

**ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM AND APARTHEID MODERNITY IN
SOUTH AFRICA**

A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer

Roelof Uytenbogaardt, 1960-2009

NOËLEEN MURRAY

FEBRUARY 2010

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SOUTH AFRICA**

A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer

Roelof Uytendogaardt, 1960-2009

by

Noëleen Murray

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in African Studies

Supervisor Associate Professor Nick Shepherd

February 2010

Declaration

I, Noëleen Frances Murray, declare that 'ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM AND APARTHEID MODERNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA: A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer Roelof Uytendogaardt, 1960-2009' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed by candidate

Noëleen Frances Murray
12 February 2010

University of Cape Town

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and support of many people. In particular I would like to thank my colleague and supervisor in the Centre for African Studies (CAS), at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Nick Shepherd for his creative and insightful supervision of the work. I am also indebted to: John Moyle whose mentorship has continued unwaveringly into retirement; Derek Japha who first suggested the idea of studying the archive of Roelof Uytenbogaardt to me in 1997; Brenda Cooper, Leslie Witz, Martin Hall, John De Gruchy, Lucien Le Grange, Vanessa Watson, Cheryl de la Rey and Crain Soudien who all in different ways supported my journey into the Humanities at the UCT; research colleagues at the Department of History and the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and from the National Research Foundation (NRF) Project on Public Pasts and its successor the Heritage Disciplines Project, through whom I have, over the past ten years of working together, sharpened my approaches to spatial critique, Leslie Witz, Ciraj Rassool, Premesh Lalu, Gary Minkley, Nick Shepherd, Nicky Rousseau, Patricia Hayes, Uma Duphelia-Meistris, Andrew Bank, and Ivan Karp and Cory Kratz who even visited the Werdmuller Centre having read a version of Chapter Five of this thesis while visiting from Emory University.

The Uytenbogaardt archive would not be in existence without the permissions given to UCT before his death by Roelof Uytenbogaardt and later by his wife Marianne. It would not have taken shape without Lesley Hart, Janine Dunlop and David Wilson from UCT Libraries' Department of Manuscripts and Archives where the Uytenbogaardt Collection is now housed. Thanks are due to architectural students who helped wrestle the papers and large drawings into order, Gerrit van Wyk, Heidi van Eeden, Lorenzo Nassimbeni and Renchius van der Merwe as well as Vanessa Sass; and to colleagues and staff associated with CAS for enduring the endless boxes I brought into their space on their way to the archive while I studied and worked there and where I presented Africa Seminar papers, Harry Garuba, Brenda Cooper, Nick Shepherd, Heidi Groenebaum, Peter Anderson, Jutta Schoof, Lillian Jacobs, Stacy Hendricks and Lucinda Deidricks. Lastly the support of UCT's Registrar Hugh Amoore is gratefully acknowledged for assistance with the establishment of the collection through the Architectural Documentation Project which I started in 2000, as well as for being an archive himself, providing answers to my many questions and giving permissions for access to the University's Administrative Archives.

My thanks and deepest personal gratitude go to my peers and colleagues who advised, commented and provided insight into the work in progress: Leslie Witz who at various times was a discussant for early versions of the work and who read and thought and followed the progress of the project with intellectual insight and enthusiasm; Louise Green, for making writing and friendship such a pleasurable mix and for inviting me to join the PhD Reading Group she established with Sandy Young and Kylie Thomas who have endured working with an architect and taught me so much about writing; Janine Dunlop for her meticulous proof reading; Matthew Cooke, Daniel Maggs, Jean Nuttall and other students from Uytenbogaardt's Master Class, for their critical interest in my project; Svea Josephy for going where no one dared and taking photographs of the Werdmuller in its run down and dangerous state; Alan Mabin and for giving key insights and information which no one else could provide; and Harry Garuba for keeping me on track when I wavered into disciplinary dead-ends. I would especially not have been able to complete this PhD without the friendship and practical support of friends and family who variously gave me the space to pursue this degree: Matthew, Gerard and Rohan Murray-Cooke; Joy, Noël and Lynda Murray; Nonkululeku Gogo, Josi Frater, Tina Schouw, Michael and Mika Hands, Shehnaaz Moosa, Allie, Isa, Aaliya, Safiya and Ayub Ebrahim; Pippa Moll and Stephen Marquard, and Firdous Olivier.

This thesis acknowledges the financial assistance of a UCT Junior Research Fellowship and a NRF Grant Holder Linked Doctoral Award. Acknowledgement is due to the NRF towards this study. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are my own and not necessarily attributed to the NRF.

Abstract

ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM AND APARTHEID MODERNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA -

A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer Roelof Uytendogaardt, 1960-2009

Noëleen Murray

Roelof Sarel Uytendogaardt who died in 1998 was, and remains, an important and influential figure in the disciplines of architecture and urban design in South Africa. As a prolific practitioner and academic at the University of Cape Town his influence has been far-reaching. Making use of previously unexamined archival material, this study examines - in detail - the extent of this influence. Importantly the thesis seeks to situate Uytendogaardt's work in relation to the rise of apartheid and speculates about the persistence of modernism in contemporary spatial practice. Through examining both the conception and reception of Uytendogaardt's buildings and urban plans, the work locates modernist approaches to design prevalent in architecture and urban design as products of apartheid modernity.

The controversial and contested nature of Uytendogaardt's works provides space for critical analysis and this is evident in the uneven reception of his projects. Architects and urban designers revere him as a 'master' while public sentiment has very often been strongly negative. This is most strikingly evident in the case of the recent proposed destruction of one of Uytendogaardt's most controversial works, the Werdmuller Centre. Constructed in the 1970s after forced removals in Cape Town's suburb of Claremont, since 2007 architects and urban designers have argued passionately for its retention as an example of 'timeless' modernist heritage. Through this and other examples, the thesis explores the complexities presented by professional practice in architecture and urban design in the context of designing buildings for designated publics under apartheid. It argues that the work of practitioners and academics such as Uytendogaardt is intimately linked to the social crisis of apartheid and that the resultant relationship is one of the complex and interrelated crises of modernist design that persist in post-apartheid South Africa.

An assessment of his work makes possible a reflection on the competing traditions of knowledge contained in the built environment's spatial disciplines (architecture, planning, urban design) in relation to fields of knowledge contained in the humanities. As such it critically confronts hegemonic modes of practice, discourse, and writing in South Africa from the 1960s to the present. The work subjects architecture and urban design to modes of inquiry generated outside of their disciplinary frameworks in cultural and literary theory and public history, posing new questions about relationships between material culture, biography and society in South Africa. The thesis seeks to identify the spatial disciplines as forms of social practice embedded in wider political and economic contexts.

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Abbreviations and Notes

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AICOMOS	Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites
BELCOM	Built Environment and Landscape Committee
CID	City Improvement District
CIFA	Cape Institute for Architecture
COH	Chamber of Housing
DAG	Development Action Group
DOCOMOMO	International Committee for the Documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the modern movement
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
NAi	Netherlands Architecture Institute
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
NRF	National Research Foundation
POPP	Project on Public Pasts
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
ROD	Record of Decision
SAIA	South African Institute for Architecture
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
TIA	Transvaal Institute of Architects
UCT	University of Cape Town
UPRU	Urban Problems Research Unit
UWC	University of the Western Cape

Note on translations

Some of the original sources cited and terms used in this thesis are in Afrikaans. In each instance translations are provided in the text. All translations from Afrikaans are my own and reference is made to the original sources.

Note on images

This thesis draws directly on a number of visual sources and archives. In the spatial disciplines of architecture and urban design, visual sources are central to scholarship. This thesis contains images from a number of sources contained in archival material, published sources and from visiting actual buildings and places. All sources are referenced in the List of Figures and in the captions.

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Figure 95. Black and white photograph of the large-scale timber model that Uytenbogaardt constructed as a design tool during the design process for the

Werdmuller Centre, showing the LHC 2 scheme's railway line elevation.
Source RSU Collection BC1264.

Figure 96. Colleagues such as Etienne Louw believe Uytendogaardt's inspiration for the platonic forms at the Werdmuller Centre was Le Corbusier's Carpenter Centre for Visual Arts at Harvard University. Source http://blogs.targetx.com/neu/JessicaWilcock/885_Carpenter-Center-at-92802.jpg (accessed 10 February 2010, 11h11)

Figure 97. Architects' architecture. Roelof Uytendogaardt relaxing on the terrace outside his office in the Werdmuller Centre. Many colleagues and students visited his studio when viewing the building, which as Etienne Louw wrote in its defense in 2008, 'was the lightning rod for architectural debate in the 1970s.' Source RSU Collection BC1264.

Photographic Essay. *The Werdmuller Centre: a visual essay in conversation with photographer Svea Josephy*

17 colour photographic images taken on-site at the Werdmuller Centre in 2008.

University of Cape Town

Introduction

[We]...should begin what is perhaps the most important South African dialogue since the national dialogue that led to the writing of the constitution. This is the dialogue about writing the land.

Njabulo, Ndebele¹

This extract is from Njabulo Ndebele's opening remarks entitled *Breaking Free of the Present*, for the exhibition *blank_Architecture, apartheid and after* in Rotterdam, 16 December 1998. In this address he succinctly called for renewed debate about the history of the making of the South African landscape in the form of its architecture and planning (Figures 1-4).

Many of us recognise the influence of modern architecture and planning in inscribing apartheid in South African cities and towns. Almost everywhere you go in South Africa you are presented with spatial and architectural reminders of the colonial and apartheid past. On the one hand there are monuments and buildings that are symbols of power and wealth, while on the other there are the spaces of underdevelopment - 'townships' and 'informal settlements' at the margins of our cities. If it is accepted, as suggested by many, that the underlying presence of the modernist ideals of the apartheid state in South Africa are still clearly recognisable in our everyday lives, what then are the factors that affect professionals working with this history in post-apartheid South Africa? Using the case study of the work of prolific architect and urban designer Roelof Uytendogaardt, this study aims to explore the complexities presented by professional practice for architects and planners in the context of apartheid in order to explore - or in Ndebele's terms, begin 'writing' - this specific angle on the making of South African space.²

This study has two general intentions. First, it uses the case study of one of South Africa's most important modern architects - Roelof Uytendogaardt - and locates his work within a general study of modernism during apartheid in South Africa. Secondly, the study of modernism in architecture and planning and its significance in the South African context is seldom located within critical contemporary theory, especially within an African context. This is a key intention of this research.

A study that poses questions about the relationship between apartheid as structure and professional agency enables a project for a critique of modern architecture and planning in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. The study sets out to historicise a major practitioner's role

¹ Ndebele, Njabulo, 1998, *Breaking Free of the present*, Opening address, Exhibition *blank_Architecture, apartheid and after*, Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam, Unpublished, courtesy of the author, 16 December 1998

² Ndebele, 1998

in the production of space under apartheid. It intends to unravel the paradoxical nature of how an architect and urban designer working under the aegis of a modernist approach to design engaged with the realities of the project of modernity that underpinned the apartheid state's ideals of a modern, segregated vision of South Africa. Most importantly, it is through such an understanding that the presence of modernism can be deciphered in the present, post-apartheid debates in the spatial disciplines and beyond.

During the period of writing this thesis a controversy erupted over one of Uytendogaardt's most controversial buildings in Claremont in Cape Town which brought the contemporary significance of his work into the public interest in the post-apartheid present. The Werdmuller Centre, which stands almost in ruin, exemplifies many of the tensions that exist over the presence of modernist buildings in the contemporary landscape. Not entirely accepted as worthy of the status of 'heritage', yet celebrated by architects, the building's future hangs in the balance. The debates that have emerged reveal quite clearly the contested nature of modern architecture in post-apartheid South Africa as new forms of heritage are being negotiated. The underlying legacies of apartheid's spaces in the contemporary city are clearly fraught, perhaps most acutely even when considering the presence of a failed elite shopping destination.³

This study is also set directly against the contemporary proliferation of architectural projects for museums and new memorial sites that set out to address apartheid memory. Much has been written about these projects and the role that they play in new heritage initiatives.⁴ The state has sponsored 'Legacy Projects', casino developments have funded new museums, and communities have set out to remember the atrocities of life under apartheid. Less has been said about the material conditions of apartheid modernity, of the built realities and legacy of apartheid in present day South Africa. Framed largely in developmental discourses, and principally in planning and housing discourses, modern architecture has hardly been explored as a productive site of study for theories of the present.

The central thesis of this study is that through an in-depth examination of one of South Africa's most prominent architects and urban designer's work, a broader critique can be made about the extent and influence of modernist spatial practices in the South African urban context. In simple terms, this work locates this modernist approach to design within the context of apartheid in which it was produced.

³ See Chapter Five of this thesis.

⁴ See Murray, N, Shepherd, N, Hall, M (eds), 2007, *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*, Routledge ArchiText Series, London. In particular by authors such as Lindsay Bremner, Ciraj Rassool, Leslie Witz, Nick Shepherd and Cristian Ernsten, and Martin Hall and Pia Bombardella,

Scope and nature of the study

The theory, practice and politics of architecture, planning and urban design in South Africa has hardly been explored in any cohesive way.⁵ Instead, there are two distinct canons of work. The first is from within the disciplines of architecture and planning and the second from a critical perspective located beyond these disciplinary boundaries. This work sets out to critically evaluate the intersections of these writings and bring them into a critical frame that is mindful of both epistemologies.

The choice of Uytendogaardt's work as a central means through which to explore the relationship between structure and agency is intended to enable a discussion that is located in interdisciplinary thinking around the interpretation of architectural and urban practices. His work in South Africa spans four decades from the 1960s to the 1990s. As an architect and urban designer, working both as an academic at the University of Cape Town and in private practice, his prolific portfolio of buildings, urban schemes, projects and writings stands as a substantial body of work through which to begin to problematise professional agency and practice within the societal structures and order dictated by apartheid. As a key figure, recognised by his peers in the spatial design professions, through his substantial portfolio of work over a period of thirty years, and through his widespread influence on students, Uytendogaardt is a major figure through whom more general questions can be asked about disciplinary practice, using his work as a means to open a broader debate.

In exploring the relationship between Uytendogaardt's professional agency and the 'grand narratives' of modernism and apartheid, the argument presented in this work seeks to interrogate the complexities of professional practice over the period. Further, the influence of this work and the 'legacy' that it has left will be central to a critique of the longer-term effects of these discourses of spatial practice in contemporary Cape Town and in South Africa in general.⁶ The general context of the research is intended as a vehicle that begins to reflect on modern spatial practices in South Africa.

My interest in the research originated in two ways: firstly from my own studies in the discipline of architecture, where I encountered a particular mode of study in the academy with its

⁵ Amongst the few works that address this, see: Judin, Hilton, Vladislavic, Ivan, 1998, *blank Architecture, apartheid and after*, Nai Publishers. Murray, N, Shepherd, N and Hall, M, 2007, *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*, Routledge, Architext Series, London.

⁶ Uytendogaardt's influence is broadly recognised and recognisable in his students' and peers' work, but for an in-depth argument of the idea of this 'legacy' see: Murray, N.F, 1999, *The Legacy of Roelof Uytendogaardt*, paper presented at the Second Architectural History Workshop 27 August 1999, entitled 'Reflections from the South - The influence of Louis Kahn in Southern Africa', University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, (unpublished)

associated internal sets of theory – in architecture , planning and urban design - and through the manifestation of these methods in professional practice. From this, it always seemed to me that there was the need for a critical reflexivity from within the professionalised disciplines that includes a critique of the ‘culture’ of these disciplines and the effect that these practices have on notions of racialised productions of space that go beyond a narrow definition of material space. This critique has not yet been properly formulated in South Africa. I therefore came to be interested in debates outside of the disciplines and this work is also intended to contribute to these ‘external’ discourses of space.

My second interest is located firmly within my disciplinary background. Like many of my peers in architecture and urban design I was profoundly influenced and interested in Uytendogaardt’s work - first as a student and later as a colleague in the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT. Although not formally collated, this interest has been explored extensively in many student projects and in the professional journals such as that of the South African Institute of Architecture – *Architecture SA* (later known as *Architecture South Africa*) over a forty year period. During this time (from the mid 1980s until his death in 1998) I came to know both the man and his work. For a period I worked for Uytendogaardt in private practice and was later minimally involved with the taught masters seminars that he ran while I taught in the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT from 1995-1997. In 1999, as a young academic I was asked to become involved in the archiving of his collection at UCT after his death. Through working with his drawings and papers that are lodged in the UCT Library’s Department of Manuscripts and Archives, I have gained further intimate knowledge of his body of work. It has become clear to me that any study of this archive and its contents requires an approach that moves away from traditional architectural studies – focused on formal and spatial questions – to include a contextual understanding of the external determinants of practice. I intend to use my background familiarity with the discourses and debates in architecture to open the research by raising questions about the ‘modern school’ in Cape Town as well as drawing directly on the preparatory work that I have done in archiving the primary material to date. The Roelof Sarel Uytendogaardt Collection at UCT was the first extensive collection of a modernist architect to be acquired by UCT since that of his mentor Professor L. W. Thornton-White’s and as such makes the recognition of a key practitioner’s work as well as opening up the whole area of modern architectural collections nationally.⁷ The Collection (moved and sorted by myself and manager of Special Collections, Lesley Hart) was sorted according to contemporary archival methods

⁷ BC 1264, Roelof Uytendogaardt Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Department, University of Cape Town Libraries *L.W. Thornton White Collection*, BC353, Architectural Collections, UCT Libraries Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

whereby both the papers and drawings in his office at UCT and in his private studio were acquired. We set out to keep the collection as rich as possible and even documented the studio photographically to keep a record of the lived quality of the space (Figures 5-6). In addition his book collection was recorded in a bibliographic list, and notes were made of models and exhibition material that unfortunately could not be accommodated at UCT. After being unable to find an institution that would accession these, they were distributed among colleagues. Furthermore, we have conducted a study of the archival practice involved in such a collection, and recorded where possible the names of his collaborators - most significantly his last partner, Norbert Rozendal, whose own work forms a significant part of the collection.⁸

Background to the study

Since the 1980s architects have increasingly come to rethink the structures presented by modernist orthodoxies that emerged in the 1920s in Western Europe and spread across the globe in the form of the 'International Style'.⁹ Post-modern approaches in architecture were premised on a reaction to this orthodoxy.¹⁰ In planning there has been a similar shift from rigid modernist practices to regionalist approaches. Most significantly in the 1980s the sub-discipline of Urban Design gained popularity as a spatial alternative to the two-dimensional approach of Planning. Most recently Landscape Architecture has taken a front-line position in urban debates that focus on an environmental argument for urban design.¹¹

These shifts have centered on the realisation in practice that modernism left much to be desired in the making of space. Instead designers in architecture turned their attention to historicism, new rationalism and context-based imaginings as proposed by, amongst others, Kenneth Frampton's notion of 'critical regionalism'.¹² Disciplinary practices in South African modernism fit more or less into the orthodoxies of high modernism, and can be divided into architectural and planning concerns with interrelated but distinct lines of practice emerging. Gilbert Herbert's seminal doctoral study entitled *Martienssen and the International Style* is the

⁸ Hart, Lesley, 2003, *Architectural Records as Important Heritage Resource: The Challenges of Preserving Them*, paper presented at XVII BIENNIAL Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ESARBICA) General Conference on Archives, Society and Good Governance, Maputo, Mozambique, July 22-26, 2003, pp. 1-9

⁹ Frampton, K, 1992, *Modern Architecture. A critical History*, Thames and Hudson Limited, London, p. 5

¹⁰ Connor, Steven, 1990, *Postmodernist Culture: An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary*, Basil Blackwell, pp.66-80. See also extensive writings by Charles Jenks, Ada Louise Huxtable, Peter Buchanan, Caroline Constant and the proponents of post-modernism within architectural writing.

¹¹ Watson, Vanessa, 2002, *Interpretations of place and territory in African cities – implications for formal planning systems*, Paper presented at the conference: Planning Africa 2002, Durban, September 18-20. Plenary session 2.

¹² Frampton, Kenneth, 1983, 'Critical Regionalism', in Foster, Hal (ed), *The Anti-Aesthetic - Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Bay Press, Seattle. Pp.16-30

best account of how international modernism was received and reproduced in South Africa.¹³ Similarly Clive Chipkin's book entitled *Johannesburg Style* gives an account of later practices in the modernisation of Johannesburg.¹⁴ The modern movement architects in the 1930s in the then Transvaal (centering on the schools of architecture at Wits and Pretoria) and later in the Cape adopted the ideals of modernism as a new answer to problems in the local context. The result, coupled with a new impetus, was an apartheid-supported building boom which continued until the 1970s. Part of the 'solution' to local 'problems' was the need in South Africa under apartheid to design urban spaces for a segregated society and modern town planning was used in the development specifically of new township plans. Derek Japha's influential Africa Seminar paper in 1986, entitled *The Social Program of the South African Modern Movement in Architecture* is the most in-depth review of these practices and makes the link between modern town planning initiatives and Native Housing designs.¹⁵

Running in parallel with these were architects working in what Japha defines as a more 'radical' manner: the likes of Hannes Meyer and his contemporaries.¹⁶ Internal debates in architecture seemed to swing between the poles of orthodoxy and radicalism producing work that covered the range of political positions. But in many cases the problems of agency under apartheid legislation marred the production in material terms of many really radical schemes.

A more recent critical framing of the disparities of thinking behind modernist practice throws some light on general trends internationally. Works by Colin St John Wilson propose what he terms 'the other tradition of modern architecture' – a thesis that attempts to bring marginal practitioners working loosely in a modernist context into debates surrounding modern design. His argument is that the far-reaching influence of the international style is only one side of the story about modernism and he examines works by Alvar Aalto and Sigurd Lewerentz, amongst others, to develop an argument about local and contextual approaches to modern design.¹⁷ This theoretical advancement in the detail of the debates surrounding modernist practice shifts the argument away from simply evaluating the circulation of stylistic trends across the globe to an attempt to unpack the micro-relations between style and building design. Assessing the work of

¹³ Herbert, Gilbert, 1975, *Martienssen and the International Style, The Modern Movement in South African Architecture*, AA Balkema, Cape Town.

¹⁴ Chipkin, Clive, 1993, *Johannesburg Style: architecture and society, 1880s – 1960s*, David Phillip, Cape Town.

¹⁵ Japha, D.A, 1986, *The Social Programme of the South African Modern Movement in Architecture*, Africa Seminar Paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 8 October 1986. A later version published in Judin and Vladislavic, 1998: 422-437

¹⁶ Japha, 1986:3

¹⁷ Wilson, Colin, St J, 1994, *Architectural Reflections*, Butterworth Architecture, London. The antecedents of this idea were brought to light for me in conversation with Peter Buchanan – a prominent international author in modernist architectural circles and ex-editor of the *Architectural Review* – where he cited Peter Blundell Jones and later Caroline Constant in this debate. (Telephonic interview from London, May 2003)

Uytenbogaardt in this critical frame is particularly useful and has enabled me to think about the evolution of his personal approach to design starting with the strong influences of the ‘Masters’ – Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn and others – to his interest later, in practice with Norbert Rozendal, in the work of regionalist modernists such as Alvar Aalto. Peter Buchanan suggests that through posing a relation between modernist architecture and the broader trajectories of modernity – between centre and margins – critics can begin to interrogate in Bourdieu’s terms ‘the field of the cultural production’ of modern architecture.¹⁸

A central evolving theme in Uytenbogaardt design approach was the idea of ‘design consciousnesses’ to which he refers in an interview with students in 1992. He says:

I think what makes the difference between people [architects] is the way [and] the place in which they grew up, and the consciousness that has been built up in them. There’s a particular consciousness with which you approach things. I think there’s a particular consciousness with which Kahn approaches things, with which Corb [Le Corbusier] approaches things, and that makes him who he is, and what he is. And that is why they take the same programme and something else comes out of it.¹⁹

This quote succinctly defines the relationship between the man and his intimate connection to his work in the outlining of his approach which he formalised through his writings with collaborators and colleagues over a number of years, most specifically with David Dewar and his colleagues at the Urban Problems Research Unit, colloquially known by its acronym ‘UPRU’. UPRU, which closed in 2001, produced a large body of published works exploring the urban context of South African cities especially Cape Town.²⁰ Through a number of writings and publications Uytenbogaardt and Dewar formulated principles of consciousness that they defined as ‘Humanism’, ‘Regionalism’, ‘Urbanism’ and ‘The Art of one’s Art’. These principles set out a ‘blue print’ for practice and can be analysed from a phenomenological position, which takes as its starting point the belief that consciousness is always ‘intentional’.²¹ In Husserl’s terms this does not relate to deliberate will but rather implies that consciousness is always directed at an ‘object’. In other words to be conscious is to be conscious of something. Husserl’s claim is that in the unitary act of consciousness, the thinking subject and the object it ‘intends’, or is aware of, are intertwined and inseparable. Heidegger *et al* take this notion further through ‘interpretation’ and ‘hermeneutics’.²² In attempting to understand the relationship between ‘agency’ and ‘structure’ in

¹⁸ Buchanan, 2003 (Interview). Bourdieu, Pierre, 1993, *The field of cultural production : essays on art and literature*, Columbia University Press, New York.

¹⁹ Interview 2, 5 June 1992, in Duys, P.M, 1992, *Roelof S. Uytenbogaardt*, History and Theory Paper in Part fulfilment of B.Arch Degree, University of Cape Town, p.68

²⁰ ACC, 2008, African Centre for Cities, *Annual Report 2007/8*, University of Cape Town publication, 2-3

²¹ Abrams, M.H, 1988, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, Holt, Reinhart and Winston, Inc, (5th edition), p.224-225

²² Abrams, 1988: 225

the building projects and writings of Uytendogaardt and his colleagues, the authorial relationship between architect/planner and the apartheid city needs to be unpacked.

These 'internal' writings within the spatial disciplines were emerging at a time when crucial academic scholarship, 'external' to the spatial disciplines, was engaging with architecture, space and cities more broadly as a means of exploring the cultural politics of late modernity. Fredrick Jameson, Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau and many others attempted to address spatial relations through understanding relations of gender, marginality, and otherness. These concerns are seldom unpacked in architectural and planning discourse nor seen to contribute to the much hailed 'crisis of modernism'. This is a term used widely in architectural writing by authors such as Charles Jencks, Aldo Rossi and others in the development of post-modern architectural ideas. I shall argue that Uytendogaardt's agency is intimately linked to the social crisis of apartheid and that the resultant relationship was one of the complex and interrelated 'crises' of modernism in the post-apartheid city. There is much local work on this in the broad field of urban studies by authors such as Vanessa Watson, Susan Parnell, Andrew Spiegel, Peter Wilkinson, David Dewar, Jennifer Robinson, Alan Mabin, Martin Hall and others who argue that the social crisis of apartheid had an impact on the spatial imagining of South African urban space.

Through posing a relation between 'architectural modernism' and what I have termed 'apartheid modernities', I shall be drawing on theorisations of 'power', especially Foucault's explorations of the epistemological method of the 'genealogy of writing' or his 'history of the present'.²³ Unlike the neutral, 'archaeological historian', this method enables a critique of the emergence of modern social power. Foucault's view was a 'spatial' imagining of power related to his writings on sites of power in actual spaces, institutions, domains and sites. Through this method he explored agents of power through their 'statements' and critiqued them as extensions of institutional and state power. Within this theoretical framework a paradox emerges when exploring the relationship between Uytendogaardt and the context in which he was working as a modernist architect under the apartheid-state's vision of modernity. In addition James Scott's 1998 work *Seeing like a State*, takes these ideas further to analyse structural aspects of state inspired modernity and the projects that supported those similar to the 'master narratives' present in the South African project.²⁴

²³ Foucault, Michel, (trans A.M.Sheridan Smith) , 1972, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Pantheon, New York, p.54

²⁴ Scott, James C., 1998. *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Researching and writing

This thesis explores moments of Uytendogaardt's professional engagement across the sub-disciplines of practice in the spatial disciplines – architecture and urban design. It is concerned with how architectural modernism was produced as a key part of apartheid's project of modernity across the planned interventions into the landscapes of South Africa. The story of the research for this thesis however began as a project of architectural history. Over ten years ago, it was first suggested to me by my Masters Thesis supervisor and colleague Derek Japha while I was working towards my Masters in Architecture and lecturing in what was then called the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Cape Town. At the time Roelof Uytendogaardt was facing retirement and had in fact been kept on in a special capacity as an Emeritus Professor motivated by colleagues in the Urban Design Programme in this department, particularly by long time colleague Fabio Todeschini. The motivation for Uytendogaardt's continued presence in the department beyond the mandatory retirement age was made by Todeschini, who presented an argument about this pre-eminent place with in the disciplines of architecture and urban design.²⁵ This was based on Uytendogaardt's reluctance to leave the space of the University while still actively productive. His involvement in the academy, along with his practice had become one of his *loci* of work. Around the same time, Uytendogaardt's work was seen by his peers and students alike to represent an important presence and perhaps too, a history worth recording. In fact Uytendogaardt himself had begun to think of his own legacy and was considering leaving his collection of papers and drawings to the University. This is where my research began, with the assimilation of his archive and its eventual depositing in the Manuscripts and Archives Section of UCT's Libraries as part of their Architectural Collections.

Over ten years on, at the time of final writing of this thesis dissertation, the Urban Design Programme that Uytendogaardt founded is in disarray and UPRU has been closed – and unfortunately, according to Vanessa Watson one of its last remaining researchers, its archive has disappeared along with the unit. In its place is the recently formed African Centre for Cities (ACC) which has been established and continues to expand on the research mandate contained in the UPRU project, albeit on a grander scale.²⁶ Despite the much spoken about 'urban challenges' facing South Africa, there are very few students entering the Urban Design programme and this combined with a lack of interest by practitioners – most of whom are Uytendogaardt's protégés –

²⁵ *Roelof. S Uytendogaardt Collection*, BC1264, Architectural Collections, UCT Libraries Department of Manuscripts and Archives, Personal File.

²⁶ ACC, 2008:2,3.

has brought into question the role of spatial-based planning in post-apartheid South Africa.²⁷ This study set out initially to research Uytenbogaardt's life's work as a historical exercise within the spatial disciplines. In this first formulation it aimed to explore Uytenbogaardt's many projects and present them along the conventions of an architectural study, as Japha had suggested.

Uytenbogaardt passed away shortly before my research began in earnest after which my immediate main concern was assembling his archive. This included the logistical challenges of packing up his studio in the Cape Town suburb of Wynberg, along with Lesley Hart from UCT's Library and his office at UCT and locating material from the many store rooms and garages in which he had placed the large drawings and models over time across the University.

During the years which followed this, Uytenbogaardt's spatial design legacy has taken shape and his influence can be seen frequently in the particular form that 'New Urbanism' has taken locally and specifically in Cape Town, under his ex-colleagues David Dewar, Piet Louw, Fabio Todeschini, Martin Kruger and others.²⁸ Over the period there has also been an intensification of interest in the city as a site of urban renewal and change. Ambitious projects for urban integration, new public spaces in townships, inner city renewal, housing and new buildings have been framed using the influential sets of ideas articulated by Uytenbogaardt and his colleagues.²⁹ He has been hailed posthumously as 'Architect of the Century' in the publication *Business Day*, which cited his influence and contribution to architectural urban thinking through his buildings, urban design projects and writings.³⁰ With South Africa opening up to new, globalising influences, his ideas have been hailed as local solutions, enabling his legacy to move into a new category of local scholarship, despite somehow failing to closely examine his own heavy dependence on metropolitan examples and ideals. Inadvertently his spatial dictums entered into the narratives of spatial and social reconciliation and urban reconstruction.

In the course of my research there has been a flurry of biographic interest in writing about – and claiming – this history by colleagues and passionate followers of Uytenbogaardt of whom there are many across the country. Amongst others these include close colleagues and admirers: Fabio Todeschini and David Dewar; United States based architect Etienne Louw; University of the Witwatersrand Professor, Paul Kotze; and Italian architect Giovanni Vio whose interest

²⁷ This is evident in an examination of student numbers entering the Urban Design Masters programme at UCT since 2000.

²⁸ Harrison, P, Todes, A, Watson, V, 2008, *Planning and transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*, Routledge, London.

²⁹ Southworth, Barbara, (undated, c.2005), *City Squares in Cape Town's Townships- Public Space as an Instrument of Urban Transformation: The Origins, Objectives and Implementation of the City of Cape Town's Dignified Places Programme*, unpublished paper, p.9

³⁰ Stafford, Linda, 1999, *Architect of the Century: Roelof Uytenbogaardt pushed design beyond the ordinary – quality buildings for poor communities*, Financial Mail, 17 December 1999

resulted in the architectural monograph publication *Roelof Uytenbogaardt Senza Tempo / Timeless*.³¹ The mood has been hagiographic and largely celebratory. Both within the academy and in practice, this has prevailed and it has seemed difficult to narrate a fuller story of Uytenbogaardt's life and work. The connection of his life temporally and spatially to the period of apartheid seemed to be strangely absent from those internal to the discipline and practice. The relatively few writings that have emerged concentrate on spatial concerns removed from their socio-political contexts, as if somehow reinforcing Uytenbogaardt's own notion of a 'timeless' remove from the apartheid reality in which he was practising. I found myself faced with asking questions about how to extend the biographical mode of the established genre of the architectural monograph to include social history and critique. What I could do, I believed, was fill a historiographic gap with a thematic examination of his work in relation to the public spheres and public histories in which these were produced and received. Writing from a contemporary perspective, with all the attendant pitfalls of reflection and reconstitution of the historical subject, I have tried through case studies to give examples of readings of his work and to provide accounts that rely both on the archive as well as acknowledging broader sources of influence from the area of study that I have engaged with, principally in the field of Public History. This has involved working with the archive, reading the papers and developing critical methods.

My Masters research at the time of beginning to think about Uytenbogaardt was concerned with a postcolonial reading of a key public space in Cape Town, the area known as the Company's Gardens.³² In applying the ideas from postcolonial studies – those of a subaltern reading aimed as resistance to dominant discourses of space prevalent in the spatial disciplines led me to a notion of historical space being produced (after the critics of spatiality Lefebvre and Foucault and others) through particular conceptions of space-making. I was interested in how the theoretical and methodological tools that I had assembled for this project might be applied to a discussion of modernist architecture and planning through an analysis of Uytenbogaardt's work. Such a study, I imagined, would be a work of critical reflection, based on an examination of the epistemological foundations of scholarship in the spatial disciplines. By focussing on the postcolonial it was intended that the locus of analysis be specific, located within what I believed were urgent needs for change within the spatial disciplines in the South African academy.³³

My examination of Uytenbogaardt has sought to contribute to a project of recasting architectural history – beyond the simple periodisation and classification of styles – into my

³¹ Vio, Giovanni, 2006, *Roelof Uytenbogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless*, Il Poligrafo, Italy.

³² Murray, N.F, 2001, *The Imperial Landscape at Cape Town's Gardens*, M.Arch Thesis, UCT.

³³ King, Anthony, 2004, *Spaces of global cultures: architecture, urbanism, identity*, Routledge ArchiText Series, London.

reading of ‘tropes of the South African landscape’, enabling a discursive move towards discourses of colonial reception and metropolitan dependency involved in the production of the South African landscape. This formulation of ‘tropes’ emerged from the thinking developed for the History of Architecture courses that I convened with John Moyle and later on my own at the School of Architecture and Planning in the 1990s. At the time there was strong objection to this line of teaching from within the department, where arguments were presented to us citing the potential dangers of deviating from the established modes of teaching architectural history. Traditional forms of teaching were aimed at giving students a ‘vocabulary’ of architectural precedents following the ‘great ages’ of architecture in the canon of the Western Tradition in order to enable them to apply these precedents to their core subject of design. This view remains widely held within the discipline of architecture, the idea of a ‘service course’, or means of making students literate about formal architectural ‘precedent’.³⁴ It was suggested to us that Architectures outside of this canon were to be dealt with in an ‘add on’ manner. So, alongside the Western trajectories of the architectures of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, the Medieval, Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque, Neo Classical and the like through to the Modern period, students were to be presented with lectures on Japanese, Chinese, African, and ‘other’ architectures.³⁵ The argument was based on a rejection of this multiculturalist add-on approach as it did not adequately explain the colonial formation of architectures and cities in our own situation. Instead a simple method was proposed. This involved using local examples as ‘tropes’ of architecture that were informed by the ‘great traditions’ as a way into interrogating the relationships of power and influence on South African architecture more generally.

Around the same time from 1996 onwards I worked as a regional researcher in the Cape on the *blank, Architecture, apartheid and after* project for an international exhibition on South African architecture and a publication of the same name, commissioned by the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAi).³⁶ This project employed a thematic approach to thinking about architecture, apartheid and the making of South African space which has been a useful means to begin to develop theoretical research questions for this project. From 2000 onwards I started working on an interdisciplinary National Research Foundation (NRF) funded team project, *The Project on Public Pasts* (POPP). Based in the History Department at the University of the

³⁴ Moyle, J, 1997, *The History and Theory of Architecture*, Notes for paper delivered at the Architectural History Workshop, School of Architecture and Planning, University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban.

³⁵ Murray, N.F, 2001 *The history of architecture is not what it used to be: a discussion of the role of History and Theory in contemporary architectural education*, Seminar presentation for Senior Lectureship interview, School of Architecture and Planning, UCT, December 2001

³⁶The exhibition *blank Architecture, apartheid and after* opened in Rotterdam in December 1998 and travelled to Berlin, Paris and Johannesburg

Western Cape, POPP came about in response to developments in the discipline of history post-1990. The project's head researcher, Leslie Witz wrote: 'We are concerned to investigate how the visualisation of pastness generates, in different ways and on several fronts, precisely what a history is about'.³⁷ The approach to creating a notion of 'Public History' that was developed through the individuals, interchanges and academic production around POPP helped shape POPP projects that I have been involved with concerned with emergent discourses of memorialisation and commemoration. They have focussed on contested sites and landscapes, new museums and architectures. In 2002 I moved to teach in the Centre for African Studies in the Public Culture in Africa programme. All along, through these various sites of engagement, my research continued to rethink South African spatial and specifically architectural historiography, through inserting a view of agency previously unconsidered in the biographical chronology of architectural history.

Although it took a while to reconceptualise the intellectual framework through which to embark on my doctoral research, this reconceptualisation happened within the context of the steps I have taken away from working within the strict disciplinary confines of architecture and planning.³⁸ Most importantly perhaps the space was opened up for me to pursue my disciplinary interests in a critical interdisciplinary environment that I was never quite able to achieve from within the discipline. While this idea was not new – that disciplines operate within strictly defined historical divisions of knowledge – the experience of having this space opened up for me certainly was new.³⁹ In this time I have been able to reflect on how internal disciplinary practices of the production of architectural knowledge constrained my ability to pursue academic inquiries outside of the bounds of more or less traditional modes of practice. This is not to say that I have never dreamt of nor questioned these practices – in fact I have always tended toward an interest that contested the settled and accepted modes of knowledge production– but in some ways I never quite knew how to find a voice as I was all too often without a receptive audience.⁴⁰ I found myself in a position to take up the challenges that have both explicitly and implicitly been made on critiques of space by writers in cultural and literary theory, and public history from disciplines mainly within the humanities. This act of 'stepping out' of the internal world of architectural criticism would however not have been possible without posing questions about the relationship

³⁷ Witz, Leslie, 2002, *Apartheid's Festival: contesting South Africa's national pasts*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, p.7

³⁸ Shepherd, N, 1998, *Archaeology and post-colonialism in South Africa : the theory, practice and politics of archaeology after apartheid*, PhD Thesis, UCT.

³⁹ Foucaultian analyses focus on this most prominently and have spawned much interest and further work in critical intellectual theory.

⁴⁰ Most pronounced amongst these interest and attempts to formulate these arguments is the following paper which was vehemently contested within some planning and architectural circles. Murray, N.F, 2001, *The history of architecture is not what it used to be: a discussion of the role of History and Theory in contemporary architectural education*, Seminar presentation for Senior Lectureship interview, School of Architecture and Planning, UCT, December 2001

between material culture and social relations. Rather than simply dealing with the larger scale relations of the binaries presented in cultural theory between, for example, centre and periphery, I started exploring some of the micro relations presented in the construction of spaces between structures of spatial, societal and political order and the agency of the producers of this space.⁴¹

Examining Uytendogaardt's life work, I imagined that this methodological shift might suggest a series of answers that could open up another line of debate about his work, biography and the space of practice more broadly within apartheid South Africa. Generally, the few recent works produced on South African architecture - except for those contained in the *_blank* publication- the monographs and papers about Gabriel Fagan, Revel Fox, Barrie Biermann and Uytendogaardt himself - are hagiographic chronologies of their work presented through linear narratives of individual achievement, ordered around built work and projects.⁴² This thesis is the result of this journey, where the study that started off intending to be a more or less conventional architectural study has ended up in a very different form.

Roelof Uytendogaardt's Oeuvre of works

The body of built works, projects and writings contained in the Uytendogaardt Collection at UCT comprises a collection of his major projects over his life time working as an academic at UCT and as a practising architect and urban designer. From his student years in South Africa, through his years in Italy and the USA until his death in 1998, his output of work was prolific. The archive is an assembly of known works and projects which are assembled on a project basis. Some project records are fuller in comparison with others, yet most provide fascinating records of his buildings, urban plans, teachings and information about his professional engagements both as an academic and a practitioner. There is extensive evidence of his achievements through awards both internationally and locally received from bodies such as the South African Institutes of Architects and Urban Designers. These include awards for early works such as the Steinkopf Community Centre, the UCT Sports Centre and the Werdmuller Centre, and later the Belhar Group Housing and Community Hall, the UWC Sports Centre, the Durban Library Complex, Salt River Community Hall, the Simonstown Garden of Remembrance, the Springfield Terraces housing in Woodstock and the Hout Bay Library, as well as smaller projects such as his own house at Kommetjie and one in Betty's Bay, amongst many others.

Along with various collaborators he entered and won a number of key competitions, most notably the competition for the design of the Durban Library Complex along with Norbert

⁴¹ Breckenridge , 2000: 2

Rozendal. His life-long contribution was recognised in a number of ways such as the Sophia Gray Memorial lecture, award and exhibition of work. Uytenbogaardt's many published works along with, most notably, David Dewar and UPRU as well as schemes for urban design projects constitute a substantial record of his urban design philosophies and practice. Key projects include: the Rand Mines Properties Project in Johannesburg, schemes for the Cape Town Foreshore, Mitchells Plain, Belhar, District Six, Salt River, Steinkopf, Hout Bay, projects for Cape Town's Olympic Bid and others at Marian Hill, the Wits Technikon, and in Luderitz in Namibia.

Through a close examination of the archive of these many projects there are noticeable design characteristics which develop over the years of his practice. Instead of presenting a comprehensive overview of Uytenbogaardt's full body of works, this thesis explores three of these projects in detail, drawing on the insights gleaned from knowledge of the complete archive.

Summary of the chapters

Following this *Introduction*, this dissertation consists of five chapters and a conclusion. Chapters One and Two consider the theoretical locations and methodological implications of the thesis project and situate this within current debates. As such they provide a contextualising role in relation to scholarship in the spatial disciplines and modernist spatial practice in particular. Chapter One, entitled *Theories and Methods*, explores the epistemological foundations of knowledge production in the spatial disciplines through a series of 'Points of Departure' for the thesis. Set against linear temporal readings of progressions over time and in relation to the dominant Western Tradition, the chapter suggests the idea of reading of the history of South African architectures and urban practices through the notion of using 'moments' as a method for close critical inquiry. It proposes that the traditional practice of reading architecture through the work of individual architects denies a more contextual, hermeneutic interpretation of the place of spatial design within broader histories of space. As literary theorist Hayden White proposed in his influential text on the 'tropics of discourse', discourses operate to define disciplinary knowledge systems and modes of representation.⁴³ An exploration of the possibilities presented by locating the work within the area of public history follows, providing a set of theoretical tools with which to view and find alternative ways of reading space. The chapter then turns to an examination of 'moments' in production of Uytenboogaardt's biography since his death. Exploring methodological questions contained in the first part of the chapter, it explores biography as a

⁴³ White, Hayden, 1978, 'Introduction: Tropology, Discourse, and the Modes of Human Consciousness', in *Tropics of Discourse, Essays in Cultural Criticism*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, London p.2

mode of production, and the production of histories. In addition questions of authorship and artistry, life and legacy are investigated through a notion of the history of an ‘active subject’.⁴⁴

Chapter Two, entitled *Modern architecture in and out of time*, considers the specific question of modernist architecture and spatial practice, using the notion of modernism ‘in and out of time’. Here I suggest that rather than a temporal passing of modernism, this form of practice exists as a continuous tradition within the spatial disciplines. Through seeking to understand the discourses that circulate about buildings, projects and cities, the chapter historicises spatial practices and presents a theory of ‘tropes of the South African landscape’.⁴⁵ By way of example, the chapter presents ten ‘moments’ of engagement reviewing select projects and themes. New projects are juxtaposed against older ones and the question of modernisms and marginality are elaborated on through a reading of power and space. It continues to theorise the notion of architectural modernism and apartheid modernities and how this might be applied to the segregationalist policies of apartheid South Africa and to spatial practice.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five present case-studies of work selected from Uytendogaardt’s body of built works, projects and writings. The general intention of case-studies is to provide in depth explorations of aspects of his architectural and urban design practice and thinking. Rather than attempting to be a comprehensive view of his work, the case studies focus on close readings of the relationship between spatial practice and notions of the ‘public sphere’.⁴⁶ This is an attempt to write about the works using a broader methodological approach rather than simply through the narrow biographical style of the architectural monograph which typically showcases an ‘oeuvre’ or ‘portfolio’ of artistic works. Through relating the archival accounts of each project’s inception and construction, the reception of these projects is considered by publics over time. The idea of the case studies as moments in the archive, when read together, is to provide a cumulative set of readings about this designer’s practice and engagement under the conditions of apartheid South Africa. Further the case studies present accounts, histories of a sort, in the present, relying on sources ranging across the archival, the published, experiential and through the actual spaces and buildings as they exist post-apartheid.

These start with Chapter Three: *Bourgeois Afrikaner publics and Uytendogaardt’s Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West* which is a detailed reading of Uytendogaardt’s first major work of architecture in South Africa, following his return from studies in Europe and the United States of America. The chapter moves to a localised historical manifestation of practice,

⁴⁴ Rassool, 2004: 12-15

⁴⁵ A version of these ideas, formulated over the period of writing this thesis are also contained in the Introduction to the edited volume *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*. (Shepherd and Murray, 2007)

⁴⁶ Fraser, Nancy, 1992, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy’ in Calhoun, C (ed), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, the MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp. 109-142

considering centrally, the project and building of the Dutch Reformed Church in the apartheid 'new town' of Welkom West. The building has been hailed his 'best work' by many – citing architectural qualities of its purity, idealism, individualism and exceptional manipulation of space, form and order. Located in the Afrikaner heart-land of the previous Orange Free State Province – the emergent new town of Welkom developed along the lines of an ideal industrialised apartheid Garden City. Through a reading of the archival account it emerges that the 'bourgeois' Afrikaner public of the church community did not share this high view of his peers and that the building – when it was finally completed- looked very different to what they had imagined. This was to become a recurrent theme in his architectural work.

Chapter Four, entitled *Belhar Housing: 'Coloured' Publics and 'Urban Problems'* follows, and considers Uytendogaardt's larger-scale urban design practice, which he turned to in earnest after the negative public reception of the Werdmuller Centre in the 1970s. (Werdmuller Centre is the subject of the case study contained in Chapter Five). This body of work also marked the beginnings of the Urban Problems Research Unit UPRU and collaboration with planner David Dewar at the University of Cape Town. The Belhar Housing project formed part of the Chamber of Commerce's Group Housing Projects, and was designed in two phases with a later project for a community hall in the 1980s. At the time of its initial design, it was a project of envisioning the space of a coloured Group Area in Cape Town in the 1970s. This was also of course, historically, the time of forced removals and the mass relocation of people to the Cape Flats and after the nation-wide Schools Boycotts and uprisings of 1976.

The last chapter, Chapter Five, entitled *Wishing Werdmuller Away: Fear and Loathing in Lower Claremont*, centres on the recent contestation over the future of the Werdmuller Centre in Claremont in Cape Town. Designed by Uytendogaardt in the late 1970s – a time of the 'white South African dream' – it was developed despite broader uncertainties in South Africa. In the suburb of Claremont, forced removals in the 1960s had changed the demographic patterns of life in the area and the strip along the Main Road was envisioned as white commercial space. The chapter traces the proposed demolition of this building at the current time and studies the responses from architects and others. Through this contestation – where architects are strongly in favour of the retention of the building, and public interest is more ambivalent -modern architecture slips into the category of 'heritage' in the post-apartheid public sphere. Options for redevelopment have subsequently been presented by the commercial architects appointed to redesign the site and modified in response to the architects' objections to total demolition. Here architects are set against urban publics and the debate that emerges around retention, partial demolition and destruction serves to polarise this split. At the time of writing and with the global

economic downturn, the owners of the building, a major local insurance house, have shelved redevelopment.

Lastly, in the *Conclusion*, the thesis reflects on the role and significance of work produced both in practice as well as in the academy. In a consideration of the space of the 'post colony', I have attempted to think through possibilities for new forms of practice and production which are more broadly and critically informed towards opening up debate in the spatial disciplines, beyond the modern.

University of Cape Town

Chapter One. Theories and Methods

...the architect should be placed in another category- which is not to say that he is totally foreign to the organisation, the implementation, and all the techniques of power that are exercised in a society. I would say that one must take him- his mentality, his attitude- into account as well as his projects, in order to understand a certain number of the techniques of power that are invested in architecture...¹

Michel Foucault's suggestion contained in the extract above is a reminder of the complex interplay between the agency of the architect and objects of his creation. He calls for a consideration of 'the architect' to be placed in 'another category' and alludes to the need for a shift in scholarship about the making of space towards a more subjective understanding of both the sites of disciplinary production and the producers of projects. In other words, in order to understand the operations of power at play in the making of buildings and spaces, one might read this as a call for a mode of investigation in which the active subject is pushed up against concrete realities, where projects are viewed through a method which links the biographical subject to a critique of the operations of discipline. Here the technocratic and the personal become intertwined sets of relations operating in the field of spatial production.

This relational link takes as its starting point the assumption embodied in the Foucauldian notion of 'knowledge construction'. For Foucault knowledge is 'produced' rather than simply empirical or factual. The ideas of construction and production imply a methodological shift towards understanding the spatial disciplines as forms of social practice embedded in broader political and economic contexts. In this manner an understanding of the emergence of modern architecture and planning in South Africa which correspond to a reading of amongst other factors, the rise of Afrikaner nationalist identity, become possible. In post-apartheid South Africa a time has been reached where the projects of modernism are in need of critical assessment. This is in part because, in the spatial disciplines, no systematic reflection has been considered but also because in the current context continuous forms of modernism still inform spatial design and practice.

As James Scott has argued, high-modernism was about 'interests as well as faith'. He asserts that:

Its carriers, even when they were capitalist entrepreneurs, required state action to realize their plans. In most cases, they were powerful officials and heads of state. They tended to prefer certain forms of social organisation (such as huge dams, centralized communication and transportation hubs, large factories and farms and grid cities_ , because these forms fit snugly into a high-modernist view and also answered their political interests as state officials.

¹ Foucault, Michel and Faubion, James. D. (Ed.), trans. R. Hurley et al, 1994, *Power*, Penguin, London.

Like any ideology, high modernism had a particular temporal and social context. Not surprisingly, its most fertile social soil was to be found amongst planners, engineers, architects, scientists and technicians whose skills and status celebrated the designers of the new order. High-modernist faith was no respecter of traditional political boundaries; it could be found across the political spectrum from left to right but particularly among those who wanted to use state power to bring about huge utopian changes in peoples' work habits, living patterns, moral conduct, and worldview.²

The case of South Africa under apartheid is a form of what Scott terms 'late colonial rule'. In such cases, he suggests, the particular context provided the capacity for large scale social engineering. High-modernism provided the desire, and the authoritarian state, the determination to act on that desire, while 'an incapacitated civil society provides the levelled social terrain on which to build.'³

Points of Departure

The central methodological intention of this thesis is to explore notions of the production of the biographical subject in relation to a critique of the operations of discipline. In the case of scholarship in South Africa this is a relatively 'untried approach'. As Nick Shepherd has suggested about archaeology, this 'is a tricky business, a mixture of review and critique, a form of polemic with a predictive twist. In the case of archaeology there is the added complication, or interest, in that the genre remains a relatively untried one.'⁴ Citing the discipline of social anthropology which advertised its reflexive turn as early as the mid-1980s, he writes that archaeologists, much like architects, planners and urban designers - with some important exceptions - have remained generally resistant to the forms of sustained and critical self-examination. Following Shepherd's line of assessing the 'state of the discipline' in archaeology, parallels in approaches to methodology and theory from broader interdisciplinary readings have informed some points of departure for this thesis. Shepherd asserts that he takes it as axiomatic that:

...disciplines tend to naturalise their own practices, and, to a certain extent, their own histories. The particular challenge the reviewer faces lies in recovering a sense of the constructedness of knowledge within the discipline. There is nothing natural or inevitable about the construction of new knowledge, far less so in the case of new knowledge about the past.⁵

Referring to Foucault's writings in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* he reminds us that, 'it is not easy to say something new; it is not enough to open one's eyes, to pay attention, to be aware, for

² Scott, James, 1998, 'Introduction' to *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale University Press, p.4-5

³ Scott, 1998: 5

⁴ Shepherd, Nick, 2003, 'State of the Discipline: Science, Culture and Identity in South African Archaeology, 1870-2003' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), Taylor & Francis, Ltd.pp. 823-844

⁵ Shepherd, 2003: 827

new objects suddenly to light up and emerge out of the ground'. Rather, such knowledge is produced, as he puts it, under certain 'conditions' and 'relations', where these relations 'are established between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, (and) modes of characterisation'.⁶

A first point of departure for this study has been an exploration of the well known relationship in social theory between 'structure and agency'. Two major explorations of this relationship are contained in the works of sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu and sociologist Anthony Giddens.⁷ Their work considers agency, formulated as the capacity of human subjects to engage in social action against social structure. For both scholars social structure includes an understanding of both patterns of distribution of material resources and systems of classification and meaning. In their works, social structure encompasses the works produced by Marx, Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss. Bourdieu and Giddens share the insight that the social structure as such has no reality apart from its materialization through the agency of particular human beings. For Bourdieu this is viewed as 'practice', while for Giddens this is 'action'. In turn practice and action, formulated in this manner, create and reproduce the structure in which such practices and actions are located.⁸

Their writings diverge, however, in their assessment of the importance of conscious intention in the reproduction of the social structure. The main difference between the accounts of Bourdieu and Giddens lies in the relative significance that each gives to the conscious intentions of social actors. For Giddens, actors are reflexive; they have the capacity to reflect on their actions and their identities, and to act according to their intentions. The reflexivity of actors is an aspect of social action, and, consequently part of structuration. In the work of Bourdieu, conscious reflection on one's habitus is a possibility, but not a usual part of social process. For Giddens, in contrast, reflexivity is an essential and potentially transformative element of social process. In considering the life and work of Uytendogaardt, the formulation of the theories around structure and agency have a particular usefulness as a way of connecting methods of life writing and the production of biography with the technological engagement and material practices.

A second point of departure in the context of this thesis is the exploration of what I have called the 'work of biography' which occurs in a number of ways. This centres on considerations of biographical production within the spatial disciplines. It takes the ideas suggested by historian Ciraj Rassool in his work entitled *The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa* in

⁶ Shepherd, 2003: 827

⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre, (translated by Richard Nice) 1990, *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
Giddens, Anthony, 1979, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, University of California Press.

⁸ Bourdieu, 1990. Giddens, 1979

which he investigated ways in which to ‘to produce an approach to biography which seeks a theory of discursive practice rather than a theory of the knowing subject.’⁹ Methodologically, Rassool’s approach intentionally ‘moves away from an “unmediated and transparent notion of the subject or identity as the centred author of social practice” In this paradigm, the subject is not abolished or abandoned, but acquires a decentred or displaced position.’¹⁰ He further usefully poses (after Stuart Hall) that the question of identification becomes a key means through which such a work might begin to ‘rearticulate the relationship between subjects and discursive practices’ – or in my own formulation between modern architecture and what I have called ‘apartheid modernities’.¹¹ Rassool proposes that such an approach to methodology enables authors to create a ‘framework’ through which the binaries of ‘the individual’ and ‘social process’ can open up ways of understanding life histories and histories more generally as acts of production.¹²

Conventional biographic modes within architecture, through what is known as the Architectural Monograph, present a biographic method much focused on the body of work of an individual, usually reflecting on a long life of architectural production through practice, presented in a hagiographic way and accompanied by a ‘portfolio’ of his ‘oeuvre’ of works. Instead of this standard biographic approach I have focused on ways of narrating the productions of Uytendogaardt and locating these within a critique of the conventions of the discipline.¹³

Rassool’s work has emerged within the particular local field of study of Public History in South Africa, which is a third point of departure for this thesis. Writing in the November 2008 edition of the journal *Kronos*, Rassool and colleague Leslie Witz – themselves two key figures locally in the project of Public History - reflect on assertions made with colleague Gary Minkley almost ten years ago in 1999.¹⁴ In the article entitled *Making Histories*, Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool refer to a sense of ‘defying the conventions of historiography’, when they wrote that ‘a *historiographical rupture* had occurred in South Africa in the 1990’s.’ They referred to the modes of academic production employed in the post-apartheid period which focussed on a ‘history from below’ approach. They wrote: ‘We referred to a ‘break with the positivist methods, hierarchical

⁹Rassool, Ciraj, 2004, *The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa*, a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of the Western Cape, May 2004, p. 12

¹⁰ Rassool, 2004:12

¹¹ Rassool, 2004:12

¹² Rassool, 2004:15

¹³ Murray, N, 2007, ‘Review: Roelof Uytendogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless’, Editor Giovanni Vio Publisher: Il Poligrafo’, in *Architecture South Africa*, the Journal of the South African Institute of Architects, July /August 2007 p.92

¹⁴ Witz, Leslie and Rassool, Ciraj, 2008, ‘Making Histories’, in *Kronos: Southern African Histories*, Published by the Department of History and Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, 34 November 2009, pp 6-15

knowledge sequences and narrative forms of academic history’, and that ‘the landscape of history’ had shifted ‘from bringing the agency and experiences of the under classes into the purview of the academy – so much the terrain of social historians – to making visible and visual the representations of productions in public domains.’¹⁵

Another member of this group, writing in the same edition of the journal, is Premesh Lalu whose paper *When was South African history ever postcolonial?* argues for engaging the manifold and multiple ways in which apartheid pasts have been created. Through a call for a sustained theory and practice that might enable what Stuart Hall has called a ‘thinking at the limit’, Lalu suggests the need for finding new ways of constructing scholarly thinking which is properly postcolonial and not merely temporally located as post-colonial or post-apartheid.¹⁶

A fourth point of departure raises questions about the nature, form and construction of the archives of space. This occurs directly through interrogating the in-depth engagement that I have had with the construction, collection and assimilation of the Roelof Sarel Uytendogaardt papers housed in the Architectural Collections in the University of Cape Town Library’s Department of Manuscripts and Archives. It also occurs more indirectly through engaging a set of questions about the notion of the archive. Speaking at a seminar entitled *Archive Fever in South Africa* at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1998, at which Jacques Derrida was present - Sue van Zyl’s opening remarks to her talk entitled *Psychoanalysis and the Archive: Derrida’s Archive Fever* reminds us:

If the concept of archive ever was an untroubled one, it certainly is no longer so. Postmodernism and deconstruction have made sure of that. What the archive is, how it works and in which ways it may be reconfigured are all questions that the elaborate, intertextual thought of our times tackles with characteristic self-consciousness and often unashamed opacity.¹⁷

Commenting more practically on the shift in the methodological use of the archive in contemporary scholarship, Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid, writing in the Introduction to ‘Refiguring the Archive’, explain the influence of the Foucauldian insights contained in *Archaeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language*. ‘Michel Foucault’s engagement with archive is not simply institution, but rather the law of what can be said, the systems of statements, or rules of practice, that give shape to what can and cannot be said and that

¹⁵ Witz and Rassool, 2008: 6

¹⁶ Lalu, Premesh, 2008, ‘When was South African history ever postcolonial?’, in *Kronos: Southern African Histories*, Published by the Department of History and Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, 34 November 2009, pp. 276-281

¹⁷ Van Zyl, Sue, 2002, ‘Psychoanalysis and the Archive: Derrida’s *Archive Fever*’, in Hamilton, Caroline; Harris, Verne; Taylor, Jane; Reid, Graeme and Saleh, Razia, (eds) *Refiguring the Archive*, David Phillip, Cape Town, pp 39-60

archives are often both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power'.¹⁸ They explain:

Historians and other scholars are increasingly concerned to understand how knowledge of the past is produced. Where previously historians 'mined' the archives for 'nuggets' of fact in a manner conscious of problems of bias in the record, today scholars pay greater attention to the particular processes by which the record was produced and subsequently shaped, both before and after its entry into the archive, and increasingly as part of the archival record.¹⁹

Why then is it a good idea to look at archives as part of scholarship in the spatial disciplines? One reason is that unlike in many studies of buildings and spaces where the emphasis of writing is on the finished product, considering archives of the producers of space gives insight into the unfinished processes in the making of space. Exploring these processes, as the authors above remind us, allows for an understanding of how built projects get situated in society. This necessarily has to do with labour, the work of production. Through tracing what happens in a building project, rather than simply observing it in its concrete realisation, the space is opened up for speculation about the intellectual contours of projects, from idea to built form. In this way scholarship in and of the built environment disciplines may be seen in a process of becoming a form of social history and not just appreciated in abstraction for its visual and spatial attributes. This a major point made by Michel De Certeau between the material and the conceptual in his essay *Walking the City*.²⁰ One might say that in this approach the material is forced up against the conceptual and the architectural idea is forced up against social realities. As I have argued elsewhere previously, in most local scholarship in the spatial disciplines and in particular the study of architects by architects the effects of apartheid are ignored.²¹ Such work takes architecture out of history except perhaps for a narrow, self-referential history of the discipline. This thesis argues that there is not a clear divide between the history of architecture and history of society, and that while architects, planners and urban designers clearly intervene in spatial environments, they are also removed.

The particular components contained in the archives of architectural practices include records contained in what is often referred to as the 'Job Files' for each project. Of all the items – some standard to these archives and others more miscellaneous and personal – the job files enable

¹⁸ Hamilton, Caroline; Harris, Verne; Taylor, Jane; Reid, Graeme and Saleh, Razia, (eds) 2002 'Introduction' in *Refiguring the Archive*, David Phillip, Cape Town, pp. 7-18

¹⁹ Hamilton *et al*, 2002: 9

²⁰ De Certeau, Michel (translated by Steven Rendall), 1984, 'Walking in the City' Chapter VII in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkley, Los Angeles, London, pp. 91-110

²¹ Murray, N, 2006. 'Reframing the "contemporary"', architecture and the postcolony' in Deckler, T., Graupner, A. and Rasmuss, H. (eds) *Contemporary Architecture in a Landscape of Transition*, Double Storey, Cape Town, pp. 4-8

the construction of a reading of how plans intersect with the archives. Architectural collections typically are focussed on the individual and follow the structure of the chronology of a life in practice, in which the remnants of built projects are collated alongside often quite ephemeral bits and pieces of the architects' life interests.²² To a large extent architectural archives are limited as they contain material of a technocratic nature (technical specifications, working drawings, job files and details of building contracts etc) and interpretation of these knowledge bases are restricted by disciplinary methods of writing.

In contrast to the prevailing trends, in much architectural writing where there is an assumption that 'buildings speak' through their finished plans and built structures, the methodological basis of this thesis has been that of attempting to 'write differently' about the producers and products of space making through a close engagement with archive. Here the constituent components of archive like the 'job file' move from the evidentiary space of fact into a conceptual space as they give content to the 'invisible' work of production.

My final, major point of departure for this thesis follows from this. If as outlined above, for the architect the idea is origin, and the built form its product, I am suggesting that much spatial scholarship misses the work of production by simply focussing on the finished product as object. The process of becoming which starts with the idea and results in the built manifestation suggests the need for a broader intellectual project, or in Pierre Bourdieu's terms, a wider 'field' of cultural production.²³

My interest in this thesis project has been in relation to the need to find ways of writing about a field of study that is characterised by practice rather than scholarly writing. Typically, as described previously, writing in the spatial disciplines has focused on the building or urban design as object, rather than as social process. This is not surprising given the strong focus on practice. However a project of review (in the academic sense of reviewing the literatures) is not easy as there is very little by way of formal scholarly critique or historiography. There are, for example, very few up-to-date, in-print publications available on South African architecture and much of the historiography is in urgent need of revision to bring it into line with contemporary discourses of space which have circulated in the Humanities for at least the last twenty years. Further, much of the documentation –drawings, papers, reports – is disappearing as people do not see it as having any historical value, and there is no official policy in place for the archiving of

²² Hart, 2003:1-9

²³ Bourdieu, 1993

modern and especially apartheid planning documentation.²⁴ The establishment of the Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt Collection, lodged at the University of Cape Town Libraries' Department of Manuscripts and Archives' Architectural Collections, signals a shift away from established collection practices as the papers contained in the collection go beyond the simple assemblage of drawings to include a wider set of personal and professional papers. This thesis is an attempt at a reading of this archive in order to explore the social histories of buildings and projects.²⁵

What has emerged through the time of this research is that, in order to present the state of debate in architecture, there is the need to constitute a field of architectural production for review. This conceptualisation is after Pierre Bourdieu's useful formulation in his series of essays entitled *The Field of Cultural Production: essays on art and literature*.²⁶ In these writings Bourdieu's most important writings on art, literature and aesthetics are brought together. The works develop a highly original approach to the study of literary and artistic works, addressing many of the key issues that have preoccupied literary, art and cultural criticism in the late twentieth century, including: aesthetic value and judgement, the social contexts of cultural practice, the role of intellectuals and artists, and the structures of literary and artistic authority.

Importantly, Bourdieu elaborates a theory of the cultural field which situates artistic works within the social conditions of their production, circulation and consumption. He examines the individuals in institutions involved in making products - not only the writers and artists, but also the publishers, critics, dealers, galleries and academies. He analyses the structure of the cultural field itself, as well as its position within the broader social structures of power.

Applying this to a project of inquiry into the archive of Roelof Uytenbogaardt, has been a process of setting out to constitute this field. Here, the notion of texts has to be taken in its broadest sense to include a reading of popular and professional writings as well as drawings, models, exhibits and actual buildings and space.²⁷ In addition, despite the new calls for African architectures, the domain of architectural history and theory is intimately connected with the development of the discipline and its attendant discourses through the Western Tradition. Set against the many new texts available in the discipline internationally that attempt to integrate social theory into architectural studies, local writings appear somewhat removed despite the years since democracy in 1994. This is evident in many ways, but perhaps most noticeably through the

²⁴ For an in-depth examination of this see: Murray, N.F, 2000, *The Architectural documentation Project*, Project proposal: NRF Team Project.

²⁵ *Index Guide to the Roelof S. Uytenbogaardt Collection*, BC1264. (See: Appendix to this thesis).

²⁶ Bourdieu, 1993

²⁷ Markus, Thomas. A, and Cameron, Deborah, 2002, *The Words Between the Spaces: Buildings and Language*, Routledge ArchiText Series, London and New York.

persistent and strong referential dependency on the work of local architects on work from countries in Western Europe and the USA. This direct line of influence (and reference) goes beyond the stylistic and, as I suggest in this thesis, also reinforces lines of elitism and power that are created and maintained as the ‘tropes’ of space-making within contemporary practice which are presented in Chapter Two.

This thesis argues that perhaps it is time to begin considering the finer points of definition within the canon of architectural knowledge and rethinking the categories we conveniently and unknowingly use. But for now the domain of architectural theory remains firmly set within the Western canon and as a reviewer in the field, one has to accept that there is a need to explore the finer points of knowledge production within a historical context established outside of the spatial disciplines, in the Humanities. Through considering repositioning scholarship in the spatial disciplines through an expanded reading of built form, contained in this thesis - variously in the sections on the ‘work of biography’, the critiques of modernism, and the ‘tropes of space making’ discussed in Chapter Two - the constructedness of the space of scholarship is considered as both material and conceptual.

Five moments in the production of life in death

Since Uytenbogaardt’s death in 1998, his biography has been produced and reproduced in many forms. The ‘moments’ of production explored in the remainder of this chapter, occurring after his death, act as exemplars of the discourses that circulate around his life and work. Throughout this thesis the idea of exploring ‘moments’ (as opposed to assembling whole histories or producing complete chronologies) has been used as a means to pause, and look more closely at instances of practice. Moments, in this conceptualisation, are diagnostic allowing a reading of Uytenbogaardt and his work ‘in and out’ of history. Moments also perform the work of note-taking, of providing markers in the archive, rather than as acts of full representation. Why then is the moment of death and the events and actions following this useful to mark? What happens before, around and after the death?

Before his death Roelof Uytenbogaardt was a controversial figure. The recent contestation over the future of the Werdmuller Centre has alerted us to this.²⁸ Despite being revered during his life time by colleagues and peers (many of whom remain faithful followers) there remains a residue of the contempt with which he was held after the construction of his early works in Cape Town. Buildings such as the UCT Sports Centre and the Werdmuller Centre are two of the most striking examples whose presence in the city of Cape Town mobilized strong negative sentiment

²⁸ See Chapter Five of this thesis.

towards the architect. In other places such as Steinkopf in the Northern Cape and in the housing schemes he designed at Belhar his architecture is hated.²⁹ However in death, a certain anonymity has occurred, where his name is not quite so readily attached to his built works, which continue to evoke strong emotions in architects' and publics' minds alike. In certain spaces his work has now been positively received outside of the disciplines. In moves inconceivable before his death he was hailed 'Architect of the Century' by the *Financial Mail* (1999). In 2007 his work was featured in the fashionable spaces of popular magazines such as *Elle Decoration* and *One Small Seed*, and his popularity was hailed through the social networking website Facebook and in Blogs.³⁰ At the same time, in architectural and urban design circles his status has been elevated to that of a 'Master'.³¹

As Louise Green and I have explored elsewhere:

History records the lives of populations – their migrations, their actions, their work and the arrangement and transformations of their social configuration. What happens after life has ended has traditionally been the domain of religion. History, at its most literal, ends with death or perhaps more accurately, at the moment of death a split occurs between the symbolic life especially of public figures which might continue indefinitely and the actual death, the corpse, the material trace.³²

Some of the most significant biographical presences of Uytendogaardt's existence have been produced since his death in 1998. Occurring both within and outside of the academy, his life and work have become the basis for the production of memory. The five 'moments' considered below focus on the events and debates around his funeral and obituary, the constitution of the archive of his work and the creation of his monograph and the calls for the preservation of what is probably his most controversial work, the Werdmuller Centre in Cape Town's suburb of Claremont.

1. funeral

The first moment in the enactment in the production of Uytendogaardt's life in death occurred at his funeral. Uytendogaardt died in 1998 after battling pancreatic cancer for six months. The news

²⁹ See Chapter Four of this thesis.

³⁰ Stafford, Linda, 1999, 'Architect of the Century: Roelof Uytendogaardt pushed design beyond the ordinary – quality buildings for poor communities', in *Financial Mail*, 17 December 1999. Nassimbeni, Lorenzo, 'Architecture: Werdmuller', in *One Small Seed* 09, Part 1. 'Save the Werdmuller' in *Elle Decoration*, 30 November 2007 <http://elledecoration.co.za/2007/11/save-the-werdmuller/>. Facebook Groups: 'Save the Werdmuller' and 'Keep the Werdmuller.' Blogspot: <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/> (last accessed 11 February 2010, 9h40)

³¹ This notion was articulated at the first meeting at the CIFA by David Dewar (Heritage Impact Assessment Presentation, Wednesday 5 December 2007 held at the CIFA). See: Robinson, Laura, 2009, *The Challenges Facing Modernism in South Africa – How Can We Protect the Legacy?* Conference paper, for Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites AICOMOS, Sydney, from 7-10 July 2009, p.6,7. Also, on the Werdmuller 'Blogspot' by Martin Kruger, Quinton Pop, Rafael Marks, Suzi Hall and Dr. Matthew Barac, http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/2008_01_01_archive.html (last accessed 11 February 2010, 9h40)

³² Green, Louise and Murray, Noëleen, 2009, 'Notes for a Guide to the Ossuary' in *African Studies*, 68, 3, December 2009, pp.370-386

of his illness was not only a personal shock for him and his family, but also for his colleagues, peers and students. At the time he was still active in practice and colleagues at the School of Architecture and Planning had just motivated for a continued appointment at the University based on his pre-eminent status in the field of urban design. In a flurry to recognize his contribution to the spatial disciplines while he was terminally ill, members of the Institute of Architecture rallied round to award him its highest prize, the Gold Medal. In a packed-to-capacity event held at the National Gallery in Cape Town, he delivered a lecture outlining his philosophy of ‘An Architecture of Discovery’. In this, probably his last public appearance, frail and noticeably ill, he nevertheless managed to captivate his audience with his strong rhetoric and firmly held beliefs about the making of architecture and urban space, as he had done throughout his career. Despite colleague Derek Japha’s optimistic speculation about Uytendogaardt’s future work, most knew this was a final moment in the performance of his professional life.³³

Accounts of his funeral, held soon after the Gold Medal Award event at the Dutch Reformed Church in Wynberg in Cape Town, attest to the significant tensions around the narrations and claims to Uytendogaardt’s biography. Much like the Gold Medal Award evening, the service was well attended. Family and friends and many of those who were present at the National Gallery were there to support his wife and daughters. In the imposing and austere space of the Wynberg Church, an early Dutch period building which (in 1898) was remodelled in keeping with late 19th century developments in Cape, the congregation, family, friends, colleagues and students assembled were seated around the pulpit space.³⁴ The service, conducted in both Afrikaans and English, followed the high conventions of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church where the narratives of anti-Enlightenment doctrine - by all accounts a ‘hell fire sermon’ –were vehemently forced into a biographical narrative of Uytendogaardt.³⁵ For many of his peers from the English speaking liberal University of Cape Town and in practice, this was an unfamiliar account of the man and many found it profoundly disturbing, particularly the harsh moralistic undertones characteristic of the Dutch Reformed Church’s form of service. Dominee Erasmus’ account of Uytendogaardt’s life included a narration of the recovery of Uytendogaardt as an Afrikaner subject during his period of illness. Friends such as Moyle do not believe that there was such a reconciliation, citing that he believed Uytendogaardt ‘would not have gone back on the

³³ Japha, Derek, 1998, *Citation for Roelof Uytendogaardt at SAIA Gold Medal Awards Ceremony*, National Gallery 1998. Japha Derek, 1998, *Text from introduction to Talk by Roelof Uytendogaardt* on the occasion of his receipt of the Institute of Architects’ Gold Medal Award, South African National Gallery, unpublished courtesy of the author.

³⁴ Radford, Dennis, 1979, *The architecture of the Western Cape, 1838 to 1901: a study of the impact of Victorian aesthetics and technology on South African architecture*, 2 Vols. (Microfiche copy UCT Rare Books), p.198

³⁵ Accounts of the service in conversation at the time with Mike Smuts, David Dewar, Julian Cooke, John Moyle and others.

liberalisation he had achieved in his lifetime.³⁶ Whether this reconciliation with the Dutch reformed Church occurred or not, it served to underline the contradictions that remained present in Uytenbogaardt's life right until the end. Much to the disappointment of his peers his professional life was glossed over and some felt a sense of alienation from the person with whom they had previously been a close friend.

This event, or at least its articulation in the public space of the funeral, revealed the deep contradictions which characterised Uytenbogaardt's personal life. Uytenbogaardt's private life was full of contradictions. He was born to Afrikaans working class parents in Cape Town in the 1930's. His parents were devout Christians and active members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Central to his early life was a set of strict Calvinist principles which he intermittently deviated from and returned to at different periods of his life. In 1948, by the time he had finished school, South Africa was under the Afrikaner Nationalist Government and it had begun to implement its race based philosophy of separate development under what became known as Apartheid.

Uytenbogaardt's ambitions to become an architect took him away from his home and exposed him to a set of experiences that heightened the contradictions with his early life. These internal conflicts intensified over his life as he entered the English speaking world to study architecture in Cape Town, and later as he embarked on studies in Rome and the USA where he encountered new institutional contexts. After completing his architectural studies, Uytenbogaardt went to Rome on a prestigious scholarship to the British School and then went on to study under one of the foremost modernist masters, Louis Kahn. Later while working for the Boston Town Council he continued to search out a location, in which he could find congruence between his professional interests and his personal yearning for South Africa. Themes of conflict and changing identifications pervaded his life and on his return to South Africa, along with his wife Marianne, he 'turned his back' on a promising international career in order to make sense of his own loyalties to his country, family and faith.

At the time of his death, the biographical tensions present between Uytenbogaardt's personal life and career existed in stark contrast and almost in absolute separation, strongly influenced on the one hand professionally by international contexts of modernist design, and on the other intimately tied to his sense of Afrikaner identity and family. A central factor throughout his life however was the need for adherence and loyalty to a set of life principles much like those which had influenced his early life. Moyle believes that 'his Platonism (for he claimed to be a Platonist) was a Christian Platonism – that was the bridge between the Calvinist principles and his approach

³⁶ Interview with John Moyle, January 2010

to design'.³⁷ Uytendogaardt constructed his own doctrines to live by, often imposing the strict principles of this childhood, translated into architectural and urban principles.

2. obituary

Following soon after the funeral, a second moment in the biographic rendering of Uytendogaardt's life was produced by colleague Fabio Todeschini. One version of this appeared in the form of an obituary in the University of Cape Town's Staff Publication, the *Monday Paper*.³⁸ Another unauthored version, almost identical in its text, was published in the journal *Architect and Builder* in June 1998.³⁹ Obituaries are a curious form of life-writing, which emerge some time soon after the event of death, yet prior to full memorialisation. The word, from the Latin *obitus* has the following dictionary definition:

1. (*n.*) A list of the dead, or a register of anniversary days when service is performed for the dead.
2. (*n.*) That which pertains to, or is called forth by, the obit or death of a person; esp., an account of a deceased person; a notice of the death of a person, accompanied by a biographical sketch.⁴⁰

Somehow expanding on funereal acts - such spoken tributes and at times epitaphs - the role of the obituary remains one of putting a life to rest, in a formal public sense. It exists at the nexus between a life lived and the relegation of the person's life to the space of memory. Obituaries are also curious because of the narrative form they take, communicating or notifying broad public (as in the case of the University community) of a death, they often signify the start of processes of legacy making.

Todeschini's obituary, written following the standard conventions, presented a chronological narrative setting out the hagiographic field:

Roelof Uytendogaardt was almost without peers in South Africa. He was both urban theorist and practitioner and repeatedly and incisively defined problems, advanced propositions, design frameworks and solutions.⁴¹

It described the trajectory of his professional life and celebrated his professional achievements and contribution to both the academy and the spatial disciplines. Starting with his birth in Cape Town, on the 23 June 1933, he describes Uytendogaardt as 'a person widely held to have had unusual ability by his peers'. It then follows with an account of his student years at UCT where

³⁷ Moyle, 2010

³⁸ Todeschini, Fabio 1998, 'Uytendogaardt - a great South African architect-urbanist', in *Monday Paper* Vol 17 No 18 June 22 - 29, 1998.

³⁹ Unauthored, 1998, 'Roelof Uytendogaardt' in *Architect and Builder*, June 1998, pp.28-29

⁴⁰ Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1968.

⁴¹ Todeschini, 1998

soon after his graduation with a Bachelor of Architecture degree in 1956, awarded with distinction for his design thesis, he won the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Rome Scholarship in competition with young architects from across the British Commonwealth. This was a major moment in Uytendogaardt's life which made headline news in the Cape Town newspaper *Die Burger*, and a time-yellowed copy of the road-side headline hung in Uytendogaardt's Wynberg studio pronouncing 'Jong Kaapenaar behaal wêreld prestasie' ('Young Capetonian achieves world prestige') (Figure 7). Todeschini continues to describe his time in Rome and at the University of Pennsylvania where he completed his Master of Architecture and Master of City Planning degree in 1961, receiving an American Institute of Planners' Award for academic achievement.

After this an account is given of his return to South Africa in 1963, where he became 'the senior partner in a series of practices undertaking architecture, urban design and city planning work, and he started teaching part-time at UCT in the same year'. He then described Uytendogaardt's promotions to Senior Lecturer (1967) and Professor and Head of the City Planning and Urban Design programme (1970) at the UCT School of Architecture and Planning. For Todeschini, his achievements were 'prodigious', citing a productive career over thirty years in which 'his practices encompassed nearly 70 buildings and unbuilt architectural projects'.

Following this, Todeschini describes the many awards Uytendogaardt received over his lifetime culminating in the Gold Medal of the South African Institute of Architects, their highest honour, in recognition of his lifelong contribution to architecture, and his Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns award of a Medal of Honour for Architecture. Moving onto a description of Uytendogaardt's 'dedicated and inspirational' contributions to architectural and planning education internationally, and his publications with peers David Dewar and the UPRU group, he noted the 'far-reaching influence' of their writings on 'past and present national debates about the desirable spatial form of the South African city of the future'.⁴² Lastly he described Uytendogaardt's autobiographical exhibition for the Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture and the inclusion of built works as part of the millennium publication, *Architecture 2000*.

The biographical component of any obituary is, inevitably, selective and formal concentrating on public representations of life achievements. Todeschini's rendering of Uytendogaardt generally follows this form. There is no mention of the personal dimensions of Uytendogaardt's life, his wife or family. Yet he does hint at the slippage between the formal account and some of the controversies that surrounded Uytendogaardt's work, in the line: 'From

⁴² The Publications of UPRU are extensive, see References and Sources for the key publications by Dewar and Uytendogaardt and discussions in the case-studies in Chapters Three, Four and Five of this thesis.

his earliest buildings, his work attracted the attention and admiration of his peers, and at times provoked debate and controversy'.⁴³

In other cases there has been a slippage between the formal and personal narrations of a life. This is illustrated most strikingly in the fascinating re-narration of Louis Kahn's life by his illegitimate son Nathaniel Kahn in the 2003 feature film entitled *My Architect*. This film explores complex personal dimensions of Louis Kahn's life through an exploration of his buildings. Reviewing the film for the *New York Times* Herbert Muschamp writes: 'I have never seen or read a more penetrating account of the inner life of an architect — or of architecture itself — than that presented in this movie.'⁴⁴ Here is an instance in which the movie reveals a story which is totally silent in the formal obituary. Kahn's obituary published in the *New York Times* mentions his wife Esther and their daughter as his family. In reality Kahn had three different families with three different women. Nathaniel Kahn's film poignantly chronicles a personal search for the father he tragically hardly knew. While this dimension is the central point of the film, the intriguing parts were the shifts in the narration of Louis Kahn's professional life by colleagues interviewed, architectural contemporaries such as Edward Bacon, Balkrishna Doshi, Philip Johnson, Robert Stern, and Frank Gehry. The personal re-readings of Khan in the film somehow opened up subtly different lines of recollection and analysis of his role as a figure in the world of architecture than previously available in the many publications on his life and work.

3. archive

A third significant moment in the production of Uytendogaardt has been the constitution of his archive, a process that began at his own request before his death, but only really took form after his death in 1999. Occasioned at his wife Marianne's request, the University of Cape Town was asked to remove his papers from his studio which he had built at the back of his house in Wynberg. This was a physical challenge of note which in which I was closely involved, along with Lesley Hart who is the Head of the Department of Manuscripts and Archives at UCT's Libraries, and colleagues Piet Louw and Derek Japha. The studio had remained locked and untouched since his death and when we started clearing it and we were acutely aware of its biographical importance as a space. Uytendogaardt's desk, and the desk of his colleague Norbert Rozendal (who had died a few years previously), remained untouched as they were in their lives. Personal effects, the tools of the trade – pens, stencils, scale rules, measuring tapes, job files,

⁴³ Todeschini, 1998

⁴⁴ Muschamp, Herbert, 2003, 'When the Ultimate Monument isn't a Building', Review of the Film: *My Architect*, *New York Times*, November 9, 2003, viewed at: www.myarchitectfilm.com/reviews/nytimes.html (last accessed 22 January 2010 11h52).

correspondence – personal and professional, sketches and large size working drawings, models, diaries and books, were all scattered across the space. This along with iconic architectural furniture, artworks, and remnants of other interests such as the bicycles which hang from the ceilings and the Citroën Pallas in the garage adjacent to the studio, made up the general atmosphere of the space.

For days we laboured in clearing the space and making decisions about whether personal effects should be part of the archive or returned to the family. We were careful to record the location in the space where papers and effects were taken from, and the space was photographed as a record of the whole (Figures 8-10). Decisions had to be made about the housing of the book collection and about the handling and transportation of delicate drawings and the large photographic collection in slide format. Some personal correspondence was returned to the family, and books from his library were listed by architectural journalist Jean Nuttall after which they were moved to the library Uytenbogaardt had built at his retirement house in nearby Kommetjie, where the idea was that scholars could visit his library.⁴⁵ Lastly there was the question of the architectural models, which UCT's library would battle to house. Lesley Hart's conference paper considering the importance of architectural collections as heritage resources, presented in Mozambique in 2003, refers:

Models are also important parts of project design, but bring with them significant problems of space and preservation. For these reasons, and because we focus primarily on paper, electronic and audiovisual media, we do not include these in our collections at UCT.⁴⁶

Following this, efforts were made to try and house these models. Deputations were made to UCT's Registrar and the National Gallery was approached to consider housing these as art objects. During this time, it also emerged that there were other sites around the University where more of Uytenbogaardt's drawings, papers and his exhibition were stored, and then there was his office in the School of Architecture and Planning in the Centlivres Building on UCT's Upper Campus. The National Gallery was eventually unable to accession the models as they battled to make an argument about them as artworks, and without significant funding the University could not assist with the storage of either the models or the large exhibition panels. Around this time, Paul Kotze, a professor of architecture at the Afrikaans speaking University of the Free State who had previously been interested in the establishment of national architectural archive, became involved. Kotze, eager to preserve Uytenbogaardt's legacy and to expose his students to Uytenbogaardt's work, offered to house the exhibition panels at the University of the Free State.

⁴⁵ Jean Nuttall recorded the books, and was involved with the housing of these in Kommetjie.

⁴⁶ Hart, 2003: 2

This offer was eventually accepted and the exhibition, which was originally produced for the prestigious Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture Award in Bloemfontein some years previously, was sent to Bloemfontein University having been photographed for the Cape Town collection.

Over the next years a process of sorting and assembling the archive has taken place. Papers and drawings from Uytenbogaardt's office have been acquired and other miscellaneous additions have been made which have been located over the period of doing the research for this thesis project. Following the 'Library of Congress' methods, Lesley Hart explains how the technical aspects of archiving the collection have taken place:

When an architectural collection arrives, in its disorganized abundance, the task of dealing with it, describing each drawing and storing it in the way I have described is often impractical to do immediately. The Library of Congress tackles the problem by dealing with it in a series of stages, or 'phased preservation'. First phase protection is done immediately by putting the drawings onto storage tubes and stabilizing them in this way. The next phase is the inventory; the following is basic treatment and storage. The final phase is item level conservation.⁴⁷

The constitution of the archive through the technical acts of the archivists also heralded a moment in which the work of Uytenbogaardt moved from the space of practice into the space of the historical record, or more literally, from the active, light-filled space of the 'studio' to the dark, protected 'climate controlled' space of the archive. Here the 'disorganized abundance' that Hart mentions becomes managed through categorisation and classification, placed in boxes, cabinets and indexed. In death, therefore, the records of Uytenbogaardt's practice have become the material remnants of his practice. This slippage, enabled somehow by the passing away of the producer of the work, also shifts the collection into the category of 'heritage'. Heritage at its most literal is conceived as the preservation of materials for the future, as Hart suggests in the abstract to her conference paper: 'Architectural collections provide a very important documentary record of the history of our built environment and, as such, are part of our heritage that should be preserved.'⁴⁸ Opening up a more complex idea of heritage, Nick Shepherd's essay in the 2008 publication of *New South African Keywords*, entitled *Heritage*' explores the conceptual ground of heritage beyond the technical archival meanings, where he suggests:

Heritage occupies a paradoxical, perhaps even uniquely paradoxical, conceptual space. At the same time, its paradoxical nature provides the key to understanding its social effects. The notion of heritage offers a language through which to discuss contested issues of culture, identity and citizenship in the postcolony, even as it determines and delimits this discussion in particular ways.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Hart, 2003: 6

⁴⁸ Hart, 2003: 1

⁴⁹ Shepherd, Nick, 2008, 'Heritage' in Shepherd, Nick and Robins, Steven (eds), *New South African Keywords*, Ohio University Press and Jacana, Athens and Johannesburg, pp.116-128

It is in this paradoxical sense that Uytendogaardt's archive emerges as heritage, where the archive forms a bridge of sorts between a life lived and the legacy making that has occurred through its reading. Over the years that have passed since the constitution of the archive, Uytendogaardt's legacy has been assembled. He has been hailed as a local 'master' by peers according him the esteemed status much like those whom he admired as masters: Louis Kahn, Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto.⁵⁰ Accordingly there is a sense of Uytendogaardt's presence that has pervaded new discourses of urban practice and despite his passing away. Ideas and models developed over his lifetime have continued to influence professional thinking and been tested in new urban projects.⁵¹ The ways in which this has occurred go beyond the constitution of the archive after his death to the influences he had on practitioners whom he taught in his lifetime.

As a student entering the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Cape Town, it was difficult to ignore the presence and influence of Uytendogaardt's work. He was revered as a designer and his work was fashionably emulated by students and practitioners alike. Although contact with Uytendogaardt in person was restricted to the formal spaces of the studio, seminars and School Talks, precedent studies and readings of his writings (the central themes of his design consciousness) slipped easily into students' minds and flowed from their pens. Many began to adhere to his 'rules' of design and very quickly learnt the language of his philosophies.⁵² Much like his own emulation of the masters that he admired, students' adherence to Uytendogaardt's design was largely unquestioned in the space of the School of Architecture and Planning and has remained so to a very large extent by his peers, colleagues and collaborators. His texts, produced in collaboration with the UCT based Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU), provided a rich basis of source material for reading and identification with his principles of design and practice. This 'culture of adherence' was the standard *modus operandi*. Focused centrally on spatial design, this consciousness dealt very superficially with other areas of design concern which were neatly packaged as an approach to spatial planning and form making.

The relevance of re-reading his work, through the production of this thesis, is not simply to profile the life and work of a prolific figure, but perhaps more usefully as a 'window' onto the disciplines of architecture and urban design over the period in which he worked. The archive is a space of detachment, dislocated from its site of production, yet paradoxically it has been the source for the reconstruction of his life along the lines of the discourses that circulated in his life

⁵⁰ Colleagues such as Martin Kruger, David Dewar and Piet Louw suggested this formally in their contributions to the Werdmuller debates.

⁵¹ See Chapter Four of this thesis.

⁵² Murray, N, 2005, 'Spaces of Discipline. Disciplines of Space', *Africa Seminar Paper*, Centre for African Studies, UCT Seminar Series 'Knowledge's, Disciplines and Translation', October 2005.

time. The biographical contest mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis centres on the reproduction of these readings of this archive, viewed principally through the visual sources, where despite the many claims to life-writing, the only published product to have emerged is the 2006 publication by Italian architect Giovanni Vio in the genre of the architectural monograph.⁵³

4. monograph

Since the latter part of the twentieth century the architectural monograph has emerged as the dominant form of social biography in architecture. Typically produced in glossy format, comprising an extended critical essay on the architect(s) and their work, followed by a presentation of a portfolio or photographs and drawings of built work and projects, the life work of architects have been documented and entered into international print circulation. There are many noteworthy examples of this genre, from the systematic documentation of the work of historical figures such as Leonello Pupi's work on Palladio, to explorations of the contemporary work such as Peter Buchanan's four volumes on Renzo Piano. Architectural monographs have also become invaluable source books for students and practitioners alike, as a means of accessing bodies of work by architects considered by their peers to be 'great architects' or 'masters'. The elevation of an architect to this status most often occurs late in their lives or posthumously (although, increasingly, monographs of the self-promotional type have emerged, showing the work of the whiz kids and superstars).

In accordance with the conventions of elevation to the status of a 'master', in 2006, an architectural monograph of Uytendogaardt's work was published. As a fourth moment in the production of his life after death, the publication has reinforced his central position in the fields of architecture and urban design in South Africa. Italian architect Giovanni Vio's passionately conceived book, entitled *Roelof Uytendogaardt, Senza Tempo / Timeless*, is presented as a small monograph and *Festschrift* of sorts. Vio's affection for Uytendogaardt is clear from the book in which he describes how he came to know Uytendogaardt through his South African born wife, Anna Longrig who had been a student of Uytendogaardt's. Written in both Italian and English, and richly illustrated with photographs by Vio and some drawings and sketches by Uytendogaardt, his aim was to present Uytendogaardt's work to an international audience (Figure 11).⁵⁴ Long considered by his many collaborators, colleagues, students and followers to be a 'master', Vio uses this along with the notion of 'homage' as his starting point to describe his own

⁵³ Vio, 2006

⁵⁴ Murray, N, 2007, 'Review: Roelof Uytendogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless', Editor Giovanni Vio Publisher: Il Poligrafo', in *Architecture South Africa*, the Journal of the South African Institute of Architects, July /August 2007 p.92-93

personal encounters with Uytendogaardt, at first in Cape Town and later during a visit to Italy. His description echoes the observations of many who knew Uytendogaardt well: a humble and powerfully attractive personality with a deep passion for architecture and city form. He focuses on his South Africanness when writing about the visit to Venice:

He went around the city as though he were in the Karoo, with a white floppy cricket hat that made him stand out in the crowd. The convention of the city did not exist for him. This was amazing, because in a person coming from recently-formed country (sic), more than anything one expects a paranoid obsequious respect for everything old and that is the result of ancient sediments.

Roelof was not a tourist in Venice, he was as free as a child.⁵⁵

Structured loosely in two parts with a preface by Franco Mancuso and a note on Uytendogaardt's legacy by Mphethi Morojele, followed by essays by Vio, a piece by Uytendogaardt and two celebratory contributions by colleagues David Dewar and Lucien le Grange, the book then presents 'Five Works' with introductory texts taken from Uytendogaardt's own exhibition and followed by texts and photographs by Vio. These include considerations of the Werdmuller Centre in Claremont, the Remembrance Garden in Simonstown, the University of Cape Town's Sports Centre, the Hout Bay Library and Uytendogaardt's own house in Kommetjie.

While the translation of Vio's text into English continues in a somewhat awkward manner, it presents a mixture of personal reflection and biographical notes of Uytendogaardt's impressive achievements over his career, drawn from Jean Nuttall's publication in the *Journal of the Transvaal Institute of Architects (TIA)*.⁵⁶ It then presents a practical rationale of the works chosen for inclusion in the publication, based on the author's knowledge of the projects and accessibility during his visits to South Africa. Lastly there is a note on 'Architecture and Town Planning', which briefly explores Uytendogaardt's contribution and commitment to local town planning and urban design.

Taking academic Neville Alexander's suggestion that South African biography is caught between the poles of 'hagiography and demonisation' and in applying this to the Uytendogaardt monograph, one can't help but find the hagiographic aspects disappointing as a means of describing a complex and fascinating 'great man' and his works.⁵⁷ The hagiographic mode implies a conscious selection of concepts and ideas that underpin the promotion of a 'great man' – or exceptional life – as a practitioner of a discipline, mindfully leaving out controversy or

⁵⁵ Vio, 2006:19

⁵⁶ Nuttall, Jean. C, 1993, 'Roelof Uytendogaardt' in the *Journal of the Transvaal Institute of Architects*, No.6 November 1993

⁵⁷ Alexander, Neville, 2004, 'Foreword' in *Social Dynamics, African Biography: Hagiography or Demonization?* Vo. 30, No.1, lpp.11-14

points, and presented in a way that ignores complexities that emerge through social contextualization.

The monograph also contains (posthumously) a piece of Uytendogaardt's own writing, in which he articulated his notion of 'an architecture of discovery'. While the exact source of the text used is unfortunately not referenced (and may possibly be the text forwarded to Vio by Uytendogaardt during correspondence about a journal publication that Vio refers to earlier), it is a manifesto of his approach to architecture which he presented in various forms over the years and as part of his speech in receiving the SAIA Gold Medal Award in 1998. These were the ideas he used in the teaching of his Master Classes from 1995-1997 and in his exhibition in 1993 in which he expounded on his own methodology and approach to notions of 'timelessness', 'idea', 'programme', 'order' and 'form', amongst others. These were far-reaching and influential concepts that still exert a powerful influence on design thinking at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Cape Town.

Another articulation of Uytendogaardt's ideas is contained in David Dewar's piece about Uytendogaardt the 'Urbanist'.⁵⁸ Dewar and Uytendogaardt were for a long time collaborators as teachers and in research through the Urban Problems Research Unit and later in private practice. Together they developed a body of work well known to students of local architecture, urban design and planning. The text by Dewar, rather than presenting new insight or reflections, summarises much of their shared philosophy. The text reads like a series of notes or ideas about practice – exploring broad concepts such as 'structure' and 'space'. There is something almost cavalier in the ease with which the writing flows for four pages without a single reference or note (except for the illustrations) that might position the ideas in the text within their body of work or in relation to other work.

Another chapter by Lucien le Grange, the current head of the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics at the University of Cape Town, entitled *Homage to a teacher* is a careful reflection on Uytendogaardt's role and contribution to architectural education.⁵⁹ Le Grange explores the far-reaching impact of his teachings and contextualizes these in relation to Uytendogaardt's professional life experiences, from his early years of studying under Professor Thornton-White at UCT, followed by his studies at the British School in Rome and afterwards under Louis Kahn and David Crane in the United States, all of whom influenced his work and approach to design significantly. It is in the value of this 'legacy' that le Grange hopes 'to

⁵⁸ Dewar, D, 2006, 'Roelof Sarel Uytendogaardt: Urbanist', in Vio, Giovanni, 2006 *Roelof Uytendogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless*, Il Poligrafo, pp42-47

⁵⁹ Le Grange, Lucien, 2006, 'Roelof Uytendogaardt: Homage to a Teacher' in Vio, Giovanni, 2006, *Roelof Uytendogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless*, Il Poligrafo, pp 50-52

preserve its almost valuable qualities and to develop new and more appropriate ways by which to teach and practice the art of architecture.⁶⁰

The remainder of the book contains the ‘Five Works’ or projects, presented using some text from Uytenbogaardt’s exhibition along with many exceptional photographs and personal observations by Vio. As such the book gives an overview of some of Uytenbogaardt’s major works, and while these are well known to a local audience, as all have been published in local journals, the audience of the book is clearly envisaged beyond South Africa. In this way the book serves as an introductory text and personalized reflection, which might be disappointing to a local audience in search of new interpretations and in-depth research into the role and contribution of such a pre-eminent South African architect.

As a short monograph-style publication, much like others such as Gabriel Fagan’s own monograph in this genre, the text is celebratory and the biographical descriptions are hagiographic. There is no substantial critique contained in the style of presentation or any theorization of architect’s work in relation to broader scholarship. In addition, the highly personalized nature of the text reads like a *Festschrift*, written by those close to the man, and the reader is implicitly invited to join the authors in their admiration of the architect and pay homage to his work.

In the interpretation of Uytenbogaardt’s work contained in the case studies in this thesis, I have purposely chosen another way of thinking about the man and his work as an alternative to the simple production of the biographical genre of the monograph. This approach has taken the notion of archive as a central methodological endeavour both literally – in the sense of working with Uytenbogaardt’s papers and drawings – and theoretically, as a means to begin to find ways to contextualize his work within the broader disciplinary project of modernism and in relation to apartheid modernity. In this way I have sought to force his notion of ‘timelessness’ back into the specific time and social context in which he lived and worked.

5. building

The last moment explored here surrounds the notion that architect’s buildings somehow immortalise them. This is a familiar notion in architectural scholarship whereby a building’s presence in a city or town remains as a residue of the creative life that gave form to the building. It is as if the very concrete presence of buildings enabled them to transcend the death of their creators. There are famous instances of this all over the world as buildings become icons of their times and monuments to their makers. This linking of spatial reality and presence to the naming

⁶⁰ Le Grange, 2006: 52

of the architect is the very basis of the discipline of high architecture, starting from the Renaissance onwards whereby the construction of the canon of architectural history traces the works of ‘great men’ and ‘great buildings’.⁶¹ Entrance to this canon has generally occurred through the elevation of the architect after death into a category of recognition by successive architects and in particular the architectural historian, who typically is involved in the work of periodising the history of the discipline and assigning it with its ‘masters’. Thereafter the works of masters are studied as ‘precedent’ and entrance into the learned circles of the spatial disciplines requires a recognition and knowledge of such great masters’ works. The category of the ‘Vernacular’ or non-western (as formulated by Celik) is created in architectural history as high architecture’s ‘other’, as Bernard Rudovsky referred to ‘architecture without architects’.⁶²

Uytenbogaardt’s status as a ‘master’ has been publicly proclaimed by architects in response to the proposed destruction of one of his most controversial works, the Werdmuller Centre. Occurring in 2007, some nine years after Uytenbogaardt’s death, the architect’s legacy has been invoked in an argument making a case for modern architecture to be considered in the category of ‘heritage’ (Figures 12-13). In a fascinating set of events explored in depth in Chapter Five of this thesis, dramatic claims have been made that modernism is ‘under siege’ in South Africa.⁶³ Writing in the Spring 2009 issue of the journal ‘Art South Africa’, Cape Town based architect Heinrich Wolff argues vehemently for the ‘appreciation and protection’ of buildings from ‘thoughtless destruction’ in the ‘post-war period’.⁶⁴ Citing Werdmuller alongside other modernist examples, Wolff goes to great lengths to convince the reader of the merits of retaining these buildings against the threats of crass commercial development and ‘Disneyfication.’⁶⁵ In the framing of what he calls ‘values’ of ‘era specific’ buildings, he terms this modernism ‘post-war’ only in a paragraph at the end of the article briefly touching on the direct correlation of the periodisation to apartheid’s inception (1948). In a slightly awkward, add-on manner he suggests that: ‘The political context of these buildings is also important to consider.’⁶⁶ This reluctance to trouble the surface of modernism’s concreteness is not unusual in architectural writing and is understandable perhaps when trying to construct arguments for the conservation of these

⁶¹ Rudovsky, Bernard, 1964, *Architecture without Architects: an Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

⁶² Celik, Zeynep, 1999, ‘New Approaches to the “Non-Western” City’, in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, Architectural History 1999/2000 (Sep., 1999), Published by: Society of Architectural Historians, pp. 374-381.

⁶³ Wolff, Heinrich, 2009, ‘Modernism under siege: a question of value’ in *Art South Africa*, Vol.08, Issue 01, Spring 2009, pp.64-69

⁶⁴ Wolff, H., 2009: 64

⁶⁵ Wolff, H., 2009: 69

⁶⁶ Wolff, H., 2009: 69

buildings.⁶⁷ As Scott's analysis reminds us 'high-modernism' correlates directly with the ideologies that produced it.⁶⁸ In South Africa's case this was apartheid.

It is therefore that this thesis argues against the notion of 'timelessness' and calls for a problematising of modern architecture and planning in the context of current globalising tendencies. If the Werdmuller Centre has become an 'icon' of modernism, as Wolff suggests, his reading of the building as a heroic high point is difficult in its current run down state (Figures 14-17). In addition the technocratic processes of proclaiming buildings as heritage are not unilaterally accepted. In the 1960s Claremont was the site of forced removals under apartheid (Figures 18-19). The Werdmuller Centre was perhaps the first building which started the process of erasure of the earlier landscape of Claremont rendering the places existing prior to forced removals invisible in the present time. As Uma Dhupelia-Mestrie has suggested, the technocratic language of heritage also mirrors that of the processes of forced removals.⁶⁹ This is rearticulated in the legislative naming of people as 'affected' parties and the processes of application and appeal to be followed prior to officials making decisions. This might be the sense in which Wolff argues that modern architecture is 'under siege' through what he believes is inadequate heritage legislation (Figures 20-21).⁷⁰ However the ironies through which architects become the 'affected' community, such as happened in the case of the appeals for Werdmuller's heritage worthiness, are missed by Wolff and others (Figure 22). It seems that the biographic positioning of Uytendogaardt as a master whose legacy is considered significant requires an act of stepping out of history. This act of immortalisation of modern architecture depends on conceptualisations such as Uytendogaardt's notion of 'timelessness'. As modern architecture's influence is being diluted in many architects' minds by haphazard and ad-hoc development post-apartheid, Uytendogaardt's most hated building is a stark reminder of the far reaching effects of visions of apartheid modernities.

Spatial Modernism and Apartheid Modernities

Reading Uytendogaardt's work in post-apartheid South Africa is a challenge. Not the least because of the great changes and slippages that have entered into spatial practice, whereby the grand narratives of spatial 'modernism' have been replaced by more random modes of practice and thinking which, although different in some forms, are directly linked to the broader project of modernity. The term 'modernism' in the spatial disciplines usually refers to the stylistic period

⁶⁷ For other examples of this see the writings of Crysler, Markus and Cameron and others.

⁶⁸ Scott, 1998:4

⁶⁹ Presentation as discussant for Seminar Paper, I presented as part of the Heritage Disciplines Symposium, 8 and 9 October 2009, 'Wishing Werdmuller Away: fear and loathing in lower Claremont.'

⁷⁰ Wolff.H,2009: 66

beginning at the twentieth century. Modernism however also operates as a concept in relation to modernity. Architectural academic Hilde Heynen usefully situates the concept of modernism in architecture.⁷¹ As she outlines, the term modernism has its origins in the age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century when the idea of modernity was linked to critical reason. She distinguishes between modernity and modernism. Modernity, she proposes, refers to the typical features and processes of ‘modern times’, whereas modernism is the implementation of cultural tendencies and artistic ideas about modernity. In applying this definition of modernism to architecture, Cape Town based professor of architecture, Andre van Graan writes that:

Modernism in the twentieth century was received differently in different parts of the world. Architectural focus has largely been on modernism as expressed in the architectural avant-garde of the European Modern Movement as exemplified by the work of the Bauhaus School in Germany and the architectural output of architects such as Le Corbusier, Gropius and Mies van der Rohe.⁷²

In the influential 1997 publication *_blank_Architecture, apartheid and after*, Daniel Herwitz takes this further by writing about concepts of ‘modernism’ in relation to ‘marginality’ whereby avant-garde forms of modernism which attempted to change the direction of architecture through ‘radical’ approaches should be distinguished from other modes of modernist practice.⁷³ Heynen refers to Baudrillard’s notion of ‘an aesthetics of rupture’ in order to distinguish architectural modernism from other forms of modernism.⁷⁴ For Heynen, this was ‘a transitory modernism’ citing Baudelaire’s definition of modern as ‘the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art of which the other half is the eternal and the immutable.’⁷⁵ Van Graan’s reading of Heynen proposes a notion of ‘programmatically modernism’ that exists despite ‘the lack of architectural avant-garde form’, as a means of explaining ‘the underlying concept of a rational introduction of ways of improving living conditions.’⁷⁶

Through these formulations, modernism can be viewed as both *avant garde* and programmatic. Van Graan, writing about modernism in Cape Town from 1918-1948, poses that a negotiated compromise appears to be more significant in any assessment of the architecture of Cape Town, rather than the narrower focus of transitory modernism as defined purely by the avant-garde of the Bauhaus and Le Corbusier’ and as manifest locally in Johannesburg through the Transvaal School.

Uytenbogaardt’s work emerges later than these early forms and is perhaps best viewed as

⁷¹ Heynen, Hilde, 1999, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p181

⁷² Van Graan, 2005, *Negotiating Modernism in Central Cape Town 1918-1948: An investigation into the introduction, contestation, negotiation and adaptation of modernism in the architecture of the city in the inter-war period*, paper for PhD Proposal, School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, p.3

⁷³ Herwitz, 1998

⁷⁴ Baudrillard, 1982 :28, Heynen, 1999: 13

⁷⁵ Heynen, 1999:12

⁷⁶ Van Graan, 2005: 3

the outcome of [this] negotiation process that can be traced from the more tentative programmatic basis through to the ultimate acceptance of the more radical avant-garde Modern Movement ideals inherent in transitory modernism.’⁷⁷

In considering the modernist design approach of Uytendogaardt in relation to apartheid’s modernity, it is useful to explore the ways in which he sought to adhere to and emulate the work of people considered ‘masters’ working at ‘the catalytic epicentre of modernism in Europe and America’ and to inquire about the effect that this had on his own work in South Africa far away from these centres on the periphery of modernism, under the conditions of apartheid.

A key characteristic of Uytendogaardt’s work is formulated in his own writing about ‘an architecture of discovery’ in which he sets out his own faithful, loyal approach to the project of modernism. Contained in this is his central concept of ‘timelessness’ in which he manages to create a utopian space for himself through a set of ideas removed from the apartheid realities that surrounded him. Loyalties to philosophies and modes of practices in this work may be considered (after Scott) as ‘states of adherence to objects, principles or persons’, viewed in a decontextualised manner.⁷⁸ Thinking though the ways in which adherence to high-modernism takes place in spatial practice has many forms: aesthetic, political, ideological, formal and spatial. Cities, landscapes, buildings, drawings and design philosophies can be objects that designers adhere to, often self-consciously ascribed to through the notion of studying ‘precedent’. Adherences in turn provide identities – things which identify the self in their uniqueness, but also name the person, or work in relation to others such as in the construction of a canon of works. The notions of ‘contextualism’ and ‘critical regionalism’ that circulate in spatial design discourses are similar examples of a-political rationalisations for practice that rely on neutralised notions of pre-existing spatial form (context) and immediately visible, often local, traditional manifestations (regionalism).⁷⁹

The concept of design is woven together as a matrix of adherence to one form of creativity or another in networks of adherence – schools of thought literally in ‘design consciousness’ such as Uytendogaardt developed for himself in his ‘architecture of discovery.’ In complex ways agency and self are inscribed in his work which Uytendogaardt saw as inextricably intertwined with the complex consciousness he constructed for himself of being a designer. His faithful, Calvinist adherence to a set of design philosophies produced a form of consciousness, something that enabled him to negotiate Afrikaner Nationalist adherences to structural apartheid.

⁷⁷ Van Graan, 2005: 3

⁷⁸ Scott, 1998: 16

⁷⁹ Frampton, Kenneth, 1983, ‘Prospects for a Critical Regionalism’, in *Perspecta*, Vol. 20, Yale School of Architecture Press, pp. 147-162.

His professional philosophies defined him in many ways and were linked to sets of personal values which ranged from the religious to the cultural as an Afrikaner. As John Moyle suggested in the 1999 Interview, 'Roelof the architect was Roelof the man....' where he emphasised centrality of his professional identity in his construction of self.⁸⁰

Returning to Rassool's work he reminds us that 'the biographic process should not be seen as characterised by a passive relationship between subject and biographer, in which the biographer is in some sense in command of the life of their subject.' He asserts that there is always a struggle for 'control over the story of a life.'⁸¹ In the case of Uytenbogaardt's life, or more precisely since his death, this struggle over who controls or has the right to produce his biography has been intense. There has been much debate and many claims made to authority over the production of his life story. These claims have come mainly from his colleagues and collaborators who fiercely assert their sole rights to this project. To this end there have been many proposals to write his life and work, amongst them the Vio monograph which to date is the only formulated work to emerge. Rassool points out that the production of biography '... may involve a struggle between the biographer and the subject in which the narrativisation of self entails more than merely leaving traces, but actively organising and laying the groundwork for the production of a life.'

He continues: 'Also important is the relationship between biographer and those with whom the subject was close. Struggle 'takes place even where there is no awareness of its presence. There will always be a dialogue between the biographical process and autobiographical traces, even where no autobiography as such exists. These narrative traces are to be found in archival collections, interviews, diaries, and other forms of life-writing and self-production.'⁸² These constitute what he terms 'genealogies of biographical production, which shape and influence the contours of contemporary productions through their narrative selections, silences and transactions.'

This he proposes is the usefulness of viewing biography through the methodological lens of Public History where the focus is on the production of history, in which history is understood (after David William Cohen) as 'the processing of the past in societies and historical settings ... and the struggles for control of voices and texts in innumerable settings which animate this processing of the past.' For Rassool, the field of practice of public history includes amongst others 'the organising sociologies of historicising projects, commemorative events, the structuring of frames of record keeping as well as the contentions and struggles which evoke and produce

⁸⁰ Moyle, 1999

⁸¹ Rassool, 2004: 46

⁸² Rassool, 2004: 46, 47, 48

texts and which also produce historical literatures.’ This broadening of the project of historical scholarship enables an approach that includes understanding that historical knowledge needs to move beyond the space of the academy and the disciplines. In the spatial disciplines, which are concerned in part with practice, this approach allows for finding ways of understanding the relationship between knowledges produced inside as well as beyond the academy in a more reflexive manner. Within this expanded methodological frame Rassool asserts that ‘it may indeed be possible to speak of the production of auto/biography.’⁸³

As a historian trying to make sense of the processes of producing biography, he identifies the necessity to question the role of factual writing based on uncovering the truth, and the need to explore biographical productions as a form of fiction in order to theorise the narration of lives. In finding an approach to biography that works against the linear narration of lives in the traditional sense requires the consideration of narrative: ‘Moving beyond conventional narrative means taking account of these various historicising projects and understanding the politics, sociologies and genealogies of their production. It also requires the recognition that the academic historian’s narrative is “one ‘voice’ among others”.’⁸⁴

The historiography of modernism in architecture generally focuses on the Modern Movement as an iconic trajectory. These traditional writings within architectural history ignore the very operations of power at play in the spatial disciplines, specifically those of contestation. Instead the canon of architectural history in the Western Tradition is actually more precisely dependant on such biographies as it is told through the bodies of work of individual architects. As Raymond Williams writes: ‘modernism is governed by the “unevenness...of a class society,” and this- along with its mobility and dislocations, finds a home within the “imperial metropolis [which] leads to the characteristic experience of ‘estrangement and exposure’.’⁸⁵

In Chapter Two, following from this, I have attempted to explore modernism through the idea of reading moments instead of giving a temporal history of modernism in South Africa. The chapter proposes that the relationship between the ‘great styles’ or periods in architectural and urban history is not straight forward. These exist ‘in and out of time’. This notion has been extensively explored by historical archaeologist Martin Hall in his paper *The Legend of the Lost City; Or, the man with Golden Balls*, in which he critiques the notion of ‘timeless time’ in the fantasied creation of Sun City in one of apartheid’s homeland areas in Bophuthatswana.⁸⁶

Drawing from this, I argue that Uytendogaard’s approach, contained in his notion of

⁸³ Rassool, 2004: 48

⁸⁴ Rassool, 2004: 50

⁸⁵ Williams, 1984: 221-3

⁸⁶ Hall, Martin, 1995, ‘The Legend of the Lost City; Or, the man with Golden Balls’, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.21, No 2, June 1995. pp.179-199.

timelessness, serves to lift his engagements out of time as a way of generalising practice, or defying the times in which they were conceived and constructed. The methodological approaches used in this thesis are an explicit means to force his projects back into their time under apartheid in South Africa and into their contexts in this specific moment in history, and as part of social processes. The idea that modernist architecture is an architecture for 'all time', as Ilze Wolff and Vio claim, rejects architecture's own forms of heritage and reference to partisan histories.

University of Cape Town

Chapter Two. Remaking modernism - South African architecture in and out of time

This chapter sets out to position modern architecture in South Africa outside of the generalised historical categorisation of a ‘movement’ or ‘stylistic trend’ that is neatly periodised. It contests the notion contained in the canons of the history of architecture and urban history that modernist spatial design practice is something temporal that ends somewhere in the 1980s, in the canonical sense. Instead, I argue that modernist approaches to architecture and urban design are part of a ‘continuous tradition’ that persist into the present in ways that exist ‘in and out of time.’ This notion of ‘in and out of time’ has been a major theme that the research for this thesis has explored, in order to open up ways of thinking about buildings and urban spaces through examining continuities as well as discontinuities in practices. As such, the chapter plays a contextualising role in relation to Uytendogaardt’s work and its place in the canon of modernist architecture in South Africa. In this sense the chapter provides a background to the study which invokes the present rather than simply tracing a historical timeline. The chapter presents a set of what I have called ‘tropes’ of the South African landscape through which I have attempted to locate spatial trends in a broader context of historical relations. It also explores ten theoretical ‘moments’ in modernist design practices through which I seek to show the epistemological connections between works from different periods ‘in and out’ of the history of the disciplines. These tropes are also considered as a way of thinking about the idea of ‘timelessness’ in Uytendogaardt’s philosophies.

Modern architecture arrived in South Africa as early as 1925 and like in many other places in the world, a small group of faithful followers of the International Style began making buildings according to the principles outlined by the proponents of this ‘new’ style.¹ Since then architecture in South Africa has more or less followed the trends of architectural style and fashion internationally.² Although contemporary architectural practice has since taken on a less strict adherence to the principles of high modernism that characterised the work of the early modern movement, for the most part architects working locally are producing work that remains rooted in internationalist ‘discourses’ of design.³

Contemporary architecture in post-apartheid South Africa is arguably much like work anywhere else in the world – where in postmodern ways – styles, trends and influences are juxtaposed and coexist in cities that are increasingly hybrid and disjointed from their modernist and colonial masterplans.⁴ Yet at the same time there are moments in the making of buildings in which the

¹ Herbert 1976:1

² Cooke, Julian, 2006a ‘Joining the World’, *Architecture South Africa*, March-April, p3

³ Murray, 2006: 8

⁴ Herbert: 1976, Markus and Cameron, 2001

translations of received forms and practices take on local characteristics - where place-making and identity-making intersect through a search by architects for a uniquely 'South African architecture'.⁵

Within this contemporary reality city spaces have also become sites for the 'playing out' of the politics of identity. Almost everywhere you go new buildings and developments are being labelled, styled and marketed with a distinctive identity. Very often this identity appears arbitrary with labels such as 'Cape Vernacular', 'Tuscan', 'Moroccan', 'French Provencal' or 'Italian Renaissance' becoming commonplace on billboards advertising everything from new housing developments in townships to suburban malls and inner city redevelopment projects. At the same time there have been many serious minded attempts to recast space post-apartheid with projects which have set out to address inhibiting aspects of the apartheid city and to change the identity of places with histories of exclusion, violence or segregation. These include projects such as new museum initiatives and urban designs for new public spaces.

South Africa is an interesting place to begin examining the nature of the transference, and reception of modern architectural ideas - a place where the project of modernity was made material through the application of modernist planning ideas in the service of the apartheid state and as a means to implement segregationist legislation such as the Group Areas Act. My interest in modernism is twofold. It lies firstly in the persistent presence of modernism (or 'new' modernism as it is often called) in South African urban space with its diversity of manifestations and applications post-apartheid, and secondly, in the attention this draws to the politicised nature of South African space, space in which modernist design has been deployed variously as a form of asserting spatialised racial control, or in the service of Afrikaner, and more recently African, cultural identity. Modernism has also been part of the project of industrialisation and the language of modernity has been (and continues to be) used in the promotion of a technologically advanced state.⁶

The argument presented in this chapter is positioned in the precarious emergent space of new architectural debate internationally whereby architectural scholarship is beginning to take on the debates that have been current in the humanities over the past twenty years through Cultural Studies and more recently in the debates formed by authors working in the field of Public Culture against more established forms of architectural writing historically. In Africa and particularly in Southern Africa I suggest this position is emergent for a number of reasons. Firstly because of the vexing presence of colonial contexts, which can only really be considered through a reading of the relations of power, race, interdependent global economies and exchange. Secondly because of the established knowledge fields enabled by interdisciplinary scholarship in fields of study in postcolonial studies, heritage studies, gender studies and the like, architectural materialism can no longer be simply viewed through

⁵ For the best discussion of this see: Sanders, Paul S. 2000, 'Defining a relevant architecture in South Africa'. *arg: Architectural Research Quarterly* 4(1):pp. 67-80.

⁶ Fisher, R., Le Roux, H., Murray, N. and Sanders, P, 2003, 'The modern movement architecture of four South African cities', in *do co .mo.mo Journal*, 28, March. P.68

the conventions of aesthetic appreciation and as abstract form making. Lastly through my own personal experiences working firstly within an architectural department and having moved into the humanities where the need to problematise the operations of space and place have challenged me to explore the underlying processes of design and building more carefully.

Consequently this chapter explores ten ‘moments’ of architectural design in order to investigate ways in which this internationalism has been translated and mutated in the making of buildings in South Africa since 1930. Rather than attempting a comprehensive presentation of the history of South African architectural modernism, I have chosen ten forms of practice which typify sets of ideas represented more broadly in the ‘canon’ of buildings designed by architects in this country. Each moment explores questions of spatial identity and modernity. Each moment represents work completed by architects recognised for their excellence in design. Some reflect a localising or contextualising trend in the search for African and South African identity, while others are more confidently products of global ideas. The moments take in work produced in the heroic period of modernism between the 1920s and 1950s, as well as others in which modernism has been re-imagined, reinvented and remade over time. I argue that, as an underlying ethos, modernity and the ideas and principles of international modernism can be seen to operate as a more or less continuous form of practice over time.

The ten moments are presented as sets of keywords representing special relationships between forms of practice and interpretations of these forms. They include Avant-garde / modern, Afrikaner / apartheid, African / ethnic, community / public, Cape regional / vernacular, township / freedom, Africa / modern, international / global, heritage / memory, and exhibition / review.

Tropes of Space: figuring South African landscape

The history of modernism and its reception in South Africa is of course preceded temporally by prior forms of space making. This history has been constructed in particular ways in the figuring of periodised knowledge in the spatial disciplines, specifically in the area of the history of architecture. As a way of reading and thinking through this construction, and considering its reformulation in ways that take account of the power relations at play in the South African landscape, Hayden White’s essay in the Introduction to his book entitled *Tropics of Discourse* informed my writing of a series of tropes of space in South Africa.⁷

The idea of tropes is useful as White reminds us, because the ‘tropic is the shadow from which all realistic discourse tries to flee. This flight, however, is futile; for tropics is the process by which all discourse *constitutes* the objects which it pretends only to describe realistically and to analyse

⁷ White, Hayden, 1978, ‘Introduction: Tropology, Discourse, and the Modes of Human Consciousness’ in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, p. 1-25

objectively.’⁸ Applying this to thinking about the arrangement of the discourses present in the history of architecture enables a more open framing of space as a way of moving beyond its material objects of buildings, cities and landscapes into a discursive frame that seeks to take into account considerations of power and agency. Writing about the role of discourse White suggests that disciplines establish themselves through relying on metaphor rather than logic:

All genuine discourse takes account of these differences of opinion in the suggestion of doubt as to its own authority which it systematically displays on its very surface. This is especially the case when it is a matter of trying to *mark out* what appears to be a new area of human experience for preliminary analysis, *define* its contours, *identify* the elements in its field, and *discern* the kinds of relationships that obtain among them. It here that discourse itself must establish the adequacy of the language used in analysing the field to the objects that appear to occupy it. And discourse effects this adequation by a *prefigurative* move that is more tropical than logical.⁹

The figuring of the South African landscape in the historical imaginary has traditionally taken colonial settlement as its starting point for formal discussions of the ‘history of architecture’. Typical scholarship, even by established academics such as Ronald Lewcock and others, refers to colonial contexts in which there are significant pre-existing built contexts and those in which there are not, positioning South Africa in the latter category and thereby situating the beginning of the study of the built environment firmly within the colonial period.¹⁰ Questions of the pre-existing, indigenous settlement patterns and built structures (however temporary) have been studied and considered under the label of ‘vernacular architecture’ or through the ethnographic lenses of disciplines such as anthropology and archaeology. In so doing the study of the built environment of South Africa has been divided into what Amos Rapoport calls studies of ‘high style and the vernacular’.¹¹

This is a suggested first ‘trope’ of South African space making, the idea of the ‘primitive’, ‘indigenous’ or ‘vernacular’ which as a concept persists in the contemporary context in the form of ‘modern vernacular’.¹² New objects (and by implication subjects) of study, much like their traditional predecessors, include shack dwellings and informal settlements understood as ‘the direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values – as well as the desires, dreams and passions of a people’.¹³ In this understanding, space has been studied as part of a broader colonial knowledge system based on racialised categorisation systems of the so-called ‘Western tradition’. Architecture in South Africa that falls into these categorisations includes so called ‘ethnic’ architectures (those of the Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Ndebele and so on), as well as the ‘folk’ architecture of the early Dutch settlers at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The next trope of South African architecture is the well-known ‘Cape Dutch architecture’, which although often confused with the ‘folk’ architecture discussed above, is the ‘high’ architecture

⁸ White, 1978:2

⁹ White, 1978:1

¹⁰ Lewcock, Ronald, 1988, ‘Models and Typology in European Colonial Architecture’, *SA Architect*: pp 33–36.

¹¹ Rapoport, Amos, 1992, ‘On Cultural Landscapes’, in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 3 (2), pp 33–47.

¹² Rapoport, Amos, 1969, *House, Form and Culture*, Prentice-Hall: New Jersey.p2–3

¹³ Rapoport 1969:2

produced in the period of Dutch colonisation after 1652, when the Cape was occupied as a refreshment station by the Dutch East India Company and became more settled. Recognisable for their strong references to Dutch metropolitan built forms, with whitewashed gables and laid out in H, T, or L shaped plans, these buildings in Cape Town and on farm estates represented substantial societal capital.¹⁴ The Cape Dutch style gained international attention and recognition by scholars of architecture in the metropolitan world as the only merit-worthy building type in South Africa, and formed the basis for the stylistic revivals of the late nineteenth century by architect Herbert Baker and others. The Cape Dutch is an important historical trope as it has come to signify not only the period of Dutch rule at the Cape (1652–1795), but it was later (under apartheid) considered the most authentic form of South African architectural heritage. In this way recovery of Cape Dutch architecture became synonymous with conservation practice as well as nationalist Afrikaner history. Architects working in this way include Gwen and Gabriel Fagan, Dirk Visser, and others funded by prominent Afrikaner businessmen such as Anton Rupert who embarked on grand scale projects such as the restoration of Tulbach, Graaff Reinet, Stellenbosch and folk projects such as the Klein Plaasie (small farm) Museum and the almost 20-year long work at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town. Significantly, the best critique of the operations of power and style in the Dutch period relating to architecture have been written by historical archaeologists (and not architectural historians), and in particular by Martin Hall.

Following this is a trope of Empire, spanning the period in which the British occupied and systematically colonised the Cape. In this period, much like in other British colonies, South Africa experienced the emergence of cities and architectures that connected it to the British Empire, whereby ideas and styles (as well as actual building materials) were imported from metropolitan England and overlaid on the local context. In almost every town and city there are remnants of this. Alongside the buildings, botanical gardens and landscaped parks laid out by the British there are a plethora of monuments and memorials to great individuals of the time, statues of monarchs such as Victoria, dockland names, street and building names, archival and bibliographic collections, Anglican church schools, mission institutions, and many more. Local literary scholar Peter Merrington, writing about the time of Union in 1910, has described what he terms the ‘imperial heritage paradigm’ which invokes this period of memorialisation and wealth through increasing industrialisation and the lucrative development of mining capital alongside mass labour exploitation and racial polarisation.¹⁵

Perhaps the most famous spatial collaboration at this time was that between industrialist and Cape parliamentarian Cecil John Rhodes and architect Herbert Baker, producing spatial schema and architecture on a grand scale and relating the Cape to other projects of the British Empire such as Edwin Lutyens’s work in India. Aspiring to domination of the African continent, the partnership

¹⁴ Hall, Martin, 1994, ‘The Secret Lives of Houses: Women and Gables in the Eighteenth Century Cape’, *Social Dynamics* 20 (1), pp 1–48.

¹⁵ Merrington, Peter, 1997, ‘Heritage, Genealogy, and the inventing of Union, South Africa, 1910’, Africa Seminar, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 7 May.

envisioned imperial power along the Cape to Cairo axis. Remnants of this trope remain manifest in the post-apartheid city not only through buildings but through the strong institutionalising effects of empire. These exist alongside the now sometimes shabby memorials to great achievements and monuments of the period of British rule in South Africa, but have seldom been the subject of in-depth study from a socio – spatial perspective.

The period after the Union of South Africa in 1910 embodied the beginning of the tropes of nationalism and apartheid that had far reaching effects on our landscape and society. This is the period that saw the emergence of modern architecture and urban planning. By way of example, in 1910 Herbert Baker was commissioned to design the new Union Buildings and in his notes on his concept for the baroque-inspired plan with two symmetrical wings placed on top of a hill in the countryside outside Pretoria, he described the meanings of the space he envisaged as symbolic of the ‘...[bringing together] ... of the two races in South Africa, Boer and Brit’.¹⁶ This comment, a note quickly scribbled, embodies the growing blindness and arrogance of white South Africans to the majority black population that characterised the apartheid period, from the election of the Nationalist Party in 1948 to its demise in 1994, when the African National Congress under Nelson Mandela took power.

Around 1910, under the influence of prominent public figures such as Jan Smuts, there was a rising interest in ‘heritage’, and in the declaration of monuments by the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques (Van Riet Lowe *et al.* 1949). These monuments comprised prehistoric sites as well as colonial buildings, battle sites and some natural phenomena, and were designated under the guidance of archaeologists and architects who conducted surveys of ‘Old Cape Homes and prehistoric art sites’.¹⁷ Suddenly heritage was part of a national project, and as A.J. Stals, then Minister of Education, mentioned in support of the Commission’s work: ‘We have every reason to believe that the inspiration of our cultural origins will continue to sustain us in our efforts to build a united, happy and God-fearing nation’.¹⁸ Subsequently heritage preservation became a key component of Afrikaner cultural rightist nationalism. Shifts occurred in line with this so that by 1972 the list of monuments in South Africa included mainly buildings and a (limited) number of sites that represented this nationalist history.¹⁹ Large scale pageants and memorial events were arranged to commemorate the centennial of the arrival of Dutch settler Jan van Riebeeck, and the Great Trek (of Afrikaners into the interior of the country) was re-enacted in a centennial ‘trek’ in 1938. Historian Leslie Witz writes that ‘taking place at the height of

¹⁶ Papers on the Union Building project are in the architectural collections Baker Collection, at the Department of Manuscripts and Archives, University of Cape Town Libraries.

¹⁷ Van Riet Lowe, C. and Malan, B.D. (eds), 1949, *The Monuments of South Africa*, State Information Office: Johannesburg. P6-7

¹⁸ quoted in Van Riet Lowe *et al.* 1949

¹⁹ Oberholster, J.J., 1972, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation for Culture: Cape Town.

the apartheid era, the [Van Riebeeck] festival was viewed by many as an opportunity for the government to promote its nationalist, separatist agenda in grand fashion'.²⁰

Statutory apartheid had far reaching implications for the shaping of South African space and while not exceptional (many other countries around the world have been formed by racialised legislation and colonial policies of white supremacists), it took form in particular ways in South Africa. There is an extensive body of scholarship spanning the fields of geography, political studies, planning and historical studies that traces the development of the apartheid city and analyses the ways in which apartheid segregation was made material through spatial planning.²¹ For the purposes of this thesis, apartheid is viewed not only as a spatial phenomenon, but rather through asking questions about location, space and place that are interrogated as intersecting and interwoven systems of the administration of people, space, power and control, and through the experiences of apartheid subjects. One of the key features of the apartheid period, architecturally speaking, was the appropriation of the forms of international modernism to signify the modernity of the apartheid state. In this respect South Africa resembles a number of colonial and former colonial contexts. For example, in a passage on 'Heritage and National Identity in the Post-Colonial World', Thomas Markus and Deborah Cameron draw on the work of Abidin Kusno to describe a trajectory of styles in another former Dutch possession, Indonesia.²² Early attempts to create an 'Indies architecture' as a synthesis of Dutch and Indonesian characteristics were replaced in the post-independence period by a reliance on international modernist forms as a mark of modernisation and development. This work shows that, more recently, there has been a move to post-modern, high-tech architectural forms, which celebrate science and technology as ways forward.²³

Because of the close correlation between apartheid legislation and town planning, post-apartheid space in South Africa remains affected by the patterns of organisation and the forms of the apartheid city. According to Bremner 'it was the countless instruments of control and humiliation (racially discriminatory laws, administration boards, commissions of inquiry, town planning schemes, health regulations, pass books, spot fines, location permits, police raids, removal vans, bulldozers) and sites of regulation and surveillance (registration offices, health clinics, post offices, recruitment bureaus, hostels, servant rooms, police cells, court rooms, park benches, beer halls) that delineated South African society during the apartheid years and produced its characteristic landscapes'.²⁴ In this 'landscape of apartheid' there were a number of key categories of space that were created by apartheid planning that still characterise the apartheid city, and are particular to South African city space.

²⁰ Witz, 2002

²¹ For a discussion of these literatures see Chapter Four of this thesis.

²² Markus and Cameron, 2002. Kusno, A, 2000, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Culture in Indonesia*, Routledge ArchiText Series, London and New York.

²³ Markus and Cameron 2002, Kusno 2000

²⁴ Bremner, Lindsay, 2005, 'Border /Skin', in M. Sorkin, (ed.) *Against the Wall, Israel's barrier to Peace*, The New Press: New York, pp 122–37.p. 123

Apartheid spatial planners used international models of modern town planning approaches to segregate space. This resulted in the division of both national and city space. Through the spatial enforcement of key pieces of legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the state envisaged a nation in which people's movement was administered and in which the minority white population controlled both town and country spaces. On a national scale, farmlands and agricultural towns were declared white group areas, pushing the remainder of the population into specially designated 'native' reserves called Bantustans, or into 'townships' which were established as dormitory ghettos on the edges of urban areas. 'White space' included city centres, suburbs, game reserves, farms, beaches and mountains, and black subjects of apartheid only entered these spaces temporarily as labourers, and had to carry identification documents to certify their right to enter.

Through forced removals, the clearing of 'black spots', policies of influx control, the migrant labour system, the Immorality Act, and other devices of population control, the apartheid state managed a complex system of spatially conceived law enforcement. 'White spaces' and 'black spaces' remained separate through devices such as empty tracts of land - 'buffer zones' between areas declared for different racial groups. Education was separate and inferior for black people through policies of 'Bantu education', and spaces of resistance and racial co-existence such as inner city areas of Sophiatown or District Six, as well as rural sites of settlement at mission stations and schools, were systematically destroyed. In their place the most significant trope of space to emerge and grow was the space of the 'township', and it is this primary dichotomy within the post-apartheid city (between city, suburb and township) that characterises lines of wealth and poverty, access to resources, forms of exclusion, crime and violence, and many other aspects of life.

Writing about Johannesburg, the architect Fanuel Motsepe suggests that with the opening up of our cities, the city is becoming more like the township rather than the other way around. He theorises this as a 'township metropolis':

.... a formerly racially divided city undergoes a constant process of appropriation in relation to both material possession (the growth of the black middle class) and to the imaginary boundaries that every Johannesburg resident, black and white, now experiences. Those formerly excluded now feel they have every right to share such an urban space and, through their material and imaginary occupation of this city, they form links with even larger worlds. Increasingly the styles, needs, and struggles of the township occupy the centre of the city itself, whether through the interpretation of built space or the emergence of cosmopolitan fashion and music styles – kwaito and loxion culture for example.²⁵

Following from this is a last trope: that of the multicultural ideal of the post-apartheid 'One Nation', discursively framed in the democratic moment of transformation in 1994 through the multicultural ideology of the 'Rainbow Nation'. The Rainbow Nation ideal was promoted in every possible medium, from television to billboard advertisements, and through tourist images, new school curricula and even on T-shirts suggesting a society post-race in which South Africans could find, as

²⁵ Mbembe, Achile, and Nuttall, Sarah, 2005, 'A Blasé Attitude; A Response to Michael Watts', *Public Culture* 17 (1), pp. 193–201. p.197

the African National Congress slogan had it, 'a home for all'. However real 'life in the ever divided landscape of South African cities still continues to be constitutive of hybridities of real, everyday, 'lived' experience and essentialised mythologies.'²⁶ Concepts of home as explored by literary scholar and author Njabulo Ndebele in the *Desire Lines* book exist in stark contrast to this ideal as new fault lines develop in South African society and in postmodern global culture.²⁷ South Africa post-apartheid is as much plagued by the emergence of xenophobic violence, as it is a site for the productive renegotiation of personal and national identities.

Over fifteen years after the transition to democracy in 1994, the built landscape of South Africa is, on the one hand, still significantly formed by the historical processes and power plays which continue to underpin the concepts and methods used in current spatial practices, as well as being profoundly affected by social changes and new social formations. Spatial practice finds realisation in this political, physical, and social landscape that is hybrid as well as diverse, a space in which multiple publics exist and compete for resources and opportunities. In addition the historically established built landscapes, in our cities, townships, towns, farmlands, and rural 'homeland' spaces are merging as South African society is opened up to globalising forces in which the tensions of wealth and poverty create an ever increasing division between the rich and poor, between migrants and citizens, between men and women, and between the spaces that one comes to occupy by virtue of one's mobility or otherwise. It is in this 'jamming' together of previously distinct social categories post-apartheid and their associated distinctly formed spaces that the spatial disciplines and specifically the practice of heritage finds itself in a postmodern world confronted with a whole new set of challenges.

At the same time, the period post-1994 has been an unexpectedly productive one for architects in South Africa. Bremner reflects on the scope and role that architectural projects have played in the reconfiguring of national memory and the recasting of practice in the post-apartheid period: 'State-sponsored competitions, new government policies, globalisation, tourism, new modes of urban competitiveness, the collisions and confusions of urban restructuring: these have all located architecture at the heart of the project to re-imagine our [South African] national identity, and presented it with unparalleled opportunities to re-imagine itself – what it is, how it operates, what it builds and how it looks'.²⁸ This is not to say that the spatial disciplines, specifically architecture, have not been inextricably tied into projects of national memory and identity historically, but that: 'The transition to democracy has been unexpectedly good to South African architects and South African architecture, hardly known for its contribution to pre-1994 liberation politics. But many questions about architecture's broader responsibilities to reshape and rebuild our society, and itself, remain

²⁶ Murray, 2006: 4

²⁷ Ndebele, Njabulo, 2007, 'Public Reflections' in Murray *et al*, 2007: 277-282

²⁸ Bremner, Lindsay, 2004/5, 'Re-imagining Architecture for Democracy', in I. Low, J. Sandler and S. Hugo-Hamman (eds), *Space and Transformation 10 Years of Democracy*, The Digest of South African Architecture 2004/2005, Picasso Publishers: Cape Town, pp 98–99.p.98

unaddressed and unanswered'.²⁹ At the same time a number of recent works and projects have set out to address these questions.

The context within which Uytenbogaardt began to practice in the 1960s in Cape Town was one profoundly influenced by modern architecture and town planning ideals. Some of the most interesting buildings and environments in Cape Town include the Cavalla Cigarette Factory, Salt River, by Max Policansky, 1938; The Cape Town Foreshore Development; Cape Town City Council, 1948; The Langa Township Plan, Cape Town City Council, 1940-1955; Pinelands Garden Village Plan, by Thompson, c. 1950; House Fagan, Camps Bay, by Gabriel Fagan, 1965; South African Broadcasting Corporation Building, Sea Point by Jan van Wijk, c. 1968; Scott Road flats, Kenilworth by Adele Naude and Tony Dos Santos, 1969 and The University of Cape Town Sports Centre by Uytenbogaardt and Macaskil, 1976. By the late 1970s the city of Cape Town, and many of its associated centres, including Bellville and many small towns in the interior of the Cape bore traces of this new architecture and planning practice.³⁰

Modernist influences had taken some time to become apparent in Cape Town and it was only really from the 1930s to the 1940s when British trained Professor Thornton White (1901-1965) took over as the Head of the School of Architecture at the University of Cape Town (established in the 1920s) that this influence became recognisable in the Cape. Gilbert Herbert writes that 'The advent of Prof Thornton-White to the Chair of Architecture, early in 1937, was significant in the Cape Town story. A change in direction in the School of Architecture soon became apparent, and in a year or two the exhibited work of the school was much more modern in spirit'.³¹ Up until this time sentiment towards modernism in the Cape was 'hostile' and 'conservative' and the practice of modernism became established although with less 'strength' than in the work strongly inspired by the International Style in the Transvaal. Uytenbogaardt studied under Thornton White in the 1950s and saw himself very much as a protégée, citing him as one of the two most influential men in his life along with American architect Louis Kahn, under whose tutelage he studied immediately before returning to South Africa.³²

The work of a few individual architects stands out for its adherence to modernist practices, Pius Pahl for instance, trained at Bauhaus in the 1930s and after moving to Cape Town quickly established a thriving practice that produced a number of buildings ranging from private houses to commercial projects for developers - most notably blocks of flats on Cape Town's Atlantic seaboard in Bantry Bay. Pahl's work was the subject of a retrospective exhibition of Bauhaus work in Germany in the early 1990s. Similarly, a group of Polish architects came to Cape Town after World War Two having finished their training at the Liverpool School of Architecture and established thriving

²⁹ Bremner, 2004/5: 98

³⁰ Fisher *et al*, 2003: 69

³¹ Herbert, 1975:227

³² Murray, 1999

practices. Many of these architects were committed modernists. They included Maciek Miszewski, Roman Soltynski and others who also taught part-time at the School of Architecture at the University of Cape Town up until the 1960s.³³

Under apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s, there was an unprecedented amount of building and planning work conducted in Cape Town. Plans included the Cape Town Foreshore Scheme, and Native Housing initiatives in townships such as Langa and Nyanga. Simultaneously a satellite city centre emerged outside Cape Town known as Bellville and many buildings were commissioned and completed by Afrikaans architects, many of whom had established practices in places such as Pretoria. Jan van Wijk was one such architect who completed many commercial and public works commissions including later projects such as the Taal Monument (The Afrikaans language monument) in Paarl which were conceived along strong nationalistic lines. There is little available information or research into this critical period of the Cape's modern architectural history, perhaps since the only school of architecture in the region is the English-language University of Cape Town.³⁴ Uytendogaardt was not directly linked to these Afrikaans architects who mainly studied at the University of Pretoria and while he must have been aware of their work, his points of reference stylistically were located more within the international scene from which he just returned. Undoubtedly however he saw himself as an Afrikaner and a religious man and this would have been his interest in the commission for the Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom which is the subject of Chapter Three of this thesis.

The period from the 1970s was a period in which many of the most significant individual buildings were erected. Uytendogaardt joined the School of Architecture at the University of Cape Town and established a Planning department. Shortly afterwards Ivor Prinsloo joined the school. Both men were key figures with outstanding international reputations and this spawned a new confidence in modernism which was adopted by local architects. While much of the work from this period is highly influenced by internationally shared knowledge, there are a significant number of projects that began to problematise ideas of South African identity through a more regionalist modern architecture and urbanism. A particular example of this regionalist modernist approach is contained in the early schemes of the work produced in collaboration with UPRU, based in the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT from the 1970s onwards.³⁵

Rethinking Modernism

Architectural modernism has necessarily become viewed as only one part of the global projects of modernity, and critiques thereof need to be positioned in relation to the processes characterised by modernity more broadly – those of increased industrialisation, imperialism, colonialism, racial

³³ Fisher et al, 2003: 69

³⁴ Fisher et al, 2006, 72

³⁵ See Chapter Four of this thesis.

exclusion and societal ordering. If we accept, after the theoretical insights of Foucault and Lefebvre, or the postcolonial critiques of Appadurai, Mbembe and others, that current disciplinary thought formations and knowledge constructions about space are limited (contained even) by the epistemologies of modernity, how then do we begin to think through, in very practical ways, the possibilities for re-positioning spatial practices within a context such as Africa, or more specifically South Africa?³⁶ How do we deal with the histories of marginality, discursively inscribed through the twin ‘gazes’ of developmental discourses and spatial ethnography?³⁷ Where do these fit into the consumerism of global capitalism? How does practice respond to the needs of different publics? How do we re-imagine the concrete in a postmodern, globalising world of hyperreality? Can we see ‘contemporary’ architecture in any way that is detached from the project of modernity?³⁸

In making an argument about architectural modernism as a more or less continuous practice over time, modern architecture in South Africa necessarily has to be understood within a continuous relationship with the history and theory of the Western Tradition emanating from the metropolitan centres of Europe and the Americas. By posing a relation – with all the associated complexities – between centre and margins and interrogating conceptions of modernism and modernity within the complex relationship between metropolitan ideas of space and the circulation of these ideas to colonial contexts, it becomes possible to situate an argument about colonial modernism in a dialectical relation between these two interrelated sites of modernist expression.³⁹

Therefore, as Daniel Herwitz has argued, it follows that modernism in the South African context can only really be understood in terms of its relation to the metropolitan centres of Europe and America. He argues that the first form of modernism emanates from the centre – where modernism – in art and architecture – arose in the context of spirited ‘cultures’ of modernism. In contrast, the second form exists at the margins where modernist art and architecture developed along significantly different lines.

If modernism originates in the first instance out of a specific form of urban life, then what does this mean to originate elsewhere, where that form of life is largely absent or minimal? In South Africa for example?⁴⁰

This raises questions about studies of the margins and specifically of the architecture that it produces. It follows that the transference of metropolitan modernist ideals cannot be seen to have circulated in any simplistic manner. If modernism emerged according to distinct modalities of a specific ‘form of urban life’, what does this mean for another site in which modernism is produced? One take on this

³⁶ Mbembe, Achille, 2001, *On the Postcolony*, University of California Press Berkeley. Appadurai, Arun, 1996, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, Henri, (translated by Nicholson-Smith, Donald), 1991, *The Production of Space*, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, UK. Foucault, Michel, 1976, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Harper and Row, New York.

³⁷ Mbembe, Achille, and Nuttall, Sarah, 2004, ‘Writing the World from an African Metropolis’, *Public Culture* 16 (3), pp 347–72.

³⁸ Murray, 2006:4

³⁹ Herwitz 1998

⁴⁰ Herwitz 1998: 406

argument – from the perspective of the centre – would be that it is impossible for anything authentic or new to be produced outside of this site of production. This reinforces notions of the margins as remote, detached and inferior sites of production, condemned to ‘receiving’ ideas from the centre which are then applied in an uncritical manner. The space of the margins, in this conception, is ‘stagnant and incapable of the invention of anything as urbane as modernism’. Another angle on this argument might resist the notion that the space of the margins is one of backwardness, simply caught in a time-lapse waiting to receive ‘secondhand ideas from the centre’.⁴¹

These two positions are echoed by South African architect Hannah le Roux, who suggests two ways of ‘revisiting modernist architecture in Africa’ produced during the 1920s and 1950s. Le Roux frames two visions for modern architecture in Africa:

Vision 1:

The project of modern architecture is a failure in Africa. The buildings are shells, void of any aesthetic qualities that are respected by their tenants, and impossible to maintain.

Vision 2

The buildings are, on the other hand, highly lively and animated settings, replete with sounds, social relations and multiple functions. In this vision they are preferable to the sterile modernisms of Western institutions that are the backdrop to everyday lives characterised by monotony, order and cleanliness.⁴²

These two points of view seem to suggest that the contemporary reality lies somewhere between the simple binaries of the centre and margins – where the emergence and production of modernism at the margins exists in the context of a continuous dependency on the colonial centre or its post-colonial successor. In order for modernism to assert a new dimension it has to endure this dependency and be satisfied with simply converting ‘received forms’ for its own purposes.⁴³ In the broadest sense, as Herwitz argues further, in the case of South African architecture this cultural and stylistic intermingling has yet to take place. Countering this view is Julian Cooke, editor of *Architecture South Africa*, who optimistically argues that instead of being ‘absorbed in the global common denominator’, South African architects are beginning to make a real contribution.⁴⁴

Remaking Modernism

In narrating the making and remaking of architectural space in the post-apartheid city, where it is accepted new forms co-exist and compete with their predecessors within cities, possibly the greatest challenge to the discipline of architecture is to begin to find ways to ‘think through’, ‘narrate’ and write about architecture and urban design that will enable a general critical and theoretical understanding of the process behind the making of buildings and the workings of architects as authors of spaces. As I argued in my chapter for the 2006 publication for *Sharp City, Reframing the*

⁴¹ Herwitz 1998

⁴² Le Roux, Hannah, 2005, ‘Encounters with Architecture’, *Art South Africa*, 4 (2): 58–63.– (2005) ‘Foreign Parts’, keynote address, *Modern Architecture in East Africa around Independence*, published conference proceedings, pp 43–52.p. 52

⁴³ Herwitz, 1998

⁴⁴ Cooke, 2006a: 3

'Contemporary'; *architecture and the Postcolony*, conventional forms of writing within the discipline predominate and persist as an internal disciplinary 'language' of sorts. This language is governed by a discourse of aesthetic appreciation and description, hagiography, self-promotion and post-rationalisation.⁴⁵ Inevitably this requires a broader set of theoretical readings and the need to apply these theories to the materiality of architecture.

Architectural critic Greig Crysler has argued that notions of the city have changed radically over the last half century through the processes of globalisation. Crysler argues that we can no longer talk of cities as 'bounded domains', but instead need to think of interconnected urban networks. '[T]he categories of nation, city, architecture and building cannot be understood as separate entities: they exist as simultaneous and overlapping conditions'.⁴⁶

This supports the interpretation of architecture as – 'a trace of international networks and flows of investment', or, as in Le Roux's paraphrasing of Anthony King's argument, a reflection of 'the intertwining of colonialism with global trade and investment [which] has shaped linkages and connections within the spatial logic of the metropolitan/peripheral relationship'.⁴⁷ Consequently if urban contexts are now subject to these overlapping conditions, it follows then that the spatial disciplines are being challenged to respond in ways that are increasingly interdisciplinary. Crysler continues:

Given that disciplines such as architecture, planning, geography and urban studies continue, for the most part, to be organised around professional training and research that is linked to specific scales of analysis, how should theory be transformed to meet the challenges of the globally interdependent conditions in the twenty-first century metropolis?⁴⁸

In answering this question he suggests that changes are needed not just within disciplines and between them, but that there is a need for the examination of how and why disciplines are constituted as discourses. In a similar vein, Mbembe and Nuttall offer a similar new reading of what they term 'the African Metropolis'. Writing in response to Michael Watts' critique of the special edition of the journal *Public Culture*, they assert:

'Johannesburg – The Elusive Metropolis' was deliberately conceived as an invitation to browse through the city, its debris, its hypermodern structures, its plans and its leakages, if necessary by way of vignettes, snapshots, scenes, sights, voices, and where need be, fragmentary accounts... Far from closing the city to interpretation or presenting it as an 'asylum', the various contributions taken together are testimony to a volatile and highly creative process of city transformation. Indeed motion is what we wanted to capture, while at the same time exploring the splintering quality of the metropolitan experience itself.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Murray 2006: 4

⁴⁶ Crysler, C. Greig, 2003, *Writing Spaces; Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment, 1960–2000*, Routledge *ArchiText* Series, London.p.1

⁴⁷ Le Roux 2005: 43. King cited in Le Roux 2005: 44

⁴⁸ Crysler 2003: 1–2

⁴⁹ Mbembe and Nuttall 2005:199

Ten Moments of Modernism

1. avant-garde / modern

One of the associations most often made with the modern movement in architecture is that of the avant-garde. In this way architectural creation of early avant-garde modernist buildings became synonymous with small groups of architects working with the style and forms of international modernist practice as only one manifestation of global modernity in the early twentieth century. South Africa is no exception where architects belonging to what is now known as the Transvaal Group of modern architects aligned themselves with the radical social and political ideals of the modern movement internationally and began to reproduce its forms.⁵⁰ From seminal early works such as houses Martienssen and Stern by the practice Martienssen, Fassler and Cooke in the early 1930s through to projects such as the radical leftist student scheme entitled 'Native Housing' by Connell, Irvine-Smith, Jonas, Kantorowich and Wepener in 1939, modern architecture and planning became the spatial language for the visioning of political allegiances to socialist ideals.⁵¹

The heady days of this *avant garde* idealism began to dissipate by the 1940s with only a few architects remaining faithful to the goals and visions promised by European modernism.⁵²

Within a decade [1930s] South Africa was swept from the backwaters of architectural provincialism into the mainstream of the International Style... Then almost inevitably the flow [of modernist ideas] broadened. As the movement widened, its intensity and impetus diminished ... for a further period of growth.⁵³

From this point on, ideas about modern architecture moved beyond the small group centered on Wits University in the then Transvaal. In other centres such as Pretoria, Cape Town and Bloemfontein, modernism became adopted and the style was entrenched across the political spectrum. The enticing forms and visions of the International Style remained as an important reminder of the 'new' and fashionable, especially in cities such as Johannesburg where metropolitan modernity was gaining popularity.⁵⁴

Inevitably for architects, as stylistic modernism became more mainstream, the political associations became less self-consciously applied when designing buildings, although some of the disciplinary mystique and purism has remained. If the notion of the avant-garde represents the moment of reception of modernist ideas into South Africa, then the notion of the 'modern' can be traced as a thread through to contemporary award winning projects such as the one by architects Anya and Macio

⁵⁰ Herbert, 1976: 3

⁵¹ Connell, P.H., Irvine-Smith, C., Jonas, K., Kantorowich, R. and Wepener, F.J., 1939, *Native Housing – a collective thesis*, Witwatersrand University Press Johannesburg. Herbert 1976. Japha, Derek, A., 1996, *The Social Programme of the South African Modern Movement in Architecture*, Africa Seminar Paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 8 October 1986

⁵² Herbert, 1976: 3

⁵³ Herbert 1975:1

⁵⁴ Chipkin 1993

van der Merwe-Miszewski (Figure 23). Working with ideas of pure form and adhering to the modernist ethics of honesty to materials, structure, and of 'form following function', works such as this can be seen as part of international flows of ideas, capital and investment, part of a continuous international conversation about modernity. Whether consciously applied as precedent or not by its architects, 'Tree House' bears reference to other famous modernist icons such as the Eames House, House Chareau or to work by modernist masters such as Alvar Aalto and Mies van der Rohe. At the same time it makes its own iconic vision-statement with the tree metaphor reflecting the context of its site on the slopes of Table Mountain in elite suburban Cape Town.

2. afrikaner /apartheid

The second moment marks how modernism became 'domesticated' as the style of choice for use in the latter part of the twentieth century in the service of Afrikaner nationalism. This is possibly the crudest application of modernist design ideas and forms from the city scale down to individual buildings. Many international styles and variations of modernism were emulated in the project of asserting nationalist spatial identity. From the Art Deco style of Gerard Moerdyk's design for the Voortekker Monument, to the Corbusian planning for Cape Town's Foreshore reclamation project; from the fluid forms and expressionism of the Taal Monument (Figure 24), to the brutalism of the Pretoria State Theatre and Strydom Monument; and from the Regionalist Modernism of Fagan's Volkskas Bank buildings to the Kahnian modernism of the Rand Afrikaans University, modern architecture became the style and visual language of the apartheid period.

Thus modernism became the means by which Afrikaner advancement could make its mark on cities, distinguishing itself from the British imperial styles of Victorian and others.⁵⁵ Simultaneously, apartheid modernity was reinforced by the establishment of new institutions and new systems of racialised power. In this line, much has been written about the apartheid city and the manipulation of urban planning to suit the segregationist ideals of the apartheid state, while less has been said about the particularities of the ways in which internationalist models of building were mutated to suit the programme of keeping racially different groups of people apart on a daily basis.

Many apartheid modernist buildings distinguished themselves from their international counterparts in localised ways: with separate entrances for 'blacks' and 'whites' in all municipal and state buildings; in the provision of 'native living quarters' in houses and blocks of flats in 'white' Group Areas; or on the urban scale in the creation of the space of the 'township' (dormitory ghettos near cities and towns) with special buildings such as migrant labour hostels, beer halls, pass offices and the like.

⁵⁵ Silverman, Melinda, 1998 'Ons bou vir die Bank: Nationalism, architecture and Volkskas Bank', in H. Judin and I. Vladislavić (eds) *blank Architecture, apartheid and after*, Rotterdam: NAI, pp. 128–143.p.129

The powerful and long lasting effects of this planning and architecture are only just beginning to be realised. At the time of writing, over ten years into democracy, the determining effects of these forms of building and planning still very much affect the daily lives of South Africans. Ironically South African space remains divided, contested and profoundly affected by these historical manifestations of city-making that ‘act back’ in the present.

3. african / ethnic

The third moment explores the relationship between ideas of Africa and notions of ethnicity within the spatial disciplines. Possibly the most vexing debate in local architectural circles over the last ten years has been around the search and desire to inscribe buildings with African identity. What emerges in these debates is an awkwardness around the articulation of race in the spatial disciplines.⁵⁶ From debates in the university studios to experiments on the ground, the African moment in the discipline historically has been an ethnographic one. With the emergence of significant numbers of black students and practitioners from the late 1980s onwards, the debate has shifted towards questions of curricula, ‘standards’ and access to the spatial professions. These have yet to be clearly articulated or reflected on, and the spatial disciplines still lack an adequately enabling language of critique.⁵⁷

A second aspect of this ‘moment’ is a more historical one. Ethnographic studies of African architecture abound, where traditional dwellings and settlement forms have been studied, classified, drawn and documented. Working much like colonial anthropologists in ‘the field’ and in the academy, these architects have collated extensive and significant records of traditional ways of living. These studies rely on many of the characteristics of colonial scholarship, such as tribal classification and rural geographies. Key works include Peter Rich’s study of the Ndebele, Barry Bierman’s studies of the Zulu ‘indlu’ (beehive hut), Franco Frescura’s work on traditional forms of mission architecture and many others. In these instances notions of ‘tradition’ operate as ‘an antithetical discourse [that] maintains the opposition between a developing urban and undeveloped rural’.⁵⁸ Tradition has also had an ethnic association, whereby architects have used their knowledge of traditional settlements in acts of stylistic translation into new architectures as a form of stylistic postmodernism. Peter Rich’s own house in suburban Johannesburg uses Ndebele inspired wall motifs and colours (Figure 25).

A third aspect is that of the influence of African art on modern art and architecture, which is known to have inspired metropolitan modernism. South African architecture is no exception to the global trend. From as early as the 1930s in Johannesburg and Pretoria, modern architecture has been influenced by African settlement forms, art and culture. Examples include Norman Eaton’s House Greenwood (1930) in which he created an ‘African village’ for the servant’s quarters, and Pancho

⁵⁶ Neluheni, Malindi, 2000, ‘Apartheid Urban Development’ in L.N.N. Locco, (ed.) *White Papers, Black Marks; architecture, race, culture*, The Athlone Press, London, pp 66–91.p.69

⁵⁷ Neluheni 2000:90

⁵⁸ Judin and Vladislavić 1998: 30

Gueddes's eclectic modernist architecture, painting and sculpture (1960s to 1990s) through to contemporary schemes for bushveld lodges such as Singita Lebombo in the Kruger Park by OMM Designs.⁵⁹

4. community / public

The fourth moment explores what is probably one of the most misused terms under apartheid in South Africa – the word 'community', which became synonymous with socially enforced understandings of racial 'groups'. For instance, the government Department of 'Community Development' was the institution through which the Group Areas Act was enforced and which carried out forced removals. In a series of keywords presented at the beginning of the volume *blank_Architecture, apartheid and after* one idea of 'community' is explored:

Who exactly is the community in South Africa? Are there not more complex social arrangements as well as conflicting interest groups that must be accounted for? How are these different groups to make up a community? Why is this 'community' always seen to be black and never white? There was a tradition of constructing 'community buildings' in the black areas. These buildings are easy to recognize: they have brightly coloured curvilinear forms. This style was never pursued in municipal buildings or any other government structures in white areas, where there were of course no 'communities' to be accommodated. White public buildings were imagined, designed and built differently, with what must have been other criteria and intentions.⁶⁰

Notions of the community architect and planner are positioned somewhere between these two poles. On one level, practitioners who were opposed to the apartheid status quo undertook work in township spaces as an act of resistance during the struggle against apartheid. Practices and groups such as Planact in Johannesburg and the Development Action Group in Cape Town took risks through intervening in disputes and aiding development, particularly in the 1980s. On another level, community architects and planners by virtue of their outsider status, also bought into a series of at best misguided and at worst, patronising ideas about African space making and practices. These are the crudely translated curvilinear forms and bright colours to which Judin and Vladislavić allude. Figure 26 illustrates work by Cape Town based community architect Carin Smuts.

Another idea of community is one which is exerted from within, such as in the case of the District Six Museum which claims to be a 'community museum', where the idea of community is used to resist notions of conventional heritage practice and museum making. In the case of the District Six Museum, the idea of community is an enabling and powerful one, which allows for the stories and memories of ex-residents of the infamous site of forced removal to be told in more or less unmediated ways.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cooke 2006b: 11

⁶⁰ Judin and Vladislavić 1998:20

⁶¹ Prosalendis, Sandra, and Rassool, Ciraj (eds), 2001, *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum*, District Six Museum, Cape Town.

Rassool, Ciraj, 2007, 'Memory and the Politics of History in the District Six Museum', in Murray *et al*, 2007, pp.113-128

Ironically post 1994 many misconceptions still exist, and are perpetuated by the homogenising tendencies of multiculturalism and the imaginaries of the ‘new’ South Africa and the ‘rainbow nation’. Instead of ‘new solutions’ to ‘urban problems’ being solved by space making practices in a liberated country, now more than ever, issues of land and the city, of memory and identity, access and control, race and gender, are being contested as confident new publics emerge and lay claim to rights and access to land and resources. Almost daily, newspapers carry reports about land invasions and new removals, from buildings that have been illegally occupied, to disputes over cultural or religious rights and burial sites.⁶²

5. cape regional / vernacular

I have suggested earlier that questions of African identity and indigeneity have been surprisingly absent within the spatial disciplines, and that these have been understood through a type of ‘ethnic’ categorisation. Similarly there has been little coming to terms with the naming of practices and ‘movements’ within South African architectural practice. The fifth moment aims to shift attention geographically from Johannesburg and Pretoria in the north to Cape Town in the south to examine stylistic dimensions of this categorisation and in particular the naming of ‘Cape’ architecture as a specific, (superior even) regional typology of building.

While the impetus of the ideals of the International Style took root in Johannesburg in the 1920s and 1930s, architects in the Cape remained more conservative and provincial.⁶³ Modernism only really became the mode of design under the new appointment in the 1940s of Englishman Professor Thornton-White at the University of Cape Town.⁶⁴ Instead of aspiring to the international scene alone, architects drew inspiration from the local colonial architecture of the Cape Dutch – an architecture of whitewashed walls and thatched roofs set in spectacular mountainous settings – which became a regionalist source of inspiration for modernism. Very soon there were a number of architects working in this regionalist modernist way, including Revel Fox, Gabriel Fagan and later many others.

House Wilson by Revel Fox (Figure 27) is an example of this regionalist modernism. Drawing on traditional architectural elements such as the white walls, expressive chimneys, barn forms, as well as using local climatic devices such as small window openings with shutters for shade and orientated in the landscape affording views of mountains and farmlands (yet remaining decidedly modern stylistically) this architecture soon gained popularity amongst designers as a way to reconcile modernist ideas with the historical traditions of building in the Cape. This regionalism has also been understood in terms of architectural historian and critic Kenneth Frampton’s theories of ‘Critical

⁶² Tayob, Abdulkader, 2007, ‘On a Knife-edge or in the fray: Managing Heritage Sites in a Vibrant Democracy’ in Murray *et al*, 2007, pp.183-194. Shepherd, Nick and Ernsten, Christian, 2007, ‘The World Below: Post-apartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Bones of the Prestwich Dead’ in Murray *et al*, 2007, pp.215-232

⁶³ Herbert 1976:1

⁶⁴ Fisher *et al*. 2003: 71

Regionalism' which he produced in various forms proposing the idea of architecture that is 'universally aware' yet 'locally rooted.'⁶⁵

This regionalist trend was essentially a romantic traditionalism, which also began to appear in the Cape through ideas about urban design. Under pre-eminent practitioner Roelof Uytendogaardt a language of space making emerged which fused the romantic traditionalism of Italy (where many local students continue to go for postgraduate studies) with that of the Cape winelands. Using concepts and precedents such as axial ordering in the landscape, along with spatial and built hierarchies and the delineation of walled 'werf' spaces, a local language has developed.

Allied to this appreciation of the local 'Cape' architecture is the work of a group of lay enthusiasts who under James Walton established the Vernacular Architecture Society in South Africa. In keeping with the aims and practices of the parent Vernacular Architecture Society in Britain, the group began raising awareness of 'vanishing' settler or 'folk' architecture from the eighteenth century onwards. Studies of traditional settlements have also been the main research product of academics at the University of Cape Town and others whose work in surveying and documenting Cape architecture has been extensive. These works are taxonomies, the best known being those by Ronald Lewcock, Hans Fransen and Mary Cook, Vivienne and Derek Japha, John Rennie and others.⁶⁶

Ironically this fascination with the vernacular (the dictionary definition of which is 'native, belonging to the country of one's birth') has never been questioned or critiqued, and both these practices continue into the present. Architects are still searching for ways to give modern buildings local identity. Examples of this mode of architectural expression range from the Hout Bay Library by Uytendogaardt and Rozendal, to new interventions on wine farms by Kruger Roos and Van der Merwe Miszewski Architects and others. In the 2006 Project Awards by the South African Institute of architects, the project for La Motte Farm, near Franschoek in the Cape, by Van der Merwe Miszewski Architects received an award for 'convert[ing] the barn into the main living areas of a new residence and add[ing] two new wings of accommodation to form a large werf space, typical of Cape country estates of the eighteenth century.'⁶⁷ Similarly, as South Africa opens up to new development and globalising forces, the impetus to save vanishing local 'traditions' of building has persisted and the romantic regionalist approach has continued almost uninterrupted.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Frampton, 1983:147-162

⁶⁶ Foucault 1976, Lewcock, R. (1963) *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa, a study of the interaction of two cultures 1795-1837*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema; Fransen, H. and M.A. Cook (1980) *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema; Japha, D. and V. (1992) *The Landscape and Architecture of Montagu 1859-1915*, Occasional Publications Series, University of Cape Town: School of Architecture and Planning; Rennie, J. (1978) *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*, Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects

⁶⁷ Steenkamp, Alta, Raman, P.G and Cooke, Julian, 2006, 'Project Awards – Biennial Awards', *Architecture South Africa*, March/April, pp 40-44.p.42.

⁶⁸ The VASSA (Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa) Journal publishes the efforts made by the Vernacular Architecture Society in this regard.

6. africa / modern

The sixth moment examines South Africa's place in contemporary Africa. One of the defining moments of the political transition in South Africa post 1994 has been the establishment of new democratic mechanisms such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and the new Constitution. These have seen South Africa become a key player in international peace processes. Therefore the architectural competition for the design of the Constitutional Court complex (Figure 28), sited in the precinct of Johannesburg's 'Old Fort', a colonial prison in Hillbrow, attracted attention from local and international architects alike.

The winners of the competition, Durban based OMM Design Workshop and Urban Solutions (DWUS), conscious of the potential power of inverting a previously penal space into a space of freedom set out to make a building that is inspired by Africa but simultaneously modern. In describing his design approach, architect Andrew Makin drew a clear distinction between the court buildings and Johannesburg's widely feted post-apartheid African mall: 'The idea of the court is not to make it like Melrose Arch'.⁶⁹ The result is a series of modern forms with African inspired texture and adornment, and metaphoric use of elements such as the 'great African staircase'. Lindsay Bremner highlights important distinctions in the design elements of the new building:

No building is more significant... than the recently completed Constitutional Court building... Bold, decorative, invoking our multiple pasts in a powerful symbol of an open, transparent judiciary, this building stands in stark contrast to the other highest court ...the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein, whose closed façade and formal axial composition represents all that the new court has displaced.⁷⁰

Countering this view, art critic Sean O'Toole is more circumspect, warning of the untested idealism which the design reflects.⁷¹ However, much like new work emerging in fashion, music, dance and art, architecture such as this plays with identity in interesting new ways. Culture is viewed as hybrid and fluid rather than fixed, where ideas and stereotypes about culture and race in Africa are being played with and used as ways of renegotiating identity, as South African cities are reframed as 'critical sites for the remixing and reassembling of ... identities'.⁷²

7. heritage / memory

Moment number seven seeks to reflect interplays between new forms of public culture and the ways in which heritage and memory are being mobilised in the remaking of 'nation'. Freedom Park in Pretoria is a state sanctioned 'legacy project' (Figure 29). Here the ANC-led government has set aside resources for the transformation of arguably one of the most politically charged Afrikaner cultural spaces in the country, the land surrounding and including the Voortrekker (Afrikaner Settler)

⁶⁹ cited in O'Toole, Sean, 2004/5, 'The Splintered Metropolis' in I. Low, J. Sandler and S. Hugo-Hamman (eds) *Space and Transformation 10 Years of Democracy*, The Digest of South African Architecture, Picasso, Cape Town, pp 94-97, p. 97

⁷⁰ Bremner, 2004/5: 98

⁷¹ O'Toole, 2004/5: 97

⁷² Nuttall, Sarah, 2004, 'Stylising the Self: The Y generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg', *Public Culture* 16 (3), pp.430-452, p. 431

Monument.⁷³ Through this project, linked to nation building initiatives, notions of Afrikaner nationalism are being replaced with ideas of African tradition and indigeneity. Elements of the Freedom Park project include a garden landscape in which traditional healers can grow medicinal herbs, and a new museum and archive which aims to house ‘tangible’ as well as ‘intangible’ heritage.⁷⁴

Bold and large in scale, the Freedom Park initiative is one of a plethora of new heritage projects to be undertaken post-apartheid. New museums that narrate stories of the struggle against apartheid are emerging around the country, and architects (along with historians) are key players in the visioning of these new spaces. Aside from being lucrative commissions for architects, these projects have received significant state funding to institutionalise and establish new struggle histories. In so doing architects have inadvertently become agents in the reimagining and representation of history.⁷⁵

In some cases new museums have been conceptualised as architectural projects first and foremost, with high profile architectural competitions being advertised for their design.⁷⁶ Concurrently many of these museums have been challenged to rethink notions of their collections and have relied on oral sources to present collective memory as a way of addressing ‘silences’ in the formal archives.⁷⁷ From the Robben Island Museum in Cape Town to the Apartheid and Hector Peterson museums in Gauteng to the Mandela Museum in Qunu, Eastern Cape, and the Red Location Apartheid Museum in the Nelson Mandela Metropole (previously Port Elizabeth), these new museums have relied on up-to-date modern architectures and exhibition design for their displays. In many instances they tell similar stories about the struggle against apartheid, triumph over these struggles, and about freedom. Through the rewriting and rescripting of space post-apartheid, these museums and their architectures are part of the assertion of new national identity.⁷⁸

8. international / global

Moment number eight is probably the most stable and continuous form of architectural practice that seeks engagement and legitimacy internationally, exemplified by the central atrium in the interior of MMA Architects’ new South African Embassy in Berlin (Figure 30). Sophisticated and modern, the building marks South Africa’s confident return to international diplomacy. The architecture is a restrained modernism which sits comfortably in a setting such as Berlin, where modern architecture is juxtaposed against the historical architecture of the old European city.

⁷³ Meskell, Lynn, 2007, ‘Living in the Past: Historic Futures in Double Time’, In Murray *et al*, 2007, pp.165-180

⁷⁴ ‘Definitions’ in *National Heritage Resources Act* (NHRA), 1999

⁷⁵ Bremner 2004/5: 98. Bremner, Lindsay, 2007, ‘Memory, Nation Building and the Post-apartheid City: The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg’, in Murray *et al*, 2007, pp85-104

⁷⁶ There have been architectural competitions for Freedom Park, Robben Island, Red Location Apartheid Museum, the Constitutional Court and others.

⁷⁷ Hamilton *et al*. 2002

⁷⁸ Witz, Leslie, 2005, ‘Perspectives on collecting and exhibiting for new and diverse audiences’, unpublished conference paper, History Department / Centre for Humanities Research / African Program in Museum and Heritage Studies, University of the Western Cape: 1–17

Here the use of modernist architecture (significantly designed by two of South Africa's leading black architects), is seen as signalling South Africa's independence.⁷⁹ Through the use of a modernist language of architecture, the building is somehow released from the imperialist neo-classical associations of, for example, Herbert Baker's South Africa House in London. While the architecture is confidently and understatedly metropolitan, free of the heavily African iconography and adornment of the neo-classical approach, African identity is subtly inserted through the placement of the baobab sculpture in the central atrium space.⁸⁰

This internationalism can also be seen through the roles architects and planners have played as key image makers in South Africa's attempts to re-enter global events. Architects have, for example, been commissioned to build pilot projects such as sports halls to bolster bids to the Olympic Games or other international sporting events. These buildings are incongruous in their presence in the contemporary city set amid shack lands in poor areas such as Khayelitsha.⁸¹ Similarly in the present revisioning of architecture where memory, space and identity are part of the post-apartheid urban imaginary, new global forms of public space are developing in the postmodern malls of South African cities.

The space of the 'experiential economy', exemplified by mall spaces which are virtually indistinguishable from those in other parts of the world, makes for an interplay between these market driven spaces of cultural fantasy production and the urban reality of cities marked by the spatial practices of the apartheid state.⁸² These post-modern spaces exist in stark contrast to their modernist predecessors and contemporary modernist-inspired visions of the city. Perhaps, most ironically, the global moment in architecture is linked to the flows of international capital and operates in direct contradiction with current pressures and issues of development.⁸³

9. township / freedom

The relation between the space of the township and the space of freedom forms the focus of this section. Local debates about public space and the city have revealed a slippage between different perceptions around 'township' space in South Africa post-apartheid.⁸⁴ What has emerged is the need to

⁷⁹ The degree of integration of black architects into the professions of planning and architecture remains problematic, but since the 1990's many more students have enrolled and completed degrees in the spatial disciplines and entered practice. A few practitioners have also returned home from exile during apartheid.

⁸⁰ Makeka, Mokena, 2006, *Architecture and an African Aesthetic*, Presentation Cities Reading Group, Isandla Institute, Cape Town, April.

⁸¹ For example the Mew Way sports hall in Khayelitsha, near Cape Town, by architects Mike Smuts and Lucien le Grange.

⁸² Hall and Bombardella, 2007

⁸³ See Watson, V. and Turok, I. (2001) 'Divergent Development in South African Cities: strategic challenges facing Cape Town', *Urban Forum*, Vol. 12 (2): 119–138. Watson, V, Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning: metropolitan planning in Cape Town under political transition. Series in Cities and Regions: Planning, Policy and Management edited by Seymour Mandelbaum. Routledge, London and New York, 2001. Dewar, D, 'Some Issues in Developing Settlement Policy Alternatives in South Africa', in C de Wet and R Fox (eds) *Transforming Settlement in Southern Africa*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2001pp 208–224.

⁸⁴ In June 2004, the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) held a two-day interdisciplinary symposium entitled 'The townships now'.

examine, to historicise and to reflect on the categories and terms used to describe the city, and in particular, the use of the term 'township'. On the one hand architects, planners and others in the spatial disciplines use the term to describe a 'category' or 'typology' of spatial design. Townships, in this conception, are seen in stable material terms. Increasingly, however, simply understanding the formal spaces created by apartheid modernist practices, laid out and built according to a set of visibly recognisable spatial ordering devices, is not enough basis for critical engagement with the social issues of space and place.⁸⁵

In contrast to this understanding, perceptions of township spaces by publics who have experienced 'townships' first hand describe a broader, more complex set of experiences of space. The experience of the township post-apartheid inevitably responds to these different perceptions of space.⁸⁶ The space of the townships as a so-called 'free space' also exists against its opposite in the post-apartheid city where in suburbia, spaces of fear and control are reflected in high walls, electric fencing, security patrols and gated communities.⁸⁷

Concurrently the developmental discourses of the township as a space of underdevelopment, in need of upliftment and somehow peopled with an uncritical citizenry persists. People's needs and aspirations have been easily ignored by local authorities who have continued (assisted by architects and urban designers) in a self-assured policy of spatial intervention. Forms and images of township architecture have to a large extent remained pervasive, despite the presence of resistive, critical and imaginative publics.

This is not to say that township space has not been reimagined and transformed in interesting ways. Iconic apartheid spaces like single male hostel compounds in places like Langa and Lwandle near Cape Town, for example, have been successfully converted into family units. Urban renewal projects and service upgrading have seen the quality of urban infrastructure improve. Some special places are even being restored such as the project for the San Souci cinema by Lindsay Bremner, and 26°10' South Architects for the Vuyani Dance Company in Kliptown near Johannesburg:⁸⁸

The San Souci was a community cinema [in Kliptown] in which many famous South African musicians, including Miriam Makeba, performed during the apartheid era. It fell into disrepair and was plundered by people looking for building materials and burnt down in 1995. In 2002, a large number of interviews showed that, even in its ruined state, it remained an important place in the memories of local people; therefore the decision was made to reconstruct it as a venue for education, recreation and as a 'living archive'.⁸⁹

The township is also significantly the site of new museum initiatives from the large scale state-funded projects of nation building, such as the Hector Peterson Museum in Soweto (Figure 31) through to

⁸⁵ Murray, Noëleen 2004 'Spatial [re]imaginings? Contesting township "development" post-apartheid', *The Townships Now* symposium, Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), June. p.2

⁸⁶ Mbembe 2004

⁸⁷ Markus and Cameron 2002: 115–119; Lewis, M, 1998, 'Armed Responses' in H. Judin and I. Vladislavić (eds) *blank Architecture, apartheid and after*, NAI, Rotterdam, pp.84–91.

⁸⁸ Steenkamp *et al.*, 2006: 42

⁸⁹ Steenkamp *et al.* 2006: 42

small scale self-initiated projects such as the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum near Somerset West, the first township-based museum in the Western Cape.⁹⁰ Concepts of township are represented through different discourses of freedom. In the Apartheid Museum in Gauteng the visitor experiences the grand narratives of apartheid through being given a racial classification at the door which influences his or her journey through the museum. In local museum spaces such as at Lwandle, the history of the township is told through the local experience of the migrant labourer. Visitors are taken through the township to visit Hostel 33 (a preserved hostel) and to experience the township firsthand.⁹¹

10. exhibition / review

The last moment is concerned with the portrayal of architectural practice. I have referred elsewhere to 'writing', 'building' and 'exhibition' as 'intersecting forms of practice' that comprise the activity of the architectural discipline in South Africa.⁹² However, it is difficult to ignore that as primary activity, the spatial disciplines, and in particular architecture, are focused on the practice of building.

Many of the ways in which architects think and write about the discipline are influenced by this focus. From the early publications in the *South African Architectural Record* and in *Zero Hour* by Rex Martienssen and colleagues in the 1930s, to the latest publication from the San Paulo Biennale in 2005, writing, reflection and exhibitions about architecture have centered on the showcasing of work by individuals. This biographic mode is a standard international convention for exhibitions, and for architectural 'monographs' which are the accepted genre for publishing the life work of architects. Largely uncritical and hagiographic, these forms of reflection and review persist without interrogation by either the profession or the academies.

Two contemporary architectural projects undertaken in South Africa in the last ten years are worth exploring to illustrate this argument. The first, initiated in 1997 by the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAi), culminated in the exhibition *blank_ Architecture, apartheid and after*, and the publication of the same name.⁹³ This was an ambitious interdisciplinary project that sought to interrogate the making of the South African landscape in all its complexity. The second, undertaken by the South African Institute of Architects and entitled *Architecture 2000*, was envisaged as a millennium review authored by professionals, and structured chronologically around the notion of a timeline.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Mgijima, Bongani, and Buthelezi, Vusi, 2001, 'Mapping Museum-Community Relations in Lwandle', *Mapping Alternatives – Debating New Heritage Practices in South Africa* conference paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, pp: 1–12.

⁹¹ Mgijima and Buthelezi 2001: 5

⁹² Murray 2006: 6

⁹³ Judin and Vladislavić 1998

⁹⁴ Prinsloo, I., Van Wyk, L., De Beer, I. and Jacobs, H. (eds), 2000, *Architecture 2000. A review of South African architecture*, Cape Town, Picasso Headline Publishers.

Both projects set out an agenda based on the idea of assessment and reflection, and attempt to reflect an overview of the development of the spatial disciplines in South Africa, but they differ in important ways. The first is methodological. Whereas the *blank_* project reviewed architecture in relation to apartheid which necessitated making a conceptual break with conventional forms of scholarship within the discipline, the *Architecture 2000* project works more or less within the conventions of architectural production in the field. The second relates to the foci of the work. While the *Architecture 2000* publication considers the building as the central ‘object’ of practice, the *blank_* project seeks to interrogate architectural debate and to situate this within the broader debates in the spatial disciplines and beyond. In positioning themselves in these ways, the two publications reveal fundamentally different approaches. The starting point of *blank_* required engagement across a series of literatures, both within the spatial disciplines and in broader interdisciplinary studies, and in particular, in finding the relationship between debates around apartheid and broader critiques of modernity. As a commentary of the state of debates in the discipline, the process of reviewing implied finding a position from which to reflect on the complexities of disciplinary engagement and knowledge production. By way of contrast, the *Architecture 2000* project focussed in detail on architects, their built work and some writings. Its cover is made up of a collage of architects’ names presented in a ‘relief’ graphic (Figure 32).

The desires of the authors and collaborators on these projects (in both cases numerous) sought to achieve similar aims – those of review and display of a body of work from South Africa. Together, both projects represent the most comprehensive attempt to date at gathering and collating material about South African architecture. Given the strong focus on practice and building in architecture, the production of these texts is doubly important as little scholarly work has been produced since 1994. The *blank_* project stands as a project of critique, revealing the messy field of engagement by professionals in the spatial disciplines during the apartheid and colonial period. It offers no ‘solutions’, no ‘answers’, but rather leaves the viewer / reader with a sense of the overwhelming complexities of practice at the margins. The *Architecture 2000* publication on the other hand is a valuable record – attempting a comprehensive history of South African architecture – in the manner of many revisionist historical projects. Significantly, it showcases the achievements of architects and presents a temporal history revealing the scope and range of work produced by individuals, who – during the apartheid years – were outside of the international field of vision and the publication draws attention to this work.

In the Chapters that follow, the methodological idea of moments is extended to close-readings of three of Uytendogaardt’s projects. Viewed from the present time as well as through a reading of the historical archive, the idea has been to develop a set of reading of these spaces post-apartheid. The first, in Chapter Three explores his architectural approach, while the second, in Chapter Four, turns to his urban design work. The third, in Chapter Five examines a project which was informed by both

architectural and urban design ideas, and which has been the subject of major recent public controversy. In each case the studies presented consider both the internal disciplinary debates in architecture and urban design along with the projects' public reception.

Chapter Three. *Bourgeois Afrikaner publics and Uytendogaardt's Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West*

Kerninstituut? Dalk 'n slagplaas of moderne brandweerstasie? Ja, seker 'n brandweerstasie – kyk dan net die klok! Dis vroe hierdie wat die afgelope jaar of wat gereeld deur die verbaaste besoekers in Jim Fouchepark op Welkom gevra word. Bekyk jy die ding uit die noorde, lyk dit nes 'n nuwerwetse massa-graanskuur. Staan aan die suidekant op Slang Du Plessis se stoep en jy sal jou hoed verwed 'n kankernavorsingsentrum of kerninstituut is!

Verkeerd geraai! Dis Welkom-Wes se N.G Kerk.

[Nuclear institute? Perhaps an abattoir or a modern fire station? Yes, probably a fire station – but look at the bell! It's questions such as this that surprised visitors to Jim Fouche Park in Welkom have been asking regularly for the past year or so. Viewed from the north, (the building) looks just like a new style mass-grain silo. From the south looking from Slang Du Plessis' verandah, you would swear that it is a cancer research centre or nuclear plant!

You've guessed wrong! It is the Welkom West N.G Kerk.]

Huisgenoot, 10 February 1967¹

This is the first of the three chapters which explore 'moments' of the Uytendogaardt archive in more depth. In these case-studies, close focus is placed on three projects, which are emblematic of broader examples of the conceptualisation, manifestation and reception of modern architecture and urban design. This chapter presents the argument that architects working under apartheid had to envision buildings for classified publics. If the recent contestation over the future of the Werdmuller Centre in Cape Town presents the ultimate conundrum - that of the slippage seen whereby modern architecture moves into the category of heritage - this chapter examines Uytendogaardt's first major project on his return to South Africa in the mid 1960s – the Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom in the Free State Province – and relates the process of its design and inception to a more precise set of notions about the relationship between modern architecture and 'bourgeois' apartheid Afrikaner publics.²

The Dutch Reformed Church, described in the quotation above, is perhaps the most personal project contained in Uytendogaardt's portfolio of works, and one which remained closest to his heart. Commissioned through the influence of his brother-in-law who was the church's minister, and soon after his home-coming, many of Uytendogaardt's peers still view this as his 'best work ever'.³ The building design was 'largely Louis Kahn's influence'. Long time friend and colleague John Moyle remembers being 'shocked having been brought up on

¹ Krige, Neville, 1967, 'Hier Staan Welkom-Wes se N.G Kerk' in *Huisgenoot Magazine*, 10 February 1967, pp28-29p. 28

² Fraser, 1993

³ John Moyle Interview, Kalk Bay, June 2008

functionalism when Roelof said he started with the perfect cube that then got eroded, and this forced all sorts of things from the design'.⁴ The wilfulness and confidence suggested by Moyle is echoed by architectural critic Rory Lange writing about the building as a student where he refers to this work and other later projects reflecting 'a particular and heroic conception of life'.⁵

Importantly too, of course, this was South Africa in the 1960s under high apartheid. This was a time during which the country saw an enormous building boom and during which confident white elites emerged. Afrikaner elites were perhaps the most confident group alongside mainly English speaking industrialists. The town of Welkom was established in the 1947, just one year before the establishment of the apartheid state in 1948. Its growth was rapid following the discovery of rich seams of gold beneath the earth. Modern architecture and planning gave form to this development and to Afrikaner nationalism more generally. As Afrikaner historian Hermann Giliomee states: 'South Africa was not only about white domination, but also about which whites would dominate'.⁶

Melinda Silverman writing about the buildings of Volkskas Bank from the 1950s onwards argues that the 'Volkskas bank was a project of Afrikaner nationalist ideologies, established after the First World War to allow the 'volk' (colloquial Afrikaans word for 'nation') to create its own wealth outside institutions of the British Empire'.⁷ Modernisation was to become a key feature of the institutions of Volkskapitalisme (nationalist capitalism) such as the bank but equally churches and other cultural institutions sought to reflect this modernising tendency.

Silverman continues:

While the functionalist programme of modernist town planning, with its connotations of social transformation, resonated with the rather different social-engineering programmes of the National Party Government, the formal elements of European modernist architecture found an equally receptive audience ... and ... could be used to express both the notion of progress and a more inclusive, cosmopolitan South African identity.⁸

Silverman's work shows that there was an evolving series of architectural modernisms over time in the building projects of Volkskas Bank, and Leslie Witz reminds us that, 'the apartheid state was not an unchanging monolithic entity'.⁹ Similarly professional and personal allegiances to the apartheid state varied. In the case of Uytenbogaardt his own identification as an Afrikaner was

⁴ Moyle, 2008

⁵ Lange, Rory. C. De H, undated, c.1994, *Notes from Travels during Fourth Year*, Submission to School of Architecture of planning in fulfilment of Practical Year Experience.

⁶ Giliomee, Hermann, 2003, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, p. 487

⁷ Silverman, Melinda, 1998 'Ons bou vir die Bank: Nationalism, architecture and Volkskas Bank', in H. Judin and I. Vladislavić (eds) *blank Architecture, apartheid and after*, Rotterdam: NAI, pp. 128–143.p.129

⁸ Silverman, 1998: 135-6

⁹ Witz, 2003:12

not so much ideological as cultural and more specifically religious, where - over his life time - he strayed and returned to the fold of Calvinist values that in complex ways defined him.

Through the project for the Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West, this chapter considers Uytendogaardt the architect. It explores his individualism, his preoccupation with the formal and geometric nature of architectural space, and his faithful admiration for the masters, especially Louis Kahn under whom he had studied, which was to become a life-long theme in his work. This admiration for the masters appears throughout his architectural work, where well-known elements from Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, Alvaar Aalto and others are visible in his work. This has variously been described by admirers and critics alike – sometimes as ‘emulation’, at other times ‘copying’. When Uytendogaardt received the Gold Medal of the South African Institute of Architects in 1998, his colleague and student, Derek Japha cited art historian Erwin Panofsky’s suggestion that the careers of many artists seem divisible into three stages.

In the first they come to terms with the masters of the previous generation; in the second they break free to establish the more personal approach which defines their own mature work; in the third they challenge and ultimately transcend what they themselves had invented.¹⁰

Japha believed that Uytendogaardt had achieved the first two and ‘the third we await with interest and anticipation’.¹¹ He continued to elaborate on Uytendogaardt’s admiration of the masters:

His early buildings – such as the Welkom Church and the Sports Centre at UCT – bear the obvious marks of what he describes as “love affairs”, primarily with the work of Le Corbusier and that of his teacher Louis Kahn. The buildings in this phase are remarkable for his deep understanding of the models to which he has referred, and for their rigor, formal and spatial inventiveness and virtuosity.¹²

Perhaps most importantly though this chapter seeks to interrogate the slippage between Uytendogaardt’s spatial imaginaries and the expectations of the publics for whom he was designing. This is a major criticism of his early work in particular by non-architects. In particular in relation to his early works, the UCT Sports Centre, the Werdmuller Centre and Steinkopf Community Centre, amongst others, publics have had strong negative reactions to the austere, concrete massing, the raw materials and the cold, minimalist interiors.¹³ But of course this was not Uytendogaardt’s view. In his view he was genuinely engaging with the possibilities

¹⁰ Japha DA, 1998, *Text from introduction to Talk by Roelof Uytendogaardt* on the occasion of his receipt of the Institute of Architects’ Gold Medal Award, South African National Gallery, unpublished courtesy of the author. A slightly altered version of this is contained in: Japha, Derek, 1998, *Citation for Roelof Uytendogaardt at SAIA Gold Medal Awards Ceremony*, National Gallery 1998, p.1

¹¹ Japha, 1998: 1

¹² Japha, 1998:1

¹³ Other examples of his work include: the Werdmuller Centre, the UCT Sports Centre, the Steinkopf and Salt River Community Centres, and housing projects at Belhar and Mitchells Plain.

of modernism for changing the ways we live for the better, and this was a conviction that he held onto and internalised in his formulation of his humanist philosophies. Even in his home this was something that he adhered to - this strongly held belief in architectural quality being the basis of a better life. I recall his wife showing me around their house in Wynberg where she actually complained about how he imposed a certain austerity to the furnishing of the interiors, hinting quietly that this was not her preferred style, but nevertheless going along with it.¹⁴

Removed, distanced, arrogant are some of the words frequently used by detractors, whereas loyal followers see Uytenbogaardt's work as that of a misunderstood master and artiste.¹⁵ Built before joining the liberal English speaking University of Cape Town, and prior to his collaboration with colleagues in the formation of the Urban Problems Research Unit, the Church at Welkom West somehow embodies this debate. Lange proposes that this building marks the beginning of a series of buildings and that much like these subsequent works it 'creates its own landscape'.¹⁶ This idea of Uytenbogaardt's architectural work creating its own landscape is distinct from the urban contextualism that he proposes though his urban design work where he has been described as a 'romantic traditionalist'.¹⁷

If Uytenbogaardt's architecture, as Lange proposes, creates its own landscape it also makes reference to the landscapes of others - of the masters - the Church at Welkom West 'belongs to the heroic landscape of Louis I. Kahn under whom the architect studied...as the design enters into a conversation with many Kahnian ideas such as light and form, the creation of "place", order...The building also belongs to a lineage which includes Kahn's Rochester Church building, stretching back to Frank Lloyd Wright's Unity Temple...'¹⁸

The Kahnian school of architecture

But there was also a lineage of another kind. From the late 1950s onwards there were a number of South African architects who ended up in Pennsylvania largely through the influence of South African trained architect Denise Scott Brown, who had arrived there in 1958, along with her husband at the time Robert Scott Brown. Denise Scott Brown later married Robert Venturi with whom she continues to practice. Their 1972 book *Learning From Las Vegas: the Forgotten*

¹⁴ Conversation with Marianne Uytenbogaardt in 1997 while I worked in his office.

¹⁵ The numerous newspaper articles contained in the RSU Collection BC1264 at UCT show this negative view. Support for Uytenboogaardt is clear from reading of the postings on the Werdmuller Blogspot (url?), and is a general theme discussed amongst architects in particular.

¹⁶ Lange, undated, 1

¹⁷ Silverman, Malinda, 2000, 'Urbane Thinking' (Exhibition Review), in Mail and Guardian, 23-29 June 2000.

¹⁸ Lange, undated:1

Symbolism of Architectural Form, remains influential in architectural debates to this day.¹⁹ In an interview with John Moyle in 1999, he referred to the central role that Denise Scott Brown played in attracting Uytendogaardt to study in Philadelphia.²⁰ Clive Chipkin refers to the number of architects who studied under Louis Kahn as the ‘Philadelphia Phenomenon’, and he too sees Denise Scott Brown ‘as the crucial South African link. She was quite brilliant, with unique flair and charisma and had left Wits to study at the AA (Architectural Association) in London...and went on to postgraduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia on the advice of Peter Smithson’.²¹

The Penn School, as it became known, was considered by many to be the best school of architecture in the world. Robert Scott Brown wrote to Chipkin stating this and Glen Gallagher claims: ‘I believe it was the greatest school of Architecture in the English-speaking world at that time’.²² Certainly the list of successful architects who graduated from the Penn School is significant – including Roelof Uytendogaardt, Willie Meyer, François Pienaar, Glen Gallagher, Jack Diamond, Denise and Robert Scott Brown, Ivan Schlapobersky, Floris Smit, Fabio Todeschini and others. Not all of these architects studied under Kahn but the reputation that the Penn School had locally meant that there was a connection which continued as Schlapobersky recalls as ‘a previously established grapevine’.²³ Chipkin also claims that: ‘All became members of the resident intelligentsia able to make pronouncements derived from Kahn’s hermetic concepts at the drop of a hat – but not generally on matters with political agenda, a subject to be discussed in an oblique manner during the spring-tide of Apartheid.’²⁴ Schlapobersky, as Chipkin describes, ‘was there as a close observer of his fellow expatriates’, and believed that the time was right for a new set of ideas to be inserted into the local architectural scene as by the end of the 1950s the architectural scene in South Africa was ‘tired and dispirited’.²⁵ While Chipkin disagrees somewhat with this - he does not see the ‘vacuum as being so pronounced’ - he does seem to concur with Schlapobersky’s views that the generation of architects (mainly from Johannesburg) that went to the Penn School were a more privileged, richer generation, less in a rush to practise than their predecessors a generation previously. This privilege was obviously not the case for Uytendogaardt who was a scholarship student. Perhaps the last observation that

¹⁹ Scott Brown, Denise, Venturi, Robert and Izenour, Steven, 1972 (revised edition 1977) *Learning from Las Vegas: the Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.

²⁰ John Moyle Interview, UCT, September 1999

²¹ Chipkin, Clive, 2008, *Johannesburg Transition: Architecture and Society from 1950*, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, p. 309

²² Chipkin, 2008:309

²³ Chipkin, 2008:311

²⁴ Chipkin, 2008: 310

²⁵ Chipkin, 2008:311

Chipkin makes in his section entitled simply 'Pennsylvania' does however give insight into the enormous influence that Louis Kahn had on the young Capetonian. He writes: 'There was another factor and Schlapobersky attributes this to the psyche of the young South Africans: a residue cultural Calvinism was attracted to the Old Testament prophet Louis Kahn who spoke in parables.'²⁶ Referring to an interview with Glen Gallagher in *Architecture South Africa* the *Journal of the Transvaal Institute of Architecture* in May 1993, Gallagher says 'he was absolutely knocked out [when first hearing Louis Kahn speak] I had never heard a man speak with such philosophic depth'.²⁷

The writings of Louis Kahn – if indeed they can be called writings in the formal sense – are an unconventional set of notes with drawings and text interspersed. At times they are emotional outpourings and at other times a series of unsubstantiated yet powerful statements like 'Let the building be what it wants to be' which was one of Uytendogaardt's favorite quotes from Kahn that he used in the studio when I was a student.²⁸ Although many scholars have questioned, and many have dismissed Kahn's writings, their influence is certainly profound to those receptive to his words.²⁹ In 2002 on his retirement Glen Gallagher wrote an essay entitled 'What is Architecture?'³⁰ His opening points illustrate the effect of Kahn's words:

'Louis Kahn, one of the most influential architects of the twentieth century, once said: "Architecture is the most religious act I know". This puzzled me and some time later, I asked what he meant and he replied: "Because architecture is thou and not I". This is a profound statement and I have thought about it often, for more than forty years, and it still rings loud and true. To those who knew Kahn, it means that our calling, as architects, is to serve others. But this interpretation is neither strong enough, nor profound enough. Architecture is much more than what clients want. It is what they believe they never wanted! It is also, in Kahn's words "not what I want to do, but what needs to be done". "I" refers to both architects and their clients. Architects serve clients, architecture and society, each in equal intensity.'³¹ While the exact meaning of this might be unclear it certainly points to what John Moyle describes as 'Kahn's practice' was informed by his moral theory of architecture'.³²

Although speaking generally, Moyle points out that 'If one is concerned with Kahn and his legacy, Roelof exemplified a somewhat different inheritance than many of the others... for him Kahn distilled the essences of Western architecture, and Roelof identified with his Beaux Arts influence from Penn in the 1920s'. He continued that Uytendogaardt adopted Kahn's way of

²⁶ Chipkin, 2008:311

²⁷ Chipkin (citing Gallagher, 1993)

²⁸ Ronner, H and Jhaveri, S, 1994 (reprint), *Louis I. Kahn Complete Works 1935-1974*, 2 Vols. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition, Birkhäuser, Basel and Boston.

²⁹ Ksiazek, Sarah Williams, 1996, 'Critiques of Liberal Individualism: Louis Kahn's Civic Projects, 1947-57', in *Assemblage 31*, MIT Press, pp.56-79.

³⁰ Gallagher, Glen, 2002, 'What is Architecture?' GAPP Architects and Urban Designers, unpublished paper.pp.4, p.1

³¹ Gallagher, 2002:1

³² Moyle, 1999

thinking and in the 1980s he [Uytenbogaardt] was talking about Aalto – ‘Kahn summarised for him what had been done before – like Bach for Music’.³³

In 1999 following soon after Uytenbogaardt’s death, colleague and friend academic architect Paul Kotze organized the Second History of Architecture Workshop focusing on Louis Kahn’s Legacy in South Africa.³⁴ Alongside a gathering of many of the Penn School students, this coincided with the Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture which was delivered by Canadian based, ex-South African Jack Diamond. Diamond and Uytenbogaardt had in fact been classmates at UCT and later at Penn. Although they were clearly rivals Diamond’s insights from an interview that I conducted with him are revealing. Diamond, like Uytenbogaardt, was heavily influenced by Professor Thornton White during his time at UCT which he described as a ‘wonderful mixture of Bauhaus and Beaux Arts’. Diamond described Uytenbogaardt’s arrival at UCT as follows: ‘Roelof had been to a trade school and was very accomplished at drawing precisely. In his first year he was very shy and unconfident about ideas – we never spoke in the first year but his confidence grew as he excelled - he was a bit older than the rest of the class.’ He continued to say that ‘he had enormous promise as a student’ and he related that when he arrived at Penn, Denise Scott Brown warned him that ‘I had a tough act to follow. Roelof was so brilliant. She was a great proponent of Roelof’s genius’.³⁵ Diamond, like many others, reflected on Uytenbogaardt’s return to South Africa saying he had turned his back on a great international career. Diamond had visited some of Uytenbogaardt’s buildings and found his work ‘disappointing’ and ‘poorly detailed’ filled with ‘the buzz words’ of their studies. In his view ‘Roelof never fulfilled his tremendous promise.’ Speaking more generally he said ‘Kahn’s views were of the Beaux Arts idea of the contained space, sometimes his followers were weak imitators of these principles.’³⁶ While these may have been the words of a life long rival, these criticisms were not new.

In a paper that I wrote for the Workshop at the time, entitled ‘The legacy of Roelof Uytenbogaardt’, I explored Kahn’s influence on Uytenbogaardt., proposing that the idea of legacy in relation to Uytenbogaardt contained direct influences and echoes of Kahn’s work though a subtle operation of interpretation and emergence of a local manifestation. Drawing on the 1999 interview with John Moyle, Moyle echoed the sense that Uytenbogaardt revered his teachers, hinting at the deep impression that Kahn in particular had on the young Uytenbogaardt: ‘Kahn the man affected Uytenbogaardt the man. Roelof publicly said that he had been affected by three individuals: Thornton White, David Crane and Louis Kahn. Roelof the man was Roelof the

³³ Moyle, 1999

³⁴ Second Architectural History Workshop 27 August, 1999, entitled ‘Reflections from the South - The influence of Louis Kahn in Southern Africa’, University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein

³⁵ Diamond, 1999

³⁶ Diamond, 1999

architect and urban designer'.³⁷ He continued 'He was as much influenced by Kahn's approaches as his formalistic tendencies – his way of looking at things, the role of clients etc.' Importantly too Kahn contributed to the 'liberalisation' of Uytendogaardt – where he was clearly a star student and exposed to new ideas, Moyle believes the 'Welkom Church, of all Roelof's work was the most Kahnian'.³⁸

The Penn experience along with Kahn's idealism and his moral approach to architecture affected Uytendogaardt deeply and must have been at the forefront of his mind when returning to South Africa. It is hardly surprising then that this view of architecture was central to Uytendogaardt's world view which he set about applying in practice. Like Gallagher this influence never left him and in his last years he set out to teach a Master Class at the University of Cape Town, modeled on Kahn's Socratic Dialogues from his time at Penn, despite his affinity for a rather more Platonic kind of architecture previously. Influenced closely by Colin St John Wilson's book *Architectural Reflections* he wished to pass on his ideas of 'an architecture of discovery'.³⁹

Idea of publics in Uytendogaardt's work

One aspect of Uytendogaardt's articulation of his approach to this 'architecture of discovery' was the idea of 'timelessness'. Writing in the course hand-out for the masters students he stated that the 'search is to provide the opportunity to discover the timelessness qualities in architecture (and how to reach these) which gives it relevance beyond the generation and social system which brought it about'.⁴⁰ Glen Gallagher refers to Kahn's moral sense of the architect serving 'society' (above) and along with long time collaborator planner David Dewar, Uytendogaardt stated that his was a 'humanist' approach to design of buildings and cities. Through this meeting of 'human need' they distilled a series of 'values' against which their spatial ideas could be evaluated. In the Vio monograph Dewar referred to these as 'philosophical planks'.⁴¹

As this chapter suggests, architects working under apartheid had to envision buildings for classified publics. However articulation of an awareness of this is characteristically absent in Uytendogaardt's writings and in the archive, as with those of most architects. Chipkin refers to this as a lack of self consciousness or political awareness, which I referred to in the previous section. My own experience as a student of architecture at the University of Cape Town in the

³⁷ Moyle, 1999

³⁸ Moyle, 1999

³⁹ Cooke, Matthew, 1998, *An architecture of discovery: Class notes*, Masterclass Studio with Roelof Uytendogaardt, 2 Files, University of Cape Town. See Vio, 2006:31-37 where Uytendogaardt's notions are reproduced.

⁴⁰ Uytendogaardt, Roelof, 1994, Course Description for the Master Class, University of Cape Town student hand-out.

p2

⁴¹ Dewar, 2006: 42

late 1980s and early 1990s was similar where the discourses so current in the humanities at the time around questions of race and gender amongst others were dismissed as ‘not being proper architectural concerns’. Even as late as 1998 with the appearance of the *blank_Architecture, apartheid and after* book and exhibition its reception by South African architects was one of defensiveness – distancing the practice of architecture from its context and role in the apartheid project.⁴² Writing outside of South Africa Canadian based academic Graham Owen suggested that:

The first question in dealing with South African architecture today is whether to discuss it at all. In contemplating recent South African architecture, one often experiences a deeply disturbing ambivalence: an oscillation between admiration for its intelligence, formal experimentation and audacity, and for the frequency with which such work has been realized; and revulsion at the social context within which it has been produced. I feel that it can and should be discussed, because it raises certain fundamental issues in architecture and practice. But it can be talked about only within a critical and historical framework, and that framework is necessarily political in nature. Nevertheless, to deal with South African architecture today is still to encounter a difficult problem: the absence of historical distance.⁴³

This paper, which reviewed many contemporary and historical projects well known in the South African canon, hardly made an impact locally, however his questions remain pertinent. ‘It is the irony of this situation, and all the attendant questions it raises with regard to conviction and complicity, that concern me-in short, the predicament of architecture in South Africa today’.⁴⁴ The paper, published in the *Journal of Architectural Education*, did however receive a formal response from a Johannesburg leftist practitioner Melinda Silverman and another ex South African, California based academic, Robin Bloch. This was followed by a letter in response from Owen which broadened his critique into a more global notion of the ‘capitalist city of apartheid’, formed and influenced by its different subjectivities and through the place of professional agency.⁴⁵

That these questions remain as urgent and relevant today as they were in 1989, is not to say that there is not a substantial and growing body of work that tackles the relationship between architecture and apartheid. In fact the opposite is the case – but the mode of writing and thinking about apartheid has been conducted though a general approach that has not yet enabled a properly

⁴² For a discussion of this see, Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 10-12

⁴³ Owen, Graham, 1989, ‘Forget Europe, Forget America: Architecture and Apartheid’ in *Journal of Architectural Education (JAE)*, (1984-), Vol. 42, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Inc. pp. 3-23, p.3

⁴⁴ Owen, 1989:4

⁴⁵ Bloch, Robin and Silverman, Malinda, 1989, ‘Response to Owen: Architecture and Apartheid’ in *Journal of Architectural Education (JAE)* (1984-), Vol. 42, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Inc. pp. 24-25. Owen, Graham, 1989, ‘Front Matter’ (Letters Page), in *Journal of Architectural Education (JAE)* (1984-), Vol. 42, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Inc. p. 1

self-reflexive moment in architectural scholarship. In other words architects do not yet seem to be asking how the discipline and the profession – as a type of historical collective self – was implicated in and benefited from the apartheid project and its attendant capitalism. Nick Shepherd and Steven Robins allude to this in the Introduction to their 2008 book *New South African Keywords*, writing that ‘one of the most compelling ideas to have come out of the humanities and social sciences is the idea that language, words and the names we give to things play an active and determining role in constructing social realities.’⁴⁶

This is certainly the case in Uytendogaardt’s work, where despite the fact that his political views were not those of the conservative Afrikaner right wing, he never explicitly articulated nor took on the big liberal political questions of the day. Nowhere in his writings, notes, speeches nor in his exhibition does he mention a disaggregated notion of the publics for whom he was designing. Instead, his spatial imaginaries relied on his humanism with its standardising set of universal human values, somehow considering human subjectivity in the abstract yet at the same time too perhaps denying race and gender and other forms of identity-formations a place in his conscious process of designing for an ideal of ‘timelessness’. In a sense despite the best intentions of designing for the poor, his work (and certainly his architecture) remained within a privileged public sphere. This was a form of idealism, an enabling philosophy that enables his forms of liberal practice.

Exploring the idea of the ‘public sphere’

In Nancy Fraser’s influential paper in 1993, entitled ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy’ she revisits the argument presented by Jurgen Habermas on the ‘bourgeois public sphere’. The public sphere she claims is as an area in social life where people can come together and freely discuss and identify societal problems and through these discussions influence political action.⁴⁷

‘According to Habermas, the idea of a public sphere is that of a body of ‘private persons’ assembled to discuss matters of ‘public concern’ or ‘common interest’. The public sphere in this formulation is regarded as a mediator between the ‘private sphere’ and the ‘sphere of public authority’ where the private sphere is civil society and the sphere of public authority is the state and the ruling class.⁴⁸ Habermas suggests three institutional criteria that are preconditions for the emergence of the new public sphere and they are a disregard for status, the domain of common

⁴⁶ Shepherd, Nick and Robins, Steven, 2008, (eds), ‘Introduction: New South African Keywords’ in *New South African Keywords*, Ohio University Press, Ohio, pp.1-12, p.1

⁴⁷ Fraser, 1993: 518, 519

⁴⁸ Fraser, 1993: 521

concern, and inclusivity.⁴⁹ Habermas' work proposes that there exists a single public sphere and this public sphere is open and free, accessible to everyone, no matter what class, gender or racial group you are in. Fraser gives a counter argument that 'there never was, and never should be, just one 'public sphere' but rather a number of public spheres'. Fraser draws from other scholars such as Joan Landes, Mary Ryan, and Geoff Eley who contend that Habermas's account idealises the liberal public sphere. Fraser looks at the idea of hegemonic dominance and exclusion and argues that there were a number of significant exclusions. The bourgeois public sphere in fact discriminated against women and lower social strata of society. The bourgeois coffee houses and clubs of the eighteenth century were hardly places of the free exchange of discourse between equals as they were not accessible to everyone. Landes points out that the 'key axis of exclusion is gender' and Eley argues that other forms of 'exclusions [are] rooted in processes of class formation'. For Fraser too what is at stake is not so much about the public sphere as a space of free discourse exchange but rather how closely stratified publics are tied to institutions of decision-making.⁵⁰

Fraser suggests an even 'darker view' of Habermas' notion of the bourgeois public sphere, writing about the position of women in his conception of the public spheres, she argues: 'Thus the view that women were excluded from the public sphere turns out to be ideological; it rests on a class and gender-biased notion of publicity, one which accepts at face value the bourgeois public's claim to be *the* public. The bourgeois public was never *the* public.'⁵¹ In fact the opposite was the case '...virtually contemporaneous with the bourgeois public there arose a host of competing counter-publics, including nationalist publics, popular peasant publics, elite women's publics and working-class publics.'⁵²

For Fraser 'the problem is not only that Habermas idealises the liberal public sphere but also that he fails to examine other, non-liberal, non-bourgeois, competing public spheres. Or rather it is precisely because he fails to examine these other public spheres that he ends up idealizing the liberal public sphere.'⁵³ The exclusions and conflicts that emerge though what Fraser terms 'a revisionist view' of Habermas' conception constitute a 'gestalt switch that alters the very meaning of the public sphere.'⁵⁴

It is now widely accepted that the apartheid state aspired to hegemonic dominance and exclusion, whereby control was exercised subtly as well as forcefully through cultural means and

⁴⁹ Habermas, 1962

⁵⁰ Fraser, 1993: 518, 521

⁵¹ Fraser, 1993: 522-3

⁵² Fraser, 1993: 523

⁵³ Fraser, 1993: 522

⁵⁴ Fraser, 1993: 523

economic power resting on a mixture of consent and coercion. Applying Fraser's ideas to apartheid South Africa is useful. She asserts that 'we can no longer assume that the bourgeois conception of the public sphere was simply an unrealised utopian ideal; it was also a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule.'⁵⁵ The public sphere was really a way for bourgeois men to see themselves as 'a 'universal class' and preparing to assert their fitness to govern.'⁵⁶ Of course, they were successful in that the norms of the public sphere eventually became 'hegemonic, sometimes imposed on, sometimes embraced by, broader segments of society.' 'A discourse of publicity touting accessibility, rationality, and the suspension of status hierarchies'. Fraser's point is that 'Habermas' account that the bourgeois public's claim to full accessibility was not in fact realized.'

If, as Fraser contends, the bourgeois conception of the public sphere requires a bracketing of inequalities of status, such bracketing usually works to the advantage of the dominant groups in society and the disadvantage of subordinates. Fraser argues that 'the social inequalities among the interlocutors were not eliminated but only bracketed.' I would like to suggest that the white, Afrikaner publics for whom Uytenbogaardt was designing at Welkom in the 1960s existed under such bracketed conditions. This bracketing was both through the privileged status of whiteness contained in the classificatory privileges of statutory apartheid as well as through the cultural and religious elitism of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church in the apartheid conception of a Christian nationalist state. This, I argue, constitutes a privileged public sphere, existing in a form of denial of other subordinate public spheres under apartheid. In fact, within Fraser's 'darker view' of Habermas' bourgeois public sphere, this is perhaps precisely a form of her reformulated notion of a 'bourgeois public sphere', realised under the utopian conditions of apartheid and its elite, male dominated, cultural and religious formations.

Bourgeois publics in Welkom

The conditions under which a notion of a bourgeois public sphere might be applied to the congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West in the 1960s relates to a key moment in the making of apartheid South Africa. The history of the establishment of Welkom is aligned – in time – precisely with the formation of the apartheid state in 1948. On the fiftieth anniversary of establishment of Welkom in 1997, the Welkom Publicity Association posted a website aimed 'at enhancing the image of the greater Welkom district and its inhabitants, to ensure that it will offer a sound working, living and business environment' with the by-line

⁵⁵ Fraser, 1993 523

⁵⁶ Fraser, 1993: 114-115, 524

‘proud of the past, confident of the future’.⁵⁷ Writing about Welkom’s history, it states: ‘The township of Welkom officially came into being on 15th April 1947, some six years after the first mining lease in the area was awarded to the St Helena Gold Mining Company, and was proclaimed a town on 23rd July 1948. Between 1937 and 1947 the early mining community consisted of about 500 people who lived at Uitzig Camp.’⁵⁸

From the information provided by the Welkom Publicity Association for the fiftieth anniversary, the Publicity Association proudly presents an account of the history of Welkom which displays a dominant discourse of industrial and economic development. Written in 1997, three years after the transition from apartheid to the New South Africa in 1994, the history of even at best Welkom’s ‘rainbow’ public is absent. Instead in its place we are told of individuals’ roles in the prospecting and eventual mining, of the role of the Anglo American Mining House’s Sir Ernest Oppenheimer as its founding father. His role is inscribed through the idea of a ‘legend’:

Legend has it that Sir Ernest had his chauffeur drive him into what has since become Stateway and stop at a spot situated roughly between the Civic Centre and Central Park he alighted, holding a spade (some say it was made of gold though this may be taking credulity beyond its boundaries), dug up a sod of soil and proclaimed: "On this site I shall build my garden city".⁵⁹

It continues:

‘Whatever the truth of the legend, people are united in the opinion that Welkom worthily fulfills Sir Ernest’s ideal of establishing a 21st century community, and one, moreover, which is ideally suited to supply the demands of industrial and commercial developers.’⁵⁹

This idea of a 21st century community is clearly a notion of a space for a thriving apartheid white community. Much like the prominent Capetonian – merchant and one time cabinet minister - Richard Stuttaford family’s idea of an ideal community in Pinelands in Cape Town for returning white ex-servicemen from World War I, the modern town planning ideal of Ebenezer Howard’s ‘Garden City’ is deployed in its planning. In this sense Welkom is the realisation of an ideal held by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer.⁶⁰ His instructions to William Backhouse, the planner of new mining towns Welkom and previously nearby Allenridge were that: ‘Welkom should be a town of which its occupants could be justly proud.’⁶¹ Figures 33-36 show images of the lives of Welkom’s white

⁵⁷The Welkom Publicity Association (WPA), 1997 Welkom 50, 1947-1997, <http://www.internext.co.za/welkompub/index.htm>, (last updated May 1997) viewed 12042009, 11h07. Updated site from 2009 <http://www.welkompublicity.co.za>.

⁵⁸ WPA, 1997: section Sir Ernest Oppenheimer

⁵⁹ WPA, 1997: This is Welkom

⁶⁰ Van der Merwe, D, *History of Pinelands, South Africa’s First Garden city*. Text reproduced from booklet dating back to the 1950’s written by Eric Rosenthal and printed in Gravure by Cape Times Limited. Viewed on <http://sites.google.com/site/dvdmerwe/historyofpinelands> (21 June 2008)

⁶¹ WPA, 1997

apartheid publics. Joane Pim, widely acknowledged as the founder of the practice of Landscape Architecture in South Africa, under the patronage of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, writes about her involvement in laying out of Welkom in partnership with the planner: 'Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, had visited this new and what has proved to a most lucrative mine-field and looking around he said, We must create a Garden City.' She reflects on her appointment saying 'I was lucky enough to be commissioned to attempt to carry out what was thought by any responsible individual at the time to be a hopeless task'.⁶²

Pim's account of the establishment of Welkom reveals an ambitious spatial imaginary of a Garden City overlaid on the unlikely mining landscape of the then Orange Free State which is celebrated by the Publicity Association 'Welkom's reputation as a garden city is endorsed by its spacious green landscaped parks and gardens and its shady tree-lined suburban streets, which form a striking contrast with the large, stark mine dumps and agricultural acres encompassing the city.'⁶³ It goes further to inscribe its apartheid era planning as a proud part of Welkom's heritage: 'Trouble-free community is the result of dynamic town planning. Neither traffic lights nor parking meters are to be found and an almost uninterrupted traffic flow is created by means of well planned traffic circles and wide double lanes, while adequate provision has been made for parking.'⁶⁴

However Pim reveals that Welkom's establishment was not always trouble-free. She refers to amongst other factors, 'brak' water supplies, destructive dust storms, drought, the destruction of trees by municipal staff and vandalism. 'I arrived one morning and, driving to the guest house, saw an African employee pulling fresh leaves off a young tree. I made appropriate enquiries and it appeared that this man had so often seen trees without leaves that, leafless, they were considered to be tidy!'⁶⁵ Pim's many stories about the making of Welkom contain parables of professional struggle and 'perseverance'. Her conceptions of racist stereotypes - such as the litter she saw in the 'African townships' where people did not maintain their gardens - are not the only struggles that her anecdotal text reveals. At times she is struggling against the male, Afrikaner municipal officials, who opposed her ambitious ideas or did not maintain her gardens as she would have liked.⁶⁶ She speaks of vandalism as indigenous thorn trees areas were destroyed by mining enthusiasts in search of the Kruger Millions and rose gardens trampled by callous picnickers, presumably white, in her Central Park'.⁶⁷

⁶² Pim, Joane, 1971, *Beauty is Necessary, Creation or Preservation of the Landscape*, Purnell, Cape Town, p. 80

⁶³ WPA, 1997: To Discover

⁶⁴ WPA, 1997: To Discover

⁶⁵ Pim, 1971: 86

⁶⁶ Pim, 1971: 84

⁶⁷ Pim, 1971: 86-89

While Pim's account does not deliberately set out to reveal a multiplicity of historical voices nor does it assert the existence of the 'multiple locations of historical knowledge', it does point to a degree of contestation over the form of the Garden City imaginary in which competing publics supported or opposed its making.⁶⁸ What these texts reveal, through reading both Pim's and Welkom Publicity association's accounts of the formation of Welkom, is the multiplicity of public spheres that existed even within the dominant hegemonic ideology of white apartheid publics. The Publicity Association describes the development of Welkom and its neighbouring towns as 'the spectacular climax to the arduous, prolonged and often disappointing work of exploration' and as 'a triumph of scientific knowledge and of personal courage' citing the work involved in years of planning and investigations and 'the appalling dangers to overcome, and the discomforts and hardships endured.'⁶⁹ These notions of exploration – written in a pioneer language - seem to somehow justify the reality of racially exclusive living.

These all led to the great 'discovery' of gold and uranium rich mine-fields that became headline news across the world and led to the establishment of a massive mining complex, complete with a new town and migrant labour compounds. Architect Julian Cooke, writing about the 'Form of the migrant labour hostel' says, 'Hostels ... are the core locus of perhaps the most destructive social engineering of the country's history, the migrant labour system... The compounds and hostels show starkly how colonial and apartheid regimes used the spatial devices of jails or concentration camps to keep labour present and subservient, and in tandem with social regulation created a divided and violent land'.⁷⁰ This history of planning for black, male labour publics is conveniently omitted from the History Section and promotional information in 1997 by the Welkom Publicity Association. Even the city's emblem, proudly explained on the website, alludes to its foundational 'myths'. The Site tells us that the emblem contains the 'the kudu head, helm and lily, derived from the Oppenheimer family emblem; the lion and eagle are heraldic figures; the snake symbolises the open field and maize fields before the development of the city; the dark blue lines the mine shafts, the cogs symbolise industry; and the six rails [represent] the six gold mines.' It continues to elucidate the reader that the Credo of Welkom '*Salutatio*, is a Latin word meaning 'Welcome' or 'A greeting'.⁷¹

By the 1960s when Welkom West was being established as a suburban extension to the horseshoe planned core of Welkom, in the year of its twenty first birthday on 14 February 1968,

⁶⁸ Witz, 2002;7

⁶⁹ WPA,1997: History

⁷⁰ Julian Cooke, 2007, 'The form of the migrant labour hostel', *Architecture South Africa, Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, Picasso, Cape Town, July/August 2007, pp.64-69. p.68

⁷¹ WPA, 1997: Emblem

Welkom received city status, and celebrated this event with the opening of the Civic Centre.⁷² This was the Welkom that Uytendogaardt would have encountered - a town which was a relatively new creation, a blank on the landscape only years before official apartheid began - a Garden City whose history is aligned with the history of apartheid, mining capital and industrialised exploitation of labour publics. Its formation and development followed the time of apartheid, and its articulation in spatial terms contributes to a vision of the greening of apartheid era suburbs.⁷³

The racially based classification of distinct publics, demarcated into areas of the city, can be easily read through the history of Welkom. The white congregation of the Church in Welkom West, comprised of a breakaway 'Gereformeerde' (Reformed) group, found itself with the task of establishing in a new place of worship, attempting to carve out a 'green' new suburbia in a landscape of mining and gardens. For Uytendogaardt the emergent landscape of suburbia was less important than his vision of church in the 'veld' (open grasslands) upon which he based his conception of the design.

The modernist architecture of the Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West

The Dutch Reformed Church in Welkom West, completed in 1966, was the first major commission that architect Roelof Uytendogaardt undertook on his return to South Africa after a period of study in Europe and America. Rising out of the flat Free State landscape it was conceived as an abstract sculptural object set in a grassland plain. Figures 37-39 show the building shortly after its completion, starkly juxtaposed against the flatness of the area and surrounded by bleached grass and wide open space. This landscape context, together with the industrial character of the Free State mine fields including the 'layering of limes[s] dams, and the modern bulk of mining headgear, prominent in so planar a terrain' were among the references that informed Uytendogaardt's architectural approach to the design of the building. Incongruously, much of this has changed and today the building 'sits in suburbia'.⁷⁴

While the landscape surrounding the building has changed considerably, the character of the architecture remains unaltered. This is architecture of solidity and mass, articulated through an exposed structural reinforced concrete framework, with red brick infill panels. In form, the building comprises a massive square which houses the worship space supported on the four corners with four smaller concrete towers. On the west side a wing protrudes with a massive

⁷² WPA, 1997: Oppenheimer

⁷³ Mabin, Alan and Smit, Dan, 1997, 'Reconstructing South Africa's cities? The making of urban planning 1900-2000' in *Planning Perspectives*, 12, pp.193-223

⁷⁴ Nuttall, Jean, 2005, 'The Dutch Reformed Church, Welkom, West, 1964' in *Architecture South Africa, Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, Picasso, Cape Town, July /August 2005, pp.65-67.p. 65

bridge structure containing the church hall which ends with an austere concrete bell tower. These are the three principal formal components of the design, each articulated differently. In the main space, there are very few windows on the elevations to break the imposing form, while in the meeting hall the heaviness of the structure is broken with linear strip windows from which views can be seen out across the landscape (now suburbia). The concrete bell tower is a simple sculptural element, vertical but not exceeding the main church volume in height, somehow restrained, with a solid exposed concrete base breaking down into its negative with a void-like canopy over the bell itself.

The massive square form of the exterior hints at the centralised arrangement of the plan within, as well as the mass of the cube-like volume of the main church space. Entering the church, uncharacteristically from behind the pulpit, there is what Nuttall describes as ‘...a beguiling complexity to the ordering [of the space]. There is a strongly diagrammatic quality, essentially a square within a square.’ The geometric quality of the space is emphasised in almost every detail. There are different floor levels, defining the relationship between the internal and external square plan shapes, then the seating arrangements divides the space into smaller geometric units and diagonal qualities are emphasized through the concrete canopy over the ‘preekstoel’ (pulpit) and the raked seating that flanks the pulpit and galleries. The heavy internal space has a light-weight roof, with steel girders and an exposed timber strip ceiling, structurally supported by four concrete piers that hold the corners of the inner square. The roof is pulled back from the walls to allow light to enter the space from above and which ‘...washes the brick infill walls at the uppermost level’.⁷⁵

The resultant building is strongly formalist, maintaining a structural clarity and controlled use of materials. The rigorousness of the architectural conception is evident at every level, from the overall ideas about exposed concrete and brick to almost every element of the interior, from the pews through to the pulpit and its canopy, and from the organ to the notice boards, the large Holy Communion and the baptismal font (Figure 40).⁷⁶ The intention was to have no functionless ornament to interrupt the integrity of the architectural expression (and this is very much the case today) with the exception of a small table in front of the pulpit and an electronic display screen above the pulpit).

Design influences

⁷⁵ Nuttall, 2005: 66

⁷⁶ Notes on work to be done from the job files entitled ‘Church Welkom’ in Uytendogaardt’s hand. RSU Collection BC1264

In 1993, Roelof Uytenbogaardt received one of the highest honours by peers in the architectural profession and was invited to deliver the annual Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture and to mount a retrospective exhibition of his work. The exhibition was a chronologically ordered display of his major works, as well as some of his student drawings and paintings done on his travels.

Exhibition Panel number two, entitled simply N.G Church Welkom, 1964 (Figure 43) has a short descriptive text and below that a page-wide photographic image taken shortly after its completion, of the building in the grassland landscape. Directly below that are drawings of the ground and first floor plans as well as sections and elevations. To the right of this are two photographs showing the interior and one close-up view of the exterior, as well as a series of details design drawings such as the mechanism for the bell, the pulpit canopy and others. This completes the description of the building. Below this is a set of drawings and text in which he shows a series of centralised church plans and sections, including Byzantine, Renaissance and modern examples by way of explaining the design rationale for the Welkom building.⁷⁷

By highlighting his design ‘precedent’ in this way, he positions himself within a much broader debate within the history of architecture – that concerning the problem of the centralised plan in church design. In the fifteenth century in Italy, Renaissance architects such as Alberti, da Vinci, Peruzzi, and Filaretto, Bramante and others turned away from the traditional Latin Cross plan consisting of the long nave, transept and choir. Instead they advocate centrally planned churches, and these churches have always been regarded as the climax of Renaissance architecture.⁷⁸ Increasingly, this form – based on the pagan temples of classical antiquity – was rejected in favour of what is known as the Basilican plan, that of the Roman law courts, which better accommodated the liturgical needs of the church ritual (St Peter’s in Rome, finished under Pope Pius VI is possibly the best example). The relative merits of the ideal (centralised) and the practical (basilican) approaches to church design have remained a point of debate within architectural history and it is this intellectual dilemma that Uytenbogaardt appears to have tackled in the making of the Welkom DR Church.

Uytenbogaardt had studied the history of architecture as part of his curriculum at the University of Cape Town under Professor Pryce Lewis, and later close at hand during his time spent as a Rome Scholar at the British School in Rome.⁷⁹ His preoccupation with the idealised central plan of the Renaissance most probably stems from this experience. Early sketches of the

⁷⁷ Photograph of panel 2, Uytenbogaardt Exhibition for the Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture, and exhibition. University of the Free State, Bloemfontein 1998. RSU Collection, BC1264 Photographs.

⁷⁸ Wittkower, Rudolf, 1962, ‘The Centrally Planned Church and the Renaissance’, Part I in *Architectural principles in the Age of Humanism*, Alec Tiranti, London, pp. 1-27 p.2

⁷⁹ Uytenbogaardt was awarded the Prix de Rome in 1958, and was the first South African trained architect to receive this award (inset in the journal *Architect and Builder*, August 1967, p. 64). RSU Collection, BC1264 Cuttings

Welkom church show pages of precedent studies with thumbnail drawings of his exploration of small, centralised plans (Figure 45). Jean Nuttall refers to his preoccupation with the purity of form of the centralised plan. When speaking about Welkom church he said ‘Like San Vitale....it [Welkom church] accepts the elevational consequences of its internal space making’.⁸⁰

Nuttall argues further that ‘Uytenbogaardt viewed the history of the discipline as an architectural resource to be used selectively by the architect to inform the new, while taking architectures forward to meet the concerns of the present.’⁸¹ The range of influences that he explored as precedent for the Welkom church was wide and included his experience of two key American churches, Frank Lloyd Wright’s Unity Temple of 1905 and the First Unitarian Church and school by his mentor Louis Kahn (1959-1962) (Figures 46-47). Stylistically there is no doubt that the Welkom Church bears some very strong references to these buildings, whose formal resolution must have impressed him, as well as the programmatic resolution in plan of the requirement for a non-ritualistic church layout. In an unidentified newspaper report of the time, the scheme for the church is described: ‘die kerk sal heeltemal “anders” lyk en kan moontlik nog ‘n omwenteling in die patroon van N.G kerk – geboue veroorsaak.’ (the church will look totally different, and might possibly cause a change in the style of D. R church building design). It goes further to explain a lay argument given by Uytenbogaardt rationalising the centralised form as a more intimate way of designing a space for worship, and states that in his design Uytenbogaardt will try to eradicate the problems of alienation experienced in conventional directional churches designed with large congregational seating in a linear arrangement facing the pulpit, ‘In sy ontwerp het mnr. Uytenbogaardt al hierdie dinge probeer uitskakel.’ (In his design Mr Uytenbogaardt has tried to exclude all these problems).⁸²

The various explanations provided by Uytenbogaardt for the form of the building, both architectural and religious, point to his preoccupation with what he often referred to as ‘the art of one’s art’, and his intense quest for experimentation was what he later termed ‘an architecture of discovery’.⁸³ (Figure 48) He referred to himself as a ‘humanist’ and these are terms within which he spoke of architecture and urban design, holding onto a strong conviction, or ‘belief’ in the capacity of design as a form making process to improve the quality of life, despite popular sentiment to the contrary. In the case of the Welkom church, almost everything you read points to

⁸⁰ Nuttall, 2005: 66, citing Nuttall, Jean, 1993, ‘Roelof Uytenbogaardt’, in the *Transvaal Institute of Architects (TIA) Journal*, Architectural press, Cape Town, November 1993, p14

⁸¹ Nuttall, 2005: 67

⁸² Unidentified newspaper clipping in the Afrikaans Press, presumably c. 1963. RSU Collection, Welkom DRC Job Folder.

⁸³ Cooke, M, 1998: notes

the austerity of the building and to a sense of unease that it creates as a space of worship.⁸⁴ Nuttall, writing in appreciation of its architecture echoes what I imagine was Uytenbogaardt's own defensive view of the architectural quality of the building. 'The church is valued by its users, and surely a component in this perception is the building's legibility, comprehended, albeit perhaps on a subconscious level, by even the most untrained eye, a legibility which heightens the experience.'⁸⁵

The building process

Uytenbogaardt's own accounts of the building, as well as those by other architects and critics such as Jean Nuttall, all focus on the architectural, describing the materiality using the conventions of a disciplinary language of at best aesthetic analysis and appreciation or at worst self-promotion. The papers in the professional 'job files' in the archive provide the possibility of narrating the building in different ways. Job Files are just that – literally the files in which architectural practices record the formal construction process and in which everything - from professional correspondence with the client and members of the professional team to pamphlets and information about building materials - are filed. Job files are where minutes of site meetings and in-process photographs with the contractor are kept; where documentation with local authorities around building plan approval can be found; where survey diagrams and title deeds of the property are easy to hand and where many miscellaneous records are – from office costs for disbursement to the client to manufacturer specifications for fixtures and components of the building and detailed construction drawings (Figures 41-42, 44).

Uytenbogaardt's involvement in the commission for the church building, worth a contract sum of almost sixty-eight thousand rand, appears to have been through his brother-in-law, Dominee Dana Minnaar who was the first minister of the congregation of Welkom West.⁸⁶ Correspondence between the two men dating from 1963 traces the development of the functional brief by Minnaar and the Church Board and the interpretation of this into architectural ideas by Uytenbogaardt from his practice in Cape Town (Figure 49). The correspondence between the two men is a mixture of the personal and the professional, with church building matters interspersed with personal news and biblical references, as well as references for business contacts for Uytenbogaardt from his brother-in-law.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Personal conversation with Paul Kotze (ex chair of architecture at the University of the Free State), Cape Town 2005.

⁸⁵ Nuttall, 2005:67

⁸⁶ There are numerous letters between Minnaar and Uytenbogaardt in which he signs himself as 'jou broer en swaer' (your brother and brother in law). RSU Collection, BC1264 Job Files Welkom DRC.

⁸⁷ Correspondence from Minnaar to Uytenbogaardt, 5 October 1964. RSU Collection, BC1264 Welkom DRC job folder.

The sketch design process was completed by early 1964 by a team working in the practice that was named Uytenbogaardt and Pelser based in Bible House Greenmarket Square, Cape Town. As with many buildings attributed to one principal architect, the Welkom church design was produced by a team of architects, under Uytenbogaardt's employ. From initials on working drawings, some correspondence and personal communication it would appear that members of the project team included Uytenbogaardt, Pelser, Dennis Playden, Tony da Souza Santos, and John Moyle.⁸⁸

The council submission plans were approved on the 11 March 1964.⁸⁹ A bill of quantities was prepared by Cape based quantity surveyor Middleton and Slingsby and tenders were received for the contract to build the church on 20 April 1964. The successful tenderer was a general contractor J.B Wolmaraans, based in Welkom, who was appointed to the job on 14 May 1964 undertaking to 'complete the work in 6 calendar months after the date of possession of the site with sureties of 10% of the contract sum'.⁹⁰ Hill Kaplan and Partners (also from Cape Town) were appointed as the structural engineers for the project. There is a gap in the correspondence available in the file, but records of progress payments and 'certificates' issued for work completed show the steady progression of the building process, but by the end of 1964 the contractor Wolmaraans begins to have financial problems and is eventually relieved of his responsibilities as contractor on 8 April 1965, at which time the church was substantially over-time and incomplete.⁹¹ This threw the church committee into a crisis and the completion of the building proceeded under severe financial constraints.

There is other documentation in the Uytenbogaardt Collection that relates to the Welkom Church which gives a sense of the ways in which Uytenbogaardt and Minnaar set about convincing the congregation to accept the unconventional form of the building, even before it was erected. The 'Gemeente Nuus' dated December 1963 carried a piece entitled 'Ons Bou Kerk' in which it explained Uytenbogaardt's rationale for the reconception of church spaces and in which the author (in all likelihood Minnaar himself) states:

Ons dink waarlik dat die Here vir Mnr Uytenbogaardt geïnspireer het om al die genoemde probleme of te los. U het vir hom gebid, daarom deel ons dit met u. Ek weet dat die rowwe buitelyne van die modelletjie, soos ek dit op die voorblad weergee vir u baie vreemd sal voorkom. Laat ek u egter die versekering gee dat dit binne-in baie konvensioneel vertoon en uiters prakties is. Die gedeelte wat bo die res van die

⁸⁸ This was confirmed by John Moyle in personal conversation with Dennis Playden who visited UCT in 2005.

⁸⁹ Document entitled Schedule "D" Welkom Munisipaliteit, Kennisgewing van Goedkeuring van Planne. Amptelike Plan nr: 8477. RSU Collection, BC1264 Welkom DRC job folder.

⁹⁰ Document entitled Tender for Proposed Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk at Welkom Township, Orange Free State, Lot no 6852, ext 10 Welkom Township. RSU Collection, BC1264 Welkom DRC Job Folders.

⁹¹ Letter to J.B Wolmaraans terminating his services, 8 April 1965. RSU Collection, BC1264 Welkom DRC Job Folders

konstruksie uit-[kroon?], met die vorm van die Voortrekkermonument, is die skip van die kerk

[We think that God has truly inspired Mr. Uytenbogaardt to solve all these named problems (of conventional church design). You prayed for him and it is for this reason that we are sharing this with you. I know that the rough lines of the little model, as I have shown on the front page, may seem strange to you. Let me give you my assurances that the interior is very conventional and extremely practical. The part that rises up above the rest of the construction, in form much like the Voortrekker Monument, is the main space of the church.]⁹²

Following a reaction to the foreign nature of the proposed scheme as illustrated, a subsequent issue of the *Gemeente Nuus* carried annotated diagrams of the plans to inform the congregation further about the design.⁹³ (Figure 50) The reference to the Voortrekker Monument is especially interesting as Minnaar seems to have accepted that the design was almost unrecognisable as a church and rather than convince the congregation of its ‘churchness’, he appears to situate the design within an established symbolic mode of Afrikaner Nationalist Architecture.

The bourgeois public's reception of the building

That the building was unrecognisable as a church to the ordinary viewer was, it seems, not entirely unintended or, in fact, unexpected by the architect, who took an intellectual position. ‘hy [het] himself afgevra wat ‘n kerk eintlik is’ (he asked himself what a church really is). The answer Uytenbogaardt gave to this question was simply ‘‘n Ruimte waar God gedien word’ (A space in which God is served).⁹⁴ What precisely this abstract brief to himself meant is unclear, but it suggests his ambition to challenge the conventions of church building ‘typology’ in South Africa, and also his wish to draw on his recent experiences of some contemporary buildings in America.

Similarly in trying to unravel the puzzled reception that the building received, reasons cannot simply be attributed to its modernist approach to the design. That church buildings were works of modern architecture was not a new concept in the Dutch Reformed Church, as by 1966 there were many buildings which bore a resemblance to work by famous modernist architects of the twentieth century. In almost every city, town and suburb Dutch Reformed churches are to be found which bear a likeness to churches such as Le Corbusier’s Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp, Basil Spence’s Coventry Cathedral or the Dutch architect Dukok’s many works. These buildings by Afrikaner architects such as De Ridder, Smit and Viljoen, Van Wyk and many others,

⁹² *Gemeente Nuus*, No.2 Desember 1963, ‘Ons Bou Kerk’, pp.1-3. RSU Collection, BC1264 Welkom Church Job Folders

⁹³ *Gemeente Nuus* (undated), RSU Collection, BC1264 ‘Die N. G Gemeente Welkom-Wes Bou Kerk’, pp.1-3

⁹⁴ *Gemeente Nuus*, (undated): 2

importantly all looked like churches as their design more or less adhered to universal symbolic forms for churches, with characteristic vertical spires, directional axiality in their planning and dominant pitched roof forms.⁹⁵ This modernism was an accepted statement of sophisticated modernity, in many cases with the direct intention of identifying Afrikaner architecture from its pre-existing colonial forms.⁹⁶

Writing in the architectural pamphlet *Credo* in 1969, architect Danie Theron underlines this argument, suggesting that the simplicity and naivety of these buildings were outdated and inappropriate for the 'complexities of our urban communities'. He continues to suggest that two churches by architects Hallen and Uytenbogaardt's are 'an attempt to reformulate the problem (of architectural design) and to reclassify architectonic values'.⁹⁷ In this way he is pointing to an international shift in the form and style of modern architectural design away from the works of the early European modernists towards the emerging architectures of Louis Kahn, Frank Lloyd Wright and other from the American schools of architecture, which by this time had not yet taken shape as significant influences in South Africa.⁹⁸

Almost thirty years later and Uytenbogaardt described the NG Kerk building in his retrospective exhibition, once again stating a sense of the experimental in his approach to the work, as well as seemingly positioning the work outside of any local stylistic trends. He writes:

Here is an architecture of discovery, one that comes from the struggle with the art of architecture, with materials, structure, space and light, and not from a pre-existing style.

Again he focuses on the formal ideas employed in the design rather than a language of style, stating:

The square plan of the main space required light to be made in such a way as to reveal its squareness; the structure which gives dimension to the space resolves itself as a cluster of columns at the four corners; and the material sets the limit of what is possible. Different aspects of the same material become the decoration and expression of the building.⁹⁹

In many ways this could be the description of any building of its time and scale and perhaps goes some way to explaining the confusion about the identity of the building as well as its generic similarity to other industrial and institutional building of the time: grain silos, cancer research institutes, fire stations and the like. Journalist Neville Krige's remarks writing in the

⁹⁵ David Goldblatt's photography documents life under apartheid. including many of these churches of these see: Goldblatt, David, (with essays by Antjie Krog and Ivor Powell), 2007, *Some Afrikaners Revisited*, Umzi, Roggebaai. Goldblatt, David, 1998, *The Structure of things then*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

⁹⁶ Silvermann, 1998

⁹⁷ Theron, Danie, 1969, 'Contra Mundum' in *Credo*, No 19, Pretoria, October 1969 .pp. 2

⁹⁸ There were many South African who went to study in the USA at this time, including Glen Gallagher, Denise Scott Brown, Tony and Adele Santos. Later Willie Meyer and Francois Pienaar, but many of them remained in the US and hence their influence was not felt in the local scene.

⁹⁹ Photograph of panel 2, Uytenbogaardt Exhibition for the Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture, and exhibition. University of the Free State, Bloemfontein 1998. RSU Collection, BC1264 Photographs.

Huisgenoot in 1967, although ultimately in support of the building, echo some of the perceptions surrounding the response to this modern building.¹⁰⁰

Foregrounding the Archival Account

The archival account described above points to a major recurring theme in the work of this architect – where his conceptions of a client public’s desires and needs are overridden by a ‘higher’ moral sense of the role of architecture in society, as proposed by his mentor Louis Kahn. Constructing a building’s biography is necessarily a reading of the role of professional practice in relation to artistic practice in architecture, which exists as a tension that exists to this day in the profession. There are examples – too numerous to elaborate on properly - that attest to this in which the profession’s ‘best’ work receives at best a lukewarm response from individuals and publics and which has formed a body of work that cites a disillusionment with modern architecture.

In thinking about notions of the public sphere post-apartheid, Fraser’s questions are relevant to the unpacking of the emergent notion of the New South Africa’s Rainbow Nation conception of a multicultural public. She asks: ‘Under conditions of cultural diversity in the absence of structural inequality, would a single, comprehensive public sphere be preferable to multiple publics? Can one single public exist if there was no hegemonic dominance, inequality, and racial differences?’¹⁰¹

The Welkom Church has become a site of pilgrimage for architects, a heritage site of sorts, in particular to students from the University of the Orange Free State’s architecture department, who regularly visit the site and, much like Lange, writing after his visit during his student years, extol its geometric, spatial and formal prowess. He writes: ‘Roelof Uytenbogaardt’s Welkom N.G Church of 1964 [sic] is a refreshing sight for eyes jaded by the sight of too many glossy photographs in magazines purporting to represent architectural endeavor.’¹⁰² Similarly Jean Nuttall’s praise for its landscape setting – conforming precisely to Uytenbogaardt’s own vision of the building – seems misplaced in the suburban context which it finds itself and which her own photographs reveal.¹⁰³

Perhaps this is the sense of visual appreciation that pervades much architectural writing, where a blind eye is turned to the social histories that surround these projects. In many of Uytenbogaardt’s works, at the Werdmuller Centre, Steinkopf Community Centre, UCT’s Sports

¹⁰⁰ Krige, 1967: 28-29

¹⁰¹ Fraser, 1993: 529

¹⁰² Lange, undated: 1

¹⁰³ Nuttall, J, 2005

Centre, the Salt River Community Centre, and the Simonstown Garden of Remembrance, amongst others, architects seem to have forgiven Uytenbogaardt and his collaborators for this austerity and instead found inspirational the high moral aspects of architecture he aspired to creating, despite the often negative views held by communities and publics who use the spaces daily. Chapter Four explores another instance where Uytenbogaardt was commissioned to design housing at Belhar on the Cape Flats for publics who were classified 'coloured' under apartheid. The chapter shifts focus from architectural projects to the area of urban design. It extends the argument that spatial practitioners working under apartheid had to envision urban spaces for classified publics.

University of Cape Town

Chapter Four. Belhar Housing: 'Coloured' Publics and 'Urban Problems'

Home Extensions, Improvements and Decoration

Each homeowner likes to personalize his home and to perhaps make it different from other houses. This we encourage you to do but, being in a GROUP HOUSING PROJECT where all work for one another and where a real community spirit must grow, it is important that what you do will not upset your neighbours or the community of which you are part.

Extensions to your house were carefully thought about when the project was planned and in fact many of you already have the extra rooms added to your houses. The architects will be drawing up master plans for the Divisional Council showing how each house can be added to. When you add to your house, as long as your plans are drawn up in the same way you will get approval for them.

Outbuildings or sheds which you might want to put up in your courtyard space also need to be approved by the Divisional Council otherwise the Inspectors can demand that you pull these down.

Chamber of Commerce Group Housing Project – Belhar Pamphlet for house owners 1978¹

This chapter sets out to shift the consideration of space making in this thesis away from the making of purely architectural space - that of buildings alone - to the arena of planning and urban design. It extends the argument presented in Chapter Three that spatial design professionals working under apartheid had to envision spaces for classified publics. Following from the consideration of the white apartheid publics in Welkom, the chapter considers another space of engagement where Uytendogaardt and his colleagues designed housing at Belhar for Cape Town's racially classified 'coloured' publics.

As a counterpoint to the conceptions of Welkom's whiteness, the place that became known as Belhar is part of the 'Cape Flats' or 'Kaapse Vlakte', meaning 'flatlands' where racially designated areas were established for non-white publics after the large-scale forced removals in Cape Town following the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Here the concept of 'racial groups', emphasised in the term 'Group Housing' in the quotation for the *Pamphlet for House Owners* above, alludes to the central idea contained in the social engineering of apartheid where publics were literally forced together into racially constructed groups. Notions of 'community development', institutionalised through government ministries and departments of the same name were a peculiarly heinous part of the crass social engineering caused by dislocation of people from the places they considered home.

Individuals, families, and communities were forced to live on the 'Flats' (as the space became known colloquially) on the periphery of the city, thrown together with

¹ Chamber of Commerce Group Housing Project, 1978, *Belhar Pamphlet for house owners*, RSU Collection BC1264.

other 'coloured' people from across Cape Town. These new, disempowered publics presented the apartheid state with new sets of 'problems'. Once removed, there emerged the need to relocate people and the idea of the racially segregated 'apartheid city' took shape. This was made material through the agency and interventions of urban planning with all its associated spaces of division and control. Belhar on the Cape Flats was no exception.

Belhar was established in the 1960s as a township along the lines of international precedent of 'New Towns' as a part of the area known as Bellville South. As with many other newly designated areas for black and coloured publics, it was on land that was environmentally inferior to other parts of Cape Town – a tree-less wetland area exposed to harsh winds and sun. People who were removed to Belhar came from areas across Cape Town: from areas in the city centre's old Districts, among them Districts One and Six, and from the Southern Suburbs of Mowbray, Wynberg and Claremont, amongst others.² The establishment of Belhar as a balkanised dumping ground for people was also a product of the rapid growth of population including continued migration to the city of people from small towns and rural areas in what was then the Cape Province. The Belhar Group Housing Project undertaken by Uytendogaardt and Mackaskill in collaboration with UPRU for the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce in the 1970s, was part of an old shooting range, as the nearby railway station named Skietbaan (Shooting Range) alludes. This was an ambitious scheme conceptualised in a time of radical urban reorganisation under apartheid. The combined processes of forced removal and the establishment of 'Coloured Group Areas' implementing the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1963 occasioned the design of whole new parts of what makes up greater Cape Town today. In Cape Town, the effect of these processes took on a particular racial form with the Coloured Labour Preference legislation, delineating Cape Town as a largely white and coloured city.

From 1973-1976 the controversial Theron Commission of Inquiry into the coloured population was headed by University of Stellenbosch sociologist Erika Theron. Theron was a respected Nationalist Party member and academic whose studies into 'Coloured matters' began with her Masters thesis at Stellenbosch under supervisor Hendrik Verwoerd.³ Although this must have been an early influence on her approach

² The District Six Museum in Cape Town tells this story.

³ Brink, Elsabe, 'Man-made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the volksmoeder' – in <http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/women-gender/brink-e.htm> (accessed 27 October 2009, 21h45)

to sociology, she became a liberal Afrikaner, widely thought to have positively influenced the quality of living conditions, education and the like for 'Coloured people' during apartheid. Her liberalism was focussed on the 'plight of Coloured people' rather than any oppositional politics. In line with her political liberalism, and for the first time since the National Party had come into power, such a commission included 'Coloured representation'. Under her leadership, the Theron Commission's findings and recommendations had far-reaching effects on the implementation of separate development, while Group Areas were being established. Reflecting on the Commission's report, retired academic and member of the Theron Commission, Sampie Terreblanche wrote in his 2002 book *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002* that the report, published in 1976: 'did not denounce apartheid and also endorsed some of its principal features, such as residential segregation.'⁴ The 1970s also signalled the beginning of a time of mass resistance with the 1976 schools boycotts and mass mobilisation across the country, where 'political resurgence and protests were largely concentrated in urban areas.'⁵

This chapter deals with constructing an account of the project beyond the spatial material that is contained in the holdings of the Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt Collection in UCT's Department of Manuscripts and Archives. The information in the collection is more or less consistent with the writings presented after Belhar was developed by Uytenbogaardt and his colleagues in UPRU. The files contained in the Collection show the evolution of the project, largely through the drawings and reports prepared for the project, and some professional reflections on the design by team members. Tracking down the UPRU archives proved unsuccessful as these were not retained after UPRU was closed in 2001.⁶ The fortuitous find of another archive for the project has enabled the possibility of tracing the project's processes more broadly. The files which contain the broader correspondence are to be found in the archive located in the University of Cape Town's Administrative records. At Belhar the University of Cape Town's involvement as an institution was extensive. UCT joined the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce in order to find ways of providing its coloured staff with housing, and subsequently it offered professional services through UPRU. The records

⁴ Terreblanche, Sampie, 2002, *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, p.558

⁵ Harrison, P, Todes, A, Watson, V, 2008, *Planning and transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*, Routledge, London.p.41. Bundy, Colin, 2002, 'Action, comrades, action! – The Politics of youth-student resistance in the Western Cape, 1985, in James. Wilmot and Simons, Mary, (eds), 1989, *The Angry Divide, Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, David Phillip, Cape Town. pp.206-217.

⁶ Watson perscom.

from the archive reveal their roles as both clients and professionals involved in the projects.

Instead of focusing on the design as spatial 'object' as the Uytendogaardt archive and the literature in urban design presents it, this chapter interrogates the processes of interaction between professionals and academics and coloured publics as recorded in the papers located both in the Administrative files and the Uytendogaardt Collection. It proposes that the significance of the project and thinking that underpinned it is two-fold. On the one hand it was the articulation in design terms of an approach to urban design that remains a dominant one post-apartheid in both practice and policy-making. On the other hand it explores the complex role of urban design practice in the experimentation with new urban design ideas and their associated forms in the arena of coloured housing.

While the Belhar scheme's influence, along with the work of UPRU, has been widely hailed as forward thinking, radical even, by spatial design professionals, a close reading of the archives available provides a more nuanced story of the complexities of practice under apartheid with all its attendant entanglements of complicity and resistance.⁷ Interrogating the intersection between these oppositional accounts has been a tricky project in itself, presented through competing discourses about urban design and public reception. For example, the 'successes' of the Belhar project that were used in the late 1970s as motivation for funding of UPRU by the Anglo American Chairman's Fund make no mention of the enormous problems that the project encountered from unhappy residents of the Group Housing Scheme.⁸

Architect Graham Owen refers to this when writing about the Minor Community Hall which formed part of the Belhar Project: 'What is clearly in conception a conscientious and thoughtful project oscillates among readings both positive and negative.'⁹ Accounts of the Belhar project in the literatures of the time tend to focus on the merits of the approach to space making that Uytendogaardt and his peers proposed: 'the making of collective spaces to celebrate public life' and achieve urban 'complexity.'¹⁰ Other current writing in urban studies and planning concentrates on the 'fact' of the far-reaching influence of these space making ideas, while also critiquing the overly spatial orientation of this approach to urban design (Figures 61-64).¹¹

⁷ UCT Administrative Archives, UPRU Papers.

⁸ UCT Administrative Archives, UPRU Papers.

⁹ Owen, Graham, 1989, 'Forget Europe, Forget America: Architecture and Apartheid' in *Journal of Architectural Education (JAE)*, (1984-), Vol. 42, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Inc. pp. 3-23 p.12

¹⁰ Nuttall, Jean, 1993:17

¹¹ Harrison, *et al*, 2008

In addition, while there is extensive analysis of what is called ‘the apartheid city’ there is less written that problematises the role of spatial design professions in the making of this phenomenon, especially perhaps ‘liberal planners’ - those working against the ideals of the Apartheid State. Consequently what appears to be missing in the literature is any sustained critique of the workings of groups such as UPRU and its associated professionals. It is accepted as almost axiomatic that groupings such as UPRU were opposed to apartheid and its attendant spatial effects. At the same time their ideological positions are unclear.

Urban Problems

In a memorandum submitted to the Theron Commission into Coloured Affairs in the early 1970s by a group of professionals that would later become the key players in UPRU at UCT, including: Paul Andrew, David Dewar, George Ellis, Martin Putterill, B. Rosenthal and Roelof Uytenbogaardt, it is stated: ‘its authors are motivated by a desire to apply their combined technical and professional skills to assist in the resolution of serious housing and environmental problems which exist in the Western Cape.’¹² This memorandum repeatedly refers to the notion of housing and urban ‘problems’ which are outlined as ‘tentative suggestions for the method of tackling the search for practical solutions’ along with examples from the Belhar Housing Project, and projects by Paul Andrew in Cross Roads and Zambia.¹³ It states: ‘We are relying on Commissioners to ask for further information in areas in which it is felt the greatest urgency exists.’¹⁴

The memorandum does not contain any suggestions that might oppose the Group Areas approach and it is unclear if the UPRU group ever received a reply from the Theron Commission, or what precisely their intention was in making the submission. There are however some different views on this. In an interview with member of the group, Paul Andrew, he explained intentions behind making the submission saying that, given the urgency of the housing problems, the group held the view that ‘something had to be done’ and that they had ‘faith in the common man.’¹⁵ In contrast, his colleague John Moyle suggested that there ‘never was any resistive critique’ and that the project was ‘ideologically Putterills and Davey’s [Dewar]’ who were ‘liberals of a sort’ whose intention was to find practical projects through which to test spatial ideas and improve the environments that poor people lived in under

¹² Theron Commission Submission doc (courtesy Paul Andrew) :1

¹³ Theron Commission Submission doc (courtesy Paul Andrew) :1-2 + appendices to the document

¹⁴ Theron Commission Submission doc (courtesy Paul Andrew) :2

¹⁵ Interview with Paul Andrew, Constantia, August 2009

apartheid.¹⁶ His view was that the more Marxist counter-positions proposed by another UCT professor Ivor Prinsloo who had completed his doctorate under Edward Soja in California were much more critically formulated, and that the battle that was fought internally at the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT over the formulation of UPRU was ‘quite traumatic’ with far-reaching effects which served to split academics into two camps, those supporting Prinsloo’s politics and Uytendogaardt’s followers.¹⁷

The idea of making a contribution rather than a critique is central to enabling the work of UPRU to take form and allowed for the group to embark on a range of projects in practice. That their intentions were liberal ideas, less an oppositional ideological position than the desire to test out spatial models for improved living environments appears clear.

What a reading of the memorandum to the Theron Commission suggests is that the objects of the UPRU team were practically oriented towards making a contribution to solving what they viewed as the housing ‘problems’. As was a certain convention under apartheid, there is no mention of race in this memorandum, but as the Theron Commission was set up to deal with ‘coloured issues’ the acceptance of this as a stable category is not surprising. After all, in its findings, the Theron Commission ‘did not have a problem with the concept of racial segregation or laws like the Group Areas Act that forced different race groups to live in separate zones.’¹⁸ The omission of an articulation of racial categories was also consistent with the Humanist approach discussed earlier in this thesis, in which the language of human universalism rather than race dominated Uytendogaardt and his peers’ discourse and writing.

In trying to unpack this humanist discourse, the debates around structure and agency are useful for thinking about the modes in which practitioners defined languages for practice in a complicated side-stepping of the realities of apartheid. This is a central feature of the agency of liberal, humanist action, as Shepherd has explored: ‘how did well meaning people describe themselves what it is that they did in the context of atrocity?’ Finding answers to this question in practice was complex as there was the need for a language through which to ‘speak one’s own practice’ as a way of sounding ‘plausible to others and oneself.’¹⁹ In planning discourses, many of which circulate to this day, people are referred to in the abstract standardising language of practice, as: ‘squatter communities’, ‘low income families’ and ‘middle income

¹⁶ Moyle, 2008

¹⁷ Moyle, 2008. Evidence of these events are largely anecdotal and contained in the recollections of peers from the time with whom I discussed this, including Julian Cooke, David Dewar, Fabio Todeschini and others. I searched the University records for more official papers on the split but with the disappearance of the UPRU archive this has proved difficult.

¹⁸ Terreblanche, 2002

¹⁹ Nick Shepherd Supervisory Discussions, September 2009.

families.’ In the case of the UPRU formulation in the Theron Commission submission they added a term in which they described apartheid’s complicated context in local ways as ‘Cape conditions.’²⁰ The framing of the term ‘urban problems’ appears to have elided critique in the current literature, with all its potential implications of ‘othering’ apartheid’s black subjects and their living conditions under apartheid. While this was standard language of professionals at the time, these semantic preoccupations point perhaps to providing answers about the slippage that appears to have happened between a ‘model’ process of conception and the emotional and negative reception of the housing scheme. The recent reformulation of the 1980s publication *South African Keywords*, into *New South African Keywords* in 2008 discusses the role of language in the lexicon of apartheid discourses.²¹

UPRU closed formally in July 2001. Members of the core group from UPRU - Lisa Kane, Roger Behrens and Peter Wilkinson - consolidated their research interests and joined the newly formed Urban Transport Research Group, an interdisciplinary group based in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at UCT which receives funding from a variety of sources.²² The far reaching influence of the work done by the group of academics working in what would become known as UPRU, based at the University of Cape from the 1970s onwards remains evident in urban design practice in the present time, especially in Cape Town. Tracing the evolution of UPRU, it emerged in the 1970s amidst intense interest and research activity into Cape Town’s urban problems under apartheid. Stellenbosch academic Dr. I.J. van der Merwe, based at the Institute for Cartographic Analysis cites thirty units across universities and centres in the region researching Cape Town’s problems in the 1970s.²³ Providing an account of the establishment, research output and effects of this research into the school of thought that formulated the ideas of ‘the apartheid city’ at UCT is an extensive task and beyond the scope of possibility in the space of this chapter, as is an adequate survey of the extensive field of Housing Studies. Instead, this chapter provides a reading of some of the processes involved in the Belhar project as a way of reflecting on broader practices.

Writing about the influence of the emerging University of Cape Town based school of urban design, planners Phil Harrison, Alison Todes and Vanessa Watson describe how ‘a small group of planning academics at the University of Cape Town (UCT), particularly David Dewar and Roelof Uytenbogaardt, developed an alternative

²⁰ Theron Commission Submission document (courtesy Paul Andrew) :3

²¹ Shepherd and Robins, 2008

²² Noero, Jo, 2001, Head of School *UCT Research Report 2001*, SAPG, Faculty of Engineering, p. 9

²³ Van der Merwe, I.J, 1981, ‘Reports: Cape Town as a Focus for Urban Research’ in *Geo Journal*, Supplementary Issue (1981), pp. 105-111

urban vision and approach to planning, which proved to be highly influential in the post apartheid era.²⁴ From the 1970's onwards they describe the ideas developed by the Cape Town School as 'systematic critiques' of the 'apartheid urban form and the modernist design ideas through which it had been planned.'²⁵ This idea that, based to a large extent on Uytendogaardt's influences from his experience studying in the United States and in Rome, the Cape Town Group offered a clearly formulated 'alternative' view of the possibilities of urban design in South Africa is a position that remains widely held by practitioners to this day, as Southworth and Harrison *et al* describe.²⁶ This alternative view has variously been described as 'a view of cities as far more mixed and integrated than the typical apartheid city which was divided on land use, race and class lines' and as a form of Italianate 'romantic traditionalism.'²⁷ On the one hand there develops a picture of a progressive group of city thinkers who elevated 'a design-based framework approach to spatial planning' against the established apartheid land-use planning paradigms prevalent at the time, while at another level there is the suggestion that the Italianate influence was a form of idealised fantasy against which the realities of apartheid could be set aside.²⁸

The 'apartheid city'

Formulations of the idea of the apartheid city date back to the inception of statutory apartheid in South Africa in the 1940s. However the histories of urban planning which precede this have a much longer lineage as seen in the School of Architecture projects from the 1930s onwards where students were designing for 'native housing.' Although in some of these projects there were the seeds of a resistive approach as Derek Japha outlines in his influential paper *The Social Programme of the South African Modern Movement in Architecture*, presented as an Africa Seminar Paper in UCT's Centre for African Studies in October 1986.²⁹

In another initiative from the Centre for African Studies at UCT, which culminated in the 1989 publication of *The Angry Divide, Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, in which leftist academics applied their minds to thinking about

²⁴ Harrison *et al*, 2008: 41. Southworth, Barbara, (undated, c.2005), 'City Squares in Cape Town's Townships- Public Space as an Instrument of Urban Transformation: The Origins, Objectives and Implementation of the City of Cape Town's Dignified Places Programme', unpublished paper.

²⁵ Harrison *et al*, 2008:41

²⁶ Harrison *et al*, 2008:41

²⁷ Harrison *et al*, 2008:41. Silverman, Malinda, 2000, 'Urbane Thinking' (Exhibition Review), in *Mail and Guardian*, 23-29 June 2000.

²⁸ Harrison *et al*, 2008:41. Silvermann; 2000

²⁹ Japha, 1986

Cape Town, criminologist Don Pinnock argued that Cape Town was a 'garrison city'.³⁰ Others, such as planners from UPRU, Alison Todes, Vanessa Watson and Peter Wilkinson contributed to this publication which had a far reaching effect beyond the spatial disciplines. In this the idea of the 'apartheid city' became accepted as a travesty of urban planning in South Africa. This publication was followed in 1992 by the book *The Apartheid City and Beyond, Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa*, which drew together South Africa's best urban scholars at the time into a collection of studies which demonstrated the histories of spatial planning on social conditions³¹

These publications, to which Uytenbogaardt's colleague from UPRU, David Dewar, contributed in 1992 have become essential reading for planning students post-apartheid. Dewar's influence has been significant in the framing of post-apartheid urban policies as Edgar Pieterse explores (after Mabin) in his recent paper entitled *Tracing the 'Integration' Thread in the South African Urban Development Policy Tapestry*.³² Writing about Dewar's influence he suggests:

a remarkable consensus emerged about the core urban planning ideas which are most developed in the longstanding ideas of David Dewar, based at UPRU. This consensus informed the battery of post-1994 urban policies. In reviewing these policies it is clear that the tenets of Dewar's work have proved enduring. For now I want to hone in on his work because of its reach in scholarly circles and policy processes and it is the veritable core of dominant discourses in South Africa about how urban segregation and fragmentation had to be understood and remedied.³³

He continues to describe the definitions proposed by Dewar who describes 'the primary characteristics of the apartheid city around three spatial patterns'. In post-apartheid South Africa Pieterse argues:

This pattern [Dewar's first pattern – largely unmanaged, low-density urban sprawl] is fuelled by a residential development approach for the middle and upper classes through speculative development economies. Sprawl is further enhanced by 'crisis-driven' low-cost housing schemes of the government, which are informed by the imperatives of using cheap land and materials and racial separation. The squatting practices of those without houses also reinforces sprawl because a consideration in (peripheral) locations is the avoidance of harassment by authorities.

Dewar's argument, related by Pieterse, elaborates on 'a pattern of fragmentation' which is distinguishable whereby 'development occurs in relatively discrete pockets or cells, frequently bounded by freeways and buffers of open space'.³⁴ He suggests that this approach is 'premised on the planning belief in introverted, self-contained neighbourhoods wherein community facilities are located at the geographical centres of

³⁰ Pinnock, Don, 1989, 'Ideology and urban planning: Blue Prints of a garrison city', in James. Wilmot and Simons, Mary, (eds), 1989, *The Angry Divide, Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, David Phillip, Cape Town. pp. 150-168

³¹ Smith, D. (ed.), 1992, *The Apartheid City and Beyond, Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa*, Routledge and Wits University Press: London and Johannesburg.

³² Pieterse, Edgar, 2007, 'Tracing the 'Integration' Thread in the South African Urban Development Policy Tapestry', in *Urban Forum*, 13(1), pp.3-37

³³ Pieterse, 2007:4

³⁴ Dewar, 1992: 244

these areas' and in which the motor vehicle systems of freeways 'obviously presuppose access to private cars.' Lastly he argues that

the apartheid city is marked by a pattern of separation of land uses, urban elements, races and income groups; "all separated to the greatest degree possible. These separations were enforced through strict planning regulation and the inevitable settlement patterns that take place at the margins of the city where the fastest urban growth, fuelled by poor migrants from rural areas and homelands, takes place."³⁵

Through considering post-apartheid policies such as the Development Facilitation Act, Pieterse constructs a compelling argument about the apartheid city and the translations of the critiques of the apartheid city in post-1994 policy-making. The direct influence of Dewar and the UPRU Group in this is noticeable and as he writes 'Dewar's spatial depiction and critique of the apartheid city proved immensely influential.'³⁶

The idea of 'Group Housing'

The Belhar Plans saw the development of the idea of Group Housing, in which UPRU's team sought to contribute to the betterment of coloured publics living conditions in Cape Town. UPRU and its affiliates explored the plight of the urban poor and their problems and developed ideas around what they believed to be suitable architectural identity for coloured people. Some of these ideas involved ethnicised notions of space making, drawn from an eclectic set of sources, from the Cape vernacular forms of workers cottages to more overly Africanist ideas, such as seen in the architecture for the Belhar Community Hall in the 1980s. From a reading of the Belhar papers contained in the Uytenbogaardt Collection, these ideas appear to have been first formulated by Paul Andrew and later at the Community Hall by Norbert Rozendal who both collaborated on the Belhar projects in the 1970s and 1980s.³⁷ The papers also show a study of architectural writer Christopher Alexander's ideas contained in his influential books from the 1970s *A Pattern Language, Towns, Buildings, Construction* later recompiled in *The Timeless Way of Building*.³⁸

The Belhar Housing project was a housing initiative under the auspices of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce which aimed at providing workers housing for participating companies across Cape Town. The University of Cape Town joined the Chamber of Commerce with the specific intention of providing housing for its own workers, in two categories: 'salaried' and 'waged' workers and through the delivery of two different types of housing.³⁹ At the time in the early 1970s, given the Coloured

³⁵ Pieterse, 2007, citing Dewar, 1992:245

³⁶ Pieterse, 2007:5

³⁷ RSU Collection, BC1264

³⁸ Alexander, Christopher, Ishikawa, Sara, Silverstien, 1976, *A Pattern Language, Towns, Buildings, Construction*, Center for Environmental Structure, Berkeley, California.

³⁹ UCT Administrative Archives, papers from the Office of the Registrar.

Labour Preference policies in the Cape, these workers were all 'coloured'. The connection with the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce was through UCT academic Martin Putterill who worked in the Business School of the University but who had links with Uytenbogaardt and the early members of what would become the UPRU grouping. In addition to joining, the University was able to offer the professional services of its academic architects and urban planners and administrative assistance to the project. With the technical expertise located in the University the project was eventually managed and run from its Campus and the UCT based academics played a leading role in the process. What has become known as the Belhar housing project was in fact three schemes. The first, known as 'Belhar One' entailed the provision of housing for UCT's 'salaried' workers and equivalent higher earning staff in other companies staff was a fairly standard project and run for the most part along the lines of a conventional housing scheme by the Chamber. In this scheme, houses were laid out in a typical plan based on suburban housing models previously supplied in the Fish Hoek area of Cape Town.⁴⁰ In what was known as 'Belhar Two' and later 'Belhar Three', housing was designed by Uytenbogaardt and his colleagues along the concept of 'Group Housing', which forms the basis of the discussion in this chapter.

The Group Housing concept involved experimentation with new models of housing delivery, with a participatory process and using spatial ideas of 'New Town' housing adapted to the specific conditions in Cape Town by the interdisciplinary professional team. The schemes for Belhar Two and subsequently Belhar Three (once more land was acquired) were designed in a way using ideas generated in the plan for Mitchells Plain in 1977. Jean Nuttall describes the widely held view that these were generally accepted to 'represent a most significant shift in [urban design] thinking.'⁴¹ She continues: 'Instead of the accepted mechanistic models of traffic flow and land sub-division still current, the problem was seen in spatial terms and the basis of the plan was the gathering together of public life to make collective places.'⁴² This idea of the 'public realm' was to become a major aspect of the approach to urban design that Uytenbogaardt and his peers formulated from this time onwards. The 'collective places' that were envisaged at Mitchells Plain and later at Belhar were 'in the form of public squares as urban rooms, gathering community facilities around them, and in a linear form become habitable street spaces'.⁴³ This was part of the emerging practices of 'community architects' discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, where notions of racially segregated communities were promoted under apartheid's fantasied visions.

⁴⁰ UCT Administrative Archives, UPRU Papers.

⁴¹ Nuttall, Jean 1993:17

⁴² Nuttall, Jean 1993:17

The Belhar plans took this thinking a 'step further' as they were on large scale and accommodated 30 000 people.⁴⁴ The site was an open piece of land that Nuttall describes as 'the relatively featureless Cape Flats'. This notion of featurelessness refers to the sandy windswept flat conditions of the site which typify the conditions of sites to which communities were moved in the forced removal and relocations processes. These sites also had a lower land value than those from which people were removed and were at the periphery of the colonial centres of South African cities as the process of forming the divided apartheid city became entrenched.⁴⁵ In a typical 'green fields' approach the site would have been cleared of all vegetation and flattened by bulldozers before development could take place. Jean Nuttall describes the steps that the urban designers took towards 'site making', thereby 'establishing constraints within which to work.'⁴⁶

A simple grid and block layout is inflected, shifted a little, and interesting things begin to happen – streets become spaces, the importance of corners is evident and where important buildings should be sited. The making of collective spaces structures the plan.⁴⁷

Once the site layout had been developed along these lines of creating the conditions for urban 'complexity' to emerge, the planners turned their attention to individual houses. Jean Nuttall cites Uytenbogaardt: 'Can one person design 5000 units and achieve the necessary complexity? The response was to let the inhabitants become... part of the making of place, but this is a difficult approach to explain to the authorities.'⁴⁸ The style of the architecture that was envisaged at the large scale urban level set out principles for the design of these individual houses as shown in the booklets circulated in the reports contained in the Belhar papers in the Uytenbogaardt Collection (Figures 51-54).⁴⁹

The design influences for the Belhar Housing are multiple, ranging from the urban design to the actual architecture. There are influences from Uytenbogaardt's experiences in the United States as well as, at an architectural level, suggestions about the deployment of architectural references deemed appropriate for this type of housing. The idea of experimentation is evident at all levels of the design from the urban layout to the actual houses and the Community Hall which Uytenbogaardt completed in the later 1980s with partner Norbert Rozendal. The resultant building is a mixture of internationally current New Town planning ideas interpreted through studies of

⁴³ Nuttall, Jean, 1993:17

⁴⁴ Nuttall, Jean, 1993:17

⁴⁵ RSU Collection BC 1264

⁴⁶ Nuttall, Jean, 1993:17

⁴⁷ Nuttall:17

⁴⁸ Uytenbogaardt cited in Nuttall:17

⁴⁹ RSU Collection BC1264

European and Eastern 'old city' layouts, adapted to the South African conditions and a stylistic mixture of local and regionalist architectural types.⁵⁰

The struggles to resolve the complex and vexing questions that remain current in spatial design discourse in South Africa around the construction of 'appropriate' forms of architectural and spatial identity are clearly evident in the design and layouts for Belhar Two and Three.⁵¹ The sources for the design can be traced to the work of Uytnebogaardt's teachers, architectural master Louis Kahn, and David Crane with whom he also worked on the urban design schemes for Boston. There are ideas that must have taken shape in his mind whilst studying at the British School in Rome as well as his preoccupation with Middle Eastern city examples such as the notions of public space-making that he often referred to in Isfahaan. In fact his Mitchell's Plain urban project was closely modelled on this, with its central idea of the 'great space' around which public buildings were arranged, against the more ordinary functional housing and 'bazaar' spaces beyond.⁵² The ideas of public space are also contained in ideas from the history of architecture contained in the notions of public space in Classical Greece.⁵³ As described earlier, in the Belhar project files in the Uytnebogaardt Collection at UCT there are extensive studies in Paul Andrew's hand which are readings of architectural writer Christopher Alexander's ideas around design theories of a 'Pattern Language' in city design.⁵⁴ These references variously appear to have been the principal informants for the approaches taken at Belhar and elsewhere in housing and urban design projects in the 1970s.

The Belhar Group Housing project along with the plan for Mitchell's Plain in 1977 is central to the emergence of the Cape Town School's demonstration of their urban design position. In an interview with architectural writer Jean Nuttall in which Uytnebogaardt elaborated on the formative influences for this approach he describes the influence of his time spent in Rome along with the influences of Professor David Crane at the Penn School and his involvement with Crane in the planning of Boston. While this approach is mindful of contemporary ideas circulating at the time around New Town theories, he returns to 'lessons' learnt from more traditional examples saying 'One goes back to the simple rules laid down in the 12th century for the French Bastides. Today we learn from the ways cities are managed in Italy.'⁵⁵ Geographer and professor of planning Alan Mabin, writing about urban design thinking and the

⁵⁰ Uytnebogaardt, Roelof, S., 1966, 'The New Urban Environment' in the *S.A. Architectural Record*, November 1966, pp.22-24

⁵¹ See Chapter Two of this thesis.

⁵² Mitchell's Plain urban design project, 1976, RSU Collection H15.

⁵³ Martienssen, Rex, D. 1968, *The Idea of Space in Greek Architecture*, Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

⁵⁴ RSU Collection BC1264.

emergence of suburbia in South Africa, suggests that there is a 'European lament for the non-urbanness of the South African city and its suburbs [which] elaborates a theme long suggested by Roelof Uytendogaardt and David Dewar.'⁵⁶

In the Belhar schemes however there are also local Cape Dutch precedents employed in its design as naturalized colonial forms of architecture. Writing about the urban design approach Jean Nuttall explains that 'The design of the spaces recognises the context and traditional ways of place making, to create werf-like outside rooms and habitable street spaces edged by blue gum trees. The faces of the necessarily small houses are made larger by attaching them.'⁵⁷ This invocation of the Cape landscapes of farms and its associated characteristic spaces is the one most often celebrated. Less is said however about other influences. Owen points to this:

Uytendogaardt and Rozendal's award-winning Minor Community Hall for a Coloured township near Cape Town makes clear reference to this second typical plan-form. [the squatter forms] But there are ambiguities: the walled forecourt of the squatter house is analogous to the enclosed werf, or front yard, of the Cape Dutch colonial farmhouse, and the full-width colonnade of the Community Hall recalls the stoep of the same precedent. Indeed, the 1984 Awards Jury of Architecture SA saw the local traditional elements as derived entirely from the colonial tradition.⁵⁸

The 'positives and negatives' that Owen refers to also relate to the argument he presented in his paper about ways in which South African architects have made reference to on the one hand ethnicised space making ideas of 'indigenous Black cultures' and on the other the romantic appropriation of 'squatter' materials and forms. In writing about the Minor Community Hall and the Belhar project he points to the hybrid sets of informing ideas from the 'squatter' notions through to the ideas of the 'stoep' and Cape Dutch inspired ideas of the 'werf'. He suggests further:

Conscientious attempts, through architecture, to deal with the oppression and social violence embodied in apartheid become entangled with manifestations of colonial guilt, often because attention to the vernacular tradition, the fourth and oldest, characterizes both. While indigenous rural building was a subject of anthropological study at least as early as the 1940s, it does not seem to have achieved widespread legitimacy as a source of inspiration in White architecture until relatively recently. Hitherto, such vernacular building would have fallen prey to the rhetoric of colonialism that saw native culture as a primitive way of life, to which White settlement would bring Christian civilization.

The omissions Owen suggests - of readings of vernacular or indigenous influences - in the Belhar Housing scheme present interesting sets of questions. How do notions of coloured identity fit into essentialised notions of 'vernacular' and indigenous

⁵⁵ Nuttall, Jean, 1993: 17

⁵⁶ Mabin, Alan, 2005, 'Suburbs on the veld, modern and postmodern', unpublished draft article.

⁵⁷ Nuttall, Jean, 1993:17

⁵⁸ Owen, 1989:40-42

traditions? In what way are notions of 'lower income' housing elided with notions of cultural difference? Was the emphasis on the Cape Dutch forms a conscious attempt to 'elevate' coloured housing into the Cape tradition of building? Could the references in the decorative paint work and actual design of the façades of houses be seen to be influenced by indigenous African styles of building? Perhaps these were less consciously applied? In addition there are other design informants as Owen asks more questions:

Meanwhile there are "high-style" references to Kahn in section and fenestration; Uytenbogaardt too studied with Kahn. What is clearly in conception a conscientious and thoughtful project oscillates among readings both positive and negative: A patronizing pseudo- vernacular? "Civilizing" colonial forms? Or a composition sufficiently abstracted for such readings to be only incidental to its users?⁵⁹

The answers to these questions remain speculative but their presence serves to complicate a postcolonial reading of the design intentions. Owen suggests later that by the late 1980s there was 'an increasing self-consciousness on the part of the White minority, sensing themselves to be one of the last openly colonial societies.'⁶⁰ Whatever the actual intentions were, it is clear that Uytenbogaardt was aware of a wide range of precedents which he used to inform his designs, and that his use of these concentrated on how they provided formal clues for spatial design, very often setting aside the cultural and social conditions under which these spaces were produced. Ethnicised readings of space were clearly a part of his readings of precedent, and although these were abstracted into a universalist position, his notions of publics and spaces often appear to be connected to ideas of the mass public in South Africa under apartheid, with all the underlying associations of race and class.

John Moyle's view of the Belhar project is that it was 'just another township construction, a coloured New Town'.⁶¹ The conception of the housing at Belhar was based on the idea of a differentiated approach to housing and the need to design for public space, a key factor excluded in most apartheid era housing plans. In this sense it contains a formal type of resistance. The layout is based on the structuring elements of the street as a public realm. Clustered in blocks, houses are laid out in a terraced fashion, which cumulatively make 'walls' surrounding 'outside rooms' which was a favoured idea in Uytenbogaardt's design approach inspired by the cities of Italy in particular. The plans contain a series of squares connected by narrowish streets, with playgrounds located in the middle. Then there are the continuous lines formed by

⁵⁹ Owen, 1989:42

⁶⁰ Owen

⁶¹ Moyle, 2008

buildings which make a continuous edge. 'Special moments' happen at the intersection of roads based on a concept of the 'pin wheel.' These spatial designs continue to inform practice and are evident in the work by successive generations of students of the UCT School of Urban Design. At Belhar, many spatial practitioners believe to this day that the projects serve to show a positive example of 'low income housing solutions', as Paul Andrew suggests.⁶²

The coloured publics' reception of the Group Housing

When coloured families were removed and made to settle in Belhar, they had to establish homes in an open wasteland which was originally part of greater Belville - the heartland of the Afrikaner in Cape Town, designed as a modernist town. Many families who joined these initial families through the Chamber of Commerce housing initiatives were also resettled, although for many this was an opportunity to get a house for the first time. As UCT housing recipient Patrick Khanye describes, since leaving his home town of Beaufort West to find work in Cape Town, he had been living in squatter conditions in Phillipi.⁶³ The place they came to live in was where Uytenbogaardt and his colleagues at UPRU had applied idealistic principles for new urban living, but as Khanye describes, the memory of the Skietbaan (shooting range) remained in the minds of these new residents with all the connotations associated with military violence and death.

The records contained in the UCT administrative archive provide an important and often missing narrative account of the process of design and reception of the Belhar Group Housing Project. A reading of these, contained in the extensive record of correspondence, meetings and reports to the University and the Chamber of Commerce, along with interviews with participants in the scheme still working at UCT, offer a type of counter narrative to those of the designers and UPRU.

For a start, the experimental aspects of the approach taken by the team for the Group Housing resulted in some unexpected responses. It seems that despite a participative process, many of the residents were 'surprised to see that they were building maisonettes.'⁶⁴ This must have bewildered members of the professional team, especially the designers, whose 'model' participation process had seen painstaking efforts to inform and involve future residents in the housing scheme. Meetings were held. Drawings were displayed. Manuals were produced. Efforts were made to ensure that families of employees were present at these sessions which were well attended.

⁶² Andrew, 2009

⁶³ Interview with Patrick Khanye, UCT, July 2008.

⁶⁴ Khanye, 2008

The manuals contained detailed descriptions covering all aspects affecting the new home owners, dealing with everything from outlining owners' responsibilities and rights to providing information and useful contacts at the local authorities; and from providing practical information around questions of maintenance to suggesting possible ways for making extensions and additions to houses. Here drawings of house plans showed individual houses along with alternatives for layouts that people could select for modification of their new homes 'to suit their requirements' in line with ideas contained in Uytendogaardt's urban design approach in which 'complexity' could be built in at the level of the individual house.⁶⁵

Khanye describes the meetings held near where UPRU's offices were located in the vicinity of C Sharp Cottage and the Music School at UCT's Lower Campus in Rondebosch starting early on in the design process, but asserts strongly that he and most of his 'waged' colleagues who were also part of the scheme were under the misconception that each house would be a 'stand alone' structure, although not quite as large as those being provided to the 'salaried' staff from UCT and the other companies in the Belhar One. He referred to 'drawings pinned up' at the meetings in which the house layouts and designs were shown to residents who could choose amongst several options for the configuration of their houses, and to the process of allocation of houses and the grouping of families in streets. A close look at the drawings of houses in the manual suggests how this major misunderstanding might have happened between the designers and the future residents. To the trained eye, while the overall urban layout clearly shows the 'maisonette' or semi detached nature of the housing units, this rendering at a small scale could easily have been missed. This, combined with the larger 1:100 scale drawings of the individual housing models, which were drawn without an indication of the proximity of neighbouring houses, perhaps contributed to the misconceptions.⁶⁶

Disappointment and ultimate rejection of the scheme is narrated through the interviews with residents. This sentiment appears to have been widespread. This was certainly a recurring response in conversations with ex-residents as most of the original recipients of houses through the Group Housing Scheme have long since sold their houses, moved up in the property market and live in 'better' sections of Belhar, much like Khanye. The records of the Administrative Archive show that the growing negative sentiment around the project was also not helped by the construction problems experienced, and this along with the on-going work of investigating why roofs were leaking or walls cracking, followed by long periods of repairing and replacing defective

⁶⁵UCT Administrative Archive, UPRU Papers.

⁶⁶Khanye, 2008

materials or rebuilding according to the correct construction details from the designers, exacerbated the deteriorating relationship between the professional team and the residents. In the end after a model participatory process, in which the designers attempted to show as many aspects of the project as possible to the prospective residents, a resistance group was formed to lobby public support.⁶⁷ Residents' issues ranged from on-going construction faults to dismay over being 'tricked' into living in terraced housing (Figures 58-60).

In greater Belhar today, the consequences of the ghettoised housing policies applied during apartheid have manifest themselves in the prevalence of gangs and violence, which affect the middle class areas and the poorer areas alike. The idealised public realms contained in Uytendogaardt's visions of streets, playgrounds and public squares have given way to dangerous and alienating open spaces. Gang violence in Belhar regularly makes headline news across Cape Town. Residents living in Uytendogaardt's new town scheme recall these activities dating back to the 1970s at the height of UPRU's claims to the successes of their spatial ideals in the making of community.⁶⁸ If UPRU's influence in practice is to be really evaluated, its spatial realisation can at best only be described as an experimental set of projects occurring under the impossible conditions of apartheid. As a 'think tank' however UPRU's influence remains far-reaching.

The differences between the reflections and memories of professional practitioners involved in the project and those of residents remain marked, as the interviews with Kahnye and Andrew show. It is as if the modernist spaces of the South African new towns conceived under apartheid are not liveable. Modernism, it seems, remains a fascinating conceptual resource to architects and urban designers, but it is perhaps in its residual nature that the really interesting effects of its philosophies and practices lie - in the unseen ways in which it has shaped South African society in manifold ways. The huge industry that continues to surround modernism in spatial design post-apartheid shows how modernist ideals have passed from the moment of being *avant garde*, and have shifted to becoming accepted practices, sometimes even considered as heritage, despite having given rise to some terrible travesties under apartheid. In this way the legacies contained in the built environment cannot totally structure the space although they remain as controlling factors, material reminders, of idealised visions of the segregated apartheid city in which the majority of South Africans are still forced to dwell.

⁶⁷ Evidence of this is contained in the official University records and in accounts from previous residents.

The Townships Now

Throughout this chapter my interest is in exploring the concept of the coloured area as a form of township in relation to questions of disciplinary authority, and the ideas of racialised space-making or more simply racial power. Images of what was ‘township design’ operate as allegories of spatial concepts that have persisted and been reproduced in ways that are simplistic and literal. These images in which the categorisation of space into zones of use was a primary intention of modernist spatial practices, conveniently adopted by the Apartheid State to further the social and ideological intentions of legalised segregation, is the underlying form of the inherited landscape of the townships now.

I have suggested that there is the need for a radical shift in the ways in which spatial interventions are conceived and made-material in the space we call the township. But it is not so much what we do in these spaces that concerns me for now, but how we go about thinking and talking about the space. Do we have adequate tools with which to think? Have we not exhausted the old categories? Do we have the words with which to speak?⁶⁹ How useful are the distinctions we inadvertently make – between rural and urban, city suburb and township, informal settlement and squatter spaces? Or do we need to confront these distinctions at a much more elementary level?

In June 2005 the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WiSER) held a two-day interdisciplinary symposium entitled 'The townships now'. One of the critical issues raised in the Call for Papers for the WiSER Symposium was the question: ‘...are we looking at new urban forms and to what extent and how are they framed by historical structures?’⁷⁰ The idea of the Symposium was to problematise the persistent existence of the township as a category of apartheid space making in the post-apartheid present. In urban studies the term post-apartheid is frequently used to describe it in temporal terms as the period after apartheid. Premesh Lalu has questioned the usefulness of this approach, and presents an argument for the need to problematise apartheid more fully in terms of its effects.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Cloete, Annelise, 2005, “*Things were better then*”, *An ethnographic study of the violence of everyday life and remembrance of older people in the community of Belhar*, Master of Arts Mini Thesis in Anthropology and Sociology, University of the Western Cape, April 2005

⁶⁹ After Mahmood Mamdani, Centre for African Studies, UCT Debates on the Curriculum 1999

⁷⁰ WiSER Call for Papers, 'The Townships Now' (Wits) June 2004, H-Net List on South & Southern Africa, 22 Apr 2004 09:47:58 –0400.

⁷¹ Lalu, Premesh, 2008, ‘When was South African history ever postcolonial?’, in *Kronos: Southern African Histories*, Published by the Department of History and Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, 34 November 2009, pp. 276-281.

In a paper that I presented at this Symposium entitled *Spatial [re]imaginings? Contesting township 'development' post-apartheid*, I presented three 'moments' of architectural and planning engagement around the notion of 'township.'⁷² Structured using three images, the paper sought to interrogate the idea of the allegorical image of the township: as a way of exploring how this was conceived, and how these images have circulated and been translated into built form. The history of reception of spatial images of the township, it argued, remains pervasive in the contemporary imagining of township space. The study presented in this chapter has sought to reflect on Belhar using a set of conceptual questions which might enable a shift in urban thinking away from the ghettoised notions that continue to inform the 'garrison city' that Don Pinnock described in *The Angry Divide* over twenty years ago in 1989.⁷³

Following from this, in Chapter Five, the last of the three case studies, the combined effects of Uytendogaardt's architectural and urban thinking is considered through a contemporary contestation over one of his most controversial works, the Werdmuller Centre in Claremont in Cape Town. Built in the 1970s, based on a strong urban design idea, the building has been a commercial failure almost since its completion. The debates that have emerged in the public imaginaries have been conflicting. These debates – recorded on-line - provide another instance of an alternative archive through which to consider Uytendogaardt's work and influence beyond the papers contained in the collection in UCT's Architectural Collections. Here architects have argued vehemently for the residual qualities of modernism to be celebrated and retained as heritage in the post-apartheid present, despite the histories of poor public reception by the majority of Cape Town's white and black publics who hate the building.

⁷² This paper formed part of research related to the National Research Foundation (NRF) funded team project entitled the *Project on Public Pasts* based in the History Department at the University of the Western Cape.

⁷³ Pinnock, Don, 1989.

Chapter Five. Wishing Werdmuller Away: fear and loathing in lower Claremont

Making this building was one of most exciting experiences we have ever had, yet it is believed by many to be our most inhuman work. The realisation that people have found it difficult to accept has been very sobering. It is too severe – I was trying to be very purist. I think it has to do with materials, the unrelieved concrete. The finishes should be more friendly and less light absorbing – one begins to lose light on the first ramp. I did not want to distinguish strongly between the public space outside and the inside of the building, and so the paving slate was increased as the building was penetrated. Had there been concrete paving slabs outside, the spaces could have been lightened as one got into them. I should have known about opening the building to the wind.

You slightly lose your head in the way you want to form space. It was idealism, a love affair.

Roelof Uytenbogaardt, speaking about his design for the Werdmuller Centre in Claremont, interview with Jean Nuttall¹

This last Chapter of this dissertation moves to the present time where a contestation has erupted amongst spatial design professionals around the planned destruction of one of Uytenbogaardt's most controversial works, the Werdmuller Centre in Claremont in Cape Town. Conceptualised as both a building and an urban intervention, the building was an ambitious project that is widely thought to have failed, perhaps even in Uytenbogaardt's mind, as the above quote suggests. The building has survived since its construction in 1977 precariously existing between huge negative public sentiment and being celebrated by architects who have consistently defended its continued presence in the landscape. Threatened with demolition for the past twenty years based on its commercial failure as a shopping centre by its owners, insurance giants Old Mutual Properties, new plans are afoot for its destruction with the redesigning and reconceptualisation of Claremont as a suburban commercial hub of contemporary Cape Town.²

The contestation that has emerged over the future of the building has invoked a strong, unprecedented emotional response for a modern building in Cape Town. Architects have argued passionately for its retention despite its history of failure, while public responses have constantly condemned its presence in the city. Almost anyone asked about the building has a view, either framed in terms of love or loathing. Uytenbogaardt's reference to the 'idealism' and the 'love affair' are an added dimension, as are his peers' passionate attachments to both the man and his work. At Werdmuller, it becomes clear that discourses around reverence and admiration are

¹ Nuttall, J, 1996, Roelof Uytenbogaardt, *Natal Institute of Architects Magazine*, pg 15

² Koblitz, Carola with photographs by Lund, Andy, 2007 'Claremont Comeback' in *The Property Magazine*, February 2007

juxtaposed against others around 'fear and loathing'. In Hunter S. Thompson's novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* and the adaptation of his novel into the film of the same name, he chronicles a desperate search for the 'American Dream'.³ As J.D Keith describes:

The film details a whacky search for the "American Dream", by Thompson and his crazed, Samoan lawyer. Fueled by the massive amount of drugs they purchased with an advance from a magazine to cover a sporting event in Vegas; they set out in the Red Shark. Encountering police, reporters, gamblers, racers, and hitchhikers; they search for some indefinable thing known only as the "American Dream" and find fear, loathing and hilarious adventures into the dementia of the modern American West.⁴

The bizarre reality is set against this ideal of a dream of American society, positioned precariously between the dream and the altered states of the adventurers. At Werdmuller Uytendogaardt's own search for 'an architecture of discovery' is invoked by his biographer, Giovanni Vio when, writing about the Werdmuller Centre, he claimed that this resulted in a 'timeless' quality of architecture, somehow abstracted from the building's apartheid reality. The arguments presented in defence of the building all somehow allude to the idealism of the architectural 'dream' quality of the building. In invoking this comparison with the Thompson novel, this chapter seeks to highlight the bizarre nature of the arguments and rationalisations deployed by architects and spatial practitioners at play in the post-apartheid present where the building exists as a type of ruin of this dream, an 'urban wreck' as Vio describes - a dangerous, hated and abandoned space.⁵ The interplay between the heady dream space of the designer's idealism and what was ultimately transposed into the material concrete structure of the building becomes in some way a unique instance of the complicated nature of modern architecture's presence as part of the technologically driven dream space of apartheid South Africa.

Since the 1960s Claremont's landscape has been transformed from its village-like character of colonnades behind which small shops were arranged along the Main Road onto which they faced to a landscape of 'signature buildings' designed by a succession of architectural practices in Cape Town (Figures 65-68).⁶ Nostalgia for old Claremont was, it seems, designed to disappear, aided by massive and traumatic forced removals and the acquisition of properties by large commercial interests, who benefited from the low land prices after the removals.⁷

Werdmuller was the first of these architect-designed interventions on the lower side of the Main

³Thompson, Hunter,S, (with illustrations by Ralph Steadman) ,1972, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, Random House, which first appeared in the November 1971 issues of *Rolling Stone* as a two-part series.

⁴ Keith, J.D, Plot Summary: Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas, 1998, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120669/plotsummary> (accessed 21h10 25 June 2009)

⁵ Vio, 2006: 71

⁶ Todeschini and Japha 1994 *Conservation Study for Newlands, Claremont, Kenilworth and Wynberg*, prepared for the City of Cape Town

⁷ Field, Sean, 2001, *Lost communities, living memories: Remembering Forced Removals In Cape Town*, Centre for Popular Memory, University of Cape Town, David Philip, p.22

Road, completed just a year before the commercially extremely successful Cavendish Square, signalling the new trend (Figure 69).⁸ After a short period of initial success, Werdmuller caused massive controversy even at the time of its construction in the 1970s.⁹ In a sense, aided by this history of negative public reception of the building, it has become the building that is easiest to get rid of for the owners, who intend to realise the potentials for development of massive bulking of the site for commercial gain (Figure 70).

As it stands, run down, in disrepair and in a neglected state, occupied by a range of marginal activities (few of which are commercial), the building might disappear without a trace from Claremont (Figures 71-72). Technically it is not over sixty years old, as is the requirement for heritage status outlined in the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (NHRA), and it was therefore initially not regarded as heritage by the relevant planning authorities, despite calls from architects about its heritage significance as a key example of modernist architecture.¹⁰ At about the same time as news of its planned destruction emerged in the local architectural scene, a similar controversy was erupting in Johannesburg over the planned demolition of ten buildings in its city centre to make way for a new proposed Kopanong Gauteng provincial government precinct (Figure 73).¹¹ News of this project by architect Fanuel Motsepe hit the local press in Johannesburg in sensational ways and architects, city officials and heritage enthusiasts mobilised to resist this plan, objecting on the grounds that a significant part of Johannesburg's Modernist and Art Deco heritage would be destroyed if this were to go ahead.¹² This plan caused a high public interest over claims to assertions of African identity against colonial histories. Resistance mounted over what was seen as a plan that would, conceptually speaking, destroy parts of what was seen to, quite fundamentally, represent the city of Johannesburg.¹³ Campaigns and groups were formed to save the buildings gathered strong support in Johannesburg.

By contrast in Cape Town, at a much smaller scale, campaigns were mounted following the presentation of the draft Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) at the Cape Institute for Architecture (CIFA), called for by Heritage Western Cape (HWC) which identified 'architects' as

⁸ Staff Reporter, 1972, 'Roof-wetting at Claremont Complex' in Cape Times 9 March 1972, newspaper clipping contained in The Uytendogaardt Collection Files: H13 BC 1264 Roelof Uytendogaardt Papers

⁹ There are many newspaper articles contained in The Uytendogaardt Collection Files: H13 BC 1264 Roelof Uytendogaardt Papers, from the period up to 1976 in which the building is constantly being described as innovative and forward looking, motivating for its presence. Collectively these can be read as an attempt to promote the building but ultimately the Old Mutual becomes the main tenant after failed attempts to attract other tenants.

¹⁰ National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA), November 1999

¹¹ City of Johannesburg, *It's not 5 buildings for demolition, but 10!* Tuesday, 13 January 2004 <http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/473/58/> (accessed 12 May 2009, 12h45)

¹² For a full overview of the project proposals and the SAHRA process see: <http://architectafrica.com/bin0/KopanongIndex.html> (accessed 12 May 2009; 13h30).

¹³ Bremner, Lindsay, 2005, *Designs should reflect Jo'burg's diversity*, Sunday Independent, November 27, 2005 Edition

an affected ‘community’.¹⁴ Following this meeting in which sentiments ran high about the ways in which the owners of the building had consistently misunderstood its unique qualities, groups were formed on social networking sites such as Facebook and through blogs (Figures 74-75). Photographs and comments about the building were posted presenting arguments for its retention and its potential ‘adaptive reuse’.¹⁵ The campaign, although relatively short lived, was largely supported by individual architects rather than public interest. The concerns for the retention of Werdmuller were framed rather narrowly around its architectural design significance and its misinterpretation by the public. Circulating amongst spatial practitioners the news spread and posts were made by architects and urban practitioners, both young and old. A second Institute meeting was held at the CIFA along with a debate and an exhibition of student work from a studio design project entitled ‘Imagining Werdmuller’.¹⁶ However the issue of Werdmuller’s future still did not make much public impact where it would in all likelihood have been quashed, given the history of major public sentiment against the building. This bad public response still lingers in the public mind.¹⁷ At the centre of this lies the question of the presence of brutalist modern architecture which received major negative public reception in Cape Town (Figure 76). Arguing that the city ‘was not ready’ for this ‘forward thinking’ approach, architects express the significance of the building as demonstrating an exemplary manifestation of Corbusian modernism in Cape Town. This is however only one reading of the design influences, the most visible but perhaps also the most superficial. Researching the processes that informed Uytendogaardt and his team reveals that many of the components of the idea behind the ‘urban street’ were primarily drawn from his experiences at Penn University under another architectural master, Louis Kahn, whose methods underpinned the Corbusian formalism in an eclectic manner.¹⁸ So while the building certainly reflects an outwardly Corbusian formal influence it is less easily defined as Corbusian in process. This is a key factor that the architects missed in their

¹⁴ De Tolly, P, Aikman, H, Bermann, A, 2007, *Proposed Redevelopment Erf 54472 Claremont: Draft Heritage Statement*, Prepared in compliance with Section 38 of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) December 2007, p2. cites: ‘Peter de Tolly & Associates, Aikman Associates: Heritage Management, and Urban Design Services cc: Heritage Management, were appointed by DHK Architects, Old Mutual’s agents to submit a Notification of Intent to Develop (NID) and to undertake the preparation of the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA). The latter is a requirement of the HWC’s Record Of Decision (ROD) sent to Aikman Associates in a letter dated 21 September 2007).

¹⁵ Two Facebook Groups were created: ‘Save the Werdmuller’ and ‘Keep the Werdmuller’; and a Blog entitled: ‘The Werdmuller Centre’ at <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/2008/01/werdmuller-centre-main-road-claremont.html> (last accessed 22 June 2009 13h50); <http://www.gaelen.co.za/werdmuller/> (last accessed 22 June 2009 14h13); www.flickr.com/photos/jezze/sets/72157603363856643/comments/ (accessed 23 April 2009 15h43); elledeco.blogspot.com/2007/11/save-werdmuller.html – (Accessed 12 May 2009 12h30); www.efrcdesign.com/crit/Crit%2010.pdf (Accessed 18 June 2009, 13h50)

¹⁶ ‘Imagining Werdmuller’ Exhibition of student work by the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, Opened Monday 19 May 2008, 17:30, with a Panel Discussion 18:00 - 19:00, at the Cape Institute for Architecture, Hout Street Cape Town, Notes from meeting, Noëleen Murray

¹⁷ See for example some of the interchanges on the Facebook Group.

¹⁸ Interview with John Moyle, Kalk Bay, 29 July 2008

submissions and debates and raises the question about whether the Corbusian influence on Uytendogaardt was as pure as many claim.

Rather than simply a matter of saving a building – or even whether it is a demonstration of Le Corbusier’s famous ‘Five Points of Architecture’ or not - what appears to be at stake is the question of legacy (Figure 77). In many ways, in recent cases across South Africa modernist buildings dating back to the 1930s have come under threat from developers. Their presence in the contemporary landscape of South Africa has mostly been celebrated by architects who espouse the values of high modernism and tend to ignore the complex contexts in which this modernism was produced. Public interest in retaining these buildings has been less, as people tend to be ambivalent of both the aesthetic merits of these buildings and the heritage value in a country where older colonial buildings tend to be the ones formally recognised as being heritage worthy.¹⁹ Modern architecture or more precisely architecture designed during the modernist phase of the early twentieth century in South Africa has increasingly become a new category to be considered as heritage.²⁰ The simple transition presented by the passage of time from the categorisation of modernist architecture to heritage architecture, is however not an easy one to argue. As described earlier in this thesis, modernist architecture and planning in South Africa are deeply embedded in the apartheid project and their legacies require problematising. Celebrating modernist architecture as heritage is therefore difficult and requires critical engagement beyond the buildings’ spatial, formal and aesthetic significances as works of architecture. Legacies of individual architects’ work are therefore not quite as easily managed as heritage practitioners might like.

In recent years too, other buildings of Uytendogaardt’s have been altered and adapted for new use. One example is the Bonwit factory in Salt River which has been converted from a factory space into luxury loft living spaces (Figures 78-79).²¹ This followed the general gentrification that has been happening throughout Cape Town’s suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River, as part of its city supported urban renewal programme. Given a full facelift, which saw the raw concrete exterior being painted and stories added onto the roof, the building has taken its place along side other adaptive reuse projects in the area, such as the Queens Park factory loft

¹⁹ Japha, Derek, 2003, ‘The heritage of modernism in South Africa’, in Van Oers, R. and Haraguchi, S. *UNESCO World Heritage Papers 5, Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage*, Published in 2003 by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, p.100

²⁰ Fisher *et al*, 2003: 68–76.

²¹ This building is the only example of a building under sixty years old that has been given provisional Provincial Proclamation under the NHRA, by HWC.

conversion and the highly successful Pyotts Factory conversion into the Old Biscuit Mill shopping Complex and the Palms interior design complex.²²

In Claremont however, the Werdmuller's failure is juxtaposed against the continued success of Cavendish Square, which changed the entire landscape of Claremont irrevocably (Figure 80).²³ This mall, built on the site of major forced removals of people from Claremont under apartheid and also developed by Old Mutual Properties, is a much more conventional mall.²⁴ Its designers had no aspirations to be reinventing the internalised box-form of malls world-wide. This simple manifestation built on the mountain side of Main Road and away from the supposed 'complications' of the public transport interchange and informal traders along the Main Road remains one of Cape Town's elite shopping spaces.²⁵ The now largely unoccupied Werdmuller Centre, which sits surrounded by active informal traders and their stores, it seems is doomed as an elite shopping destination (Figure 81).

At Werdmuller, designed under high apartheid, it is a fair assumption that Uytendogaardt was asked to design a shopping centre for white consumers. Rental of commercial space was expensive when the Centre first opened with major chain stores as its anchor tenants.²⁶ With the removals out of the way and the small scale shops demolished, the Centre was intended to cater for elite, white, moneyed shopping publics and for top grade office space, a far cry from the marginal mixture of activities that occupy the space today (Figures 82-87).²⁷ Old Mutual Properties' vision was never to be, as soon after completion, the building was the subject of negative reception by these white publics. Instead of providing a mall along the lines of the fashions of the time Uytendogaardt designed what he believed to be a more idealised space for shopping in Cape Town, against the emerging new forms of internalised mall spaces which were growing in popularity internationally in the 1970s. His idea centred on the idea of a 'souk', based on his admiration of the 'bazaar' or market spaces of Middle Eastern cities, as a better, more inclusive model on which to base notions of shopping. The slippage which emerged between the Old Mutual's vision for the building and Uytendogaardt's resulted in an awkward building with a

²²De Tolly *et al*, 2007 :36. The Bonwit Factory building was the first building under sixty years old to receive protection through HWC (personal communication with HWC official Muamar Abrahams March 2009)

²³ Koblitz, 2007

²⁴ Unpublished research by Pia Bombardella and Martin Hall in 2000 details this extensively.

²⁵ Koblitz, 2007

²⁶ Newspaper collections contained in the Roelof Sarel Uytendogaardt Collection, BC1264 Manuscripts and Archives Architectural Collections, University of Cape Town. See: *Index Guide to Roelof S. Uytendogaardt Collection, BC1264 Architectural Collections*, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, University of Cape Town, 2000 -present

²⁷ The Centre is largely unoccupied at present, with the exception of long time tenants Paul Bothner Music and CAFDA Book sellers. The space gets used for a plethora of activities from evangelical Churches, Rape Crisis Meetings, while other original anchor tenants such as Wimpy have long vacated the Centre.

confused identity and spatial programme, which in all likelihood led to what has variously been described as its ‘commercial failure’ or its ‘misinterpretation’.

This, along with its ‘severe’ concrete aesthetic, is also how Werdmuller entered into urban mythologies as Cape Town’s most hated building where its qualities of experimental design and expressive modernist sculptural form-making escape public recognition (Figure 88). It stands as a sort of awkward anti-monument to high modernist design. In addition its commercial success was hampered by its position on the ‘wrong side’ of what developers perceive to be the ‘San Andreas fault’ of the Main Road (Figure 89).

In Claremont you had the most extraordinary contradiction: you had world-class buildings such as the Vineyard Hotel and the Norwich Oval - internationally acclaimed as one of the finest office developments in South Africa. You had the Swiss Re building, Norwich on Main, and Cavendish Square was undergoing this huge makeover. But then there’s this unbelievable “thing” called Claremont Main Road – Claremont’s equivalent to the San Andreas Fault – and, as a result, on the one side of the road you have success and happiness and on the other it’s an economic disaster.²⁸

Yet the relatively marginal protests by the architectural community do seem to have complicated its planned destruction and contributed to the developers coming up with proposals for its partial retention and for the inclusion of some form of memorial space to its creator.²⁹ At the time of writing this thesis the building appears to no longer be under direct threat and the project is shelved for the moment amid the economic downturn that has almost paralyzed the local property market.³⁰ This temporary stay of its demolition may well signal some hope for its future, because after all it is no longer conspicuous for its modernist architectural qualities along the Main Road which comprises mainly modern buildings but perhaps more for its derelict, neglected state signaling its troubled history of existence.

The disaster zone is, however, home to the heartbeat of Claremont’s economy – the railway station, taxi ranks and bus depots that bring thousands of workers, shoppers and informal traders into the area every day. But urban creep has resulted in crime and grime of note.

Chris continues: ‘The bus station is non-existent, the taxi rank is terrible, the station is unsafe and then there’s the Werdmuller Centre [a concrete structure built in 1973 and which never took off as a commercial centre] – you can’t have that level of contradiction in an urban area that is meant to be first-class.’³¹

What the process around the failure of Werdmuller did was ruin Uytendogaardt’s commercial architectural career, as his prospects of securing another wealthy client were clouded by the problems encountered at Werdmuller and at the University of Cape Town’s Sports Centre which

²⁸ Koblitz, 2007

²⁹ Documents prepared by Justin Snell for DHK Architects, 2008

³⁰ Telephone conversation with Justin Snell, 18 June 2009

³¹ Koblitz, 2007

he also designed in the 1970s that were attributed to its 'in humane' design.³² Instead Uytendogaardt withdrew into the space of the academy and concentrated his efforts towards building the urban design programme at UCT and UPRU. The early promise described by peers of Uytendogaardt's career as an architect was not to be, and the damage caused to his name in the public mind has never yet been repaired.³³ This manifested itself as tragic dimension to his life and limited the number of architectural commissions he was to receive after the Werdmuller project.³⁴

Architects' architecture?

Methodologically, this Chapter presents an account of the contemporary contestation over the building as a way into an inquiry about its foundational ideas and the process of its conceptualization and ultimate construction as well as its continued presence in the city of Cape Town. The research draws on a notion of an archive that has emerged largely online and from the records of public meetings and the official process of the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) around the debates about the building's future. This archive that has appeared enables the possibility of an examination of the building through reflection rather than actual construction, a constitution of an archive that has circulated previously in conversations that have long circulated in architectural and popular circles in the city. The importance of this emergence should also necessarily be seen against the absence or relative silence in the formal archive. In the Uytendogaardt Collection at UCT the 'job files' and other documentation pertaining to the construction of the project are not present, although there are some miscellaneous items contained in newspaper clippings, site photographs, drawings and documents. The Old Mutual no longer has records of the project and the city of Cape Town's records only contain the approved plans.³⁵

Many of the motivations presented in the defense of the building have alluded to the spatial, formal and stylistic importance of the building's design as an example of architectural excellence. Most of the contributions also acknowledge the building's functional shortcomings. As such, the question of Werdmuller Centre's future has presented a conundrum for both heritage practice and development. In interviewing Andrew Bermann, an architect and urban designer and one of the heritage consultants who worked on the HIA for the project, he suggested that at the

³² Louw, Etienne, 2008, *The Werdmuller Centre. R.I.P. Whither the UCT Indoor Sports Centre*, unpublished article circulated via e-mail to me from Prof Paul Kotze, September 2008, written in Sacramento.

³³ Diamond, 1999

³⁴ Moyle, 1999. The notion of this 'tragic dimension' is a reading of Uytendogaardt's professional career that is often mentioned in studio and other discussions about his life and work. Many colleagues and peers attest to this as a turning point in his life and speculate about a different path had the building been more conventionally successful.

³⁵ The extent of the collection is detailed in *Index Guide to Roelof S. Uytendogaardt Collection, BC1264*, Architectural Collections, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, University of Cape Town Libraries, 2000

centre of the criteria for assessing the building's significance lies the claim that an argument can be made for 'architects' architecture'. He points out that 'you can have a musicians' musician, a painters' painter, but you can't really have an architects' architect because of the functional aspects that architecture demands, even as an art form'.³⁶ This conundrum that the building presents can be seen as a form of epistemic rupture in the confident discourses present in the spatial design disciplines around modern architecture's ability to rationalise its future. The case of the Werdmuller Centre brings this into sharp focus as an architect's legacy is mobilized to justify one of his most problematic creations.³⁷

The official process instituted to evaluate the significance of the buildings begins in October 2007. Retired City of Cape Town Planner in Chief, now a consultant -Peter De Tolly - was appointed to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessment of the controversial Werdmuller Centre. De Tolly, along with heritage practitioner colleagues architect Henry Aikman and urban designer Andrew Bermann, were commissioned by the owners of the building, insurance giants Old Mutual Properties Division, in response to a Record of Decisions (ROD) from the provincial heritage authorities with delegated authority from the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), Heritage Western Cape's (HWC) Built Environment Committee (BELCOM).³⁸

This followed claims made that the Werdmuller Centre would be demolished in an article published in *The Property Magazine* in February 2007 confidently entitled *Claremont Comeback*.³⁹ The glossy commercial publication showcases new developments in the property market across South Africa. The article described the formation of the Claremont City Improvement District (CID) and lamented the degeneration of Claremont from the 1970s onwards, and especially bemoaned that in the 1990s 'Businesses moved out and stores closed their doors. Informal traders set up stands'.⁴⁰

Quoting Chris Drummond, co-owner and Director of New Property Ventures, the developers of the nearby massive scale complex 'Stadium on Main', the author refers to the construction of a new 'Claremont Boulevard, a R46m partnership between the CIDC and the City of Cape Town':

What the project will do is take the traffic congestion in Main Road and shift it to the Boulevard, thus reconnecting the economic zones that lie on either side of Main Road,' explains Drummond. 'Traffic will still be allowed on Main Road, but we're going to make it a pain in the neck for anyone to drive through, as it will become a pedestrian

³⁶ Interview with Andrew Bermann, 22 June 2009

³⁷ Louw, Etienne, 2008. See also: Elliot, Julian, *The Werdmuller Centre: Seeking the Souk*, <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/2008/01/werdmuller-centre-seeking-souk.html>, Wednesday, January 16, 2008 (Accessed 30 January 2009, 13h45)

³⁸ De Tolly et al, 2007:2

³⁹ Koblitz, 2007

⁴⁰ Koblitz, 2007

prevalent environment. And that's why residential development has happened along Main Road – in anticipation of this new environment. That's also why Werdmuller Centre will be demolished within the next few months and redeveloped on a massive scale.⁴¹

In the period following this, a public meeting was held at the Cape Institute for Architecture in December 2007, along with another subsequent meeting and exhibition of student projects. Comments recorded from these meetings were incorporated into the HIA report. The architects appointed by Old Mutual Properties, the large commercial firm Derek Henstra Architects and Urban Designers (DHK), then modified their development proposals around the notion of a feasibility study and the idea of a partial retention of the building. The architect working for DHK who undertook the work was Justin Snell, a student of Uytendogaardt's, who developed an argument for development that retained a 'memory' of Uytendogaardt's building, incorporating parts of the building with a memorial and archive space and a proposed museum paying homage to the architect. This was an imaginative scheme that sought to reach a compromise between the architects' calls for the preservation of the building and the client's desires to realise the property's development potential. Read against the schemes prepared by the students from UCT, this plan showed a far more sophisticated approach towards reconciling the difficulties presented. However ultimately the problems of the commercial viability of the development have outweighed the heritage viability of the scheme that Snell developed, and at the present time the project has been shelved.

While the current story of the planned destruction of the Werdmuller Centre begins in Claremont in 2007, the history of the project goes back to the late 1960s when Uytendogaardt received the commission for the building under high apartheid.⁴² South Africa was experiencing an unprecedented building boom, the economy was growing and the policies of the apartheid government had been effectively implemented. Despite the international oil crisis South Africa was projecting an image of a modern industrialised state to the rest of the world. This was pre the 1976 Soweto schools uprisings and the South African state believed it was in a stable position. With forced removals the nature of the landscape of Cape Town was being refigured as 'non-white' and black and coloured populations were being removed from the city and its older suburbs onto the newly established Cape Flats area on the periphery of the city. This had the effect of opening up large tracts of land for redevelopment. These parcels of land, distributed across the city from its centre through the Southern Suburbs to Simons Town, were being sold off

⁴¹ Koblitz, 2007

⁴² Louw, E, 2008:1

at good prices and developers jumped at the opportunity to acquire prime land through which they could turn massive profits. With the booming economy there was cash around and companies such as Old Mutual purchased many key sites.

With all this land in their possession the Old Mutual sought the services of architects to assist with their development. In the process of tracing the history of the project, I interviewed one of Uytenbogaardt's oldest colleagues and friends, a retired UCT academic from the architecture department, John Moyle. While Moyle's relationship with Uytenbogaardt had been close since their student days, and was personal as well as professional, he was not an uncritical follower of Uytenbogaardt, as has been suggested that many of his peers and collaborators were. In addition, given the significant biographic contests over Uytenbogaardt's legacy and history, Moyle was important to interview as he played no part in this. His interest was personal and as a former mentor of mine, he was open to the methodological approach of this thesis. This was unlike many of his former colleagues who viewed my work, since moving to African Studies, with some suspicion. According to Moyle, up until the early 1970s the Old Mutual had relied on their 'old boys club connections' when appointing architects and for the most part had used the services of the firm Meiring and Naude who had been 'involved in the Old Mutual [building] in Pinelands along with Papendorf and Van der Merwe'. 'Glennie [designed] the Old Mutual in the city, and employed Meiring and Nause (just back from Liverpool) – Hugo and Naude became the Mutual's architects.' The interview with Moyle throws light on how Uytenbogaardt came to land the commission for Werdmuller. 'By the time Werdmuller came along they [the Old Mutual] used many architects to spread work' Moyle's father Jack Moyle had been the assistant general manager of Old Mutual Insurance and 'had by default acquired the property development portfolio without the particular qualifications, although he had the integrity and business skills'. John Moyle describes how he had been 'impressed by Roelof and organised work for him'. He used to 'nag [his] father about appointing young architects' and 'persuaded commissions. Werdmuller and Montebello were the most successful'. Montebello, designed by Revel Fox, was 'one of his first jobs after Worcester'. He described the perceived risks involved by employing young architects which included Marius Reynolds and Paul Andrew amongst others.⁴³

The initial project for Werdmuller was the site along the Main Road as the Old Mutual had not yet acquired the railway line site (Figure 90). The client for the Werdmuller job was the Board of Old Mutual, and an entity known as LHC Properties. Later on, once the railway line side site had been purchased and added onto the commission, the project schemes became known as

⁴³ Moyle, 2008

LHC1 and LHC2 (Figures 91-95).⁴⁴ Only later was the name Werdmuller given to the building after the outgoing Head of Old Mutual, Brigadier Werdmuller.⁴⁵ Uytenbogaardt was in partnership with Mackaskill and Pelsler for the project. From descriptions by various colleagues at the time, a picture emerges of a vibrant office with many young architects collaborating towards the production of the design scheme with its large-scale model and the extensive technical documentation required for a building of this size and complexity.⁴⁶ The Old Mutual is also described as having ‘standards for development’ that must have in some ways have been communicated to the architects. In the absence of documentation relating to the initial brief, this was confirmed by Moyle and others.⁴⁷ Although as John Moyle describes he does not ‘think the Mutual ever came to terms with their own intentions [for the site], and gave Roelof the go-ahead without understanding what they were getting.’⁴⁸

The initial site was a ‘Grey Area’ in apartheid’s terms ‘with a small shopping strip along the Main Road and run down buildings clustered around the station, and semi industrial back yards’.⁴⁹ The extensive site survey photographs contained in the files in the collection at UCT show the nature of the site quite clearly. A detailed site analysis was also part of the initial interdisciplinary methodology used by Uytenbogaardt based on his experiences at Penn. He sought to understand the ways in which people used the spaces of old Claremont. Urban geographer David Hywel Davies, who was known to peers of Uytenbogaardt’s through work in Zambia, was commissioned to prepare a report.⁵⁰ Moyle further describes the interdisciplinary process of Uytenbogaardt’s endeavours but emphasises that he sought to ‘read Kahnian urbanism into that part of Claremont’, although adding that ‘[this] was a bit wrong as it could never be like that’.⁵¹ The inference that Kahnian urbanistic approaches might not have been the best way to approach the Claremont site, relate to Moyle’s previously cited views on ‘Kahn’s moral theory of architecture’ which represent a set of ideals perhaps not entirely applicable to the local conditions

⁴⁴ RSU Collections, UCT BC1264, papers in section H

⁴⁵ Moyle, 2008; UCT Collections BC1264

⁴⁶ Todeschni, Fabio, 2008 21 January 2008, ‘The Proposed Demolition of the Werdmuller Centre: Some Further Information and Comment’

<http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2008-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-08%3A00&updated-max=2009-01-01T00%3A00%3A00-08%3A00&max-results=7> (Accessed 12 August 2009, 13h42)

2008: Werdmuller Blog spot (url?); Moyle, 2008

⁴⁷ De Tolly *et al.*, 2007

⁴⁸ Moyle, 2008

⁴⁹ Moyle, 2008

⁵⁰ Uytenbogaardt presumably met Davies through colleagues with Julian Elliott and Ron Kirby, colleagues of Uytenbogaardt’s with whom Davies had previously worked in Zambia,

⁵¹ Moyle, 2008. Davies had previously worked in Zambia with other South African architects, Julian Elliot, Ron Kirby and others.

and especially those under apartheid.⁵² This view differs markedly from the rationalisations made by colleagues Dewar and Louw as part of the current heritage process.⁵³

From the outset the relationship between the clients and the architect appear to have been somewhat strained. Different expectations emerged alongside different approaches to the brief for a shopping centre. The first report prepared for the Old Mutual contained Davies' assessment of the site and Uytendogaardt's Kahnian analyses. Describing the first client meeting Moyle says 'Roelof blew up [enlarged] his little Kahnian sketches, this was not as slick as they [Old Mutual] had expected. It was a painful experience for all involved'.⁵⁴ The idea for the building was one of 'mixed use' and 'the whole idea [presented by Uytendogaardt] was to create shopping opportunities for people travelling to and from the station'.⁵⁵ The key ideas of using the pathways that crisscrossed the site as 'desire lines for movement across the scheme' and the extensive social analysis undertaken by geographer David Davies somehow baffled the clients and the tensions that were to emerge between the professional team and the clients, who were expecting an internalised mall, intensified as the project progressed and until after its completion. Moyle describes the huge disappointment that Uytendogaardt felt about the project all his life and that Uytendogaardt was self-critical on reflection, sharing with Moyle that it was a project that 'he had to get out of his system', the love affair, misguided perhaps but exciting and idealistic certainly.⁵⁶ Etienne Louw emphasises this: 'The Werdmuller Centre was the lightning rod for architectural debate in the 1970s'.⁵⁷

The 'love affair' that Uytendogaardt refers to, in all likelihood, is a reference to the playfulness with which he explored Corbusian-inspired platonic forms and the expressive ways in which these forms were used in the design of the building. As described previously in this thesis, Uytendogaardt revered designers he considered to be masters very highly, and this can clearly be seen in his emulation of Le Corbusier's 'five points of architecture' in the building. So much so that submissions made in the buildings defence cite the didactic relevance of the building as a demonstration of Corbusier's famous spatial dictum.⁵⁸ Uytendogaardt's passion for Corbusier's work, his 'love affair', resided in the revolutionary approach to the making of built form that

⁵² See Chapter Four, Moyle Interview with Noëleen Murray, 1999

⁵³ See CIFA Comments; Dewar, David, Louw Piet, *The Proposed Demolition of Werdmuller Centre, Claremont*, Posted by Werdmuller Centre at 12:40 AM 0 comments 17/12/2007 E-mail received from Merry Dewar for Dave & Piet, <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com> (Accessed 18 February 2009, 16h30)

⁵⁴ Moyle, 2008

⁵⁵ Moyle, 2008

⁵⁶ Moyle, 2008

⁵⁷ Louw, Etienne, 2008

⁵⁸ De Tolly *et al*, 2007:14. Pop, Quinton, Marks, Rafael, Hall, Suzi and Barac, Matthew, 2008, 'Save the Werdmuller: Letter of support for the Werdmuller campaign, submitted to the Cape Institute of Architects' London 28 January, 2008 <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/search?q=five+points>

Corbusier's work presented. Biographer Vio cites a reference to Uytendogaardt's 'infatuation' with Corbusier as saying that the Swiss architect was 'one of the most innovative space makers we have known. Even making the drawings I was influenced by him'.⁵⁹ The emulation of this form that the building embodies also appears to make direct reference to one of Corbusier's key buildings from the late 1960s which Etienne Louw describes and which Uytendogaardt is known to have visited while in the United States:

In the mid 1960s Le Corbusier had completed the Carpenter Centre for the Visual Arts at Harvard, which featured a ramp that connected two parallel streets by rising up and through the building which housed work space for students engaged in sculpture. The building employed pilotis and flat concrete slabs with bris-soleil mediating between the inside and outside and protecting spaces from the sun. It also acted as a filter providing some privacy to the sculptors from pedestrians that engaged the activities while passing through the building.

It is hard not to believe that this building was influential in what Uytendogaardt attempted to do at the Werdmuller.⁶⁰

This strong invocation of, in this case Corbusian influence and actual precedent, is very much a characteristic of Uytendogaardt's architectural work. The degree to which this influence operated in Uytendogaardt's design process has been the subject of much studio-based debate, with his supporters alluding to the notion of influence as a type of spatial intellectualism while his detractors claimed a more crass form of copying. Whichever view one adopts there is no doubt as Etienne Louw suggests that the Carpenter Centre bears a close resemblance to the Werdmuller Centre and was a strong design informant for Uytendogaardt, and that many of its key ideas are contained in the scheme that was eventually built in Claremont (Figure 96).

The shopping centre as eventually built is described by Vio as 'a psychedelic experience of fluid movements, sometimes going up, sometimes going down, made rhythmic by continual changes of light and shade accompanied by a sequence of stainless steel doors and shop signs and, above all, of staggered planes'.⁶¹ What became known as the Werdmuller Centre was in reality two buildings after the Old Mutual had extended Uytendogaardt's brief to include the site closer to the railway line which they had acquired once the design for the first part was almost complete. At this late stage he set out to design a new yet complementary additional part to his original scheme. 'The Werdmuller Centre really consists of two buildings linked with a bridge and a service core.'⁶² As the plans for the building show the scheme was organised around the centralised open 'urban street', manifest an 'integrated system of ramps' on four levels along the

⁵⁹ Vio, 2006:75

⁶⁰ Louw, E, 2008:1

⁶¹ Vio, 2006:75

⁶² Wale, 1976: 3

‘desire line’ of the established route from Claremont Station to the Main Road.⁶³ The idea of the street was further reinforced through the black slate floor finish on the level of the road which was an intentional device to blur the boundaries between inside and outside, and between street and building, creating an ‘atmosphere of pavement shopping lined with numerous stores each having its own character’.⁶⁴

The resultant complexity of forms and spaces that the building presented once it was opened was initially a curiosity to people and numerous articles appeared in the press alluding to this.⁶⁵ However following an initial short period of fascination and success, the building’s flaws soon became apparent. The openness of the building became a major factor in its functional failings, as Uytenbogaardt had not properly considered the harsh environmental characteristics of Cape Town’s weather.⁶⁶ Far from being a convivial open street, the building was hammered by the south-easterly winds and driving rain, making it a cold, wet and windy tunnel space which people avoided rather than were drawn into using. Over the next years measures were taken by Old Mutual to mitigate against these functional performance failures and this resulted in roofs being added, and terrace and balcony spaces being enclosed. Many of these additions were made in ways that architects have considered to be insensitive to the original design by maintenance teams in the Old Mutual Properties division, and indeed many of these are crude, practical solutions overlaid on Uytenbogaardt’s more poetic forms. In addition, as South African cities have become more dangerous spaces, the openness of the building proved an increasing headache for the owners, as the building was almost impossible to secure and control. So, instead of being a busy social street space, the building has become a dark and risky space for people to enter, and this contributed to the inability of shops to survive and the eventual abandonment of the building by most tenants. Without the shops as draw cards for movement through the space, and given the dangers of being attacked in the space, the owners have not invested in its upkeep.

By Uytenbogaardt’s own admission the building has performed poorly, despite its compelling design approach which architects continue to celebrate, even if this is against the hard facts of its poor performance at the most basic levels as a work of architecture (Figure 97). Misunderstood, perhaps, but also fatally flawed, in its current state the building says less about architecture as high art and perhaps more about architectural modernity’s failures to understand its attendant public needs and desires for liveable urban spaces. This is part of the tragic

⁶³ Planning and Building Developments, Sept/Oct 1975, M7A UCT, RSU Collection BC1264

⁶⁴ Vio, 2006:75-76; Wale, 1976:2

⁶⁵ Uytenbogaardt retained many of these from the Cape Times and The Argus Newspapers, which are now part of the project files in the Roelof. S Uytenbogaardt Collection at UCT. BC1264

⁶⁶ Nuttall, J, *Roelof Uytenbogaardt*, Natal Institute of Architects Magazine, 1996p.14

dimension of modern architecture, as James Scott details, in the post-apartheid present in Cape Town, and indeed in many parts of the world.⁶⁷

Democratic architecture?

After the meeting at the Cape Institute for Architecture and the presentation of the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) which was attended by over fifty architects and other spatial practitioners, a number of blogs and sites appeared on social networking websites onto which concerned architects posted motivations for the retention of the building. While some were more ambivalent than others, and a few even questioned the future viability of the building, for the most part people who took the time to sign petitions and comment (many at length) were supporters of the building.⁶⁸ Most of the content of the comments conceded the building had failed to fulfill its brief and many blamed the owners for this citing their misunderstanding of the visionary architectural approach. Corbusian modernism was celebrated (ignoring its Kahnian underpinnings). Many separated concerns about the building's functional performance from its spatial and aesthetic merits. Some argued that the significance was inextricably linked to Uytendogaardt's preeminent standing in the profession, arguing that considerations of the building's failures should be set aside. Only one submission, by Fabio Todeschini, dealt with the negative public sentiment. Options for adaptive reuse were suggested and other international examples cited.⁶⁹ Photographs were posted, in elegant sepia tones, which selectively highlighted the spatial qualities of the 'mastery' of building's platonic forms.⁷⁰ Some glossy design magazines used these images, such as *Elle Decoration* and *One Small Seed*, who took up the cause, in a seeming attempt to glamorize Werdmuller and make it fashionable.⁷¹

One comment, posted by Cape Town based architect Heinrich Wolff demonstrates the passionate engagement with the building's impending destruction. The quote below is written in the superlative, containing grand claims and even some mistakes. He writes:

The Werdmuller Centre is highly valued by a community of people. From the petitions, letters, emails, websites, Facebook entries etc, it is clear that there is a growing group of people from all social backgrounds and all ages that are deeply concerned about the future of the Werdmuller. Many leading architects in the profession have joined the call that the building should not be destroyed and that it should be put to a better purpose. Giovanni Vio,

⁶⁷ Scott, 1998

⁶⁸ CIFA Meeting notes. (Web Ref. previously in footnotes)

⁶⁹ Opinions posted on the Werdmuller Blog Spot, by various architects: Heinrich Wolff, David Dewar, Piet Louw, Julian Elliot, Anthony Kylie, Suzie Du Toit, Quniton Pop, Matthew Barac. (Web Ref. previously in footnotes)

⁷⁰ The posting of Gaelen Pinnock's photographs on his own website and on Facebook provided much of the impetus for the mobilization of architectural interest. (Web Ref. previously in footnotes)

⁷¹ See: Elle blog spot, Lorenzo Nassimbeni's article in *One Small Seed*, comments by Barac et al. on the Werdmuller Blog Spot. One submission even went as far as obitourising the fate of Werdmuller's fate in tragic terms: Louw, Etienne, 2008, *The Werdmuller Centre. R.I.P. Whither the UCT Indoor Sports Centre*, unpublished article circulated via e-mail to me from Prof Paul Kotze, September 2008, written in Sacramento.

a Venetian, with no relation to the architect, published a book on the work of Roelof Uytenbogaardt and featured the Werdmuller extensively. One can only assume that the book will increase the community of people interested in this remarkable building.

It should be considered that all letters, petitions, emails and Facebook entries were gathered in one week. Imagine if we had a month....

Most of the petitions were signed in person by people who had to drive across town to sign it. One of the signatories who spent a lot of his childhood at the building has said that it inspired him to become an architect.

All over South Africa and internationally there is support for the protection of the Werdmuller.⁷²

Wolff claims Vio's work was produced in a detached, somehow objective manner, yet a reading of Vio's monograph reveals Vio's personal relationship with Uytenbogaardt and recounts, with affection, meeting him in Kommetjie in 1994 and many times subsequently during visits made to Venice, where Vio lives.⁷³ He goes on to claim extensive national and international support, which is misleading given the relatively few people who contributed to the Facebook sites and the blog. In general the responses are varied, some are articulate, some overly enthusiastic like Heinrich Wolff's, others are awkward and more ambivalent.⁷⁴ Many contain a personal tone citing close relationships with Uytenbogaardt and a reverence for his status as a 'master'. Uytenbogaardt's student and admirer, urban designer Martin Kruger stated at the Institute meeting: 'The building is a modernist architectural masterpiece of an acknowledged master.'⁷⁵ In a similar vein, long-time collaborators with Uytenbogaardt, David Dewar and Piet Louw (who worked for Uytenbogaardt in his office on the Werdmuller Centre) wrote: 'Uytenbogaardt, generally, is recognised as a master of South African architecture and the Werdmuller Centre is an important part of his portfolio of buildings.'⁷⁶

These arguments, for the most part represented well rehearsed ideas that have long circulated in architectural circles. The difference now was that these ideas were formulated into written responses to the HIA. For the first time it is possible to critically evaluate these comments, and explore their motivations, intentions and positions. Amidst the general tone of reflection and nostalgia there is one underlying claim that many of the authors of the various submissions make repeatedly. These can be seen in blog posts and papers and from points in

⁷² Wolff, Heinrich, *A Failure of the Imagination*, Werdmuller Blog Spot, posted 4 December 2007

⁷³ Vio, 2006:19

⁷⁴ For example those made by Kiley and Elliott, Werdmuller Blog Spot, 2007-8

⁷⁵ Robinson, 2007: CIFA Notes

⁷⁶ Dewar and Louw, 2007: Werdmuller blogspot

notes from the meetings. This is the claim to a form of social programme of inclusive and enlightened democratic architecture.⁷⁷

Writing in the blog space Giovanni Vio suggests:

In the Werdmuller Centre we have a manifesto of the democratic city, perhaps expressed under the light of a desperate confrontation with an incontestable devolution.⁷⁸

Dewar and Louw write:

We believe that it is [heritage worthy]. Uytendogaardt was one of the few architects of the 1970's who were consciously seeking to combat the exclusionary policies of apartheid, which sought to remove people of colour from places of economic opportunity. A central idea behind the Werdmuller Centre was to create a 'souk' for micro-businesses between the generator of the station and the Main Road. The building was explicitly challenging the exclusionary American model of 'big box' shopping centres such as Cavendish Square.⁷⁹

Ilze Wolff:

Programmatically, the idea was to designate one extended space that would accommodate a large market or souk, as opposed to a building with many individual shops. The subtext to this idea was to offer trade opportunities to non-white traders who at the time were not allowed to trade freely in the city. In turn the proposed shopping model would then also aid in combating the rising unemployment rates by stimulating a micro economy.

In addition to the building's strong social agenda, it also exuded a rare confidence in the art of architecture and expressive form making.⁸⁰

Donald Parenzee:

I interpreted this as an anti-apartheid intervention in that the building moulded its site as a part of the many movement paths in the city of Cape Town, through which people, as commuters, had traditionally/over many years/historically moved from the outlying areas into the developed centres and back.⁸¹

The intentions behind making these arguments in the present context seem clear, as architects have genuinely sought ways to find a contemporary relevance behind the design intentions for the motivations to save a building for which they have affection. While these positions are based on interpretations of ideas about the design that have circulated since its conception and beyond, their mobilization at this juncture is a useful formulation for analysis. The points made refer to the philosophic basis of Uytendogaardt's approach to architectural and urban design, articulated in later publications and writings with, in particular, David Dewar.⁸² Citing key tenets of this philosophy the Werdmuller's design it is argued, represents his Humanist approach in which

⁷⁷ Arguments for this are contained in the posts, writings and submissions of David Dewar and Piet Louw, Heinrich Wolff, Ilze Wolff, Donald Parenzee, and Etienne Louw.

⁷⁸ Vio, 2007: Werdmuller blogspot

⁷⁹ Dewar and Louw, 2007: blogspot

⁸⁰ Wolff, Ilze, 2009, *The Werdmuller Centre – Why did it really fail?*, Posted by [Ilze Wolff](#) on 21 May 2009 at 9:30am, <http://www.pythagoras-tv.com/profiles/blogs/the-werdmuller-centre-why-did> (Accessed 8 June 2009, 3h45)

⁸¹ Parenzee, Donald, 2008, Notes prepared for talk delivered at the Second CIFA meeting, kindly given to me by Parenzee after the debate.

⁸² Vio, 2006: 31-33; Dewar, 2006: 42-47

universal ideas of inter alia the ‘public realm’, the importance of ‘idea’ and ‘programme’ and the ‘timelessness’ of architecture are brought to bear on the significance of the building.⁸³

What is missing, however, is an interrogation of how these ideas might have significance when this ‘public realm’ appears to have been rejected by publics who use the building, when the social programme has failed to have been realized, or when the idea of the building is inaccessible to the lay visitor. Vio, for instance, discounts the building’s failure writing that:

The “timeless” in Roelof’s architecture has nothing to do with the success of a building. Rather it is a concept that deals with the understanding of human needs, in an ethical way and with enriching the idea of space with the spirit of the context.⁸⁴

The suggestion made that the approach that Uytendogaardt used is perhaps more important than the actual performance of the building is interesting. For a start this implies that intentions in and of themselves are significant. It implies that the very act of experimenting with the notion of a shopping centre is enough to make the building significant.⁸⁵

At this juncture however some of the arguments seem removed from the post-apartheid present. They deploy notions of ‘the public realm’ in utopian ways. While well intended at the time in the 1970s, the deployments of these arguments as ‘democratic’ now seems overly literal, especially when analyzing a building built at the height of apartheid’s segregationalist policies and implemented by a commercial developer such as Old Mutual. In fact a counter argument might suggest that through deploying these ideas, perhaps Uytendogaardt’s scheme was flawed through this very idealism, from the start? Whether the intention of the building was really an attempt at a resistive form of architecture or not is also unclear and Uytendogaardt never articulated this directly. Parenzee speculates about this: ‘But I can’t say for sure whether Roelof thought about it in these political terms. The sense I had was his concern for the public spaces being created by the intervention of the building, of people moving through the body of the building.’⁸⁶ The question remains unanswered as to whether these were Uytendogaardt’s ideas or those of his peers. In some way Dewar and Louw and Ilze Wolff’s points might be seen as a form of post-rationalization. Another more nuanced reading might, I suggest, see this as a form of misplaced confidence in architecture and spatial design’s abilities to solve social inequities. It might be that through the utopian and idealistic overlaying of social concepts onto an ambitious

⁸³ Vio, 2006: 31-33

⁸⁴ Vio, 2007: Werdmuller blog spot

⁸⁵ Vio, 2007: Werdmuller Blog spot

⁸⁶ Parenzee, 2008

spatial project, it might also more simply be seen as a misdirected attempt at using client's money to fulfill spatial desires, as some detractors have suggested.⁸⁷

Rather than concentrating on the architecture as an artistic and formal rendering in space, presenting a more considered and less defensive set of arguments might have had the effect of contextualising the building in the present time and enabling a more open discussion about its significance and possible futures. Dewar and Louw's argument represents their well known philosophies of Humanism and notions of the public realm in an abstract manner detached from the lived experience of cities. Vio's notion of democracy seems to be made without exploring any ideological position, and is completely counter to the levels of complicity that the project embodied: those of developing a site in an area affected by forced removal; working for a commercial client who was benefiting from the removals; the brutalist Corbusian formal approach; and notions of designing a building in the context of designated Group Areas where activities such as trade were highly administered and increasingly segregated. Ilze Wolff's position seems spurious and her argument flawed in its desire to reify Uytendogaardt as an anti-apartheid architect.⁸⁸ Parenzee's contribution appears to be the most honest reflection on the ways in which Uytendogaardt might have consciously or unconsciously considered the apartheid realities in which he worked.⁸⁹

That many of these arguments appear flawed points perhaps to the ways in which Werdmuller's continued presence troubles the surface of the post-apartheid city. Perhaps the ultimate test is that of the publics whose voices are largely absent from this debate, despite Heinrich Wolff's claims of a wide and diverse set of interested people above. Is this democracy evident in the building? How did these ideas take shape? Would they have been clearer had it been managed differently? On a philosophic level, is democracy designable? Possible answers to these questions lie in the faultlines of the arguments presented and against the clearly massive problems of the material presence of an unsafe and empty 'wreck'.⁹⁰

At the centre of this debate too, is the question of the place of the architectural 'idea' in Uytendogaardt's philosophies, in particular when the idea results in its opposite. The 'souk' that Uytendogaardt envisioned in Claremont turned into an alienating and ultimately dangerous and empty space. Architect Anthony Kiley contributed to the debate online: 'We are told that the concept is a souk (a vibrant shaded north African street market full of people and produce) but in

⁸⁷ De Tolly *et al*, 2007; Comments on the Facebook Group 'Save the Werdmuller'.

⁸⁸ Wolff, I. 2009: pythagoras-tv

⁸⁹ Parenzee, 2008

⁹⁰ Vio, 2006: 71

reality this couldn't be further from the truth.'⁹¹ Many of the submissions point to the mismanagement of the Centre by its owners who are criticised for failing to understand the suggested progressive ideas that the project presented around integrated shopping. Whether this vision of an integrated public realm or a 'souk'-like trading space were realisable or not under the conditions of apartheid is never addressed. Instead there is a polarised position presented between the 'virtues' of its idealistic and visionary design and the 'evils' of its capitalist owners whose only interest is the commercial bottom-line. Thinking through the use of the idea of the 'souk' presents interesting sets of questions in itself. On one level it appears as a romantic idea, based on notion of the experience of travel of the 'bazaars' as egalitarian market spaces in Middle Eastern cities. On another it could be read as a form of gazing at the space of the 'other' which then gets placed into an idea of white commercial shopping's 'other'. Uytendogaardt's fascination (much like Le Corbusier whose work he admired) with in particular the urban form of cities like Isfahaan is well known yet his interest in this has not been critiqued in relation to Edward Said's well-known critiques contained in his influential book *Orientalism*.⁹² This has been extensively explored by architectural academic Zeynep Çelik in relation to Le Corbusier's modernist urban visions. Çelik argues that 'Le Corbusier's fascination with Islamic architecture and urbanism forms a continuing thread throughout his lengthy career.'⁹³

From a postcolonial studies position, this Orientalist leaning (after Said) when uncritically consumed as precedent by a practitioner under apartheid, seems to not take into account this 'othering' of space. In addition, the way in which the idea of the 'souk' is partnered with notions of 'lower-income' shopping publics seems to obscure an ethnicised and racial reading of the space of the 'souk'. David Dewar, speaking at the CIFA meeting, emphasised the importance of this idea as a democratic approach to architecture: '[The] concept of the building was to act as a kind of souk to attract lower-income shoppers as they pass through it to the Main Road.'⁹⁴ This eliding of the categories of 'lower income people' against the racialised categorisations of apartheid seems to enable the notion of the 'souk' as a more authentic way for racially constructed 'others' to do their daily shopping. This articulation, however, was probably not part of the designer's conscious intentions. The use of the 'souk' as a precedent was probably an earnest attempt to find a way of making shopping accessible to more people than the elite white publics that Old Mutual envisaged. In a similar way notions of 'Oriental Plazas' were part

⁹¹ Kiley, Anthony, Wednesday, December 19, 2007 17/12/2007 E-mail received from Tony Kiley, <http://werdmullercentre.blogspot.com/2007/12/17122007-e-mail-received-from-tony.html> Werdmuller Blog Spot

⁹² Said, Edward, 1978, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books

⁹³ Çelik, Zeynep, 1992, 'Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism' in *Assemblage*, No. 17 (Apr., 1992), The MIT Press, pp. 58-77

⁹⁴ Robinson, Laura, 2007: CIFA Notes, comment by David Dewar

of the apartheid lexicon which relied on ethnicised notions of space. These were built in cities across the country for the managing of licensed trading spaces for shop owners displaced by forced removals.⁹⁵ While these Oriental Plaza spaces were different to the Werdmuller, they were both conceived through a construction of racially designated trading space in South Africa cities under apartheid. In both cases, the centrality of this conceptualisation plays into ethnographic notions of trade. At Werdmuller, whether romantic or resistive, the idea never took off amidst the commercial realities of the site and the building and within the confines of Group Areas where so-called 'lower-income' people were relegated to being consumers and traders were unable to trade legally even if they wished to do so. The idealism of Uytenbogaardt's vision of lower income enterprise in an apartheid city like Cape Town was removed from its administrative reality. That this idea of 'democratic space' might be used to motivate for its continued presence unfortunately seems flawed even at a historical level.

So, why make this argument? It seems to be used, on the one hand, as way of making sense of the history of the building, as well as Uytenbogaardt's philosophies. On the other, it is also clearly a form of post-rationalising in the post-apartheid context. When asked about the term 'democratic architecture' which has been applied to the building, Moyle suggested that perhaps the 'term democratic related to the imagined paths through the building from the station to the Main Road', this seems to be the most simple and logical explanation. He added however, as an aside, that although there was a large design team working on the project that 'Roelof designed the whole thing. The concept was always Roelof's – this was not democratic'.⁹⁶

Troubled pasts/post-apartheid presences

At Werdmuller the assumption that Uytenbogaardt was commissioned to design for elite, white shoppers, seems reasonable as the integrated mix of traders had been removed. Instead what happened is that he designed for what he envisaged as a broader shopping public, a romantic move in apartheid South Africa at the time. Uytenbogaardt's intentions through doing this also appear clear. His approach was an idealistic one aimed at a type of critique of the socially stratified nature of shopping in Cape Town at the time as well as an attempt to change the formal nature of the internalised, anti-urban shopping mall typology popular at the time. Ultimately however in the present the debates around Werdmuller point to the need to think about the space of the postcolony, and the conundrums that the Werdmuller's continued presence in the landscape

⁹⁵ A 'souk' forms part of a newer building built around the idea of a 'Moroccan', 'African' Mall at Vangate Mall, explored in: Green, L and Murray, N, Between the picturesque and the postmodern: inscriptions of Islam in the landscape of Cape Town, Department of History and Centre for Humanities Research, UWC, South African Contemporary History and Humanities Seminar, 13 March 2007 NO: 253 (16pp)

⁹⁶ Moyle, 2008

of Claremont presents. When viewed together, Uytendogaardt's intentions and the rationalisations mobilised arguing for the building's retention, serve to complicate the debate. Architectural modernism and post-apartheid modernity seem to be inextricably at odds with each other, where the modern architecture is fascinating at a conceptual level, yet this is ultimately an unlivable space. The architectural nostalgia for the building appears residual and often outweighed by the views that the building is a terrible travesty. In conceptual terms then the Werdmuller presents itself as having a troubled heritage.

Returning to Nancy Fraser's notion of the public sphere and her proposition that at any time there exist multiple public spheres and multiple publics who compete for a voice, the reappearance of the debates around the Werdmuller Centre point to these multiple spheres, existing both in contemporary Cape Town and more provocatively across time and histories of its presence in the city.⁹⁷ If the space of the postcolony provides for the opening up of discourses, as Mbembe suggests, material presences such as buildings enter into the contemporary imaginary in particular ways.⁹⁸ Werdmuller exists as a form of fragment of an earlier imaginary of space, a 'rupture' in the surface of the city conspicuously rendered through its concreteness. Bremner, writing about the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg asserts that: 'Post-apartheid, much like post-modern, signals both a disentangling of ties, a rupture, as well as certain underlying continuities with the past.'⁹⁹

Similarly the contestation of over the reappearance of Werdmuller's proposed destruction appears as a set of discourses that haunt the city and its publics. Writing about the recent contestation that emerged over the uncovering of thousands of human remains at Prestwich Street in Green Point in Cape Town, Julian Jonker refers to Derrida's notion of 'hauntology' which he uses to describe 'a discursive haunting: discourses of the spectral that are themselves spectral, a haunting of the rhetoric of haunting'.¹⁰⁰ Derrida, writing about 'repetition *and* first time' refers to the 'the question of the event as a question of the ghost.'¹⁰¹ He continues asking: 'What is a Ghost? What is the *effectively* or the *presence* of a specter, that is, of what seems to remain ineffective, virtual, insubstantial as a simulacrum? It is there *there*, between the thing itself and its

⁹⁷ Fraser, 1992: 109-142

⁹⁸ Mbembe, 2001.

⁹⁹ Bremner, 2007:93

¹⁰⁰ Jonker, Julian, 2005, *The Silence of the Dead: Ethical and Juridical Significances of the Exhumations at Prestwich Place, Cape Town, 2003-2005*, Thesis submitted to the University of Cape Town in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree MPhil, p.40

¹⁰¹ Derrida, Jacques, (translated by Peggy Kamuf), 1994, *Specters of Marx: the state of the debt, the work of mourning, and the New International*, Routledge, New York p.10

simulacrum, an opposition that holds up?’¹⁰² Werdmuller, it might be said, appears to operate as a ghostly presence of the architect (specifically its architect Uytendogaardt) in the city.

As the contestation over Werdmuller shows, after Foucault and Lefebvre, or Appadurai and Mbembe and others, that the current disciplinary thought formations in architectural and spatial thought and knowledge constructions are limited (contained even) by the epistemologies of modernity. This raises questions about how to begin to think through, in very practical ways, the possibilities for re-positioning practice within a context such as Africa, or more specifically South Africa.¹⁰³ As Mbembe and Nuttall have suggested we need to deal with the histories of marginality, discursively inscribed through the twin ‘gazes’ of developmental discourses and spatial ethnography.¹⁰⁴ Where do these fit into the consumerism of global capitalism? How does practice respond to the needs of different publics? What languages do we have to internalise and critique disciplinary power? Do apartheid histories operate as forms of pastoral power that affect our thinking about spaces and publics? How do we reimagine the concrete in a postmodern, globalising world of hyperreality? Can we see contemporary architecture’s manifestations in any way that is detached from the project of modernity?¹⁰⁵

Without necessarily providing answers to these polemical questions, other academics writing about post-apartheid and the city have referred to useful ways of thinking conceptually about spaces and events in the city as ‘ruptures’, ‘points of fracture’, ‘Fluities’ and ‘leaks’. The debates and events that have appeared, and the positions presented for and against the destruction of the Werdmuller Centre are such an instance, they represent a break in the continuity of discourses surrounding development and heritage. This, much like at Prestwich Street, where Shepherd and Ernsten have argued ‘provide[d] a compelling instance of the playing out of competing notions of culture, identity and memory in post-apartheid society....and provide[d] points of fracture thorough which to glimpse post-apartheid urban imaginaries’,¹⁰⁶

If marginality is conceived as a process, the space of the postcolony is a space which resists meta-narrative. Without a single, sustaining narrative that can carry through to the postcolony, the space of critique becomes possible in which disciplinary change can be imagined. The ideas of ‘entanglement’ and the ‘interstices’ are literally the space of overlapping or a shared space often framed in critical discourse as the space of the margins, a space in which the

¹⁰² Derrida, 1994:10

¹⁰³ Mbembe, 2001; Appadurai, Arun 1996, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press; Lefebvre, 2001; Foucault, 1976

¹⁰⁴ Mbembe and Nuttall, S, 2004: 347-372.

¹⁰⁵ For an expanded version of these ideas see: Murray, 2006 4–8

¹⁰⁶ Shepherd, N and Ernsten, C, 2007, ‘The World Below: Post-apartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Bones of the Prestwich Street Dead’ in Murray, N, Shepherd, N, Hall, M (eds), 2007, *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*, Routledge Architext Series, editors Anthony King and Tomas Markus. 215-232

limitations of the mainstream can be recast as possibilities. It is here that the subaltern, the feminist and the postcolonial 'other' have found their voices. It might then be, as Stanley Matthews has suggested that:

The real challenge that postmodern society presents to architecture is neither technical nor aesthetic but epistemological. Of all the disciplines, it is architecture that most closely indicates the pervasive epistemological crisis of postmodern society.¹⁰⁷ He continues: 'We cannot claim that as currently formulated, the bulk of architecture is in anyway representative of the current state of knowledge. The challenge is to develop new ways of thinking: about culture, technology and the profession, not merely to illustrate these through formal manipulation. We might think of this new way of thinking as a kind of 'soft' knowledge, not closed, objective, absolute and over determined, but subjective, situational, open and conditioned by reception.'¹⁰⁸

The ideas presented by the groups opposing the destruction of the Werdmuller Centre followed, more or less, and old set of arguments rooted firmly in architectural discourses of formal and spatial celebration and appreciation, in support of Uytendogaardt's romantic conception of the 'love affair'.¹⁰⁹ Few of the submissions made in either the meetings at the Institute or on the internet forums substantially explored the possibilities of the types of new forms of thinking that Matthews suggests. What emerges is a series of disjunctures ranging from the tragic to the absurd. The debates that were presented were a type of weird theater, a reenactment of old views, in which architects argued for the significance of the materiality of the building against the 'ghosts' of the publics it was designed to house. These arguments are, of course, complicated by the physicality of the site which, much like the remains of the Prestwich dead, created a material presence, a history of absence. In addition a disjuncture was created between the architects' imaginary, read through the actual building, its plan and models, against the grey concrete manifestation, its disintegration over time, the developer's new imaginary and the subsequent nostalgia.

Thinking about the Werdmuller Centre in different ways might 'open up' questions about the spatial disciplines, and how knowledge is produced around the notion of design. It provides a way into thinking about modernism, its multiplicity of meanings, and of its passing into the space of heritage as an epistemic rupture which allows new forms of discussion. Although some architects and planners opposed apartheid (such as the groups 'Architects Against Apartheid', Planact, the Development Action Group [DAG] - and others) the spatial disciplines have suffered post-apartheid from their lack of engagement with critical scholarship. In an era in which practitioners and academics alike are now called upon to consider modernist and apartheid

¹⁰⁷ Matthews, S, 1992, *Spaces of Hyperreality*, Stanford University Press, p.6

¹⁰⁸ Matthews, 1992:6

¹⁰⁹ Nuttall, Jean, 1996

structures as forms of heritage, a reconfiguration of positions is called for to meet the demands of post-apartheid heritage processes, with all the attendant pressures of massive urban redevelopment and tourist industries, which require new and complex engagements with publics and spaces, and to recognise multiple pasts and the 'ever present a spectre of a heritage that hurts.'¹¹⁰

By way of example, in 2006 I was asked to write an essay as a contribution to a monograph on contemporary South African architecture. Entitled 'Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transformation'. Based on an exhibition at the San Paolo Biennale in 2005 curated by Sharp City architects, the book relied on conventions of the biographical and on standards of the 'architectural monograph format' in terms of visual representation.¹¹¹ While paging through the projects contained in this book it is impossible to ignore to the ways in which architects continue to give form to some spectacularly idealistic and sometimes misplaced ideas about buildings and space. It seems at times architects actually achieve what Foucault calls the spaces of 'heterotopia', 'simultaneously the mythic and real' spaces that remain exclusionary, 'privileged' and spaces of 'deviation'. Many buildings and projects in the book exemplify this where space is bounded by heightened security, excess capital and where the representational is to a very large extent determined by internal utopic disciplinary codes. This 'showcasing' reveals the bizarre realities that are made material by architects' actions and agency.¹¹² Werdmuller seems to fit into this history of idealistic architectural projects that became a bizarre reality. Other examples of the bizarre can be seen in the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth by Noero Wolff Architects, where notions of museum and mausoleum co-exist, or the Apartheid Museum by Jeremy Rose and GAPP Architects *et al* where gambling and heritage compete for public attention in the same place.¹¹³ Consider too the New Legislature for the Northern Cape Provincial Government or the Baobab Toll Plaza where images of essentialised Africanness are carefully crafted into new building forms.¹¹⁴

Elsewhere I have argued that we need to be mindful of the 'leaks', 'ruptures' and 'jammings' that this mode does not make possible and within a repositioning of practice we might seek out the possibilities for different forms of practice and critique. In their different ways

¹¹⁰ Meskell, Lynn, 2007, 'Living in the Past: Historic Futures in Double Time' in Murray, N, Shepherd, N, Hall, M (eds), 2007, *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*, Routledge Architect Series, editors Anthony King and Tomas Markus. 177

¹¹¹ Murray, 2006

¹¹² Foucault, Michel, 1986 'Of Other Spaces' in *Diacritics*, Vol 16, No 1, Spring, 22-27, p.24-25

¹¹³ Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth by Noero Wolff Architects, Apartheid Museum by GAPP Architects et al

¹¹⁴ New Legislature for the Northern Cape Provincial Government in Kimberley by Luis Ferreira da Silva Architects; the Baobab Toll Plaza, N1 Highway Limpopo, Matthews and associates Architects.

the contributing projects in the Sharp City book are attempts to depart from many of the previous lines of apartheid practice, but few really manage to map alternative approaches to the city. Much like in the case of Prestwich Street where the discipline of archaeology was confronted with a set of circumstances and counter points to its practice that were foundational and abiding legacies of the discipline, Werdmuller's contested presence in the post-apartheid city of Cape Town enables a new set of meanings about architecture to surface, but of course this is not without risk to the profession as what is at stake is the whole tradition of architecture as high art that Uytendogaardt, as the 'architects' architect' has come to symbolise to the profession.

Modern architecture as heritage

Standing as it does today the platonic forms of the modernist design of the Werdmuller Centre are set against the urban reality of informal trading, in a neglected urban wasteland. Vio terms it an 'urban wreck' conjuring up images of a ruined monument to modernist design. For the ordinary publics of Cape Town it is hard to imagine why this might be considered heritage worthy. Increasingly as time has passed, modern architecture's legacy of brutalist concrete forms and mega-projects mapped out on the landscape of, in particular colonial worlds, has come to form part of the complex identities of cities such as Cape Town. Much like at Brasilia, Chandigarh and many other cities in Africa, South America and India, Cape Town has not yet really begun to think through the meanings and legacies that this work represents. The notions around 'salvaging' the Werdmuller that have been incorporated into the latest DHK scheme for Werdmuller sit rather uncomfortably with the building's legacy of negative public sentiment.¹¹⁵

Over the last decade or so, international heritage groupings such as ICOMOS and DOCOMOMO have begun to address the incorporation of modernist architecture into a new category of heritage significance.¹¹⁶ Most of the initiatives aimed at the preservation and protection of modern architecture have been motivated through rationales around their modernist design, as a way of according them a place in national listings of heritage buildings.¹¹⁷ These groups view modern architecture as historical and representative of a particular period of building. Restoration and adaptive reuse projects have been encouraged as a means of conserving these buildings. To a very large extent these preservation projects have been successful in the economically buoyant centres of western Europe and northern America where benevolent benefactors have contributed towards their restoration. Much like modern art these buildings have

¹¹⁵ Scott, 1998

¹¹⁶ Fisher *et al*: 2003:69

¹¹⁷ Van Oers, R. and Haraguchi, S. 2003, *UNESCO World Heritage Papers 5, Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage*, Published in 2003 by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

been celebrated for their *avant garde* qualities and their adherence to the heroic aspects of the project of modernism. While modern architecture has certainly taken its place alongside other older forms of architecture as a new form of heritage concern, the problematising of modern architecture's modernities has hardly been considered in any systematic manner by architects.

In the Johannesburg case, the reconceptualisation of the Johannesburg city centre for the Kopanong Gauteng Provincial Government Precinct raised issues around modern and art deco architecture from the early years of the twentieth century. The arguments presented in the Motsepe scheme for redevelopment and demolition contained an idea of redress in the colonial city, asserting the insertion of what was claimed to be more African (specifically Tswana) space making principles.¹¹⁸ In reaction the groups formed to oppose the development argued for the architectural qualities of the ten buildings under question as key examples of their period.¹¹⁹ In Cape Town the case for saving the Werdmuller centred on the architectural significance of the building as a key example of an esteemed practitioner's body of work. The arguments in these two instances of debate, around modern architectures' presences in the post-apartheid city in South Africa, point to many useful comparisons around the processes through which these debates took place. In both cases ethnicised notions of space making were invoked as motivations for the development - in the Johannesburg case it was Tswana architecture and space making, and in Cape Town the case was made around the democratic souk-like quality of the space as an argument for the retention of the building. These ideas of Africanness and the 'souk' as precedent deployed a culturally inspired argument for each project. In each case the ethnicised motivations were aimed at motivating for relevance in the postcolonial, post-apartheid present, mobilised in some way to argue (although obliquely) against the European influenced colonial forms commonly used by architects previously.

In both cases too, these arguments were used despite radically different spatial manifestations. At the Werdmuller the Corbusian brutalist modernism dominates the idea of the souk, stylistically obliterating the idea from all but those in the know. In the Johannesburg case the stylistic language of the architecture is even more baffling given the claims to Africanness, where postmodernist forms are drawn from the classical forms of ancient Rome and Greece are scattered over the space in what appears to be a random manner.¹²⁰ The slippage between the arguments which have been used in these recent cases and their material imaginaries seems to

¹¹⁸ Bremner, 2007

¹¹⁹ Fraser, Neil, 2005 'Kopanong' <http://architectafrica.com/bin0/KopanongIndex.html> (accessed 5 October 2005, 20h46)

¹²⁰ Bremner, 2007; Rassool, C, 2006, (Chairperson) Report of the Commission of Inquiry for SAHRA, SAHRA Archives Johannesburg.

highlight the confusion around the relationship between language and spatial form. This points, perhaps, to the troubled nature and limits of debate about spatial identity in the spatial disciplines in the post-apartheid city, where new ideas are used to rationalise old forms.

The final part of this chapter is a photographic essay. The photographs presented were taken in 2008 having revisited the Werdmuller Centre many years after my previous ‘discovery’ of the building along with other students studying architecture under Uytenbogaardt in the 1980s. Prompted by the debates emerging on-line and in the CIFA I decided to go and see what the building looked like for myself, over twenty years since my last visit. Svea Josephy, a photographer and colleague from the University of Cape Town’s Fine Art department, accompanied me and the images presented arose from the vibrant discussions we shared about the building. The images are also taken in response to our discussions about the stark difference presented by visiting the site as opposed to the images that were circulating in support of the building by the ‘Save the Werdmuller’ group. I have subsequently been asked many times by architects, heritage practitioners, academics and friends for my views on the building’s future and its viability if retained as an example of modernist architectural heritage. This chapter has been written, in part, as a way of formulating a series of thoughts outside of those circulating around the building’s possible future. In order to do this in the chapter, I have insisted on placing the building back in its apartheid past. This is, in part, a response to the notions of timelessness that have been mobilized in the building’s defense, but also in an attempt to understand the polarised sets of responses that the building evokes from architects on the one hand and Cape Town’s many different publics on the other. *The Werdmuller Centre: a visual essay in conversation with photographer Svea Josephy* (17 images, 2008) contains images taken while walking through and around the building which document the current state of the building. As the historian of forced removals, Uma Dhupelia-Mestrie, reminded me in her discussant’s response to an earlier version of this paper presented at UWC for the Heritage Disciplines Symposium, these images profoundly trouble the building’s easy passage into the category of heritage in the post-apartheid present.¹²¹

¹²¹ An earlier version of this chapter was presented as a seminar paper as part of the *Heritage Disciplines Symposium*, Centre for Humanities Research, UWC, 8 and 9 October 2009, Uma Dhupelia-Mestrie was the discussant.

The Werdmuller Centre: a visual essay in conversation with Svea Josephy

Architectural photography is a recognized genre in photographic studies.¹ Many photographers specialize in producing images of buildings for architects for the promotion, documentation and especially the publishing of their buildings in the glossy architectural magazines that profile architects and their work. Architectural photography is also a specialization which is lucrative and, for some photographers, this becomes a sideline commercial specialization alongside their more creative or documentary work. For others, architecture is their profession and photography is a hobby. Architectural photography has a series of conventions which are adhered to in order to produce images for its audiences which include other architects and people who appreciate the nuances of architectural and spatial design. For the architectural magazines and journals the trick is to show the architectural qualities of buildings, and celebrate architecture as a spatial and formal art. Typically images are styled and aestheticized. Furniture is placed in appropriate places to enhance an interior for instance. People are excluded from the frame of the architectural photographer and the architectural image seeks to show pure form. Very often unsightly surroundings are excluded from the images which appear as decontextualised objects in space.

The images of the Werdmuller Centre which circulated in 2007 at the time of the contestation over its heritage were produced in this genre. They were beautiful sepia-tone and black-and-white images showing the building's abstract architectural quality as a device to gather support for its retention as an example of modernist heritage. The main set of images were taken in 2007 by a young Capetonian architect, Gaelen Pinnock, whose enthusiasm for the building's platonic forms ignited much support amongst architects.² Pinnock was not the only one drawn to turn his lens onto Werdmuller as a project. Architects Piet De Beer and Andrew Bermann have also subsequently been documenting the building with a similar passion. In fact Andrew Bermann claims he joined the team of heritage practitioners who compiled the HIA for the Werdmuller because he 'wanted the opportunity to photograph the building.' His fascination is with what he calls the 'photogenic quality' of the architecture of the Werdmuller Centre.³

¹ Ackerman, James. S, 2002, 'The Origins of Architectural Photography' in Rattenbury, Kester, (ed), 2002, *This is not architecture: media constructions*, Routledge, London. Pp. 26-36

² To view these images see <http://www.gaelen.co.za/werdmuller/> (last accessed 11 February 2010, 12h05).

³ Interview with Andrew Bermann, Rondebosch 8 February 2010.

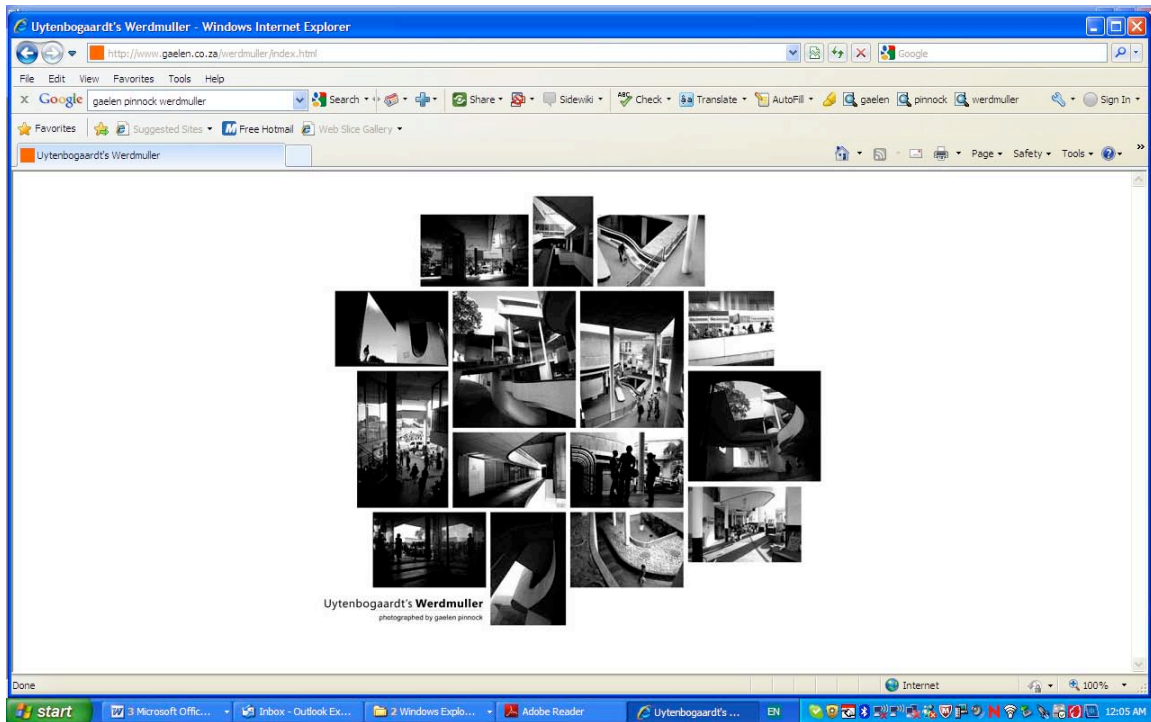


Figure Screen shot from Gelen Pinnock’s photographic website, showing a composition of images of the Werdmuller. Each image can be clicked on to reveal a larger, more detailed image. Source <http://www.gaelen.co.za/werdmuller/> (last accessed 11 February 2010, 12h05).

Images taken by Pinnock illustrated an article which appeared in the November 2007 issue of the South African interior decorating magazine *Elle Decoration*, in which the Werdmuller Centre is described as a ‘beautiful Modernist building.’⁴ This notion of the pursuit of modernist beauty, be it photogenic or actual, is considered at length in Alain de Botton’s recent philosophical book *The Architecture of Happiness*, in which he explores discourses and images of architectural beauty in relation to human feeling. For De Botton, there is often a slippage between what makes architects and art critics happy and the needs of ordinary people. This is of course not a new set of thoughts but it does serve to highlight to the elite, educated notions of beauty from the everyday eye. Through the many famous instances of well known works of architecture he explores architecture in relation to our happiness. He ponders, in the philosophical sense, what can be learnt about those who create, embrace, or reject certain manifestations of architecture and argues that beyond the basic purpose of providing shelter, we all seek to find spaces that reflect our personal tastes. His view is that the concepts of function and beauty – key tenets of modernist architecture - are historically contradictory.⁵

⁴ <http://elledecoration.co.za/2007/11/save-the-werdmuller/> (last accessed 11 February 2010, 11h30)

⁵ De Botton, Alain, 2008, *The Architecture of Happiness*, Pantheon books.

These contradictions are manifestly evident in the different personal responses to the architecture of the Werdmuller Centre described in more detail in Chapter Five. In researching and paying close attention to the debates which reemerged in 2007, it became evident that the images that were being produced by architects in support of saving the Werdmuller Centre were perhaps assuming too much about its beauty. For non-architects the idea that the Werdmuller Centre is beautiful has been largely unimaginable. Beauty's along with its other – ugliness – is of course often relegated to being a matter of opinion, as Sarah Nuttall reminds us in the introduction to her book *Beautiful Ugly*.⁶ Proponent of modernist architecture, architect and academic Robin Boyd's provocative book about domestic architecture in Australia entitled *The Australian Ugliness*, considers the interplay between high-modernist aesthetics and popular forms of modern architecture in the ways in which he says (after Anthony Trollope) 'it is taken for granted that Australia is ugly.'⁷ In the case of the Werdmuller the slippage between what is considered beautiful and what is thought ugly seems particularly marked.

As a way of trying to get a fresh view on this debate, in 1996-7 while working on the *blank_* project, the team of researchers and curators decided to ask photographers who were not considered architectural photographers to visit and photograph works of architecture. The series of images produced by, in particular, Angela Buckland and Jo Ractliffe, were astonishingly different to conventional architectural representations of the buildings they viewed.⁸

The series of images that follow were taken with this in mind, after a set of conversations with colleague and academic, photographer Svea Josephy. Josephy's own work, focuses on cities and her recent project *Twin Towns*, presents a set of images of buildings, cities and places through a **fine art or new documentary** approach.⁹ Reflecting on the images she took of the Werdmuller Centre, she is quick to point out the effect of our conversations on how she approached taking the images, and how they represent 'another point of view' to the Pinnock images. These images are however not a reactionary 'darker' counter view. Rather, they present another instance in this thesis of considering 'moments' in the buildings present state - in context, in the post-apartheid city of Cape Town- instead of being decontextualised through the lenses of timelessness and that of the architectural photograph.

⁶ Nuttall, Sarah (ed), 2006, *Beautiful Ugly, African and Diaspora Aesthetics*, Duke University Press and Kwela Books, p.8

⁷ Boyd, Robin, 1963, *The Australian Ugliness*, Penguin Books, Mitcham, Victoria..

⁸ Buckland, Angela, 1998, 'Steinkopf Community Centre' in Judin and Valdislavic, 1998: 344-349. Ractliffe, Jo, 1998, 'House Martienssen' in Judin and Valdislavic, 1998: 324-319

⁹ Josephy, Svea, 2007, *Twin Town*. Bell-Roberts, Cape Town.

Conclusion

Addressing architectural students at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand in 2007, Uytenbogaardt's biographer Giovanni Vio made a passionate call for saving the Werdmuller Centre. His plea - against the demolition of the building - drew on Uytenbogaardt's widely-known notions of 'timelessness' and 'humanism'. As described earlier in the thesis, Uytenbogaardt formulated these ideas as he attempted to find appropriate forms of identity in his work amidst the stark inequalities of apartheid South Africa.

In all the projects of Roelof Uytenbogaardt one can find clear answers to the problem of our everless [sic] human physical built space.

Does Roelof's architecture keep in consideration the spatial values belonging to the South African cultural heritage?

The European domination introduced to SA the city as a model of settlement: a model of space completely different from the pre-existing one, whether it be rural or nomadic. Since then it became the only possible model, comprehensive of its historical towns and enormous stretches of urban sprawl made for the poor and for the rich. So in contemporary architecture and urban design it is very difficult to get involved with the very traditional ideas of space of South Africa. Still I believe that Roelof struggled to make sure that his projects could offer a chance to the continuity between past and future and this is the meaning of the adjective "timelessness" that he wanted to use for his architectural philosophy.¹

Written in the colloquial style of an informal talk the message was loosely framed in binary terms between tradition and modernity, where Vio appears to have tried to make sense of the colonial context as a way to explain and rationalise the presence of Uytenbogaardt's works in post-apartheid South Africa. Although he refers to social inequalities he avoids terms like 'apartheid' or 'post-apartheid' and then goes to great lengths to neutralize Uytenbogaardt's perceived approach through emphasising a 'timeless' link between disaggregated pasts and futures.

This decontextualised approach is a familiar thread that runs through many of Uytenbogaardt's own works. It is clearly evident in the ways in which his archive is constructed as well as in the writings and views of his biographers, collaborators and followers. Perhaps this is because the spatial design disciplines have traditionally positioned themselves precariously somewhere between notions of scientific knowledge and artistic production rather than within a humanities based project. Neither altogether science, nor purely art forms, these disciplines have proceeded along parallel paths depending on their preferred locations in the scholarly traditions of

¹ Vio, Giovanni, 2007, *The modern heritage of Roelof Uytenbogaardt*, presented as a talk at UCT 2007 05 04, and *Roelof Uytenbogaardt: a suitable heritage?* Presented as a talk based on the same text Wits University 2007 23 04, given to me by kind permission of Ilze Wolff

the West. Spatial design considered as ‘science’ is in the sense of engineering or building science where the design of cities, buildings or landscapes is governed by technocratic discourses of spatial engineering (and more often than not loosely concealing projects of social engineering such as spatial segregation). On the other hand when spatial design is considered as ‘art’, the design of space is celebrated, reified even as ‘original’, and ‘individualistic’ but is focused on the ‘object’ and its architect / creator and remains the idealistic creative act. Here ‘design’ becomes detached from everyday life, despite its sometimes-catastrophic effect on people who are expected to live in these creations, for example Corbusian modernism. As James Scott reminds us in formulating a critique of the West, ‘the history of Third World development is littered with the debris of new cities (think of Brasilia or Chandigarh) that have failed their residents.... high-modernism ‘originated, of course, in the West, as a by-product of unprecedented progress in science and industry.’²

This duality presents itself in many forms. In promotional literature for prospective students at universities for example, the spatial disciplines are presented as the perfect ‘balance between art and science’, and curricula typically include mathematics, applied mathematics, physical science, technical drawing, the study of structures and building construction alongside life-drawing, the history and theory of art, architecture and landscape design, artistic rendering, graphic design and design studios which form the majors of most courses.³ Schools of architecture, planning, urban design and landscape architecture similarly have found themselves located variously in faculties of engineering or in fine art and architecture within the academy in South Africa and internationally. In practice specialisations have emerged as professionals are divided into teams, either with a technical focus (on aspects of building construction, technical services, and structural engineering) or in ‘design teams’ (which prepare artistic schemes from sketch designs to artistic renderings such as perspective drawings, water-colours and more recently computer-aided modeling). Accordingly knowledges in these disciplines have emerged along these lines and scholarship tends towards the ‘hard sciences’ (quantity surveying, construction economics and management, building performance, transport design, building science and city planning) or the arts (design, history and theory of architecture and planning, vernacular studies, and urban conservation or heritage). The effect of the two branches of knowledge is that in each articulation truths are produced - in the scientific sense though modes of data and empirical study and in the arts sense though the mythologising of design – and each way these inform constructions of societal knowledge.

² Scott, 1998: 3-4

³ *Handbook for Students of Architecture*, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985

French sociologist, intellectual and philosopher Henri Lefebvre's influential book entitled *The Production of Space* explores the effect of these two branches of knowledge, outlining the notion of a 'triad' of conceptions of space, which he refers to as 'spatial practices', 'representations of space', and 'spaces of representation' – or the 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived space' as conceptions of space. He emphasises the technocratic nature of the work of architects.⁴ 'Representations of space' are explained by Lefebvre in terms of 'conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers... - all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.'⁵ As formulated by Soja, 'this *conceived space* is tied to the relations of production and, especially, to the order or design that they impose. Such order is constituted by a control over knowledge, signs and codes; over the means of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge.'⁶

Conceived space: representations of space.

Conceptualized, space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. (Arcane speculation about Numbers, with its talk about the golden number, moduli and 'canons', tend to perpetuate this view of matters.) This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions to which I shall return, towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs.⁷

Lefebvre refers to ideas of the 'artist with a scientific bent'. Applying this idea to Uytendogaardt is useful. His personal principles, writings and approaches to practice constantly assert the artistic – he refers to the 'art of one's art' - and almost never to the technical. One explanation of this is that he actually believed in the primacy of design, reified it even, over practical or technological concerns, as articulated through his idea of 'an architecture of discovery'. Another is that the University of Cape Town School of Architecture in which he studied was located (at the time) in the faculty of Fine Arts and Architecture, focusing on the spatial dimensions of design.⁸ Whatever the reasons behind this, Lefebvre points to a theoretical 'blind spot' in the way that architects perceive themselves as artists, somehow part of an *avant garde* or as agents of style for wealthy elites. While Lefebvre was obviously not commenting directly on Uytendogaardt's work nor on the institutionalised spaces of architectural and urban design education, his insights are useful for formulating a sense of the operations and effects of spatial practice in the disciplines.

⁴ Lefebvre, Henri, 1991,(translated by Nicholson-Smith, Donald), *The Production of Space*, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, UK, p.38

⁵ Lefebvre, 1991:38

⁶ Soja, 1996: 67

⁷ Lefebvre,1991: 38-39

⁸ In 1999 UCT's School of Architecture and Planning shifted into the newly formed Faculty of Engineering and the built Environment in which it remains in the present time.

Underlying this, perhaps more problematically, is another duality that persists. This is the distinction that is drawn in Western forms of scholarship between modernity and tradition which Vio explores in the quotation above. This duality exists globally, reinforced by the dominant canon of the Western Tradition that has its roots in the Cartesian thinking of the Renaissance. Categories of scholarship reflect this as spatial design is understood through notions such as ‘high design’ (the work of professionally trained architects, landscape architects, planners and urban designers) and ‘the vernacular’ (spaces created by traditional or ‘indigenous’ cultures).⁹ In the case of contexts such as South Africa, thinking through the links between the dualisms of ‘science’ / ‘art’ and ‘modernity’ / ‘tradition’, opens up a series of what social anthropologist and critic Arun Appadurai calls ‘ruptures’, as categories emerge which are beyond the reaches of traditional architectural scholarship, those of questions pertaining to the construction of racialised space, colonised space, controlled spaces, and notions of technological advancement.¹⁰ The example of the current contestations over the future of the Werdmuller Centre, outlined in Chapter Five of this thesis, appear as such a rupture in the discourses of modern architecture in Cape Town.

Post-colonial manifestations of stylistic postmodernism have emerged alongside modernist tendencies that essentialised searches for identity. There are examples of exoticised histories or the ‘search for African architectures’, in theme parks and malls, in suburban developments with a supposed stylistic coherence – Tuscan, Provencal, Moroccan and others, or in heritage projects for ‘native villages’ and casino’s or in new museums.¹¹ Alternatively old architectural forms seem to be reproduced in new housing initiatives such as Cape Town’s N1 Gateway housing project or subsidy housing, where modernist planning and styles are perpetuated in incongruous ways. It is the intersection between these modes of practice that the spatial disciplines seem trapped in what Mbembe and Nuttall term the ‘twin provinces of anthropology and development’ where essentialised notions of culture and identity are placed alongside considerations of designing for post-apartheid spaces.¹²

Considering the possibilities of a more critically framed notion of the postcolonial, as opposed to the simply temporal notion of ‘after’ colonialism or its later variant in South Africa of apartheid, might be presented by an examination of the foundational ideas contained in modernism’s own modernities. After all, modernism claims for itself a rupture, a break from history in its rejection of the historical past. In architecture and the arts this is seen clearly with

⁹ Rapoport, Amos, ‘Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Determinants of Form’, in *Buildings and Society*, 1981

¹⁰ Appadurai, 1996

¹¹ Hall, Martin, Bombardella, Pia, 2007 ‘Paths of Nostalgia and Desire through Heritage Destinations at the Cape of Good Hope’, in Murray *et al*, 2007: 245-258

¹² Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 348

the rejection of the histories of art and architecture, where modernists such as Adolf Loos declared ‘ornament is crime’ and other such rejectionist positions. Modernity was made material in the practices of modernism, and this is especially evident in the projects by architects and urban planners. Colonies were a product of modernity and the many critiques emerging in postcolonial scholarship that show how the colonial world was constructed reveal the processes behind the making of the idea of a ‘new world’. Architects and planners visions of these new worlds are now becoming the subject of much postcolonial scholarship as shown in the work of Appadurai, Celik and Scott, discussed in this thesis. In South Africa the ‘luke-warm’ reception of projects such as the *_blank* project by architects and others in the spatial disciplines point to the fundamental ways in which modernism persists as continuous practices, evident in the new buildings and urban spaces post-apartheid.¹³ What is implicit in the ways in which the critically conceived publications of *_blank* and *Desire Lines* have been received is the renewed need for close attention to be paid to a reading of the specific operations of disciplines. Through such a reading, in which the specificities of apartheid and colonialism are attentively considered, there might emerge a re-take on the conceptualisations in which spaces and buildings are produced in South Africa. Yet at the time of writing this thesis the prospects of such a project being adopted in any meaningful way in the spatial disciplines seems remote, as there is a ‘business as usual’ approach prevalent in the schools of architecture and planning across the country and in what is claimed as the ‘real world’ of practice. The possibilities of writing space differently referred to in the opening quote contained in the Introduction to this thesis that Ndebele called for over ten years ago has yet to take shape.¹⁴

This research and writing of thesis has sought to find methods and modes of writing which might begin to shift these established practices of writing about spaces and buildings. Through focusing on the process of discipline rather than the built objects of space alone, it has attempted to read the archives of Uytenbogaardt’s work in order to find alternative ways of writing spatial histories. Forms of spatial history have for the most part been explored in urban studies and through the conventions of the established field of architectural history. In urban studies research concerning the design of cities and space has generally been done by geographers and planners. Architectural history has remained the domain of architectural historians working within the discipline of architecture. While many of the scholars in urban studies have begun working using interdisciplinary methods and sources, architectural historians have been less influenced by interdisciplinary debates. In other ways neither field of study has fully engaged with many of the ideas that have been current

¹³ Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 10-12

¹⁴ Ndebele, 1998.

in the humanities for many years: interrogating operations of power; exploring issues of identity; or undertaking work of a reflexive nature which this thesis has sought to address. Specifically there is no scholarship to date which attempts to contextualise Uytendogaardt's work in relation to apartheid modernities in this way.

The slippage that appears to exist between scholarly work in the humanities and the spatial disciplines remains evident as Edward Soja mentions in an interview in the *Journal of Social Archaeology*, entitled 'Spatiality past and present':

...the powerful critique of established disciplinary traditions of spatial thinking that was embedded in the arguments of Lefebvre and Foucault continues to have only a limited impact on the spatial disciplines to this day. When their work is recognized at all it is typically seen as reinforcing and legitimizing many of the same conventional approaches to geography, architecture, or urban studies that Lefebvre and Foucault were criticizing. There was reason to be pleased that these 'outsiders' seemed to be saying nice things about geography and architectural theory and space and cities, but little perceived the need to change established modes of thinking and analysis. So, despite the spatial turn there is still a continuing need to assert the importance of a spatial perspective not just to those who do not have a rich spatial imagination but, perhaps more so, to those who do.¹⁵

When considered closely Soja's statement is a damning of architectural scholarship and a provocative call for the assertion of what he calls 'a spatial perspective'. Exploring this provocation was a starting point for my research, where I was drawn to work in the growing area of research in Visual History Studies, which sets out to critically engage with the visual components of archives and to set out new methods of inquiry in areas such as art history, photography, painting and landscape interpretation. Increasingly these visual sources are being used in contemporary research in new ways to interrogate critical approaches to history.¹⁶ Whether these are histories of the experience of otherness or sources of information about social, political, gendered and racial exclusion, visual information is now being subject to new epistemological critiques. No longer solely a matter of aesthetics or form, visibility is being repositioned and theorised through research into agency, authorship, subjectivity and through research into sites of production.¹⁷ The refiguring of the South African landscape contained in the tropes of South African space contained in Chapter Two of this thesis has been formulated in response to this shift.

In the period since Roelof Uytendogaardt's death in 1998, and since the transition to democracy in 1994, South African cities have become sites of debate and critical engagement for the reconfiguring and remixing of identities – racial, gendered, spatial and many more. This has taken specific and concrete form through the work of practitioners in the spatial disciplines who

¹⁵ Blake, E, (June 2002), 'Spatiality past and present, an interview with Edward Soja' in the *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Volume 2 Number 2, pp.139 –159; 140-141

¹⁶ Local scholars in this field include Patricia Hayes, Ciraj Rassool, Premesh Lalu

¹⁷ Edwards, Elizabeth, 2001, 'Introduction: Observations from the coal-face' in *Raw Histories, Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, UK. p.2

have been charged with making material interventions in spaces that have been by definition fluid, in the case of informal settlements and housing, or socially pre-programmed through apartheid segregation and the like. At the same time there has been a utopic mood amongst architects and urban designers as South Africa has experienced an unprecedented building boom fuelled by international investor confidence, the opening up of possibilities to advance the new social democratic post-apartheid project and the ending of academic and cultural isolation. Opportunities for design have been full of possibility. As Lindsay Bremner has suggested this has been an extraordinarily good time for architects who have landed lucrative commissions.¹⁸

In the spatial disciplines, there has also been a form of generational passing as many of the key figures that were contemporaries of Uytendogaardt's have passed away or retired. Many of these figures – Norbert Rozendal, Ivor Prinsloo, Vivienne Japha, Revel Fox, Jack Barnett, Derek Japha - have come to represent a generation of late modernist architects and 'urbanists', whose work, produced during the period of apartheid (and in some cases through the transition to freedom after 1994), has been celebrated by the disciplines. Together they formed a disparate yet collectively powerful group whose influence has been far reaching in academia and practice to this day in South Africa. Some like David Dewar, Paul Andrew, Peter Rich and Julian Cooke remain in practice. Their influence has however remained strong and the lines of practice they proposed, in their various forms, are part of the continuous tradition of modern design prevalent to this day.

There has also emerged though, a less cohesive group of younger practitioners whose work in architecture and urban design is perhaps more precisely 'entangled' in the postcolony in the manner that Mbembe suggests in his book *On the Postcolony*.¹⁹ Some of these architects and urban designers have claimed to take a position against what is widely referred to as the 'apartheid city', and sought to position their work in new ways in the multiple sites through which they have come to design new buildings and urban spaces. This is evident in the claims made by amongst others Dewar and Louw, Noero Wolff architects, and Lucien Le Grange. Yet, as described earlier in this Conclusion, few projects have engaged with any formulated critique of the space of the postcolony.

One of the central intentions stated in the Introduction to this thesis was to locate the project within broader interdisciplinary studies and to integrate spatial – architectural and urban design - discourse with the discourses in other disciplines and areas of study – Public and Visual History, Public Culture Studies, African Studies and Urban Studies. This is a response to the

¹⁸ Bremner, 2004/5:123

¹⁹ Mbembe, Achille, 2001, *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

evidence of a clear shift in the nature of the debates within the spatial disciplines and in the relationship between these 'internal' discourses and those in other academic disciplines. In this way, the discipline of architecture has been transformed to a limited extent in recent years. Many more architects and architectural historians are becoming more receptive to the whole domain of cultural theory. Similarly, there is a substantial body of work by cultural theorists, in a wide range of disciplines, who are increasingly engaged with questions of architecture and the built environment. Chapters One and Two of this thesis are an attempt to support this shift, and reinforce its links. They attempt to situate spatial history within a broader cultural context, and to consider not only how debates from cultural theory, and those within other disciplines, might begin to inform a discussion about spatial history, but also how a discussion within architecture, landscape architecture and urban design might offer a potentially rich field for analysis of the built environment in cultural studies and other, related disciplines.²⁰

The project of studying the archive of Roelof Uytenbogaardt, using case studies from his work, has sought to enable a critical biographical method beyond the established biographic mode of the architectural monograph as explored in Chapter Two. The case-studies in Chapters three to Five have explored the relationship between the man and his work; the sites of his professional engagement and the apartheid state. It has been primarily concerned with a reading of the complexities of relationships and influences on the production of spatial designs. Further, it has been an exploration of the relationship between a practice and the built environment of which it is part. The thesis argues that the buildings and urban spaces considered are shaped by both the 'hand' of designer that creates them and publics who use and live in them. The particular case studies presented in Chapters Three, Four and Five through which this relationship has been explored were chosen for the possibilities they presented for considering the relationships between material culture and social practice.

As the case studies show, although the spatial disciplines locally remain centred on practice and this practice has in some ways begun to consider other 'external' disciplinary determinants, in general the focus remains on building as the core component of architectural and urban practice. As in many previously colonial contexts around the world, the creation of buildings and urban spaces, despite the best efforts of critics of practice, persists in a manner that is largely without sustained critical reflexivity or selfconsciousness.²¹ Authorship is seldom theorised and agency is almost never problematised in the professional world of spatial design by architects and urban designers. Instead

²⁰ The best collection of cultural theory that explores architectural and spatial concerns can be found in Leach, Neil (ed.), 1997, *Rethinking Architecture, a reader in cultural theory*, Routledge, London.

²¹ Murray, N, 'Spatial [re]imaginings? Contesting township 'development' post-apartheid' unpublished paper presented WiSER Conference, 'The Townships Now' (Wits) June 2004, pp.1-10

the process of spatial design is seen in a positive manner, beholden to the needs of social reform on the one hand and the market driven economy on the other, whereby architecture is viewed as being somehow capable of improving the quality of the built environment, ‘solving urban problems’ with technical and spatial ‘solutions’, and strangely detached from the most basic social questions of agency, race and identity.²²

Consequently there are central assumptions around ‘design’ - the creation of the spatial imaginary - which persist as a reified creative method, despite well intended attempts to alter this. Uytendogaardt was an influential figure who promoted the centrality of design continuously, often dismissing anything which he did not consider ‘good design’. Under this influence, within the spatial disciplines and the academy in South Africa, design consciousness is still most often relegated to the notions of ‘humanism’ in which values are identified and categorised into stable ‘design informants’ as proposed in the work of Uytendogaardt and in his collaborative writings with David Dewar.²³ Through doing this - or thinking in this way - culture and identity become essentialised as ‘values’, domesticated and easily translated into spatial forms, freeing the designer from messy contact with points of contestation or tension within the built environment they envisioned under apartheid. Significantly, as I have argued previously, in relation to an Exhibition presented at the San Paolo Biennale in 2003, many designers still think using these methods which are still taught in the academy, employing ‘models’ and ‘typologies’ as a means of setting up precedents (stereotypes or categories).²⁴ In the case of Africa these ideas were extended to create spaces of inclusion and exclusion, as ethnographies or in the present through new heritage initiatives – into what is seen or remembered and what is not. Forms of practice reflect these categorisations as designers still work constrained by the labels of established sectors, as commercial architects, domestic architects, community architects and planners and so on.

That this is the context in which practitioners are expected to work presents intractable existential constraints. It is significant that this leaves very little space open for critical practice or for thoroughly problematising practice. This thesis has called for the consideration of alternative methods of practice that might attract less attention alongside the ‘objects’ of form. Borrowing from some of Foucault’s defining insights, these are the modes through which disciplinary knowledge is ‘constructed’ and ‘produced’ and the ways in which these knowledges operate as a

²² Murray, 2004: 3

²³ Murray, N *Structure and Agency; Modern Architecture and Planning a critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer Roelof Uytendogaardt*. PhD thesis in progress, Centre for African Studies, UCT, Introduction, p.9; and Interview 2, 5 June 1992, in Duys, P.M, *Roelof S. Uytendogaardt*, History and Theory Paper in Part fulfilment of B.Arch Degree, University of Cape Town, 1992 p.68

²⁴ Murray, 2004: 3

‘representational systems’.²⁵ Through considering the question of location of practice, the contexts of cultural producers and the environments in which they take place, one can begin to explore these sites of practice with their associated established conventions. All forms of practice can be viewed as having epistemological underpinnings that deal with the business of description and critique; construction and production; and display and representation in the making of space.

Why then has it been interesting to think about Uytendogaardt and his work now? As cited previously, part of the reason is that practice in the spatial disciplines has proceeded confidently post 1994, in some cases almost as if apartheid never happened. Another aspect of the current work has been to challenge the spatial disciplines and especially South African architecture’s reading of itself in relation to apartheid. It holds that the agents of the making of architecture and urban space can never really consider their responsibilities to society in the disciplinary sense of its effects unless there is an acknowledgment of how practices are implicated in the society for which designs are produced. What this study has tried to do is look in detail at the practical and conceptual ways in which spatial practice has taken form. Continuing simply to celebrate spatial design would mean ignoring both the destructive and productive ways in which we engage the landscape of apartheid. Engaging the manifold and multiple ways in which these apartheid pasts created and sustained theory and practice might enable what Stuart Hall has called a ‘thinking at the limit’ as a way of constructing post-apartheid futures for disciplinary practice beyond the dualities of art/science, practice/theory and high art/ vernacular.²⁶

²⁵ Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* 2001: 44-5.

²⁶ Hall, Stuart, 1996, ‘When was the ‘Post-Colonial’? Thinking at the Limit’ in Chambers, Iain and Curtis, Lidia, (eds) *The Post-Colonial Question: Common skies, divided horizons*, Routledge, pp. 242-260

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The main primary source for this study is *The Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt Collection*, BC1264 in UCT Library's Department of Manuscripts and Archives Architectural Collections. The collection comprises the papers of Uytenbogaardt and those of his last partner in practice Norbert Rozendal. (See Appendix: Index file). It is a collection that includes drawings, job files, correspondence, photographs, writings, artworks and miscellanea from his practice and academic involvements. Material in the collection came from his studio in Ellerslie Road in Wynberg; his office and store rooms in the School of Architecture and Planning and a garage at UCT. The collection was retrieved by Lesley Hart and Noëleen Murray and sorted by David Wilson. An associated exhibition from the Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture and Award he received in 1998 was sent to the University of Bloemfontein. Architectural models were unable to be accessioned and have, where possible, been photographed for the collection. A record was kept of his private library and a list was compiled by Jean Nuttall. Lastly some personal papers and artworks were retained by the family.

Other primary sources include material gathered during the initial period of research, variously, photographs of the Wynberg Studio before its unpacked, taken by Derek Japha correspondence with Prof Paul Kotze (UOFS), and interviews with colleagues, collaborators, friends and family. In addition there are records in the University of Cape Town's Administrative Archive of the UPRU Papers and Files contained in the papers from the Registrar's Office. Some limited records are contained in the Cape Institute for Architecture, in their Personal Files for Practitioners. Unexplored archives include those at the British School in Rome and the Kahn Archive in Pennsylvania both of which I was unfortunately unable to visit during this process of this research.

A note on primary material: The material contained in the 'Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt Collection' in the Architectural Collection in the University of Cape Town's Libraries' Department of Manuscripts and Archives has been (and still is) over the period of this research in the process of being sorted. All references are made to the collection BC1264 in the footnotes and exact material can be sourced in the categories listed in the Index Files. It should be noted that some of this may change, in small ways, over time.

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Appendix

ROELOF SAREL UYTENBOGAARDT PAPERS including papers of Norbert Rozendal

Architecural Collections

Collection Number - BC 1264

Department of Manuscripts and Archives

University of Cape Town Libraries

University of Cape Town

BC 1264

ROELOF UYTENBOGAARDT PAPERS

including papers of Norbert Rozendal

presented to

The University of Cape Town Libraries

by

Mrs Mariane Uytendogaardt

A LIST

Compiled by

DAVID WILSON

Edited by Lesley Hart



UCT LIBRARIES

2006

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In this document RSU is an abbreviation of Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt and NR an abbreviation of Norbert Rozendal. B&W denotes Black and White.

BC 1264

ROELOF UYTENBOGAARDT PAPERS

A

PERSONAL PAPERS

A1

Personal Documents

A1.1

Passports and identification documents
Passports of RSU (5)
Photocopy of ID document
International driving permit, 1995.
Letter of authority from Department of Finance, 1994.
Certificate of marriage between RSU and Mariane Meyer, 1957. (Certified copy of the original).
Flight crew member licence for RSU, 1969. Contains 3 photographs: of aeroplanes and RSU.
Licence papers for Citroen motor car, 1994 and 1995.
Logbook for motor car

A1.2

Amsler optical recording charts.
Curriculum vitae of RSU (2 copies).
In envelope with these are:
Letter from Willem Lombard, 31 Aug 1990. ms.
Letter from Joan Aitken, AIA Philadelphia, 31 Oct 1991. ts.
Scholarship drawings for Rome scholarship (photocopies)
List of works by RSU and collaborators

A1.3

Awards and certificates (in tubes)

A1.3.1

Architecture SA Project Awards citation (for Salt River Community Centre, 1988).
ISAA Awards of Merit for:
Belhar Sections 2 & 3, 1985.
Steinkopf Community Hall, 1985.
Community Hall at Belhar, 1987.
University of the Western Cape Sports Stadium, 1987.
The Hout Bay Library, 1991
Springfield Terrace, District Six, 1993.

A1.3.2

Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns:
Erepenning vir Argitektuur (postuum), 1988

A1.3.3

UCT Fellow Certificate, 1998

A2

Personal telephone books (3)

A3

Diaries

(containing a number of doodles and sketches)

A3.1

Pocket diaries
1968, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1985

A3.2

Desk calendar diaries
1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 (also contains RSU UCT staff cards and business cards of others)

A3.3

Diaries

A3.3.1

1990

A3.3.2

1990

A3.3.3	1991
A3.3.4	1991
A3.3.5	1992
A3.3.6	1992
A3.3.7	1993
A3.3.8	1994
A3.3.9	1995
A3.3.10	1996
A3.3.11	1997
A4	Personal financial papers
A4.1	1980s
A4.2	1990s
A4.3	Undated

B STUDENT YEARS

B1 UCT

B1.1 Uytenbogaardt, R S: *A marine biological centre for False Bay*, Jun 1956. (Thesis, ms and ts) (3 b&w photographs included)

B2 Rome Scholarship

Architectural drawings of the Parliament House.
Photocopies (o/s)

B3 University of Pennsylvania, USA

B3.1 Lecture notes, 28 Sep 1959-5 Jan 1960

B3.2 Course notes

B3.2.1 Urban land use and transportation planning, Spring term 1960

B3.2.2 New city four corners, Spring term 1960

B3.2.3 Housing and community facilities, Fall term 1960

B3.2.4 Development and structure of the urban community, Fall term 1960

B3.3 *Planning comment*, vol 1, no 1, Fall 1962. Student journal of the University of Pennsylvania's Dept of City Planning. (contains two loose rough sketches)

B3.4 University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Fine Art: "Comparative course review for the civic design committee," Jan 1966

C CORRESPONDENCE

C1 Correspondence

C1.1 1960s, 1970s

Letters from Mariane Uytenbogaardt to RSU, 1966. (2)
Correspondence with the University of Pennsylvania, 1966-1968.

Letter [draft? sent?] to four friends, "Dennis, Fabio, John

and Stan”, from New York, 9 Mar 1968.

Letter from Registrar, UCT, granting RSU a year’s special leave, in order to undertake a town planning assignment in Johannesburg, 20 Dec 1968.

Letter from the Dean of the College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, thanking RSU for a recommendation. 30 Jan 1969.

Letter from M K Sholes, University of the Witwatersrand, thanking RSU for his agreement to participate in an education symposium, 14 Jul 1969.

Letter from Jack Barnett, congratulating RSU on his recent appointment. 23 Dec 1970.

Request from J G Benfield, Registrar at UCT, for RSU to serve as referee for an applicant for a post at the University. 23 Jun 1970

C1.2

1980s

Personal correspondence. Includes letters or cards from David and Bonnie Crane, Patric de Villiers, Ian Mackaskill, Norbert Rozendal and others.

C1.3

1990s

Personal correspondence.

C1.4

Correspondence on professional matters and re UCT

C1.5

Invitations

C1.6

“General”

Includes correspondence

C1.7

Postcards and greeting cards

C2

From file labeled “Dorman/Rome”

Correspondence concerning RSU’s successful proposal for the Commonwealth’s Rome Scholarship again to be available to young architects from South Africa and re winners of the Scholarship. 1991-1998.

C3

“Pending” File

Includes: Headstart research project proposal for an Urban Centres Project; correspondence re an article on the house at Kommetjie; professional indemnity insurance, 1995; various receipts, 1993-5; correspondence re the Milan Triennale, 1994; and correspondence re Marconi Beam Affordable Housing Programme.

C4

Correspondence

Faxed article on District Six, sent to Norbert Rozendal from Reg Barry. 1 Nov 1992.

Letter from Eckart Demasius to Roelof Uytendogaardt, thanking him for attending Swakopmund Workshop on Urban Development. 1 Dec 1992.

Faxed letter from Jose Forjaz, Maputo, to Norbert

Rozendal. 16 Jun 1994.
Correspondence with Mahomet Mayat re Intersite Johannesburg Urban Design. 3Aug-Sep 1994.
Correspondence with Magret Courtney Clarke, giving information about the firm of Uytenbogaardt & Rozendal. Nov 1994.
List of projects and other work undertaken by the practice. Institute of S A Architects. Client/Architect agreement.

D University of Cape Town

D1 School of Architecture: Course material and syllabi

- D1.1 1964-1966
- D1.2 1967-1969
- D1.3 1979–1997 (City and regional planning; includes course outlines and notes)
- D1.4 Urban design file: course outlines, notes and photocopies of articles. ca.1984
- D1.5 Course handbook for Urban and Regional Planning, 1972

D2 Various

- D2.1 Personal
Motivation in support of presenting the Distinguished Teachers Award to Prof R S Uytenbogaardt. (by Paul Kotze). Also Principal's Circular of 11 December 1995, in which it is noted that the Vice Chancellor has approved this Award.
Pay advice forms for RSU, 1995 (2)
RSU's UCT letterheads
- D2.2 Appointments
Announcements of vacant posts in the School of Architecture, 1966 & 1985.
- D2.3 Other
Report on establishing a valid curriculum for Architecture. Draft, annotated. [by RSU?]
Various documents.

E WRITINGS AND TALKS

- E1
- E1.1 Uytenbogaardt, R S: *Belhar a Housing Project Commissioned by the Divisional Council of Cape Town*. Photocopied from Architecture SA
- E1.2 Uytenbogaardt, R S & D. Dewar: *A structure plan for the greater Marianhill Area Pinetown, Natal*. Photocopied from *Urban Forum* 3:2, 1992 (2 copies)
- E1.3 Uytenbogaardt, R S: *A statement of teaching philosophy*, 1995
- E1.4 Uytenbogaardt, R S: *Public Structuring: An Alternative*

- F6 Desk Contents (8 folders)
(Contents of RSU's desk at the time of his passing: a mixture of professional and personal documents. Some are restricted)
Includes:
Correspondence
Notes and sketches
Curriculum vitae from architects seeking employment.
Articles on architecture
Draft letter in support of an application to the British School in Rome.
South African Council for Architects. Tariff structures, Jul 1997.
Trade brochures
includes file of loose sketches and notes, MS architectural drawings,
Folder of personal financial and medical aid records.
(Restricted).
- F7 Kommetjie
Correspondence re appointment of RSU and Professor David Dewar as consultants to South Peninsula Municipality on Kommetjie development. 1998.
- G FINANCES**
- G1 Personal financial records**
G1.1-G1.2 "Bank statements & cheque stubs"
G1.1 Cash books, recording personal and office expenses. 1979-1981. (2)
G1.2 Analysis book. 1986-1989.
[Cash book stubs discarded. Information is contained in cash books].
- G1.3 Bank statements, credit card slips, etc. 1996-1997
G1.4 Cheque book in wallet, 1994
- G2 Miscellaneous financial records**
Includes invoices, insurance records, travel information.
Mostly personal. 1968-1998 (4 folders)
- G3 Office Accounts: Uytenbogaardt & Rosendal**
G3.1 Invoices. 1990-1994 (2 folders)
G3.2 Invoices. 1995-1997 (1 folder)
- G4 "RSU – VAT"**
Tax certificates regarding value added tax, 1993-1997.
- G5 Accounts, 1990s**
(From lever arch file titled: "RSU C.V., Accounts etc + cellphone + M-tel and MTN)
Mostly insurance records.
- G6 Financial Statements.**
1988-89; 1991
- G7 "Consultants Payed [sic]/ Katz Breskal/ General/ The Olympic Building"**
Correspondence and financial records regarding the

Olympic Bid, 1994; Fisher Hoffmann Sithole, 1997-1998;
Katz Breskal Insurance Brokers, 1997; consultants
paid.1997

H PROJECTS

Dates are approximate.

*Includes projects in which RSU was not principal designer,
but was involved in some way].*

Houses are in H 60

H1 Welkom Dutch Reformed Church, 1964

- H1.1 Various documents.
Includes copy of letter from RSU to the Church Council of
Welkom West (in Afrikaans).
Specification for the electrical installation.
Scale drawing of organ pipes.
- H1.2 "Letters"
Correspondence re project, 1963-1964.
- H1.3 Invoices, 1964-1966
- H1.4 "Pamphlets"
Includes notes, clippings, sketches
- H1.5 "Information"
Includes application for approval of building plans, notes,
tender documents, specifications for the pipe organ
- H1.6 Photocopies of drawings, elevations, etc. 4 photographs of
the interior of the church and 1 of exterior.

H2 Bonwit Factory, 1965

- H2.1 Provisional bills of quantities for proposed new factory for
Bonwit Limited. At Salt River, C.). June 1965.
- H2.2 Photocopies of elevations, drawings, etc.

H3 Cape Town Foreshore, 1966

- H3.1 *Planned development for Roggebaai: an examination of
the Foreshore and proposals for its effective
redevelopment. March 1966. (o/s)*

H4 Goodwood Development Plan, 1966

- H4.1 Goodwood Development Plan: Scheme statement
- H4.2 Goodwood Development Plan: Report
- H4.3 Goodwood Development Plan: Technical appendices
- H4.4 Goodwood Development Plan: Maps
- H4.5 Photocopies of drawings and model

H5 CROWN MINES PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1969)

- (see also T7.3)
- H5. 1 Reports (all oversize)
 - H5.1.1 CMP Major Component Report 1&2, Apr 1969
 - H5.1.2 CMP Landscape planning and design Report, Mar 1971
 - H5.1.3 CMP Terminal Report, Mar 1971
 - H5.1.4 CMP Standards: movement facilities, Mar 1969
 - H5.1.5 Community facilities study, Jan 1969
 - H5.1.6 Comparative study: housing projects, Jan 1969
 - H5.1.7 Comparative study of trees, Mar 1969
 - H5.1.8 Comparative study: dwelling units, Jan 1969
 - H5.2 Miscellaneous
 - H5.2.1 Report accompanying Township application plan for Ormonde Extension no. 1: Crown Mines, Limited. Aug 1970
 - H5.2.2 Map of proposed township
 - H5.2.3 Photographs of model (photocopies); Site plans
 - H5.2.4 Final version motivation report in support of application for proclamation as a township of Ormonde Extension no. 1, Jul 1970 (office copy); Density and land use analysis; Amendment to the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme applicable to the Ormonde Development Area; Legal & Administrative Control Component no. 10.
 - H5.2.5 Application to Townships Board
 - H5.2.6 Outline of report to accompany Application for proclamation of Township 'Ormonde Extension no. 1'.
 - H5.2.7 RSU: Paper on "Open Space"
 - H6 Epping Shops, 1970**
 - H6.1 Various drawings and schedules
 - H7 Glen Alpine, Constantia, 1971**
 - H7.1 Residential Development Project: planning and design proposals: Phase 1 report.
 - H8 UCT Indoor Sports Centre, 1972**
 - H8.1 Report by Shatterprufe Safety Glass Company on solar shadowscape study
 - H8.2 UCT *Sports Administration* (photograph of model of Sports Centre on cover)
 - H8.3 UCT Sports Centre: drawings and elevations (photocopies)
 - H9 Belhar Housing, 1972 & [1978?]**
 - H9.1 "DC Housing: Design Notes". Includes design notes and sketches. Also, information booklet for owners of Chamber of Commerce Group Housing Project at Belhar.
 - H9.2 Draft report on residential development at Belhar; Choice

- process; Issues confronting the design of a dwelling environment of 6000 units at Belhar; outline brief; copy of application for loan for Project 2
- H9.3 Belhar Sections II & IIa: Design report
- H9.4 Belhar Sections 2 & 3: Planning, Urban Design, Architecture (2 copies)
- H9.5 "Issues confronting the design of a dwelling environment of 6000 units at Belhar."
- H9.6 "Material for Belhar publication". Drafts of report on Belhar project.
- H9.7 Photocopies of drawings of township layout.
- H9.8 Belhar CC: housing types drawings (o/s)
- H9.9 Report on work carried out by the UCT Research and Action Planning Group for the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce on the residential development at Belhar.
- H9.10 Copies of drawings of township layout and notes for report on project. (o/s)
- H9.11 Belhar Group Housing CC Report (o/s)
- H10 Garden of Remembrance, Simon's Town, 1973**
- H10.1 Simon's Town - Planning report No 2, Oct 1973
- H10.2 Legends of known Naval and Military graves in the Roman Catholic and Historical sections of the old Naval Cemetery, Seaforth, Simonstown
Trees and shrubs recommended to grow on wind and sandy places, and also on seaside gardens
- H10.2 Photocopies of sections and locality plan
- H11 Dido Valley, Simonstown, 1973**
- H11.1 Study of Dido Valley township: presentation report to client by Uytendogaart, Macaskill & Schneider, Jul 1973.
- H11.2 Simonstown: Dido Valley housing study
- H11.3 Originals of drawings and text used in H11.1 and H11.2
- H11.5 Types of houses
- H12 Werdmuller Centre, 1973**
- (LHC properties – owned by S A Mutual Life Assurance Society)
(See also H63.1)
- H12.1 L.H.C. 2 (presentation report on planned centre)
- H12.2 Feasibility Study for the development of Erven 55840 and 54433 Claremont for L.H.C. Properties Ltd.
- H12.3 Schemes of shops
- H12.4 Copies of section drawings, plan drawings of separate floors, pedestrian movement map, photograph of part of completed Centre.
- H12.5 Ground plans on board (5)(o/s)

- H 13 Runciman Drive, Simonstown, 1974**
- H13.1 Runciman Drive housing study: Various designs and comparative analysis of development costs
- H13.2.1 Runciman Drive Housing Study No 1.(presentation report)
- H13.2.2 Masters of drawings for presentation report.
- H14 Steinkopf Community Centre, 1975**
- H14.1 Presentation report (2 copies; also loose sheets for report). Two photographs of model and one of completed community hall.
- H14.2 Presentation materials for hall and library.
- H14.3 Loose sketches
- H14.4 Loose copies of pages (including drawings) of “original report to A[nglo] A[merican]”
- H15.1 Miscellaneous files
- H15.1.1 Papers, report, sketches, site/context plan, engineer’s drawings
- H15.1.2 Job file, correspondence, specifications for walling
- H15.1.3 Community hall booklet (2 copies.); Library booklet.
- H15.1.4 Library – Quantity Surveyor’s estimate (2 copies)
- H14 .1.5 Steinkopf library . Presentation report, project (1986)”
- H15 Mitchell’s Plain, 1976**
- H15.1 Mitchell’s Plain Section 3 Design report. Bound copy and loose sheets of original
- H15.2 Drafts of Design report. Cutting: “More housing for Mitchell’s Plain planned” .*The Argus*, 1 Dec 1976. Also: Works Committee Agenda. Item on proposed amendment of town planning regulations: parking requirements for commercial development (306/1985/B)
- H16 University of the Western Cape Sports Stadium, 1982-1985**
- H16.1 Correspondence with client (University of the Western Cape), 1981-1987. Includes minutes of briefing meetings, fees, sketches, etc. (3 folders)
- H16.2 Tender document for the construction of athletic track & services for the new Sports Stadium. Oct 1982
- H16.3 Official tender document by Uytenbogaardt & Rozendal, and firms of engineers and quantity surveyors. 1981.
- H16.4 Quantity Surveyors and Consulting Engineers
- H16.4.1 Bills of quantities, Apr 1983.
- H16.4.2 Correspondence with Quantity Surveyor, client, engineers and sub-contractors, etc. Also various certificates and schedules.
- H16.4.2 Quantity surveyor and consulting engineers: Correspondence and financial reports and accounts. 1984-

- 1985.
- H16.4.3 Variations, contractor's instructions
- H16.5 Contractor (Ovcon (Cape) Building (Pty) Ltd
- H16.5.1 Correspondence with contractor. 1983-1986. Also notes and minutes of meetings.
- H16.5.2 Correspondence with contractor. 1983-1985
- H16.5.3 Correspondence: Contractor, etc. Schedule, conditions of contract
- H16.5.4 Confirmation of instructions; contract, insurances, etc.
- H16.5.5 Consultants meetings, 1983-1984
- H16.6 Subcontractors
- H16.6.1 Correspondence with various subcontractors re gates, blinds, windows, seats, etc.
- H16.6.2 Correspondence with contractor and various subcontractors re joinery, carpets, turnstiles, etc
- H16.7 Consulting Engineers: correspondence, 1983-1985. Includes consultants meetings, 1983.
- H16.8 Site meetings, 1983-1984.
- H16.9 Site instructions
- H16.10 Schedules
- H16.11 Project report (2 copies) Also loose sheets (o/s)
- H16.12 Post-contract work
- H16.12.1 Correspondence with client re defects, electronic scoreboard, administration offices. 1986-1988
- H16.12.2 Correspondence, quotations, certificates, etc. 1989-1990
- H16.13 Food facilities at the stadium. Notes, meetings, etc. 1984.
- H16.14 Notes and brochures re various products (duckboard, roofing, all-weather surfaces, etc). Also articles on stadia and checklists of facilities at other sports stadia.
- H16.15 Track layouts. Sketches and drawings.
- H16.16.1 Various notes on scheme, materials and design points.
- H16.16.2 Certificate awarded by the Concrete Society of South Africa for excellence in the use of concrete in the Pavilion: University of the Western Cape Sports Stadium. 24 May 1985.

H17 Loevenstein Offices, phase I, 1982

- H17.1 Presentation books of drawings and sketches of office block for Loevenstein Beleggings. (2)
- H17.2 Minutes of site meetings, notes and correspondence, 1982-1984 (3 folders).

H18 Hout Bay developments, 1983-1985

- H18.1 Hout Bay & Llandudno Town Planning Review Scheme, Jun 1984 (compiled by the Hout Bay and Llandudno Ratepayers Association).
- H18.2 Correspondence and memos re rezoning and exchanges of ownership of two erven for proposed post office in Hout Bay. 1983-1984.

H18.3 Hout Bay Beach Crescent Development Plan: draft report. Aug 1985 (compiled by Engineer's Department, Divisional Council of the Cape and Munnik, Visser, Black, Fish & Partners.

H19 Belhar Community Hall, 1984

- (See also F6.3.3 and F6.3.5)
- H19.1 Quantity Surveyor
Includes correspondence with quantity surveyor, Campbell Anderson, and with Fedtrust; certificates (of completion; release from retention fund; practical completion). 1984-1990
- H19.2 Divisional Council
Includes correspondence with the Western Province Regional Services Council, Condecor, Divisional Council of the Cape, re contract. 1981-1989.
- H19.3 Contractors and sub-contractors
Includes correspondence with contractor, sub-contractors and suppliers; various schedules and minutes. 1985-1989 (2 folders)
- H19.4 Site instructions. Minutes of site meetings; site instructions. 1985.
- H19.5 Correspondence with Van Gysen & Partners, Consulting Engineers. 1984-1985
- H19.6 Presentation book of drawings and sketches; Booklet containing information on Belhar projects (Sections 2 & 3 and Community Hall); Maintenance manual.
- H19.7 Agreement and Schedule of Conditions of Building Contract; Letter of appointment; various notes.
- H19.8 Bills of quantities
- H19.9 Various certificates
- H19.10" Photocopies of sketches for Belhar projects: "Urban Design and Hall
- H19.11 Drawings for telephones and planting

H20 Saint Johannes Heim, Parow. 1984

- H20.1 Competition documents:
Conditions for a limited competition for the design of extensions to St Johannes Heim, Frans Conradie Street, Parow East.
Assessors' report
Plans of existing building
Answers to questions raised about the St Johannes Heim Competition
Dept of Local Government, Housing and Works: Circular minute to local authorities, housing utility companies, welfare organisations, heads of sections and regional offices of the Department on Provision of Housing for Whites: execution of projects in phases as well as

	utilization of vacant accommodation. 2 Mar 1987.
H20.2	St Johannes Heim Competition: Architect's report (2)
H20.3	Quantity Surveyor's Estimate. Apr 1985.
H20.4	Budget quotation for catering equipment; various brochures of equipment
H20.5	<i>Housing Research Review</i> , Newsletter no. 5, 1985. Brochure for Helderberg Village, Somerset West
H25.1.2	Precedent: articles; copies of plans; catalogues, site photographs, correspondence. (two parts, a & b)
H25.1.3	Site drawings and some miscellaneous.
H25.1.4	Correspondence: client, Quantity Surveyor, Engineer, Attorneys, SAIA(CPIA), sub-contract Schedules, minutes.
H25.1.5	Correspondence: client, Fedtrust, Quantity Surveyor, municipality, city engineering, Subcontractor. Copies of council drawings, notes, schedules
H25.1.6	Correspondence: contractor, sub-contractor.
H25.1.7	Correspondence: engineer, sub-contractors, Quantity Surveyor, contractor, client. Original detail drawings. Certificates: valuation for payment, payment, release from retention fund. Schedule: finishes.
H25.1.8	Site Book, snag lists, schedules, details(drawings,) minutes, site Instructions
H25.2	Quantity Surveyors
H25.2.1	Estimation of escalated building cost and professional fees
H25.2.2	St Johannes Heim extensions
H25.2.3	Extensions to St Johannes Heim – Budget Report
H25.2.4	Extensions to St Johannes Heim – Cost Report 1
H25.2.5	Extensions to St Johannes Heim – Cost Report 2
H25.3	St Johannes Heim (sections and elevations, sketches, plans, photocopies and photographs of model, sketch of site?) (o/s)
H25.4	Site plan and other architectural drawings, also correspondence (o/s)
H26	Wits Technikon, 1986
	(competition)
H26.1	Competitor's report and architectural drawings (o/s)
H27	Kuilsrivier, 1986
H27.1	Correspondence, notes and drawings
H28	Uitsig Community Hall, 1986
H28.1	Various files
H28.1.1	Correspondence, Certificates, Tender Forms
H28.1.2	Correspondence, Certificates, Minutes, Schedules
H28.1.3	Correspondence, Certificates, Schedule
H28.1.4	Correspondence, Minutes, Documents, Schedules

H28.1.5	Site Meeting File
H28.2	Quantity surveyor's Bills of Quantities
H29	"The Place" Hout Bay, 1986
H29.1	File containing sketch plans, correspondence, calculations, minutes, literature on advised use & landscape for beach front & harbour, copies of plans from Land Surveyor, correspondence, calculations, copies of flood level determination drawings.
	Steinkopf Library, 1986 – see H14
H30	Hout Bay Library, 1987
H30.1	Various files
H30.1.1	Correspondence, site meeting, some instructions
H30.1.2	Correspondence, certificates, documents, minutes, defect lists, site meetings, miscellaneous papers.
H30.1.3	Site minutes, Drawing issue lists, site visit dates, site meeting book
H30.1.4	Site instructions, copies of engineer's drawings, original detail drawings, info & drawings on furniture.
H30.1.5	"Contract files closed"
H30.1.6	"Contract files closed"
H30.1.7	Correspondence, architectural drawings, etc
H30.2	CPIA and ISAA award submissions (2 of each)
H30.3	"Building Construction Notebook" (o/s) [Compiled by students?] Includes photos and architectural drawings.
H30.4	"Prelim Sketches & draughted drawings": context plan; ground floor plan; elevation; sections. (o/s)
H30.5	"Hout Bay, lib[rary] report, urban design." (o/s) Contains colour photocopies of photographs of interior, report on 4 libraries ISAA and CPIA submission documents and architectural drawings.
H30.6	"HBL report – originals" (o/s) Contains ISAA submission documents and other drawings.
H30.7	Quantity Surveyor's Bills of Quantities
H31	Uluntu, 1987
H31.1	"Uluntu Centre file" Contains photographs, architectural drawings, maps, correspondence etc.
H32	Blackpool (Salt River), 1988
H32.1	Various Files
H32.1.1	Council drawings, working drawings
H32.1.2	Quantity Surveyor, correspondence

- H32.1.3 Specifications & quotes, drawings
- H32.1.4 Financial reports
- H32.1.5 Electrical Engineer, including layout drawings
- H32.1.6 Site instructions
- H32.1.7 Structural Engineer Correspondence
- H32.1.8 Structural Engineer Correspondence
- H32.1.9 Revision sheets, drawing list, programming, client structure, waterproofing. Lease diagram & surveyor's contour plan, Council submission information.
- H32.1.10 Acoustics, insulation, windows, doors, landscaping, boards, parking layout examples, municipal information. Surveyor's diagram etc.
- H32.1.11 Waiver letters, bricks, client brief information, sups, miscellaneous
- H32.2 Quantity Surveyor's Schedule of Quantities
- H32.3 "Salt River Community Centre" Report (original & bound) (o/s)

H33 Hout Bay Developments, 1988

- H33.1 Various Files
- H33.1.1 Concept plan, Fisherman's World, Urban Design Study (includes RSU sketches,) correspondence
- H33.1.2 Engineering drawings
- H33.1.3 Minutes, register of drawings, progress reports, schedule, fax
- H33.1.4 Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, WCRSC, CCP, Sub-Contractors, Contractors.
Also site instructions and detail drawings.
- H33.1.5 Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, sub-contractor, CC properties, Contractor
Also completion list, snag list, progress report, schedules, register of drawings, minutes.
- H33.1.6 Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, sub-contractor. Also payment certificates & instructions.
- H33.1.7 Correspondence: Contractor, Quantity Surveyor, CCP, Engineer, WCRSC, other Also certificate of practical completion, schedules (ironmongery & summary)
- H33.1.8 Correspondence: engineer, sub-contractor, Quantity Surveyor, CCP, WCRSC, Divisional Council of the Cape, land surveyor. Also notes, copies of official documents.
- H33.1.9 Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, sub-contractor. Also agreement & schedule of conditions of building contract, sketches, copies of engineering and council drawings.
- H33.1.10 Correspondence: WCRSC, CCP, Dept of Public Work & land, attorneys. Also development proposals, land surveyor's information.
- H33.1.11 Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, contractors, other.
- H33.1.12 Minutes, Correspondence: attorneys, contractors, Quantity Surveyor, other
- H33.2 Bills of Quantities for Fisherman's World

- H33.2.1 July 1989 (2 Copies)
- H33.2.2 May 1990 (aluminium sliding doors and windows) (2 copies)
- H33.3 "The Passageway" – Final Account
- H33.4 Hout Bay Harbour – Development Proposals
- H33.4.1 Original (o/s)
- H33.4.2 Print (o/s)

H34 Hout Bay Post Office (1988)

- H34.1 Various files
- H34.1.1 Architectural drawings – sets of prints
- H34.1.2 Site notebook, Site instruction
- H34.1.3 Correspondence #1 (also architectural drawings)
- H34.1.4 Correspondence #2 (also architectural drawings)
- H34.1.5 Architectural drawings – prints from file #1
- H34.1.6 Architectural drawings – prints from file #2
- H34.1.7 Contents of job file: engineer, quantity surveyor, site drawings, general
- H34.1.8 Contents of job file: correspondence
- H34.1.9 Contents of job file: minutes, contractor, tenders, site instructions
- H34.1.10 Submission for CPIA award
- H34.2 Quantity Surveyor's Documents
- H34.2.1 Preliminary economic viability analysis
- H34.2.2 Bills of Quantities
- H34.3 Oversize Files
- H34.3.1 "A3 copies Dorman's Shopping Centre"

H35 Loevenstein, phase II, 1989

- H35.1 Files
- H35.1.1 Job file – specifications, minutes, architectural drawing
- H35.1.2 Job file – minutes, certificates, architects instructions. Also correspondence.
- H35.2 Architectural drawings and sketches(o/s)

H36 Durban Museum and Library, 1989 (competition)

- H36.1 Various Files
- H36.1.1 Development options, notes & sketches
- H36.1.2 Phasing investigation, Spatial relationship diagram, Notes & sketches
Preliminary design report, Electrical & mechanical services.
- H36.1.3 Geotechnical investigation, copies of architectural drawings
- H36.1.4 Built form in context – drawings, work schedule, minutes of steering committee, design report.
- H36.1.5 Correspondence, catalogues, cuttings, assessor's design report,

- Programme & cash flow – Evans (Quantity Surveyor)
 Budget estimate stage design report on structure & civil engineering works, April 1990
- H36.1.6 Checklist of library building design considerations
 Check list of building design considerations, catalogues, reports, Literature: *Naisbitt, J & Aburdene, P: Megatrends 2000. Ten new directions for 1990s* (extract)
- H36.1.7 Correspondence, technical consideration document, Watts, B H: *An index guide and planning checklist for library buildings at the UCT*. Draft report on alternative siting in existing buildings
- H36.1.8 Drawing number lists, progress and authors schedules
- H36.1.9 Drawing and work schedules, notes on drawings, original sketches
- H36.1.10 Drawing and work schedules, notes on drawings, original sketches
- H36.1.11 Correspondence: engineer, fire department, mechanical engineer, Quantity Surveyor notes, architectural drawings, issue slips.
- H36.1.12 Copies of architectural drawings: underground parking, workshop parking
- H36.1.13 Copies of architectural drawings: underground parking (continued)
- H36.1.14 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer
- H36.1.15 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer
- H36.1.16 Schedule of issued architectural drawings, engineer drawings (copies), drawing issue slips.
- H36.1.17 Schedule of issued architectural drawings, specifications
- H36.1.18 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer details
- H36.1.19 Project specifications
- H36.1.20 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer's details and plans
- H36.1.21 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer (continued)
- H36.1.22 Copies of architectural drawings: engineer (continued)
- H36.1.23 Copies of architectural drawings: electrical engineer
- H36.1.24 Copies of architectural drawings: electrical engineer
- H36.1.25 Copies of architectural drawings: electrical & engineering
- H36.1.26 Correspondence and architectural drawings: electrical engineer
- H36.1.27 Electrical engineer drawings(copies)
- H36.1.28 Report to city engineer, copies of engineer drawings
- H36.1.29 Copies of engineer drawings, engineer correspondence
- H36.1.30 Copies of engineer drawings, engineer correspondence
 Reports to city engineer re stormwater drainage.
- H36.1.31 Copies of engineer drawings
- H36.1.32 Correspondence and drawings: engineer
- H36.1.33 Copies of engineer drawings, schedule for parking facilities
- H36.1.34 Copies of engineer drawings
- H36.1.35 Copies of engineer drawings

H36.1.36	Mechanical engineer correspondence
H36.1.37	Schedules for finishes, doors & ironmongery
H36.1.38	Schedules for doors, gates & windows
H36.1.39	Schedules for finishes & sanitaryware
H36.1.40	Librarian correspondence
H36.1.41	Librarian correspondence (continued)
H36.1.42	Librarian correspondence (continued)
H36.1.43	Schedule and information for interior requirements, "Outline of Durban Library design," "Lighting environment design, mechanical systems, staff furniture" "Visit to public libraries in Cape Peninsula, 15-16 April 1991"
	Catalogues
H36.1.44	Furniture layout
H36.1.45	Furniture layout (continued)
H36.1.46	Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, City Council Departments Pre-qualification to tender document
H36.1.47	Correspondence: Quantity Surveyor, City Council Departments Notes & minutes
H36.1.48	Correspondence: City Council Departments Minutes
H36.1.49	Correspondence: City Council Departments Invoices
H36.1.50	Catalogues, TV*AE submission re: sound equipment.
H36.1.51	Catalogues and other documents
H36.1.52	Catalogues on copper roofing
H36.1.53	Catalogues
H36.1.54	Fire protection, lighting etc
H36.1.55	Quantity Surveyor, site investigation
H36.1.56	Site plan, option, report etc.
H36.1.57	Quantity Surveyor. Interior fittings.
H36.1.58	Planetarium
H36.1.59	Architectural drawing, meeting records, original competition report.
H36.1.60	Notebook re: meetings, queries, fittings
H36.2	Lever Arch Files
H36.2.1	Electrical & structural (part one)
H36.2.2	Electrical & structural (part two)
H36.2.3	Civil (part one)
H36.2.4	Civil (part two)
H36.2.5	Civil (part three)
H36.2.6	Quantity Surveyor (part one)
H36.2.7	Quantity Surveyor (part two)
H36.2.8	Quantity Surveyor (part three)
H36.2.9	Quantity Surveyors – Queries
H36.2.10	Mechanical
H36.3	Architectural Drawings
H36.3.1	Various drawings

- H36.3.2 Various drawings
- H36.3.3 Various drawings
- H36.3.4 Various drawings
- H36.3.5 Various drawings
- H36.4 Quantity Surveyor's Bills of Quantities
- H36.4.1 Volume 1 of 3
- H36.4.2 Volume 2 of 3
- H36.4.3 Volume 3 of 3
- H36.5 Various Oversized Documents
- H36.5.1 4X5 Negs including colour & 8X10 prints, also architectural plans and diagrams.
- H36.5.2 Architectural plans and drawings, includes photographs of model.
- H36.5.3 Architectural perspectives, cross sections and plans.
- H36.5.4 Photographs of model, architectural plans and elevations, etc.
- H36.5.5 Report, elevations, plans, sections and photograph of model.
- H36.5.6 Final stormwater drainage report to City Engineer.
- H36.5.7 Certificate of Award of First Place for the Durban Library and Museum design competition – to Uytendogaardt and Rozendal (out of 48 entries.)

H37 UWC Sports Centre – Proposed, 1989

- H37.1 Various documents
- H37.1.1 "Briefing Stage – report 1A" (2 Copies)
- H37.1.2 "Briefing Report" – sections A & B
- H37.1.3 "Proposed new Sports Centre and Physical Education Buildings University of the Western Cape" – report and design proposals.(o/s)
- H37.1.4 "UWC Sport: Planning Study" – Brief(o/s)
- H37.1.5 UWC Indoor sports halls – plans
Also notes, MSS with sketches and TSS (o/s)
- H37.1.6 "UWC Indoor Sports Hall" – envelope with some of same documents as H37.1.5(o/s)
- H37.1.7 "UWC – Indoor sports centre: report" – envelope (o/s)
- H37.1.8 2 architectural drawings (o/s)
- H37.2 Quantity Surveyor's Documents
- H37.2.1 Report No 1.
- H37.2.2 Report No 2.
- H37.2.3 Estimate No 1.

H38 Sea Fisheries Research Institute, 1989

- H38.1 Proposal (2 Copies) (o/s)

H39 District 6 – Technikon Proposal, 1989

- H39.1 Report prepared for the headstart foundation (o/s)

- H40 Mariannahill, Durban, 1989**
- H40.1 “Open space design for the greater Mariannahill structure plan” – study report
Rivett-Carnac J.L.: *Integrated energy planning: a study of the Mariannahill area*,
1989 (study report)
- H40.2 Geotechnical Maps, Engineering Report.
- H40.3 Synopsis of geotechnical assessment, open space systems maps, conceptual sketches, (illustrative site plan, Mariannahill?)
- H41 Ulugh Beg Cultural Centre, Samarkand, Uzbekistan, 1990**
Competition
- (Competition documents)
- H42 Mariner’s Wharf, Hout Bay, 1990**
- H42.1 Various Files
- H42.1.1 Correspondence, particularly with Quantity Surveyor, also horticultural.
- H42.1.2 Correspondence, with Quantity Surveyor and contractor.
- H42.1.3 Subcontractor, design meeting, correspondence with client.
- H42.1.4 Ray Killian interiors, engineer – HMG, W.C. regional service council, land surveyors, general, minutes
- H42.1.5 Minutes (cont.)
- H42.1.6 Site instructions, various details, program.
- H42.1.7 Engineer drawings – copies.
- H42.1.8 Engineer drawings – copies (cont)
- H42.1.9 Engineer drawings – copies (cont,)
Ray Killian drawings - copies
- H42.1.10 Notebook with sketches.
Quantity Surveyors - Final Account
Correspondence, Quantity Surveyor.
- H43 Kirstenbosch, 1991**
- H43.1 “Submission to the National Botanical Institute re development at Kirstenbosch National Botanical Garden” (2 Copies)
- H44 Springfield Terrace, District Six, 1992**
(See also H63.2)
- H44.1 Documents for submission for ISAA and CPIA awards.
- H44.2 Oversize Documents
- H44.2.1 Plans and elevations, urban context – spine structure.

- H44.2.2 Loose documents from report, rough sketches, development fabric.
- H45 Swakopmund Developments**
- H45.1 Report to the Transnamib Board on Swakopmund and related proposals by D Uys and R S Uytenbogaardt. Also fax of workshop agenda.
- H46 Gleniqua, Garden Route, 1993**
- H46.1 “Gleniqua – a visual study”
- H47 Border Hotel, Pacaltsdorp, 1993**
- H47.1 Report documents, plans and elevations. (o/s)
- H48 Marconi Beam, Milnerton, 1994**
- H48.1 “A concept plan for the development of Marconi Beam” - Report
- H48.2 Report of planning proposals (original and 2 copies) Also a few architectural drawings.
- H49 The National Museum of Korea, 1994. Competition**
- H49.1 Competition – explanatory text
- H49.2 Competition regulations, Architecture program.
- H49.2.1 First stage answers to questions & changes
- H49.2.2 Graphic Documents Booklet (2 copies)
- H49.2.3
- H50 Hartleyvale Sports Complex, 1994**
- H50.1 Feasibility study consultant documents, mostly correspondence.
- H51 Glenwood, Pietermaritzburg, 1994**
- H51.1 “A conceptual plan for Glenwood 2, Pietermaritzburg Area.” – report (also fax including report)
- H52 Park City, Johannesburg, 1994**
(See also H 53)
- H52.1 Various documents
- H52.1.1 Study planning appointment, program of work, correspondence and other.
- H52.1.2 Costs, travel agency documents, bank documents, project documents.
- H52.2 Oversize documents

- H52.2.1 Johannesburg – Inner City Plan, rough sketches, “final drawings,” “Work in progress,” drawings and sketches, report on Tirisano village, drawings, sketches and diagrams (o/s)
- H52.2.2 “Park City – district development framework” - report(o/s) (Muhammad Mayet Architects)
- H53 Olympic Bid, 1996**
(See also F6.3.4 (Environmental Assessment,) G10 (Financial Documents) and H 53)
- H53.1 Various files
- H53.1.1 From “Olympic Bid” lever arch file.
- H53.1.2 Belhar, Culemborg, confidential report, other documents, correspondence.
- H53.1.3 Olympic Candidature Booklet, Culemborg,
- H53.1.4 Culemborg, appointment of architect documents, Belhar and other documents.
- H53.1.5 Culemborg, overview of Olympic proposal, Phillippi site, Belhar and other documents.
- H53.1.6 Manual for Olympic candidate cities, Barcelona Olympic venues, Maps of Culemborg and surrounding areas.
- H53.1.7 2000 Olympics enquiry commission report; vision for Culemborg.
- H53.2
- H53.2.1 Culemborg, Wingfield, Belhar – various planning documents. With maps and drawings. (o/s)
- H53.2.2 Olympic Hall – Belhar (o/s)
- H53.2.3 Sydney’s Olympics
- H53.2.4 Barcelona Olympic buildings
- H53.2.5 Culemborg – urban design framework
- H53.2.6 Belhar Sports Hall – joinery packages (o/s)
- H53.2.7 Culemborg/General (o/s)
- H53.2.8 Maps of Olympic corridor and Olympic Venues (o/s)
- H54 Urban Design File: Park City, Olympic Bid, Luderitz**
- H54.1 From RSU’s indexed lever arch file.
- H54.1.1 Olympic bid.
- H54.1.2 Park city, Culemborg.
- H54.1.3 Olympics bid, Luderitz.
- H55 Kliptown, 1996**
- H55.1 Upgrade and development framework, framework process, urban context maps, other development documents, preliminary status quo overview, urban design of Kliptown.
- H55.2 Urban maps and design proposals.
- H56 Catholic University, Zimbabwe, 1996. (Competition – RSU juror)**

H56.1	Competition information, jury's report.
H56.2	Jonathan Atkinson's winning design.
H57	Lüderitz, 1996 (See also H 53)
H57.1	Various files
H57.1.1	Correspondence, planning and urban design, traffic and pedestrian .Impact study, Lüderitzbucht brochure.
H57.1.2	Miscellaneous drawings, vendor's guide, invoices, minutes, feasibility study.
H57.2	"Feasibility study to assess the viability of a waterfront development for Port of Lüderitz" - Report
H57.3	"Lüderitz and its environs – conservation study"
H58	Constitutional Court, Johannesburg, 1997 (Competition)
H58.1	Competition – Brief and conditions
H59	Goodwood Primary School (n.d.) (believed to be an RSU project) (see also J4.24) A few architectural drawings
H60	Houses
H60.1	House Wilson, 1980 (2 copies)
H60.2	House van der Merwe, 1981
H60.3	House Davies, 1989–1993 (see also H60.7.3 and T7.1)
H60.3.1	Minutes, correspondence, schedules, copies of plans
H60.3.2	Correspondence, certificates, schedule, documents
H60.3.3	Original drawing, correspondence
H60.3.4	Minutes, correspondence, completion list, copies of some drawings, list of outstanding work, original detail drawings
H60.3.5	Copies of council drawings, copies of engineer drawings
H60.3.6	Site information
H60.3.7	Copies of engineering drawings, copies of working drawings
H60.3.8	Copies of working drawings
H60.3.9	Correspondence
H60.3.10	Building agreement
H60.4	House Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie, 1990-1993 (see also G5 (accounts,) H60.7.4 and H63.2)
H60.4.1	Invoices, literature, calculations, correspondence, drawing issue slips, catalogue, advertisement
H60.4.2	Erf diagrams, specifications, correspondence, temporary structure permit, invoices, sketch plans etc etc
H60.4.3	Drawings – details, copies of engineering drawings, copies

- of Construction drawings, CPIA and ISAA submissions
- H60.4.4 Site plans
- H60.4.5 House Uytendogaardt, Kommetjie
- H60.5 House Meyer, 1992-1993
- H60.5.1 Official documents, land surveyor's information, quotes and invoices, copies of working drawings, copies of engineering drawings etc
- H60.5.2 Minutes, correspondence, working drawings, financial management, official documents, schedule, land surveyor's information
- H60.5.3 Correspondence, official documents, notes, copies of working drawings, financial management, building agreement
- H60.6 House Kedzierski (n.d.)
Different plans for possible design (o/s).
(see also H60.7.2)
- H60.7 Various (oversize)
- H60.7.1 Uytendogaardt – Seaforth, Melinni – Clifton, De Wet – Caledon
- H60.7.2 3 courtyard cluster, Dewar Pool, Kuilsriver, Kedzierski, Bishopscourt, Snyman, Bath houses, Kruger
- H60.7.3 Van Jaarsveld, Davies
- H60.7.4 Kommetjie, Tower, Colussi, 7 Ellerslie Road
- H61 Book of Projects – profile of many RSU(& NR) projects by Sophia Gray**
- Includes: sketches, photographs, models, plans, sections & elevations.
- H62 Architecture, Urban Design, Planning – Exhibition**
- Includes Belhar, graphics, Simonstown graveyard, Welkom & invitation card (o/s)
- H63 Mixed projects files**
- H63.1 Garden of Remembrance, Simonstown and Werdmuller Centre
(Award of merit submission)
- H63.2 "CPIA awards of merit: Springfield Terrace, Kommetjie – 1993" (o/s)
- H63.3 Plans and elevations of different RSU projects, also NR's Pietermaritzburg Cathedral
- Competitions**
- H64 Pahlavi National Library, Iran, 1977**
- H64.1 Competition documents
- H64.1.1 Architectural Program document
- H64.1.2 Competitor documents. Include: site plan; staff structure; map of Tehran, confidential entrance documents and Iranian architecture supplement

H65	Islamic cultural centre, Madrid, Spain, 1980
H65.1	Various documents, including correspondence, competition documents
H65.2	Loose architectural sketches (o/s)
H67	Paris Opera, 1983
H67.1	Competition documents
H67.2	Architectural maps of site, competition documents
H68	Cape Village, Noordhoek, 1981 (Application for subdivision)
J	PHOTOGRAPHS (Slides are for the most part in separate slide boxes) (Some photographs in E1 and Projects(H))
J1	Personal (See also F6.3.2)
J1.1	Black & white prints & negatives
J1.1.1	Portraits of RSU, family
J1.1.2	Personal/ family, studio, Argus cycle tour, aviation
J1.2	Colour prints and negatives
J1.2.1	Personal, portraits of RSU, Werdmuller model, RSU at squatter camp
J1.2.2	Personal, studio, architectural interest, portraits, old vehicles, RSU & NR
J1.2.3	House/garden/studio, portrait of RSU
J1.3	Miscellaneous Includes photos of RSU and others: at UCT in his student and academic years; in a studio; with associates in comic pose; on an airstrip, self portrait?; at an informal gathering with NR.
J1.4	Slides (in boxes)
J1.4.1	RSU's wedding, children and other
J1.4.2	RSU personal, family, travel
J2	Travel
J2.1	Various prints and negatives
J2.1.1	Architectural interest on local and international travels
J2.1.2	Chicago, Europe
J2.1.3	Rome
J2.2	Slides (in boxes)
J2.2.1	Italy, Switzerland
J2.2.2	Switzerland
J2.2.3	Britain, N Italy
J2.2.4	Britain

J2.2.5	Italy, Britain
J2.2.6	Italy, Switzerland
J2.2.7	Italy, Switzerland
J2.2.8	Italy, Britain
J2.2.9	Italy
J2.2.10	Italy
J2.2.11	Scotland, Glasgow
J2.2.12	Namibia
J2.2.13	Zambia, Europe (in archive folder)
J2.2.14	Europe, mostly Scandinavia
J2.2.15	Italy? – aerial photographs
J2.2.16	Italy? – aerial and other

J3

Architectural interest

(Includes some NR projects, see P for more on NR)

(See also F6.3.2)

J3.1	Black & white prints & negatives
J3.1.1	“Student Work 1962” also newspaper articles.
J3.1.2	Various structures: interiors, exteriors, models and plans. Some personal.
J3.1.3	Models of buildings on hills, possibly Marianhill? (see also photographs with project files)
J3.1.4	Urban enclosed garden, surrounded by attached houses. [U.K?]
J3.1.5	Plans, sections, photographs – negatives (2 boxes A&B, in slide box)
J3.2	Colour prints and negatives
J3.2.1	Coetzenberg, Stellenbosch
J3.2.2	Travel research on Libraries
J3.2.3	Travel research on Libraries
J3.2.4	Travel research on Libraries
J3.2.5	Unidentified buildings, Cape Town?
J3.2.6	Unidentified Spanish(?) building
J3.3	Slides
J3.3.1	Media for history lecture slides (in file holder)
J3.3.2	Pietermaritzburg (7 boxes)
J3.3.3	Europe (boxes)
J3.3.4	Le Corbusier, Europe, Scandinavia (boxes)
J3.3.5	India (boxes)
J3.3.6	General (includes NR personal) (2 boxes)
J3.3.7	France and other? (box)
J3.3.8	La Tourette (2 boxes, A and B)
J3.3.9	Europe – various (box)
J3.3.10	Rietveld House (box)
J3.3.11	Le Corbusier apartment, also Paris (box)
J3.3.12	Simonstown, some personal
J3.3.13	France, Ireland
J3.3.14	“Pedestrians in City” (lecture slides in box)
J3.3.15	“Computer Centre” (two boxes, A and B)
J3.3.16	Genadendal/ Villiersdorp
J3.3.17	Shanty Town

- J3.3.18 Various, including "Owl House"
- J3.3.19 Architectural drawings – Wolfsburg Cultural Centre and other including slide titled "UCT Sports Centre materials 6, R. Standish –White/ paints, door, mullions"
- J3.3.20 [France?] (3 sheets of slides in slide box)
- J3.3.21 St Paul's Cathedral, Blantyre, Malawi
- J3.3.22 India
- J3.3.23 Italy
- J3.3.24 Wellington, Western Cape (1982)
- J3.3.25 Gaudi – various structures (2 boxes A&B&C) (may contain other material)
- J3.3.26 Johannesburg project? and other, Paris.
- J3.3.27 Europe – Spain/France
- J3.3.28 Marianhill
- J3.3.29 India
- J3.3.30 Madagascar (2 boxes A&B)

J4

PROJECTS

(See B1.1 for RSU thesis photos)

- J4.1 Kitwe
- J4.1.1 B&W photos (o/s)
- J4.1.2 B&W negatives and prints (in paper wallet in slide box)
- J4.2 Welkom Church (see also 4.32.3)
- J4.2.1 Construction and completion photos, exterior and interior, (B&W prints and negatives.)
- J4.2.2 Model, interior sketches, plan, construction and completion, (B&W prints and negatives. Also colour print of bell tower and cutting.)
- J4.2.3 Model, interior sketch (B&W mounted prints)
- J4.2.4 Model - (slides) (2 boxes)
- J4.2.5 Completed interior and exterior (slides in file)
- J4.2.6 "Welkom & Paris" (slides in box)
- J4.2.7 Completed – (slides in box)
- J4.2.8 21 Black and white prints (o/s)
- J4.3 Bonwit Factory (See also J4.9.5)
- J4.3.1 Model, construction, completion (B&W and colour prints; negatives.)
- J4.3.2 Model (B&W mounted prints)
- J4.4 CMP Ormonde
- J4.5 UCT Sports Centre
- J4.5.1 Negatives of plans and elevation
- J4.5.2 Completed – B&W and colour (prints and negatives)
- J4.5.3 Model, Completed interior and exterior (slides in file) (see also H9.3)
- J4.5.4 Model, plans and elevations, photos of site (slides in boxes)
- J4.5.5 Model, plans and elevations (slides in boxes)
- J4.5.6 Colour slides in boxes
- J4.6 Garden of Remembrance – Simonstown (See also J4.13.1)

- J4.6.1 Negative of plan of Garden and Cemetery, also of village and Bay
- J4.6.2 Simonstown, Garden of Remembrance, model (B&W and colour prints and negatives)
- J4.6.3 Simonstown, Garden of Remembrance (B&W and colour prints and negatives)
- J4.6.4 Garden of Remembrance, Simonstown (1 file slides)
- J4.6.5 "Simonstown Cemetery" (1 box slides)
- J4.7 Belhar Housing (see also J4.8.1 & J4.9.4)
- J4.7.1 House details, houses, streets (Colour and B&W prints and B&W negatives)
- J4.7.2 Aerial shots, site plans, housing units, urban court yards, inhabitants, models (slides in file; includes photos of Belhar hall). Also negatives of plans in perspective
- J4.7.3 Completed units [?] and local people (1 box slides)
- J4.7.4 Architectural drawings of units (1 box slides)
- J4.7.5 Architectural units, site plans etc. (1 box slides)
- J4.7.7 Layout of township (1 box slides)
- J4.8 Steinkopf Community Centre & Library
- J4.8.1 Completed Centre (B&W negatives and contact) (also Belhar housing)
- J4.8.2 Completed Centre, interior, exterior (colour and B&W prints). Library model (B&W negatives)
- J4.8.3 Models, completed exterior and interior of centre, drawing (slides in file)
- J4.8.4 House Doris, Steinkopf (1 file slides)
- J4.8.5 Models, view of street (1 box slides)
- J4.8.6 Interior and exterior with people, drawings and [Belhar?] (1 box slides)
- J4.9 Werdmuller Centre
- J4.9.1 Model, completed (B&W prints and colour negatives)
- J4.9.2 Old site, model, construction, completed (B&W prints and negatives)
- J4.9.3 Detail of completed structure (mounted B&W print) (o/s)
- J4.9.4 Completed building, personal, mountains with snow, Belhar plan (1 box slides)
- J4.9.5 Completed building, model, plan, Bonwit factory (1 box slides)
- J4.9.6 Model (o/s)
- J4.10 Mitchell's Plain
- J4.10.1 Plans(negatives and positives) of urban areas, negatives of housing elevations, photograph of plan
- J4.10.2 Models (B&W prints and negatives)
- J4.11 UWC Sports Stadium
- J4.11.1 Various sports stadiums (colour prints)
- J4.11.2 Model, construction, completion (Colour and B&W prints)
- J4.11.3 Construction, completed, users (Colour prints)
- J4.11.4 Construction (Colour prints)
- J4.11.5 Construction (Colour prints)
- J4.11.6 Construction (Colour prints)
- J4.11.7 Construction, completion (Colour prints)

- J4.11.8 Construction (Colour prints)
- J4.11.9 Construction faults, completed, users (Colour prints)
- J4.11.10 1983 – 1987, (negatives of J4.10 prints)
- J4.11.11 1984, completed, (interior and exterior slides in file)
- J4.11.12 Designer chairs (Colour prints)
- J4.12 Belhar Community Hall (also J.4.7.2, J4.20.2 and J5.7)
- J4.12. 1 Belhar houses around Hall? Partial views of Hall (B&W contacts, negatives and prints.)
- J4.12.2 Construction, completion (Colour prints)
- J4.12.3 Construction (Colour prints and negatives)
- J4.12.4 Construction, completed (Colour prints and negatives)
- J4.12.5 Construction, completed (Colour prints and negatives)
- J4.12.6 Completed (1 file colour slides)
- J4.12.7 Completed (1 file colour slides)
- J4.12.8 loose unmounted slides in slide sheet (in slide box)
- J4.13 Loevenstein
- J4.13.1 Construction, completed (Colour prints and negatives, 1 B&W contact sheet. Also colour negatives of UWC, Simonstown Garden of Remembrance, Hout Bay Library, House Meyer, unknown work.)
- J4.14 Early Hout Bay Developments [1970?] (see also H33.1.1) Hout Bay general context”
- J4.15 St Johannesburg
- J4.15.1 Model (also Salt River?) (B&W negatives and contacts)
- J4.15.2 Model (B&W prints)
- J4.15.3 Model, construction, NR and another (Colour prints)
- J4.16 Hout Bay Library (also J4.13.1, J4.28.1 and J4.28.2)
- J4.16.1 Completed, interior, exterior (B&W and Colour negatives). Also shows Hout Bay Library and Steinkopf
- J4.16.2 Construction, model, completed – Colour prints and negatives
- J4.16.3 Completed, interior, exterior – Colour prints and negatives
- J4.16.4 Completed, interior, exterior –slides in file
- J4.16.5 Completed, interior, exterior –slides in file
- J4.16.6 Drawings, plans and artist’s impressions (1 box slides)
- J4.16.7 A photographic essay by James Ingerfeld
- J4.17 Blackpool Community Centre, Salt River
- J4.17.1 Model, construction, context, completed (colour prints and negatives)
- J4.17.2 Model, construction, completed (1 file slides)
- J4.17.3 Completed, interior, exterior, users (colour prints) Model (B&W contact sheet, negatives, 1 file slides)
- J4.17.4 Model (1 box slides)
- J4.18 Benno Housing
- J4.18.1 Construction, completed (colour prints)
- J4.19 Post Office, Hout Bay
- J4.19.1 Construction, completed (colour prints and negatives)
- J4.19.2 Completed, also plans, elevations etc (1 file slides)
- J4.20 Hout Bay developments
- J4.20.1 Shopping Centre parking area (colour prints and negatives)

- J4.20.2 Republic of Hout Bay festival (colour prints and negatives)
(Belhar Community Hall also on negatives)
Site meeting for shopping centre, NR and others
- J4.21 Durban Library and Museum
- J4.21.1 Urban context, Durban (colour prints and negatives)
- J4.21.2 Model (1 file slides)
- J4.21.3 Site photos (1 box slides)
- J4.21.4 loose slides (drawings, model & other in slide box)
- J4.21.5 Slides in slide sheets (architectural drawings in slide box)
- J4.21.6 Aerial view of Durban (o/s)
- J4.22 Springfield Terrace
- J4.22.1 Completed (colour prints and negatives, B&W negatives)
(House Dewar also on negatives)
- J4.22.2 Completed (colour slides in file)
- J4.23 National Museum of Korea (Colour slides in file)
- J4.24 Glenwood, Pietermaritzburg
- J4.24.1 Site photos (colour prints and negatives)
- J4.25 Lüderitz
- J4.25.1 Context (colour prints and negatives) (House
Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie also on negatives)
- J4.26 Goodwood Primary School (Architect RSU?, n.d.)
- J4.26.1 B&W photographs of model
- J4.26.2 1 box slides in box, includes unidentified project
- J4.26.3 1 box slides of model
- J4.27 Houses
- J4.27.1 House? Belville
- J4.27.2 House Dewar (also J4.22.1)
- J4.27.3 House van Jaarsveld
- J4.27.4 House Meyer/ Negatives – Loevenstein (also J4.13.1 and
J4.28.2)
- J4.27.5 House Kruger
- J4.27.6 Paarl/Stellenbosch ? House – model
- J4.27.7 House Fresen
- J4.27.8 House Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie (also F6.3.2, J4.25.1
and J4.28.1)
- J4.27.9 House Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie (1 box slides)
- J4.27.10 House Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie (1 file slides)
- J4.27.11 House Uytenbogaardt, Kommetjie (colour negatives in
slide box)
- J4.27.12 House Uytenbogaardt, Seaforth
- J4.28 Box file of Photographs
- J4.28.1 Part 1 of file
Includes: Hout Bay Library; House Uytenbogaardt,
Kommetjie; large slides of different prepared foods;
unidentified projects – models and drawings ; Blackpool
Sports Complex; Personal; Travels; Human Interest
(colour prints and negatives, B&W negatives)
- J4.28.2 Part 2 of file. Includes: Hout Bay library; Blackpool
Sports Hall; House Meyer?; American libraries?; Various
projects – photos and drawings ; Travels; (colour prints,
slides and negatives, B&W negatives, contacts and print)

- (historical B&W print of Kalk Bay harbour)
- J4.29 "Title Blocks" for exhibition of RSU projects, (slides of lettering for each exhibit), (also Seymour Rd?)
- J4.30 "Media for Lecture slides" (in folder)
Includes Belhar, Salt River, Simonstown Garden of Remembrance,
architectural drawings and sketches of other.
- J4.31 "Exhibition - Installation at South African National Gallery: people at opening night; work on display" (Colour prints)
- J4.32 Miscellaneous
- J4.32.1 Includes: Greenmarket Square; Building in Zimbabwe?
Other Architectural Interest; Cape Landscapes
- J4.32.2 Unidentified subjects – plans, photos. Also negative of plan of Stellenbosch (partial.) Also Belhar and UWC stadium completed.
- J4.32.3 Welkom and other, unidentified, some sketches. (slides in box)
- J4.32.4 Miscellaneous Projects, including St Johannesheim, Wits Technikon, Bonwit, Spanish Competition etc and a few personal. (slides in box)
- J4.32.5 "Cat and Bat" restaurant and other? (slides in boxes)

J5 Miscellaneous

- J5.1 Cape Town (slides in boxes)
- J5.1.1 Cape Peninsula from the air
- J5.1.2 Cape Town and Peninsula from the air
- J5.1.3 Cape Town Harbour and studies of Moths
- J5.2 Dried flowers and sheet music, flowers, feathers, brass items and personal (1 box slides)
- J5.3 2 landscapes (1 box slides)
- J5.4 Docks and abstract photographs (B&W negatives in slide box)
- J5.4.1 Abstract, docks, urban areas, portrait of local person (Cape Town?)
- J5.4.2 Dockyards, Cape
- J5.5 File of miscellaneous slides, negatives and prints.
Includes: Namaqualand flowers, travels in South Africa, personal, UWC Sports Stadium, Belhar Community Hall, architectural interest, model of project, cat, European travels (including Venice)
- J5.6 Oversize Box. Includes colour and black and white prints and negatives (particularly of architectural plans,) satellite images and slides.
Includes items on Sun Valley, Cape Town? (satellite images), Pietermaritzburg Cathedral – NR project, UWC – Jack Barnett project, Durban Museum and Library, Werdmuller Centre, Steinkopf, Belhar Hall, Hout Bay, Saint Johannesheim, Bonwit factory, Crown Mines, Noordhoek shopping complex, Cape and also unidentified items. Also folder with pressed flowers, sheet music and stencils.

J5.7 3 slides, SA country road, European lodge, Belhar Community Hall?

K ARTWORKS

K1 Artworks

K1.1 Student Years – colour photographs of drawings and watercolours by RSU with correspondence from collector, J Lightfoot.

K1.2 Miscellaneous Sketches

K1.2.1 Various, including buildings, a portrait and landscapes

K1.2.2 Sketches, including city skyline, sculpture, house, pig, landscape, sculpture(o/s)

K1.2.3 Pen and ink drawings of house and landscape features (3 O/S)

K1.2.4 Cape Landscapes? – photocopies of pen and ink drawings(o/s). (See also C1.3 for sketch of Arniston by friend)

K1.3 Etchings by Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778) – “Ten views of Rome” (o/s)

K1.4 Photograph of section of “Fiori” by Ennio Morlotti (1959) (o/s)

L CUTTINGS

L1 Articles by RSU

Includes: “Thesis” – UCT Architecture School Magazine, 1956

“Some issues on urbanism” – ISAA/ ASA Quantity Surveyor Congress Report, 1977

“Le Corbusier as urban planner,” (with notes, MSS) – Architecture SA, 1988

L2 Articles on RSU

Includes

Marine Biological Centre, Kitwe, RSU - student RSU Rome Scholarship – winning design of a Parliament House, 1957

“Distinction for Cape Town Architect” (RSU at Pennsylvania) c.1961

“Design for living” (interview with RSU,) 1985

“Cape Institute Awards Medal”

L3 Articles on RSU projects

Includes:

Marine Biological Centre, 1957

“Hier staan Welkom-Wes se N.G. Kerk” Huisgenoot, 1967

'N.G. Kerk, Welkom, O.V.S," 1969
 "Wart on the face of beauty?" – UCT Sports Centre
 Werdmuller Centre (o/s)
 "Belhar project wins award," (community hall) c.1981
 "Setting a trend," (UWC stadium roof) c. 1981
 "Major expansion for UWC," c.1981
 "UWK se stadion byna voltooi," c.1981
 "Architecture award won by Hout Bay Library," c.1990 and
 other articles. (See H36.1.5 – Durban Library and Museum
 cutting)

L4 Architectural Interest

L4.1 Various, includes: Alexander C: *A city is not a tree*, c.1965
 (2 Copies)
 Meisenheimer W: *The discipline of the Horizontal Line in
 African-Islamic Town Planning*, 1991.

L4.2 Various
 Includes:
 "House, McKerrel, Kitwe"
 "Residence RMS Hollywood, California," 1991
 "St Thomas Aquinas," (award-winning church) 1991"
 "Cape Town ignores abyss and gazes at Mountain," 1992

L5 Miscellaneous

Includes:
 Articles on Buckminster Fuller, the environment, anarchism
 and ecology,
 2 Argus posters and pictures of Le Corbusier chapel and
 Gaudi details

M TRAVELS

M1 France

Includes: postcards, maps.

M2 Greece

Includes: brochure, tickets, maps.

M3 Italy, Amsterdam, Luxembourg, London, Spain, Other

Includes: postcards, maps.

M4 1991 Trip to UK and USA

M4.1 Various documents including itinerary, correspondence,
 notes–
 architectural interest.

M4.2 Receipts, tickets, International Driving Permit.

M5 Travel Wallets

Containing: Tickets, International Driving Permits, diary
 pages, brochures, receipts, postcards

M6 Blue Train

Contains unopened pack of cards and a brochure.

M7 Miscellaneous

Includes luggage tags, Avis documents, itinerary for Europe, brochure, ticket, notes

N

HOBBIES

N1

Aviation

(See also A1.1)

- N1.1 "Aviation" File.
- N1.1.1 first part of file
- N1.1.2 second part of file
- N1.2 Various documents
- N1.3 Documents and Instruments
- N1.4 Various documents and flight plans
- N1.5 Radio Telephony File
- N1.6 SA Aviation Rules and Regulation Documents

N2

Cycling and Motor Cycling

P

NORBERT ROZENDAL

P1

Documents

- P1.1 Pietermaritzburg Cathedral
- P1.1.1 File titled "NR personal notes"
- P1.1.2 File titled "NR personal"
- P1.1.3 File titled "Competition Documents"
- P1.1.4 Envelopes titled "Reduction of Plans" and "Litho's PMB Cathedral"
- P1.1.5 Newspaper with article on NR's Pietermaritzburg Cathedral
- P1.1.6 Various documents: re drawings; some correspondence etc.
- P1.1.7 Various documents: re Urban Pietermaritzburg; notes and sketches etc.
- P1.1.8 Various documents: notes, sketches and diagrams, photograph of construction in progress.
- P1.1.9 Acoustics Report
- P1.1.10 Booklet on completed Cathedral
- P1.1.11 Booklets on Cathedral and Cathedral services
- P1.1.12 "Norbert's Church" – architectural drawings (o/s) (See also F6.3.3 and H63.3)
- P1.2 Deed of Trust for the development of Vlakfontein Village, 1994

P2

Practice

- P2.1 "Professional/ Practice matters" File
 - Includes Correspondence and Professional Indemnity Insurance documents
 - P2.1.1 Part one of file
 - P2.1.2 Part two of file
- P2.2 Computers
 - P2.2.1 Part one of box file
 - P2.2.2 Part two of box file

P2.2.3	Digitron documents
P2.3	Miscellaneous
P2.3.1	NR letterheads
P2.3.2	Cavendish Square, Woodstock – urban plans
P3	Letters of Condolence & NR's Funeral Service
P4	Items from India Including photo of the Ganges
P5	Photographs
P5.1	Pietermaritzburg Cathedral
P5.1.1	Model, drawings and other, including human interest. B&W negatives and a contact print
P5.1.2	Under construction, St Peter's interior and other – B&W prints and negatives, colour prints
P5.1.3	6 boxes of slides – marked A to F
P5.2	Architectural Interest
P5.2.1	Johannesburg, Las Vegas, New York, personal, architectural drawings and models, old house – B&W contact sheets and negatives
P5.2.2	Unidentified subjects/projects – B&W prints and negatives, colour prints and negatives.
P5.3	Theatre Productions
P5.3.1	Anatomie Titus – B&W negatives and contact prints
P5.3.2	Various – B&W negatives and contact prints
P5.3.3	Various – B&W negatives and contact prints
P5.3.4	Personal comic photo – part of B&W print
P5.4	Miscellaneous
P5.4.1	Eames (slides in boxes)(See also J1.2, J1.3, J3.3.6 – a few personal photos)
P6	Architectural Drawings – Niehaus Shop
P7	Miscellaneous
P7.1	Article by NR on Charles Eames (See P 5.1.5 for slides on Eames)
Q	ARCHITECTURAL NOTES AND SKETCHES
	(See also A3, B3.3, C1.1, F6.2, F6.3.1, F6.3.2, H21, H33.1.1, H36.1.1, H36.1.2, H61 and S1.1.1)
Q1	General
Q1.1	Various notes and sketches (also B3.3, R1.4)
Q 1.1.1	European buildings, house, Welkom church, the culture of place, etc.
Q 1.1.2	Urban ecology, “meaning mnemonic and myth,” and others.
Q 1.1.3	Rough notes and sketches
Q 1.1.4	Further rough notes and sketches
Q 1.1.5	Architecture under stress (article), rough notes and sketches
Q 1.1.6	Various architectural sketches with titles and some notes
Q 1.1.7	Notes of various subjects, (MSS) with sketches
Q 1.1.8	Parliamentary project? Other. (o/s)
Q 1.1.9	“Vibrant Places Book” - settlement related notes and

- sketches (o/s)
- Q 1.1.10 Sketches of exhibition layout, includes boards for Welkom, Belhar, Blackpool, Steinkopf, Bonwit, Graveyard, Werdmuller, UCT, Loevenstein, Durban (o/s)
- Q1.2 Sketches
- Q 1.2.1 Siena, Rome and unidentified structures
- Q 1.2.2 Aquarium (o/s)
- Q 1.2.3 Miscellaneous and some architectural drawings
- Q 1.2.4 Unidentified (o/s)
- Q1.3 Sketchbooks
- Q 1.3.1 Unidentified structures (2 copies)
- Q 1.3.) 2 Benno Housing and other? Mostly architectural drawings.(2 copies)
- Q 1.3.3 Unidentified structures(2 copies)
- Q1.4 Oversize RSU notebooks (contain notes and sketches, also some loose documents; put in chronological order by Fabio Todeschini)
- Q 1.4.1 Loose notes and sketches on Urban design and planning, including Cape Town's Southern Suburbs.
- Q 1.4.2 RSU notebook 1 – Urban planning, including Cape Coast and other
- Q 1.4.3 RSU notebook 2 - "Metro Project, 1982 – RSU Notes"
- Q 1.4.4 RSU notebook 3 – Various, includes Sea point pavilion, Art Centre, School of Architecture and others
- Q 1.4.5 RSU notebook 4 – "Metro Problem, 1984-85"
- Q 1.4.6 RSU notebook 5 – Urban planning, Cape Town and other
- Q 1.4.7 Loose notes and sketches – "Creative art work, inter-relationship between studios, notes, urban design, UCT regional planning program documents, etc
- Q 1.4.8 RSU notebook 6 – rough sketches and notes
- Q 1.4.9 Loose RSU notebook (order unknown)
- R** **ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS**
(Also A1.2, F6.2 & F6.3.1, F6.3.2)
(Projects(H) and Photographs(J4) contain numerous Architectural Drawings)
- R1** **Oversize Files (o/s)**
- R1.1 Envelopes and Folders
- R1.1.1 Drawings for space and society article. Include: Welkom Church; UCT sports centre; Simonstown graveyard; Belhar housing; Steinkopf community hall; Kommetjie house; Hout Bay Library (plans and elevations)
- R1.1.2 Miscellaneous Drawings. Includes: House Wilson; Benno Housing, Loevenstein, Belhar, House Van Jaarsveld, House van der Merwe, Dewar pool and garden.
- R1.1.3 Mixed drawings, notes and sketches, UWC Sports pavilion and field, urban area, Blackpool community hall,
- R1.1.4 Spazio e Societa magazine dossier of RSU projects (UCT sports centre, Hout Bay library, Steinkopf etc.). (Also colour slides of RSU projects and correspondence from Giovanni Vio)

- R1.1.5 House for RSU's daughter Renira, Hout Bay – never built.
R1.1.6 "Miscellaneous" – sketches, Rome Scholarship, other buildings.
- R1.1.7 "Details: Aalto" – Unidentified town hall
R1.1.8 Hout Bay Library, Steinkopf Community Hall
R1.2 Loose drawings placed in folders
R1.2.1 Unidentified architectural drawings
- R2**
A4 – sized Files
R2.1 Folders
R2.1.1 Prof Dewar's Boundary Wall, Wynberg (S McLennan – Architect)
R2.1.2 Hout Bay – early developments?
R2.1.3 "Garage Scheme 3" & "Underground Parking Garage"
R2.1.4 "Underground Parking Garage"
R2.2 Envelopes
R2.2.1 House McAdam – alterations and additions (Bossow & Pike – Architects)
R2.2.2 Steenburg Huurdersdienssentrum (Heinrich Gerstner – Architects)
R2.2.3 "Wits Technikon Drawings"
R2.2.4 Extensions to existing (RSU's and NR's) studio (NR – architect)
R2.2.5 Various Projects including Hout Bay Library, Welkom Church, Houses
- R3**
A5 Pen Carbon Books – "Issue Book"
R3.1 Drawings Issued
R3.1.1 13/06/89–12/06/90
R3.1.2 12/06/90–28/06/91
R3.1.3 01/07/91–10/05/93
R3.1.4 07/02/91–05/02/92
R3.1.5 04/02/92–28/09/92
- S**
URBAN DESIGN (See also UCT (D))
- S1**
South African
S1.1 Uytenbogardt, R S & Dewar, D: *Places to live*. Headstart Developments, 1995
S1.1.1 Preliminary notes and sketches, preliminary print of publications
S1.1.2 Originals (o/s) – not complete
S1.1.3 Lever arch file with numerous illustrations (in separate box)
S1.1.4 Preliminary layout
S1.1.5 Bound publication
S1.1.6 Bound publication
S1.2 Mixed File
Includes: guide to urban development, business plan, urban maps, notes (MS) and a research project summary, urban design dinner(1984) – menu with signatures.
S1.3 Western Cape
S1.3.1 Dewar, D; Andrew P & Watson, V: *Low Income Housing*

- Procurement*, UPRU, 1981
- S1.3.2 Dewar, D & Andrew, P: *Housing in the Stellenbosch area: Report to the Behuisingskomitee, gemeenskapswelnsraad – Stellenbosch*, UPRU, UCT, 1982
- S1.3.3 Gray M: *Report on the city – The rehumanisation of central Cape Town*, Apr 1986. (o/s)
- S1.4 Headstart Documents
- S1.4.1 General File
- S1.4.2 Cities for people – booklet (o/s)
- S2** **European** (see also S3.1.3)
- S2.1 Italian
- S2.1.1 Piazzas (also two French squares)
- S2.1.2 Italian Cities
- S2.1.3 History of Urban Form
- S2.2 French – Urban history and development
- S3** **Miscellaneous**
- S3.1 Urban Planning
- S3.1.1 Urban planning documents (TSS)
- S3.1.2 “Position Statement” (TSS)
- S3.1.3 Various Urban and Architectural Drawings, e.g. Skyscraper in Chicago and Pembroke College in England
- S3.1.4 Planning and education conference proceedings, 1972
- S3.1.5 Various documents on landscape and urban design
- S3.1.6 Lecture lists, 1962 & Columbia University Urban Design documents (urban design – into student years?)
- S3.1.7 Writing on urban design by RSU (ms)(o/s)(n.d. – post 1965)
- T** **MISCELLANEOUS**
- T1** **Architectural Interest**
- T1.1 Loose Documents
- T1.1.1 “Seven frameworks for architecture into the year 2000” from R H Kirby
- T1.1.2 “A case for higher density – low income housing” – paper UWC – Jack Barnett’s University Centre (drawings and report)
- T1.3 Hadewig Quaghebeur - architectural portfolio (part of application for M.Arch programme at UCT.)
- T1.4 Zurich publication on various local buildings
- T1.5 Miscellaneous architectural interest, includes interview with Ivor Prinsloo, booklet, postcards and architectural model and associated concept sketches.
- T1.6 Pit latrine figures with measures, electricity consumption chart
- T1.7 Oversize (o/s)
- T1.7.1 “The Islamic City”
- T1.7.2 Abramowitch S, Albonico M, Britz B, Clur G, Roos P, Senior B & Kotze P: *Housing: An exploration of peoples needs and aspirations*, WITS, 1988

T1.7.3	“Phillipi East” – precinct plans 5 & 6
T1.7.4	“Kommetjie village development” – rezoning application
T1.7.5	Miscellaneous envelope containing sketches, Rome Scholarship Architectural drawings,
T1.7.6	“The city of Cape Town – The city that works for all – Parliament in Cape Town.”
T1.7.7	Airport terminal design book (photocopy)
T1.7.8	Accommodation poster and interview with Martin Duys and editorial etc from UCT magazine.
T2	Various
T2.1	Mixed files
T2.1.1	Documents relating to city building, pension fund, cholesterol, medical scheme etc. Also brochures and map of Buenos Aires.
T2.1.2	Documents include: menus for formal dinners, business cards, Cape maps, Le Corbusier postcards.
T2.1.3	Documents include: loose notes and sketches, ISAA registration forms, HMG brochure, SAITRP directory and SAISS booklet.
T3	Citroen Autobook
T4	Folder on SA Sports Institute
T5	ISAA (SAIA)/ NCAC – envelopes of documents
T5.1	Folder 1
T5.2	Folder 2
T6	Spectacles in case (broken)
T7	Computer disks
T7.1	House Davies, back-up files, Feb 25 1993
T7.2	BASF tapes, CMP March 18, 1969
T7.2.1	Tape 1
T7.2.2	Tape 2
T7.3	Floppy disks – U&R files July 1992
U	Articles on RSU