

## Walking the City: The Physical and Social Dimensions of the City Made [Public]

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"To walk up such a street is to be part of a procession, part of ceaseless ceremony of being initiated into the city and of rededicating the city itself."—J.B. Jackson

"The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below,' below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers..."—Michel de Certeau

Architects and urban designers have traditionally conceived of the city as a network of public and private spaces, mediated by and given form through architecture. Scholars and practitioners such as Colin Rowe, Fred Koetter, Léon Krier, and Rob Krier have argued that it is the role of the designer to make legible the distinctions between *res privata* and *res publica*, mostly through orchestrating a sequence of public forms and spaces that are distinct and memorable when set in contrast to a private (and more normative) realm.<sup>1</sup> As Wayne Copper and Thomas Schumacher have noted, conventions such as the figure/ground, developed from Giambattista Nolli's *La Pianta Grande di Roma* (1748), render the residential pattern of blocks as a uniform background (the ground), and the public forms and spaces as identifiable objects (the figures) cut into this ground.<sup>2</sup> The legibility of the public space as a figure in the ground, and the interconnectedness of this space with the streets, is often the designer's criteria of well-conceived public space. The clarity of the space in such a plan convention speaks to its spatial enclosure and definition, and the interconnectedness abstracted in the plan is suggestive of the accessibility and



Figure 1. La Pianta Grande di Roma (1748), Giambattista Nolli

prominence of the space in the broader urban network. This plan based approach, while a radical rethinking of city design amidst 1960s-70s American urban renewal, has now become a part of the canon. Its ubiquity among urban design firms is no longer a hypothesis or theoretical speculation about the use of normative types and the figure/ground, but has been codified into practice.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the popularity and contemporary convention of focusing on spatial manipulations in order to create public places, it is difficult to ascertain what "public" really means in the context of increasing privatization, globalization, digitization, and commercialization of urban space. The term public is invoked often and easily within the design disciplines, and has been naturalized to as-

sume that its definition is universal. The city designed is assumed to be a public space; but what precisely does that mean? By defining space as "public" what are we referring to? Ownership? If so, how does a place like Times Square fit this definition? Even though most of the land that constitutes the space of Times Square is, indeed, owned by the city and is, therefore, "public" land, the space is not publicly managed. The structures that define the space are all controlled by private interests; and, the space is dominated by commercial messages and corporate slogans rather than a socio-cultural identity. In this context, it is difficult to distinguish Times Square, the Vegas Strip, and Piazza Rotunda from the shopping mall, which is completely privately owned and controlled. Is the public about activities? Ironically in many (sub)urban places, it is the shopping mall that has become the new forum, playing host to a myriad of "public" activities, including: seniors taking group walks in the morning, girl scout sing-a-longs, flu shot clinics, job fairs, and teenagers working hard at doing nothing. Is the public to be found, then, in more than just a physical circumscription, but also in a set of activities that reinforce community and civic identity, and are, therefore, culturally conceived of as public?

Although many urban spaces in new and old cities may clearly meet the criteria of "public" as defined by the designers of form and space, the criteria for defining public is much less clear in this broader culturally defined context. In fact, contemporary practice has forgotten that the public arrived out of socio-political transformation. In the west, the rise of the middle class gave the term public a new significance as the notion of the people gained power; the public (a.k.a. cultural custom and ritual), therefore, was no longer supplicant to either religious dogma or aristocratic convention. The public at once belonged to the people and the nation-state and often emerged most visibly in the tensions between the two. Physically, the public became codified in the making of physical spaces for the people to occupy both casually and in formal ritual support of the nation state: thus the importance of squares (a.k.a. piazze) and streets in commerce, habitation, and ritual.<sup>4</sup>

As the physical and socio-cultural have become inextricably intertwined in the defining of the public, the work of Michel de Certeau is useful in un-

raveling that knot. In his influential tract, "Walking the City," de Certeau asserts that the city is a concept generated by the strategic maneuvering of governments, corporations, and other institutional bodies who produce things like maps that describe the city as a unified whole, as it might be experienced by someone looking down from high above.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, the walker at street level moves in ways that are tactical and never fully determined by the plans of organizing bodies, taking shortcuts or meandering aimlessly in spite of the utilitarian layout of streets. De Certeau's assertion that everyday life works by a process of poaching on the territory of others, recombining the rules and products that already exist in culture in a way that is influenced, but never wholly determined, by those rules and products offers an alternative rubric for understanding what the public is. A protean conception of the public is also dependent upon an understanding of what private space is and therefore must examine this urban threshold. The formal design of the public and private is a culturally conditioned one in which this moment of difference can be clearly demarcated, prolonged, obscured or made ambiguous. Thus, the urban threshold as defined is liminal: a moment of transition.<sup>6</sup>

In search of new definitions of the public and private realms in the city, this paper examines public space in Morocco and Italy and the relationships between culture, custom and space. The urbanism of these two countries provides fertile ground for the exploration of the public both as an abstract idea centered on the activities of people and cultural traditions, and a physical place for those activities and rituals because the urbanism typified in these historic cities are exactly the forms and spaces mined as case studies for the scholars influenced by the figure/ground. This paper, now proposes to re-examine these paradigms of traditional urbanism not under the lens of the plan, but as walkers with an eye to the ways in which they are enacted in contemporary society. This paper, therefore, seeks the liminal in Morocco and Italy in order to illuminate how public and private spaces are physically manifest, enacted, and/or contested outside of the plan convention. Through a critical recollection and examination of experiences as walkers in each place, the paper aims to shift the definition of public space from one based on form (and read solely through plan), to one



Figure 2. A street in Rome near Piazza Della Rotonda. Each building is distinct with its own composed façade. Balconies offer opportunity for personal expression.

based on the relationship between form, culture and activity. This paper also critically reconsiders the notion of the public and place in order to instigate new models for the design of public space that move beyond the strategic placement of figural space and towards creating meaningful places whose form is culturally derived and determined by patterns of use.

### [ A STRANGER'S WALK IN ITALY ]

Walking along Via dei Pastini in Rome, the space of the street is formed by edges of buildings joined together, a consistent vertical plane reaching toward the sky, punctuated by a taller roof line here, a cornice there. Although the buildings seem to work together to define the street, each individual building is identifiable in color, material, composition, and/or detail.

Each building has his own face, as it were, its facial features composed with windows, shutters, and doors; its complexion in the materials of the wall. This face, the façade, is both the edge between the public and private realms, and the formal public expression of the private realm to the street.

These facades, serve as both the backdrop and the stage for the dramas of everyday life lived both in the street and in the home. The facades are the place in between public and private, the place where the activities of the private realm are enacted in public. The facade both frames space, and is a place.

In Rome, the relationship between the realm of the street enacted as public and the private realm behind the facades that form the street, is fluid and liminal. There is rarely a distinct line separating public and private. Rather, there are spaces of transition, moments of a simultaneous experience of being both in the public realm, and within a private space; of being outside, while under cover. The threshold condition, thought of most simply as the door between inside and outside, is often stretched and expanded to a space.<sup>7</sup>

In the contemporary residential sectors of Rome, the balcony is a space in "betwixt and between" the private realm of the home, and the public realm of the street. Whereas the realm of the street made public is accessible, visible, and supportive of encounters with strangers, the private space of the home is inaccessible, only occasionally visible, and secluded from strangers. The balcony mediates these conditions by providing private space either adjacent to or directly above the space of the street. The range of activities that take place on the balcony, from drying clothes to dining to reading the newspaper, happen in public view. These balcony based activities further enact the streets and spaces above which they are located. It is at places of liminality within the space of the façade, such as the balcony, that the difference between public and private, as culturally defined conditions, can be seen.

Along the street, there are spaces on the ground within and protruding from the façade that in shape, size, and location are not of the order of a space formally defined as a public, but that are made public through the everyday rituals of work, eating, playing, and shopping. The buildings that surround these spaces participate in these rituals, allowing those inside a privileged view, and those on the ground the sense that they are within a community. This is an architecture that serves a culture and life lived outside of doors, *in public*.

The Largo Luigi Miceli, in the Monteverde neighborhood of Rome, is archetypal of the interrelationship between form and culture supporting the publicness of urban space. Largo Luigi Miceli is not clearly labeled or identified as a Largo in the explicit way that Piazza Navona, or Piazza Rotonda is. Although its rectangular figure may be identifiable in a figure ground plan, the real-

ity of its experience is far more complex than the enclosed space suggested in plan. The largo is formed by a confluence of streets that result in an open space where traffic moves along the edges; and, a smaller more intimate space is left in between the private apartment buildings that form the southwest corner and the streets to the north and east. It is in this space where the private rituals of daily life intersect public activities. At the level of the street, the largo supports a produce market, the neighborhood's primary source for fruit and vegetables. Since there is no local supermarket and Italians tend to shop everyday, the market is crowded and is the place for chance encounters between neighbors, neighborhood announcements, and of course shopping. The apartments above are part of this place, as the balconies and windows above provide a view of life behind the facades.

Spaces made by subtle shifts in the geometry of the street grid, by the layers of centuries of deforming the ideal and idealizing the circumstantial context,<sup>8</sup> support not only everyday rituals such as the market, but also significant manifestations of the Public in ceremonial rituals, such as the Possesso, which took place largely along Via Papale (now Via del Governo Vecchio).<sup>9</sup> It is the actions of the People that made Via Papale an important public place not the form.

Through the use of the street for such ceremonial rituals, the street as a public space is given meaning and civic identity. The lesson of Largo Luigi Micelli and the myriad of larghi and piazze in Rome is that the public realm is not one that is only formally constructed, but rather evolves out of the confluence of the physical realm *and* culturally defined public activities both mundane and ceremonial.

### [A STRANGER'S WALK IN MOROCCO]

Arrival at the Bab Doukala in Marrakech is usually via petit taxi. One of seven gates into the medina, it is on foot that the city of the past is primarily experienced. Walking down the narrow streets of old Marrakech, it is easy to focus on the cacophony of people and activities. For most of the day the forms and spaces of the medina are subservient to the merchants, customers, goods, foodstuffs, donkeys pulling carts, and mopeds. The byzantine



Figure 3. Typical streets in Essaouira's (left) and Marrakech's (right) medinas show the predominance of the street wall over the expression of individual buildings.

nature of the streets is reinforced by the apparent chaos of the street life. The physical nature of the street belies the social dissonance as it is characterized not by a multiplicity of façades, but rather as a solid, imposing, continuous plane.

The balance between the scales of the urban, the architectural, and detail that govern the design of Western cities is elusive in most of Morocco's traditional urban design. Within the walls of the old North African cities, the composition balances between just two scales: the forms of the city and the details that provide the threshold between the public and private realms. In the medina there are no composed façades, only walls punctuated by doors and windows. The buildings of the city cannot be read symbolically, in Western parlance, as to the status and/or activities of the persons behind and within the walls. As Ernst Grube notes, "One of the most striking features of all Islamic [architecture] is their focus on the enclosed space, on the inside as opposed to the outside, the façade or the general exterior articulation of a building."<sup>10</sup> The public life of the medinas, then, exists in the enacted environment of the streets and souks, imbued with people and their actions.<sup>11</sup> The streets serve as abstract containers for the social-milieu, but do not serve as indicators for or of it.<sup>12</sup> The streets, limited to pedestrian, animal, and small, motorized traffic, never become formal or monumental. The openings that punctuate these planes (the windows and doors) are most often closed and do not reveal an overlap between the perceived private world behind the wall and the activities in front of it...there is no hanging laundry or people between the street and the domicile. At first glance, the public and the



Figure 4. An interior courtyard in Marrakech's medina shows the detailed ornamentation and composition lacking on the urban street.

private seem to be starkly writ and a liminal space of inbetweenness absent.<sup>13</sup> This is not entirely true, however.

Traditional Arabic urbanism is, in part, about interiority. With the medina being populated by labyrinthine street systems and usually few figural, significant, public spaces,<sup>14</sup> a significant part of the life of the city takes place behind the solid, imposing walls. A plan or figure ground of the medina would reveal an urbanism with little street hierarchy or organizing pattern beyond the ubiquitous courtyards. There are no symbiotic block and alley relationships to be discerned in the plan. In fact, the hierarchies between the publicness of a main street and the back of house activities that take place in an alley are displaced in old Morocco to the rooftops (rendered meaningless in a figure/ground noll-plan technique). The flat rooftops in the medina become like the alleys of western urbanism, supporting messier and/or noxious domestic uses (like doing laundry). The permanent staircases that lead from the inside courtyard up onto the rooftops affirm the permanence of alley like activities out of view on the rooftops. These spaces, then, achieve liminality between public and private only as they come into view by others on their rooftops in the one space where households private realms co-mingle. These active rooftops, however, are not visible in the orthographic of a plan or map, thus leading the uninitiated observer could erroneously assume lots of little, neighborhood squares populate the city. In fact, it is the interior courtyards of these households that provide one of the primary systems for the urbanism.

While Western urbanism may lay claim to the loggia, porch or the balcony as the liminal space of ambiguity (where the public and private realms

commingle), for Arabic urbanism in North Africa it is the courtyard that serves as a moment of difference. The liminal space in old Morocco, then, is not on display for all to see. It is behind the thick, dense wall and the heavy, imposing door. It is interior to the building. The courtyards are multi-use spaces with entrances often secluded from the main streets and squares. In fact, many domiciles will have multiple courtyards, one that is semi-public where guests are received and entertained, and one that is private, with its own separate entrance where the women perform domestic duties. Architecturally, the courtyard is a complex series of overlapping planes, surfaces and spaces; it is composed to support not only the activities of private life, but also the social performances of those lives as they intertwine with others. Much like an Italian piazza, a Moroccan courtyard contains porticoes, porches, doorways and niches. The modulation of this interior space of the courtyard functions like a façade on a public square. It provides the elision between being public and being private, but all within the confines of the house proper. In some ways the interior courtyards series of disconnections, unevenly arranged depths and spaces, interpenetrating planes and volumes, and refinement of detail are more akin to the design of the exterior spaces in older Western cities; and, its activities performed therein also dance between full exposure and concealment.

#### [CONCLUSIONS, SPECULATIONS, AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY]

While the figure/ground and plan-oriented techniques of assessing a city provide useful information to the designer, it is only one tool of many that can and should be employed. The city is not only a site composed of forms and spaces, but also a place of movement, both perceived and actual. The city provides a mental space that bodies actually occupy; thus one's physical manifestations of being public (or private) is as much a physical act as it is a mental embodiment. Understanding the city is, then, not just a hermeneutic act performed by the outsider observer, it is also an act of interpretation that ordinary people make when they move through spaces. As such, a comparison of experiences as a stranger walking the city in Morocco and Italy raises questions about the definition of the public when set against the cultural context of what it means to be in public. Is the or-



Figure 5. A Place in the medina of Marrakech, Morocco

ganizing pattern of the city, then, to be found not just from an examination of the rhythms in the figure-ground, but also in the patterns of living within the figure-ground that might contradict or belie that orthographic information? Whereas the architecture of Italy supports a life largely lived outside of doors, and in view of all, the architecture of Morocco supports a life lived behind the street wall that is as rich as it is obscured. Although the spaces conventionally understood as public—such as streets and squares—are enacted in Italy in Morocco in similar ways, the difference lies in the transition between the public and private, and the representation of the private to the public. The liminal moment of Italian privateness asserts itself into the formal public sites while Morocco's lived cacophony becomes performed out of public sight/site within the inverted space of the courtyard.

These patterns of living can be crucial social information for the spatial project of (re)making the city. The medina and the ancient urbanism of Italy are still living cities and have not ceased to exist. As these places are expanded, encircled, and intervened in it is important to recognize the elusive and ephemeral relationships between form, space and rituals of social interaction because those lifeways have certain values which are in turn invested into the built environment. And it is these values and performances that provide the key distinction between space made and place lived; a distinction critical at a time when contemporary designers and developers like to bandy around the term "sense of place" as justification for their

economic and/or formally driven projects.

In today's building climate, designers and developers often engage in the illusive pursuit of the oft ill-defined concept of sense of place—a popular buzzword used to rally practitioners and residents around redevelopment projects that often ignore the existing, deep, patterns of culture of a locale. And in fact the figure ground is often the primary visual tool in making such arguments. Advocating for a sense of place sounds laudable but often means either the eradication of existing urban fabric or residents not deemed suitable for the newly conceived place. Place, as used by designers and planners, then becomes a method for conveying and/or measuring value, as if some areas have place and others do not. As Randall Mason notes:

*"Place" is often an abused term [...] Too often, space and place are conflated or used as synonyms. This is a big mistake, and it fuels the hubris of designers or anyone else who believes one can "make places." [...] In large part, architects are not taught to examine and challenge the assumption that buildings [...] shape people, groups and their behavior in predictable ways.*<sup>15</sup>

As Mason suggests, Place is more than the result of physical and formal manipulations (or a method of meting out the haves and have-nots). Places are both real and imagined (regardless of such intensions). Because they are mental and physical they are perceived by all of the senses.

A "sense of place," should embrace the experiential and associational narratives as well as the physical attributes. Place is always a process, never a product.

Many contemporary examples of place conceived of as product, rather than as process, illustrate the disconnect that emerges when designers focus exclusively on the physical. Much has been written on the Bilbao effect: the notion that a project as architecturally significant as the Bilbao museum will sponsor strong physical and economic growth by bringing worldwide attention to a formerly unknown place.<sup>16</sup> In short, the Bilbao effect suggests that "good" or striking architecture begets more "good" or striking architecture; and, that this phenomenon can only be *good* for cities. This sort of "if you build it, they will come" theory implies that such significant architecture will increase the

quality of the lived experience of the city: first, by (often) replacing existing urbanism with the “latest and greatest” architecture; and, second, by leveraging the development of this architecture to attract the accoutrements of a world class cosmopolitan experience—fine cuisine, global mega-luxury brand stores, and a thriving nightlife scene predicated on a new sense of “safety.” Nevertheless, a closer look at Bilbao and other developing cities suggests otherwise.

A revisiting of the supposed success of Bilbao has even trickled down to the popular press. The New York Times travel section commented on the striking disconnect between the promise of significant architecture being constructed in Bilbao and the lived experience for residents:

*On paper at least, Bilbao seems to have it all: world-class museum, fine Basque cuisine, a rollicking night life and lots of shopping... But architecture alone does not a city make. Bilbao is all dressed-up, but hasn't figured where to go. [...] The disconnect between Bilbao the brand, and Bilbao the city was on display one Saturday night, when the narrow streets of Casco Viejo were once again packed with barhoppers. The smell of marijuana wafted from a crowd outside a bar on Calle de Somera. In the group was Ikel, a 22-year-old studying to be an engineer, like his father. "I've never been to the Guggenheim," Ikel said between puffs, as mechanical street cleaners starting scrubbing beer and urine from the cobblestones. "It's for tourists."<sup>17</sup>*

Of particular interest here is the notion of place as a brand. City officials now invite architects—particularly those whose name is already a global brand—to design buildings in their cities as a way of marketing place. However, this approach reduces all urban places—regardless of culture, history, or even climate—essentially to a shopping mall: a place to lure tourists and residents to consume the collection of global brands assembled in this striking new architecture. The “cosmopolitan city” and its associated fine dining, thriving nightlife, gentrified residential district(s), and collection of global mega-luxury brands is itself a global brand that is ubiquitous to locales as diverse as Tokyo, San Paulo, Bangkok and Rome. This omnipresent branding of place means that Prince Street in SoHo, New York functions essentially the same as Via del Corso in Rome, Italy—they even have many of the same stores. Here the designer is not operating so much in the development of new architecture as brand, but rather in service to

global retail brands who aim to establish a presence within the existing city fabric. The extant urbanism—the city’s history, culture, patterns of living, and physical forms and spaces—are thereby rendered as simply backdrop for a new scene of contemporary consumerism.

If architecture is now employed to market the city as a brand, or in service of existing global brands, what are the implications for the city as a lived everyday experience? Where is the accommodation for spaces that have fostered continuous and changing patterns of living and culture? And for whom is place made? Will Bilbao and other brand outlets of the cosmopolitan city, eventually become exclusive boutiques for wealthy global jet setters or is there room for overlap between everyday patterns of life and the new patterns of global consumerism?

Many questions arise from this discussion of urbanism as a public realm and an enacted place as framed within comparison of two different cultures and in the context of global development pressures. In his essay “The Stranger’s Path,” J.B. Jackson parses both the elements of distinctiveness and ubiquity in discussing mid-twentieth century American cities. In this piece he notes the fondness of mid-century planners for using Italian public spaces as exemplar for how America should be designed:

I am growing a little weary of the Piazza San Marco. I yield to no one in my admiration of its beauty and social utility, but it seems to me that those who hold it up as the prototype of all civic (traffic-free) centers are not always aware of what makes it what it is.<sup>18</sup>

Jackson’s message is that one can admire the Piazza San Marco, but the reason it works physically, economically, and socio-culturally is because it is deeply embedded in Venetian patterns of living; and, that when transported to another locale as is, loses its reason for being and deep meanings. It becomes lost in translation when literally mimicked in a varied socio-cultural milieu.

As was Jackson, so too should one be weary of the spread of an American-influenced global approach to urban design. The culture of contemporary America is distinct from the places to which it has been exported. This disconnect can be most vividly seen in the empty town squares that have

littered the New Urbanism or in the newly branded old urbanism of Quebec, London and Rome. In this context, the space is rendered as neutral and devoid of placeness; it is the global brand that leads to similar experiences across continents and cultures. And, yet, it would appear that the middle east is repeating this series of western mistakes: fabricating an urbanism based only on form, rather than culture; on literal imitation rather than studied transformation; and on global economics rather than a synthesis of global brands and local practices. The lessons of the traditional urbanism of the medina and the piazza suggest a design responsive to centuries of patterns of use, culture, and sensitivity to climate, whereas the architecture of the avant garde pursues a formal solution independent of these factors.

Designers operating increasingly as strangers in foreign cultural landscapes, and in this global economy of consumerism need to ask: How can existing urban physical, social, and cultural defined environments better inform contemporary interventions? And, what is the role of the designer in responding to the rapid spread of consumer based culture throughout the globe?

Through walking the city and observing as strangers the social and cultural alongside the physical environment that forms place, there are new opportunities for architects to operate in the public realm. The traditional city offers an interesting site to begin such an investigation, as the physical form (so rigorously studied by architectural scholars and practitioners) is given new dimensions when experienced as walker. It is in the disconnects between the lived experience in the contemporary condition of the city and the formal definitions of space that rich opportunities lie for designers to investigate new approaches to place that support the ordinary and extraordinary activities of life in public.

## ENDNOTES

1. Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1984). Rob Krier, *Urban space = Stadtraum* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1979). Richard Economakis, ed. Leon Krier: architecture and urban design, 1967-1992 (London: Academy Editions, 1992).
2. Thomas Schumacher, "Contextualism: Urban Ideals and Deformations," *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton Ar-

chitectural Press, 1996) 294-307. Wayne Copper, "The Figure/Grounds," M.Arch Thesis, Cornell University, 1967. Wayne Copper, "The Figure/Grounds," *Cornell Journal of Architecture*, no. 2 (1983).

3. Amplified by such phrases and practices as design guidelines, urban and architectural regulations and pat1
4. Peter Rowe, *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997).
5. "Walking the City" can be found in: Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, translated by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
6. Victor Turner's expansion of the theories of liminality proposed by Arnold Van Gennep, are important social discussions to layer upon the physical form of threshold. In part, liminality speaks to a rite of passage that invokes some change to the participants (often in their social status). The liminal state is characterized by ambiguity and indeterminacy and represents an inbetweenness within which one's sense of identity dissolves to some extent. Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970 and Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).
7. This is especially apparent at Palazzo Massimo in Rome. Designed by Baldassare Peruzzi, and constructed between 1532-1535, the palazzo incorporates a pre-existing portico at the center of the façade, and on axis with Via del Paradiso, a street that terminates at the Piazza del Farnese. The portico within the city fabric is therefore significant as a terminus to Via del Paradiso, and subtle extension of the public realm along what used to be the papal way, Via Papale (now Via del Governo Vecchio). As Ingersoll asserted in *The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome* (pp 188) the portico was an extension of the public realm of the papal way, and therefore "had an important ritual function as the frame for mediated actions such as major business transactions, and family celebrations. ... [T]he façade was a penetrable area in between the exterior and the interior programmed for social intercourse and representational needs." The portico is illustrative of a broader Italian attitude toward public and private space that is perhaps best described by Nolli's *La Pianta Grande di Roma*. The Massimo portico, like many others throughout Rome, is shown as part of the white figure of public space, suggesting the fluidity of the public realm from the street into buildings, even those privately held like the Palazzo Massimo.
8. Schumacher, *Ibid*.
9. Richard Ingersoll, *The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1985)
10. Ernst Grube, "What Is Islamic Architecture?" *Architecture of the Islamic World*, George Mitchell, ed. (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1978) 10.
11. A souk is the name for the streets where the markets are located.



12. Grube, *Ibid*, 10. Grube notes: "This disregard for the outside appearance of a structure is often developed to the extreme whereby even a monumental structure [...] is completely hidden by being totally surrounded by secondary adjacent buildings [...] This 'hiding' of major monuments goes hand in hand with a total lack of exterior indications of the shape, size, function or meaning of a building. Even if a structure has a visible façade or a portal, these features tell us little, if anything, about the building that lies behind it. In other words, rarely does a façade give any indication of the inner organization or purpose of a building in question [...]"

13. In describing Fez, Stefano Bianca noted: "...the structuring principles of the Muslim city are rigorously maintained—the separation between public and private domain, the interaction of public space and the volumetric articulation of space... [...]The fabric appears as a crystallization of the internal laws that regulate society, transposed into architectural patterns." Stefano Bianca, "Fez: The Ideal and the Reality of the Islamic City," *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity. Proceedings of Seminar Four in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Aga Khan Awards, 1980) 74.

14. In old Marrakech and historic Essaouira it is the Place Djemaa el Fna and the Place Moulay El Hassan, respectively, that serve as these places. In fact, the Place Djemaa el Fna by day is a clash between magicians, fortune tellers, herbalists, acrobats, monkey handlers, snake charmers, dentists, astrologers, numerologists, tattoo artists, and more banal activities supported buskers, market goods and foodstuffs, juice carts and prepared foods.

15. Randall Masson, "Knowing Place," *CRIT*, 55, Spring 2003, pp. 19.

16. Beatriz Plaza studies the potential factors that lead to the success of the Bilbao as a cultural attraction in a formerly unknown place in her article, "Evaluating the Influence of a Large Cultural Artifact in the Attraction of Tourism: The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao Case," *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2000, pp. 264-274.

See the following for a broader discussion of the impact of avant garde iconic architecture on the public realm of the city:

Roger H. Clark, "Reality or Absurdity: 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Architecture," *Forward*, Spring 2004 found at: [http://www.aia.org/nwsltr\\_nacq.cfm?pagename=nacq\\_a\\_0402\\_counterpoint](http://www.aia.org/nwsltr_nacq.cfm?pagename=nacq_a_0402_counterpoint);

Charles Jencks, *The Iconic Building: The Power of Enigma* (London, Eng.: Frances Lincoln, 2005); Witold Rybczynski, "The Bilbao Effect," *The Atlantic*, September 2002;

Suzanne Stephens, "The Bilbao Effect," *Architectural Record*, May 1999, pp. 166-184.

17. Denny Lee, "Bilbao, 10 Years Later," *New York Times*: Travel Section, September 23, 2007. As a local official notes in the article: "Our local culture still hasn't integrated with the Guggenheim," said Alfonso Martinez Cearra, the general manager of Bilbao Metropoli-30, a public-private partnership that is guiding the city's revitalization. "This is still an industrial city."

18. Ervin H. Zube, ed., *Landscapes: Selected Writings of J.B. Jackson* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1970).