). For the purposes of this discussion however, a tall building is defined by some element of 'tallness', in other words a building which creates a different set of conditions in the design, construction and operation from those that exist in the particular setting (Beedle, 1986).

Tall buildings have multiple functions and meanings depending upon a range of contextual factors. Until recently, the church and mosque dominated the skylines of European, central and south American, north African and Middle Eastern cities (Vickers, 1999). The modern movement, however, resulted in great change in many cities around the world, much of it immediate and rapid (Watkin, 2000). Modern movement architects sought new forms of height control that would rationalise the city into segregated uses (Vickers, 1999). The style of this time held that "architecture ought to do you good and should serve as an instrument of moral and social reform" (Watkin, 2000) and hinted at the paternalistic ideas of the main proponents of the movement. It represents a time when "planning...completely disregarded the concept of the urban web and of cultural continuity" (Cohen, 1999: 317). The regulation of built form in general, and height in particular, spread rapidly during this time as a means of controlling the worst excesses of modernism.

Tall buildings symbolise the dominance of particular cities and cultures over others. They are often seen as beacons of capital (Sudjic, 1992) and political power (Kostoff, 2001) and therefore can be prominent symbols of inequality as well as modernity (Abel, 2003). There is a sexual prowess attached to the power and symbolism of tall building which has alluded to the virility of the city (Sudjic, 1992). In almost all instances however, the tall building is iconic as a landmark, whether it be a single building or a cluster of buildings (Lynch, 1960). The "skyscraper, more than any other building type, has the capacity to capture the

public imagination" (Höweler, 2003: 8). No matter what the real or supposed function, meaning or symbolism of tall buildings however, "love or hate them, one cannot ignore them" (Abel, 2003: 13).

The current fashion for tall buildings and attempts to limit and encourage them reflects the increasing impact of globalisation on the development of the world's major cities and has seen a plethora of proposals emerge in a diverse range of cities (Abel, 2003). Major cities compete on the global stage to have the tallest building with which to announce the confidence and global nature of their economies. Indeed, tall buildings are "an alchemical mix of real estate speculation, technological advancements, and architectural experimentation" (Höweler, 2003: 8). Political leaders have left their mark on the urban landscape of the cities they represent (McNeill, 2002) with tall buildings; President Mohammad of Malaysia publicly backed the building of the then tallest building in the world, the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, as a symbol of Malaysia's entry into the global economy (McNeill, 2002).

The level and type of regulation of such buildings has substantially changed since the immediate post-war period to reflect the renewed interest in tall buildings mainly "due to the limitations of land availability in prime locations, the increasing profile of the sustainability agenda, and the re-emergence of a confident planning profession." (DEGW, 2002). In the first instance, however, a discussion about what regulation of building height means, why one regulates, how and by whom is central to understanding the many conflicts inherent in this task.

Regulation of building height

Regulation is of crucial importance in managing change in the built environment. It has evolved to address conflict between interests, and usually to seek to control unfettered, relatively short-term development by developers in the search for profit (Hill, 1993; Greenstreet, 1996; Painter, 2002). In this sense, land-use regulation (planning), at least in theory, is defined in terms of the failures of market mechanisms, and the wider 'public interest'. This means that methods of regulation often differ between countries (and in some countries between cities and regions) reflecting different traditions of urbanisation, politics, attitudes to profit, property rights and other externalities.

Regulation is "a rule made by an authority" (Soanes, 2002) and usually refers to conscious and active

intervention by the state or other collective organisations (Madanipour, 1996; Painter, 2002) in areas of concern. Planning as a method of managing change in the built environment is crucial in the negotiation of the production of space between the state and the market and is therefore subject to the political economy (Madanipour, 1996). It seeks to mediate between these often conflicting sectors (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002) through the negotiation of mutually acceptable outcomes for the benefit of the 'public'. Indeed "politics, conflict and dispute are at the centre of...planning" (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002: 2).

Planning seeks to resolve, in mutually acceptable ways, conflict between property owners who seek to maximise their investments, and the 'public' under whose name planning as a form of regulation is undertaken. Planning seeks to change land use resulting in uneven distribution of the costs and benefits from development. It is represented by a series of choices, the management of which is crucial to the regulation of the built environment (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002). In terms of the control of buildings more specifically, Greenstreet (1996) suggests that the state usually insists upon a certain basic minimum level of performance within the built environment through statutes, regulations and codes which address the location of building types and uses, building height and detailed criteria for their construction.

The ideal 'product' of planning is the place itself and can be "conceptualised as comprising layers of different outcomes over time" (Hillier, 2001: 72); Kain suggests that the built environment is "continually rebuilt to reflect changing motives, attitudes and tastes as societies evolve politically, economically and technically" (1981: 2). Punter (2000) suggests that there are five phases in the evolution of regulation of the built environment; fire and construction safety, public health, public efficiency, aesthetics and environmental sustainability. This is true not only of regulation of the built environment in general but building height particularly; as outlined in Chapter 2, building height control has evolved to address a variety of concerns including impact upon the built heritage. The distinctiveness of place is one of the "terms of reference for the negotiation and articulation of identity" (Hillier, 2001: 69), in other words place reflects both who we are what we represent.

The regulation of building height means taking into account the rights of property owners, those who use

the surrounding urban spaces, but also involves decisions about the direct and indirect impacts of new development on the existing historic fabric of the surroundings. Our cities reflect our collective culture and, as such, represent cultural values and urban life. In order for cities to maintain their distinctiveness, regulatory tools are crucial to determining not only the impacts of tall buildings on their immediate surroundings and wider city, but their siting, form, height and relationship to the built environment in general.

The case of London

In England, the issue of new tall buildings has been given impetus through the publication of the Urban Task Force report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* which suggests a strategy to provide homes for almost 4 million additional households in England over a 25 year period whilst trying to achieve the quality of life and vitality that makes living in English towns and cities desirable (Urban Task Force, 1999). In such a highly urbanised country as England, the addition of 4 million new homes (with a target of at least 60% being built on brownfield land) will have enormous impacts upon the shape of urban areas, and will require increased building densities, improved public transport and more sustainable ways of living. Within this context, the land use planning system plays a vital part in securing positive change in towns and cities (Urban Task Force, 1999) and therefore has a key role to play in providing for coherent and streamlined systems for development control.

Tall buildings proposals in England have multiplied in recent years and have a range of advocates from politicians to global business. On the face of it, they appear to offer a solution to across the country, particularly in the cities of the south. In response to this increase in pressure, CABI and English Heritage have produced England specific guidance on tall buildings which, for the first time, has attempted a national policy framework. The government however, deems this guidance inadequate, and suggests an amendment to national planning policy guidance to give local planning authorities the tools with which to "do their jobs effectively" (House of Commons, 2002: 31). There are, however, voices in the country which are seeking to question the assumption that by building tall, the current space shortages in urban areas will be solved. The House of Commons report into tall buildings recognises that "tall buildings are more often about power, prestige, status and aesthetics than efficient development" (House of Commons, 2002: 5).

In London specifically, the skyline of the city was uniformly low with only the Houses of Parliament and St. Paul's Cathedral punctuating the skyline until the twentieth century (Simon, 1996). This by and large remained in place prior to the second world war, after which technological and social changes, as well as major bomb damage, created a new climate (Catchpole, 1987). In 1947, two architects, Holden and Holford, prepared a report for the City of London on how to plan in the post-war period (Simon, 1996; Holmes, 2004). A standard plot ratio was proposed limiting the usable floor space in commercial buildings to a multiple of the acreage of the site, in order to limit the height and density of new buildings. Furthermore, these restrictions were designed to protect adjacent structures from being deprived of air and daylight. The importance of St. Paul's retaining dominance of the city skyline remained paramount. These ideas were absorbed into regulations adopted by the city. Height restrictions were relaxed from 1956 largely in the form of waivers granted to developers, and broad guidelines were set to assess new development proposals on their merits (Attoe, 1981; Simon, 1996). Eight criteria were established by London County Council (LCC) for the consideration of tall buildings; visual intrusion, location, site size, over-shadowing, local character, effects on the river Thames and open space, architectural quality and night scene.

In 1962, London County Council made these guidelines more specific, reasserting that the developer had to make a convincing case for tall buildings (Simon, 1996; Holmes, 2004). The main regulatory dilemma therefore was that any centrally located towers that would be acceptable to both developers and tenants, would have "fundamentally altered the skyline and the views of St. Paul's and Big Ben from numerous perspectives" (Simon, 1996: 3). In 1969, the Greater London Council (GLC), successor to London County Council, identified three zones of regulation for tall building construction; i) areas inappropriate for tall buildings; ii) areas sensitive to the visual impact of tall buildings; iii) areas where tall buildings may be permitted (Simon, 1996). The GLC listed criteria for each zone and undertook photomontage as a tool of regulation and assessment (Attoe, 1981). It created a series of 80 viewpoints of London-wide significance which were later refined into a series of 28 view points which were further updated in the mid-1970s and early 1980s (London Planning Advisory Committee - LPAC, 1998). Even though a range of policies were in force within the metropolitan area to control building height, by 1968, 109 buildings had been erected over 46m and 32 over 76m (Catchpole, 1987), many being approved

by central government over the wishes of the metropolitan government.

In 1986 the GLC was abolished by the central government with the result that planning functions were taken over by the 32 constituent boroughs of the metropolitan area. LPAC sought to fill this void with a series of strategic criteria which new tall buildings had to meet for approval (LPAC, 1998). It described the importance of visual cones, visual corridors and panoramas as being of major importance in the assessment of proposals, and identified 34 strategic viewpoints as a result of this. Strategic Guidance for London Planning Authorities, known as PPG3 (LPAC, 1998), was issued in 1996 and identified ten strategic views which were to be given protection by the 32 boroughs in their planning decisions. More recently, London has recently been granted a new devolved government for the first time since the abolition of the GLC in 1986 (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002). The Greater London Authority and the Mayor of London have responsibilities over the strategic planning of London through the London Plan, a strategic planning document designed to guide land use and built form in the city (Mayor of London, 2002). This strategic document reflects the Mayor's vision of a world city. Specifically the strategy suggests that "tall buildings will be particularly appropriate where they create attractive landmarks enhancing London's character, help[ing] to provide a coherent location for economic clusters of related activities or act as a catalyst for regeneration" (Mayor of London, 2002: 248). Furthermore, in providing strategic direction to the 32 constituent boroughs, the Mayor states that they "should not impose blanket height restrictions on tall buildings" (Mayor of London, 2002: 248), a dramatic departure from the history of height regulation in London. The political support of tall buildings in appropriate locations in the capital, has resulted in a plethora of proposals in the city (Holmes, 2004). English Heritage, the government agency responsible

for the maintenance of the historic environment, has had a key role in assessing proposals for tall buildings in the capital. In London the arguments revolve around architectural heritage and governance and conflicts between the various groups representing these interests (McNeill, 2002).

Two useful examples of proposed tall buildings in the metropolitan area are the Swiss Re building on the site of the former Baltic Exchange in the City of London, and the London Bridge tower on the south bank in Southwark. In different ways, both cases exemplify the apparent problems of reconciling the competing and conflicting demands of actors within the development process.

Swiss Re Building, City of London

The Swiss Re building has been a contentious addition to the cluster of tall buildings in the City of London (see photograph 1), although the architects assure that "the distinctive form of the 40-storey tower will add to the cluster of tall buildings that symbolise[s] the heart of London's financial centre" (Foster and Partners, 2004: online). The new building is an innovative bullet-shaped structure designed to minimise resistance to wind forces (Abel, 2003) and is environmentally progressive (Höweler, 2003); the building will require no air conditioning for 4 months of the year, as a computer will open windows to let circling air sweep into the building (Calvert, 2002). Furthermore, stale air will be pushed into sky-gardens and be re-oxygenated by the plants (Calvert, 2002). Interestingly, one of the many justifications for the scheme rest on the professional reputation of the architect, Sir Norman Foster. In a sense, when an architect of such stature is involved, the status of the scheme is enhanced.

The building itself is being constructed on the site of the former Baltic Exchange, a grade II* listed building containing one of the finest City interiors of the Victorian and Edwardian era (SAVE, 2004). It was



Photograph 1 – Swiss Re Building¹

badly damaged by a terrorist bomb in 1992 and the building was substantially destroyed. Both English Heritage and the City of London, at the time, insisted that any redevelopment of the site would require the restoration of the interior, the main façade and the Baltic Exchange (SAVE, 2004). Planning applications received were required to incorporate these requirements. However in 1996, having undertaken extensive detailed examination of the remains of the building, English Heritage "agreed in principle not to insist on the reinstatement of the Hall and St Mary Axe facade" (SAVE, 2004). As a result, the owners of the site submitted an application for Norman Foster's Millennium Tower, a tower which would be the tallest in Europe. The planning application was withdrawn in the face of opposition from both English Heritage and Heathrow Airport. The site was sold in 1997 to Swiss Re and another application for a tall building was submitted in 2000, fondly known as 'the erotic gherkin', which proposed to demolish the listed building entirely. The planning application was approved by the Corporation of London in 2000 with the support of both the Mayor of London and English Heritage. An attempt by SAVE Britain's Heritage to make the Secretary of State call-in the application for determination and hold a public inquiry into the planning application failed (SAVE, 2004). The remains of the building were demolished and the Swiss Re building erected on the site without reference to the former historic building.

The impact of the so-called 'erotic gherkin' tower has been felt not only the historic site where it has now been completed, but also on the skyline of London (see photographs 1 and 2), particularly upon St. Paul's Cathedral, the Tower of London (a World Heritage site) and Tower Bridge. The interplay of the main actors in the planning application for this building provides an interesting example of how decisions are made in the 'public interest'. The obvious quality of the architecture of the building and the kudos associated with the architect appear to be the main justifications



Photograph 2 – Swiss Re Building in relation to the Tower of London²

for the loss of an important listed building, the protection of which should be primary, and the surrounding historic area. The national agency responsible for this protection, English Heritage, in this instance found that the ruins of the building would be far too difficult to rebuild and that the justification for the new building outweighed concerns about the impact upon the built heritage. Interestingly, the agenda of the politicians at all levels of government converged; the Secretary of State representing central government, the Mayor of London representing the metropolitan area, and the leader of the City of London Corporation all supported the building claiming the 'public interest'. It was left to SAVE Britain's Heritage, a conservation charity, to challenge this unusual convergence of views between the politicians and national heritage body, also in the 'public interest'.

London Bridge Tower, Southwark

The London Bridge Tower has recently received planning permission after nearly 3 years of due planning process. The tower, on the south bank of the Thames directly opposite the City and up river from Tower Bridge and the Tower of London will rise just over 300m (see photograph 3). It, again, has been designed by an immensely respected architect, Renzo Piano, which adds credence to the issue of quality in the proposal. The proposed building includes 125,000 sq.m. of offices and residential, whilst increasing the concourse area of the station below by 40 per cent. This building would create a significant stand-alone landmark on the south bank of the Thames separate from the cluster of tall buildings in the City of London.

A public inquiry was held into the planning application for the tower. In this case, the local planning authority (Southwark Borough Council) supported the tower mainly for the resultant regenerative benefits to the local area, as did the Mayor of London. English Heritage, Historic Royal Palaces and the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral opposed it. Proponents of the scheme suggested that "it would strengthen London's status and function as a world city by removing outdated and poor-quality buildings and thus enhancing the character and appearance of the



Photograph 3 – London Bridge Tower (as proposed)³

conservation area" (Wood and Moren, 2003). Opponents of the building were concerned about the oppressive impact upon views of St Paul's Cathedral and the Tower of London (Weaver, 2004).

In giving planning permission for the building, and taking into account the Planning Inspector's recommendation from the public inquiry, the Deputy Prime Minister explained that the tower "would stand comfortably in its immediate urban...[and]...townscape context" (Weaver, 2003). Furthermore, the Deputy Prime Minister held that the building would:

"represent an improvement [to views of St. Paul's] and would not reduce the cathedral's visibility or setting. Nor would it diminish the status and importance of the Tower of London" (Wood and Moren, 2003: 21).

It is also clear that the quality of the design was of critical importance to this approval, which may not have been given had the architectural quality been disputable. In effect, however, this building will transform the scale of London; St. Paul's Cathedral still holds its own against tall buildings in the City, but London Bridge Tower is three times its height. The ability of the cathedral "...to retain a central and unifying role on [the] skyline" (Simon, 1996: 16) remains open to question as result of this scheme, and those which are following quick on its heels.

It remains to be seen whether this building is erected, but it does exemplify the issues inherent in the assessment and regulation of these types of buildings. Conflict within the state over whether to approve this building is more clear than in the case of the Swiss Re building. The politicians of the various strata of government clearly supported the scheme yet state agencies in the form of both English Heritage and Historic Royal Palaces opposed it, all it would seem, claiming the 'public interest'.

Conclusions

The new tall building projects outlined in the final section of this paper have survived the regulatory process to hopefully add significant new character to London. The importance of high quality design is particularly important as "ever-diminishing percentage of...gross cost on architecture set against the computer-controlled air conditioning, cabling, and all the other technology now seen as an essential part of the accoutrements of a modern office building" (Sudjic, 1992: 73). The mistakes of the modernist period should not, and cannot, be reproduced in the

contemporary city. The quality of the designs in both cases was, however, used as justification for the proposals over valid and significant concerns regarding the impact upon the built heritage. It is evident that contemporary interventions in the cityscape need to address the surrounding historic landscape so that they "genuinely enrich the lives of citizenry...through collective and judicious combination of analogy, metaphor and reference to the collective memory of [the] culture" (Kimm, in CTBUH, 2001: 423).

One of the obstacles to undertaking this proper assessment and regulation is the role of the main actors in the process. All levels of government and national agencies are part of the state apparatus and, as such, are both judge and jury in the decision-making process. It would appear that in acting in the 'public interest', national, metropolitan and local planning policy can be either ignored or over-ruled thereby creating a system which has little meaning or resonance to those who are being represented. Cities are a reflection of our collective culture (Attoe, 1981) and, as such, represent cultural values and urban life. If cities are to maintain their distinctiveness, tall buildings which are significantly higher than their immediate context "should be assessed both in terms of their impact on their immediate surroundings, and their impact at the wider city scale. High buildings should be designed to the highest standard to maximise their positive contribution, and to moderate potential impacts" (DEGW, 2002: 2). As a result any regulatory process should be clearly defined and transparent with all the main actors in the process able to defend their positions publicly. In that way, decisions made in the 'public interest' would be defensible.

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1. From personal photograph collection
2. From personal photograph collection
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Urban models and concepts in Portuguese Tangier (1471 – 1660)

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Introduction (Illustration 1)



Illustration 1 – Aerial photo of central Tangier (1925 – Direction du Patrimoine Culturel / Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication du Maroc)

The city after which the roman province of Mauritania Tingitana was named, Tangier was the main urban settlement of the Strait of Gibraltar to gain a classical mythology from the times when it was called Ampelus. The *Naturalis Historia* by Plinius the Old, places the palace of Anteu, his fight with Hercules and the garden of the Hesperides, all in Tangier², whereas Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia* describes its foundation by the giant³. This legendary past was still present in the mid 15th century imagination, giving to the city a special appetite for its possession. Apart from being a Muslim stronghold in North Africa or a strategic point between the Mediterranean and the Ocean, Tangier was also a recognizable symbol of power, glory and greatness and Afonso V was aware of the upcoming fame.

The year 1471 put the city into Portuguese hands for the next two centuries. By this time, Portugal held four places in North Africa (along with Ceuta, Alcácer Ceguer and Arzila), which were quite close, reaffirming the country's domination of the southern shore of the Strait, preventing Fez from its access and discussing the gate of the Mediterranean with Spain and Granada.

However, Afonso V's image of the city reveals that his modern personification wasn't yet followed by architecture but already announced by urban layout. In fact, his planning policy begins a series of strategies that would change according to different reigns throughout the almost two hundred years of the Portuguese domination in Tangier, until its offering to the British.

Today, we have enough chronological distance to highlight layers of ideas, which were probably, in each period, established in a more empiric and experimental way. We shall be looking for image, dimension, direction, public space, street and scale; but before plunging into these apparently abstract terms, let's get to know the phased process of evolution occurred in the city.

The conquest by Afonso V (Illustration 2)

Nowadays, Tangier's urban fabric still shows evidence of some layers of the different inputs, either by addition or subtraction, dating from the Portuguese presence. And that's exactly a subtraction exercise which we are going to use in the first period of occupation. The city



Illustration 2 – Evolution of Tangier through Afonso V, João II, Manuel I and João III's reigns

1. Alcazar, then *Castelo Velho* (upper castle)
2. Mosque, then Cathedral
3. Possible Islamic wall perimeter
4. *Atalho*/ Portuguese wall
5. *Rua Direita*
6. *Castelo Novo* (new castle)
7. *Couraça*
8. *Chouriço* yard
9. *Ribeira* bastion and new *couraça*

was too big for the Portuguese to keep as a sustainable settlement. Medieval descriptions by Al Bekri or Idrissi, Arab geographers, classify Tangier as old, big, rich, gracious and commercial. The Count of Ericeira, the last Portuguese governor, clearly refers the intention of reducing the surface of the city to a quarter⁴. So, we are in presence of an effective perimeter reduction established by new short cut walls that, eventually, defined the surface of the actual *medina*. This dimensional and military readjustment called *atalho* was about to become a routine in North Africa⁵. This behaviour hides a very pragmatic reasoning as far as a city evaluation is concerned and it is directly connected to military and defence matters.

Nevertheless, the urban scale analysis wasn't imitated by the architecture built under Afonso V. Apart from the fortification system adaptation and shortening, other religious and civil equipments from the Muslim Tangier were replaced by new symbols of faith and power. The drawing in Braun's work⁶ is a fundamental tool and contribution to a better comprehension of the visual characterization of the city (Illustration 3).

The Portuguese cathedral was erected over the former main mosque, thus recovering the once Christian diocese, at last. The iconography of the 16th and 17th centuries still shows how the new cathedral adapted the morphology of the mosque. But the most important built presence of the new "emperor's" city was embodied by the construction of a late-gothic castle over the *kasbah*. Controlling Tangier from above, the building is a tall, compact and towered structure, mostly blind at ground level but pierced on a first floor and topped by a tiled roof. The new castle atop the hill is morphologically close to late medieval constructions in other towns in north Portugal, like the palace of the Dukes of Bragança, in Guimarães⁷, or the palace of the



Illustration 3 – George Braun – *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara), Tome I, Koln, 1572.

Dukes of Barcelos, drawn by Duarte de Armas in his *Livro das Fortalezas*.

João II's policy (cf. Illustration 2)

João II is the successor king in the Portuguese crown, under whom some navigators would cross the cape of Good Hope. If Afonso V was called "the African", in this new reign North Africa possessions had to face an increasing importance of all the west sub-Saharan coast of the continent. Nevertheless, the city will register some internal movements that will conduct to a reinforcement of positions next to the port area.

Another castle was built over the port, called *Castelo Novo* (New Castle). This building stood in a lower level, emerging as the defensive and pragmatic structure to assure the protection of the provisions supplying from the metropolis, in case of siege. The construction emphasised the late medieval architecture produced either in Portugal or in these recent conquered territories. The donjon of this castle was typologically similar to the Arzila one, and close to some keep towers in other castles of Portugal.

The same iconography that has led us to these comparisons shows a fundamental structure to support the supplying of the city by sea: the *couraça*. It consisted on a long stretched bastion from the *Castelo Novo* to the water. Through this fortified "arm", the population could receive either water, food or munitions supplies. *Couraças* would become a regular equipment of these lonely Portuguese points in this northern coast.

As we can see, there was a special concern towards the waterfront of the city, played by this new pole of defence and vigilance that worked as a counterweight in the distribution of the different activities and sectors in Tangier. The traditional image of the Portuguese city, divided in an upper zone, *Alta*, and a lower one, *Baixa*, begins its process of characterization in Tangier.

From Manuel I to João III (cf. Illustration 2)

Manuel I's overseas policy would consolidate this planning idea. The administrative pole kept its place in the upper city, as the commercial sector did in the *Ribeira*. Actually, during this period, important works were carried out in this area by Francisco Danzilho⁸, in order to guarantee that no surprise could turn up from the sea.

Attention was particularly paid to two major structures: the reinforcement of the outside of the *couraça* and, above all, the construction of a new bastion to protect the *Ribeira* gate.

Meanwhile, in the early years of the 16th century, the southern segment of the *atalho* endured an architectural improvement. Local observation induces a morphological renovation related to other *atalho* interventions, as in Arzila or later in Azamor. The wall presents a serrated plan, with two inflexions to defend the flanks and announcing the bastioned architecture.

In 1541, Portugal lost Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer (Agadir) and a descending line irreversibly began to be drawn in Portuguese North Africa. The first loss of a fortress to the hands of the eternal enemy caused an effect of evaluation of all the possessions, leading to the abandonment of three places, all between 1542 and 1550. As a consequence of this policy, efforts of fortification were decided to occur in the remaining cities of Tangier and Ceuta, in the strait of Gibraltar, and on the establishment of Mazagão.

At the same time, the description of André Rodrigues of his recent work in a 1546 letter to João III encloses precious information⁹. He refers to the changing of a fountain, in order to make a way straighter and partially paved, and to the embellishment of three gates with fine masonry: two in the *Castelo Novo* and the gate of the city. Not only is it clear to conclude on the modern practise of street linearity, perspective and construction, as we can still find one of André Rodrigues' portal in the *medina*.

Times of change (Illustration 4)

It was during the following reign of Sebastião I that a total reformation of the *Castelo Velho* was done. The



Illustration 4 – Evolution of Tangier from Sebastião I until the Filipes

1. Modern Citadel
2. Cathedral
3. Rua Direita
4. Castelo Novo (new castle)
5. Chouriço yard
6. Project of *atalho*
7. Excluded surface in project

first suggestion to transform the upper castle in an inexpugnably fortress was transmitted by project of André Rodrigues. But Tangier had to wait until 1565 to feel safer with its new "mannerist" citadel, which broke the scale of the city, introducing a new military dimension built by modern bastions and ramparts. The magnificence of this construction led to a curious comment by the king who exclaimed: "Thou must think the moors scare me, for thou haft done such a strong castle!"¹⁰.

It was boxed against the original Portuguese perimeter, on the corner of the hilly area of the city and worked as a refuge for the whole population. The rupture with the previous medieval architecture had begun with the experience of Mazagão, showing the new concept of bastioned construction in response to the recent piroballistic discoveries.

Tangier under the Filipes (cf. Illustration 4)

The death of Sebastian I in the battle of the three kings in 1578, would lead to a succession crisis in Portugal, which ended with a dynastic union with the crown of Spain. In 1580, Filipe II of Spain became Filipe I of Portugal and for the next sixty years Portugal and its overseas territories lived under the rule of Madrid. This period suffered from a little negligence although the governors remained Portuguese.

During his time commanding the works of the city, a relevant suggestion was made to the king who had sent a builder to inspect the places in North Africa. By 1610, there was the intention of making a new *atalho* which would cut the city from the country gate to the sea gate. The king ended up declining the proposal. One the one hand, the idea of another short cut reveals the isolation of Tangier and its state of constant defence but also a regressing importance of these African expensive strongholds. On the other hand, giving up the project meant that the value of the original conquering effort and the reputation of holding such a place still played a fundamental role.

Only in 1643 did Tangier returned to the Portuguese crown. Until 1661, little time it would rest in Portuguese hands again as a consequence of being included (generously along with Bombay, by the way) in a princess' dowry to the English.

Our chronological trip stops here, before the short period while the British held Tangier from 1661 to 1683. Short but intense was this period, with a lot of works around the construction of new forts and a new mole¹¹.

Urban historiography

It's time to cross the historical background examined before with the existing cartography, iconography and photography in order to establish an urban historiography of Tangier during the Portuguese presence and, in some cases, the planning models or intentions detected. Drawn documents are abundant at the time of power passage from Portugal to Britain, but it's possible to recuperate older layers. Unfortunately, few physical marks of those periods are still visible and were revealed above, asking the archaeology of urbanism for help so that the Portuguese stratigraphy can appear (Illustration 5).

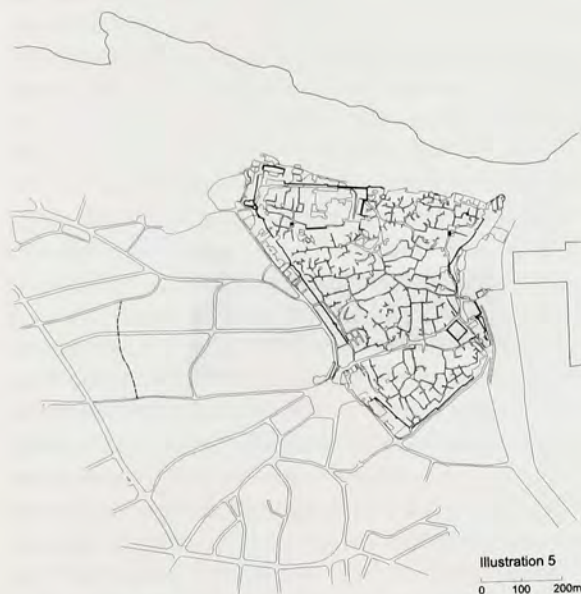


Illustration 5 – Actual plan of central Tangier, showing Islamic (before 1471) and Portuguese evidence in bold

The first level of speculation concerns the reconstitution of the former Merinid perimeter of Tangier, in the 15th century, previous to 1471, of course. The city was much bigger than the actual *medina* surface and the inland wall should have run from the *Kasbah*, parallel to what it's today the Hassan II Avenue, Place de France and Khalid Ibn Qualid Street, down to the beach. Several details concur to this conclusion: the area of the city almost quadruplicates; the castle keeps its dominant position and a direct way out to the Marchan plateau; the aerial photos of 1925 still indicate an occupation mainly beyond that virtual line, as if the territory between the present walls and the former ones was a no man's land; that line wasn't unreasonably built in first place by the Caliphal dynasty but corresponded to an important defence limit, later used by the Portuguese and British to put advanced control barriers, watch towers or forts.

The *atalho*, whose walls correspond today to the west and south sides of the *medina*, reduced considerably this surface and can be clearly detected by its linearity, very different from the more organic Islamic typology. This perimeter contraction led to a profound change in the sense of the city, pushing Tangier to the sea, for defence and accessibility purposes. The sea was the gate to Portugal whereas the hinterland was the enemy territory. The new geometry housed the two major civil and religious equipments. A round tower, now transformed in a public oven (Hadj Tahar), is possibly the only remaining of the first Portuguese castle/palace complex wall fence.

Afonso V's decisions in the city can be classified, as far as urban conceptuality is concerned, as architectural representation and renovation, through new equipment that would replace the former Merinid structures – castle, cathedral –, on the one hand, and as defence reorientation and survival – the *atalho* –, on the other hand. "Image", "dimension" and "direction" redefined Tangier form: a new skyline contributed to a late medieval and European image of Tangier, whereas the perimeter short cut pushed the city to the water.

During the next three reigns, as demonstrated earlier, there were some introductions that helped answering some important issues on administrative or fortification matters and to determine a second developing level. Among the *Castelo Novo*, the *couraca* and a new *Ribeira* bastion, only the first can accurately be reconstituted due to two important surviving traces: the Dar Baroud Street gate and a round tower on a corner of Amsrak Street. The gate is the one given by André Rodrigues years later and through a 1663 plan¹² it is possible to imagine how the



Illustration 6 – Description of Tangier – TALM (Tangier American Legation Museum)

building was composed (Illustration 6). Some photos remain of the first *couraca*, directly connecting the *Castelo Novo* to the sea, but the *Ribeira* bastion is lost.

Meanwhile, the street layout of Tangier was centred on a main axis, the *Rua Direita* which put in communication the Valley gate and the port, passing by the cathedral. Apart from two wider spaces in each extremity, the street served a square in between, which was preserved until today as the meeting point of people and merchandise of the *medina* and known as *Petit Socco* (little market).

Up towards the castle hill, we can verify some regularity on the public space and block organization. Geometry seems to play a more important role, definitely renouncing the Islamic fabric and searching for a growing regular scheme, slope by slope till the castle. Since Moulay Ismail's times, from 1684 on, the labyrinth is back, interrupting canals and "eating" the interiors of blocks. Manuel I and successor's hygienic ideas and urban wills answered to an European population and a time need and capacity.

Summing up, from late 15th to mid 16th centuries, the urban nucleus suffered a "public space definition" based on the street and square and inducing a "residential tissue regularization". In Islamic cities perspective and alignment are fought in the street layout, privileging privacy and, thus, originating a labyrinth of street ramification from main axis to the house door. The Portuguese transformations, in this era of the European abolition of medieval obstacles, took exactly the opposite direction: the street as the main element of the city, place of reunion, meeting and exchange, sided by representative façades, and linking important equipments.

1565 brought a substantial change in the planning strategy, once more based on military principles. The new modern citadel was the equipment that would create a second city within the city, large enough to hold the house of the governor and the army residences. If we take a close look at the plan cited above, confirmed by another 17th century anonymous plan¹³, the shape of the fortification follows an anthropomorphic figure, clustered in the upper corner of the city. Its magnificence and scale didn't stay untouchable, though it continues to mark a frontier between two territories in today inner city.

After the initial 15th century measures of surface reduction, which led to what it is still the perimeter of

the present *medina*, this Sebastian citadel impact was the second most important urban persistence. Even though, most of it is destroyed, hidden or disguised, we can still read this inner fortified ring in the fabric (actual *kasbah*), evidence of the strong "military renovation and embellishment" that Tangier had witnessed. "Scale" was ruptured and a new fortification language and style answered recent technology advances.

Last projects: conclusion

The shortened proposal of a new *atalho* during the Filipe's domination, in order to shrink Tangier to the north, took the *Rua Direita* alignment. It would have engendered a profound change in the city configuration that would erase a part of the city forever, as the first *atalho* did, almost one century and a half before. It was with no doubt one of the most rational and defensive methods ever used. But the consequences are irreversible and wipe out pages of a city history, making the reading of urban layers a difficult chore.

Plural theories of intervention were present throughout the almost two hundred years of Portuguese Tangier. From medieval symbolic affirmation (image, dimension and direction) and urban redefinition (public space and street) to modern militarist image (scale), the city was offered very representative architecture, incorporating influences from the metropolis, and including European knowledge. But the paradox existed when the same architecture was confronted with the urban experience. City design was experimental but rational and decisive for its survival. Measures were pragmatic when looking for a specific answer whereas noble buildings searched for a representative status and prominence. Those buildings are gone but morphological consequences in the urban scale are the most valuable cultural heritage Tangier could leave to us. Recent happenings during the protectorates in Morocco, when the city was an international zone, continue to feed the melting pot of civilizations,

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1. This article was adapted from the original paper presented at the IPHS 2004 International Conference, held in Barcelona between the 14th and 17th July 2004.
2. PLINIUS, V, 3.
3. POMONIUS MELA, I, 5, 26.
4. MENEZES (1732), p. 34: "Parecendo-lhe depois, que a cidade era grande, e necessitava de igual presidio para sua defesa, a mandou cortar, e reduzir a mil vizinhos, tendo antes mais de quatro mil, que isto fazem as mudancas do tempo, e dos imperios; (...)".

5. For further reading on the *atalho*, please consult: CORREIA, 2003.
6. BRAUN, George (1572) – *Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara)*, Tome I, Koln. This, as the other North African drawings (Septa, Arzilla, Sala and Tzaffin) are adaptations of originals of the beginning of the 16th century.
7. Although the present building is much of an "invention" of the mid 20th century reconstruction, the main morphological aspects, as dimension or volume, are believed to follow the original idea.
8. Later measured by Boytac and Bastião Luís in the summer of 1514: *Livro das medidas das obras de Alcácer, Ceuta, Tanger e Arzilla*, ANTT – Núcleo Antigo, nº769, fl.41-47v.
9. ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, 1ª parte, maço 78, doc. 52.
10. "Vós deveis pensar que tenho muito medo dos mouros, pois fizestes este castelo tao forte" (LA VÉRONNE, 1972)
11. For further information on the British presence in Tangier, please address to: LA VÉRONNE, op. cit, or "Villes et Tribus du Maroc", vol. VIII, 1921.
12. *Description of Tangier* – TALM (Tangier American Legation Museum).
13. *Piano di Tanger situato nel str. Di Gibraltar* – BNF (Bibliothèque National de France), Ge. CC. 1262.

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The Max Lock Centre and Archive

The Max Lock Centre was founded in 1994 and is based in the Marylebone Road Campus at the University of Westminster in London. The Centre was originally founded on the extensive archive of Max Lock, a foremost British town planner. No biography of note has been written on Lock, although some very interesting work has been written about aspects of his contribution to twentieth century planning.¹ He made a major contribution to the Reconstruction of postwar British towns and cities, and worked in countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

Max Lock (1909 to 1988) is commonly presented as a democrat, someone who was keen to involve people in town planning processes, and as a man genuinely committed to the improvement of the developing world through sensitive planning and urban growth. He was never an orthodox member of the town planning profession in Britain, preferring to work as much on the outside as at the heart of the establishment.

Lock was also an inveterate taker of notes and keeper of correspondence. He also possessed a considerable collection of books and journal articles. Many but by no means all of these are held in the Max Lock Centre's Archive at the University of Westminster library at 4-12 Little Titchfield Street, London. To give a detailed comprehensive account of the contents of the archive would require too many pages for an issue of Planning History. And as noted, some records are yet to be catalogued, though they will eventually be available at the Centre. But Lock's accumulated materials include much on his contribution to the replanning of British

towns and cities such as Bedford, the Hartlepoons Hull, Middlesbrough and Salisbury. In addition his private planning practice Lock and his colleagues gained commissions in a number of countries, notably at Amman and Aqaba in Jordan, in Um Qasr, Margil and Basra in Iraq, and in Kaduna in Nigeria. The city plans, notes and diaries, correspondence, photographs and other items of interest are kept at the archive.

Lock toured the world extensively, teaching planning as well as practising it. In 1957 for example he was invited to be a visiting Professor for one term at the Department of Town Planning and Civic Design at Harvard. Such invitations arose not only from his highly-regarded reputation but also from his extensive network of friends and colleagues.

In addition, the papers of the planner John F. C. Turner have been added to the archive. The common link was the influence of Sir Patrick Geddes on their work. This also illustrates that the archive is intended to be a growing one, at the heart of the work of the Max Lock Centre.

For further information on the preliminary catalogue of the archive contact the university archivist or the Max Lock Centre staff. Both are available on the University of Westminster's website: www.westminster.ac.uk

Reference

1. Naoki Motouchi and Nick Tiratsoo, 'Max Lock, Middlesbrough, and a forgotten tradition in British town planning', *Planning History*, Vol. 26, Nos 1 and 2, 2004, pp. 17-20.

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The prime aim of *Planning History* is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this, contributions (in English) are invited from members and non-members of the International Planning History Society alike, for any section of *Planning History*. Non-native English speakers should not be concerned if their English is not perfect. The Editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but unfortunately neither he nor the Society can undertake translations.

Contributors should supply one copy of their text, clearly printed, in double spacing and with generous margins. Do not supply copy already in column format. A disk copy is also encouraged, which should be in Word Perfect or Word for PC if possible. Illustrations should be clear black and white photographs with good contrast (it is rarely possible to print satisfactorily from colour transparencies or photocopies) or good quality line drawings. Contributors are responsible for securing any necessary copyright permissions to reproduce illustrations, and to ensure adequate acknowledgement. Captions should be printed double-spaced on a separate page.

ARTICLES

All articles are refereed. Two hard copies should be sent to the editor, in addition to one in electronic form, either as attachment to email, or on a disc. These should be in the range of 2,500 - 4,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of the IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and endnotes. Refer to recent issues for guidance on referencing and text style.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Other types of contribution are also very welcome. Research reports should not be of more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end, in the standard format. Illustrations, where provided, should conform to the above notes. Similar short pieces on important source materials, aspects of planning history practice (e.g. conservation) are also encouraged.

Notices of relevant publications from publishers' publicity material are useful; and full publication reviews (700 - 1,000 words) are encouraged. Abstracts of relevant journal papers, particularly those originally published in a language other than English, are requested.

Reports of recent conferences and other events are very welcome, and should conform to the above notes on style and layout.

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

These are welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that *Planning History* is only published three times per year; normally in April, August and December. Please try to ensure that Calls for Papers etc. are notified to the Editor in sufficient time for inclusion. Later inserts are possible at the time of despatch. Sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will normally be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to make a charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

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Planning History has a circulation of approximately 400, reaching most of the world's active planning historians, mainly in academic institutions. Publishers, in particular, will find it a useful way of publicising new books, journals etc. Advertisements can be carried either printed within the journal, or as inserts. Sufficient copies of inserts must be supplied in good time for despatch. Advertisements printed in the magazine must be supplied in camera-ready form and must respect normal deadline times. The usual charge is £50 for up to a single A4 sheet or page. Multiple page inserts will be accepted *pro rata*.

Please also refer to the revised Instructions to Authors published as page 56 of *Planning History* vol. 21 no. 2 1999.

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INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY (IPHS)

THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

- endeavours to foster the study of planning history. It seeks to advance scholarship in the fields of history, planning and the environment, particularly focusing on industrial and post-industrial cities. In pursuit of these aims its interests are worldwide;
- welcomes members from both academic disciplines and the professions of the built environment. Membership of the Society is both multi-disciplinary and practice-oriented;
- encourages and gives support to networks, which may be interest-based, region- or nation-based, working in the fields of planning history;
- provides services for members: publishing a journal, promoting conferences, and providing an international framework for informal individual member contact;
- invites national organisations, whose work is relevant to IPHS, to affiliate status;
- administers its affairs through an elected Council and Management Board.

The Society was inaugurated in January 1993 as a successor body to the Planning History Society, founded in 1974. Its membership is drawn from several disciplines: planning, architecture, economic and social history, geography, sociology, politics and related fields. Membership is open to all who have a working interest in planning history. The Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) and the Urban History Association (UHA) are American affiliates of IPHS.

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