Larger Than Life: Immersion and Imagination in the Not-So-Small Worlds Sustained by Scale

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Despite the common use of scale models made at a "smaller scale" than the 1:1 of everyday life, the case of the "larger-than-life" (LTL) model is not only significant but instructive.¹ Like the set of Alfred Hitchcock's North by Northwest, where Cary Grant and Eva Marie Saint are chased over the presidential faces of Mt. Rushmore, or the penetrable Statue of Liberty in the New York harbor, the immersability of the user of the LTL model demonstrates the key quality of all scale models: the ability of scale consistency to sustain the illusion of the model's imaginary world.² The LTL model allows the viewer to enter, often literally, into the perceptual field created by the model, but during this immersion scale difference prevents a full merger of viewer with the viewed. Instead, the LTL, like all scale models, keeps open a minimal gap in the subject's point of view. This gap splits the point of view between an inside and an outside of the model space. Like a child's play with toys, this gap allows intervention by an "unseen hand," but it also bestows a magical vitality on the scaled objects, which acquire powers of motility, thought, and (sometimes) voice and sight.³ This "uncanny" feature of the scale model is particularly evident in the LTL's ability to immerse the subject and invert the inside-outside relationship that is more literally evident in the typical small-scale model. In the LTL, the boundary is akin to that of the infinite sphere described by Pascal — as God, whose center is everywhere and periphery nowhere. Without a discoverable edge, the boundary function is displaced not only on to the subject-as-spectator but on to objects with divided bodies and natures: the outside frame function is displaced on to an "inside frame" capable of flipping such inside-outside relationships as viewer-viewed, mind-body, and pastpresent. A few examples will show how this quality of being in two places at once makes the LTL model a scale model *par excellence* and, because it materializes the essential operations of the imagination, a model of the imagination's role in architecture and other forms of art as well.

LTL immersability can be conferred on models that are not technically larger-than-life, or not even models in the strict sense: Kurt Schwitters' Merzbau, Jacques Tati's set for the film Playtime (1967), the National Mall in Washington, D. C., or even the "lands" created by Walt Disney to support bad faith versions of the wild west, the future, or fairy tales. Whenever the viewer can find a place inside the field of what can be regarded as a model, even when the question of "model of what?" cannot be answered, the role of the "unseen hand" can be reversed: the subject can directly enter into the fantasy of the model. This makes the LTL model representative of art as a whole, where, as Mikel Dufrenne put it, we enter into the world of the artistic illusion by seeing through its eyes, hearing through its ears, walking on its feet, etc.4

The LTL model would seem to come close to realizing the ideal of immersive digital representation, where multiple screens or motion-compensating goggles surround the viewer with a simulated world. However, there is a fundamental difference that goes to the heart of the ideological difference between the scale model and digital representation. In the case of the scale model, *consistency* of scale sustains the illusion of the representation but maintains a clear divide between the viewer and the viewed; for the digital representation, the *variability* of scale minimizes or erases distinctions between the viewer and the viewed. Like the computer gaming software Wii, even the user's motions of the subject promote ethically questionable applications of representation, as when drone assassin aircraft are operated from bases remote from their targets; or when addicted users of video games assimilate the games' violent Weltanschauung? The scale model requires two incommensurable spaces for viewing-as-reception. The subject can never be fully integrated into the illusion without collapsing it. This incommensurability amounts to a construction of a minimum distance, in both the subject and the model, that folds out to become the dimensional framework for architecture as a surplus of building.5 Borrowing from medical science, we call this function "stereognosis" - "knowledge of the world through touch," which involves a division between left and right, inside and outside, front and back, etc. - where the perceived world is permanently antipodal to a perceiving subject. It seems clear that digital representation can neither create nor sustain this minimum gap or its essential stereognosis; therefore there is, I will argue, no dimension to allow architecture, which requires the antipodes of subject and object, to (literally) take place, as discourse, thought, or experience.⁶

THE TRUMAN MOMENT

The typical scale model used by architects and architecture students sits in a space that it disavows in two ways: the physical edge of the model frames it as an intentional representation, and the uniform scale of the model establishes the illusion of a miniature world, with its own rules of form, motility, and identity. The scale model's alternative physics constitutes a kind of rhetoric, a "what if" that persuades us to suspend our disbelief and, as observers, become silent and invisible with respect to the life of the scale model. Thus, a hand moving objects around inside the frame is made invisible - a part of the necessary stagecraft. Imaginary inhabitants of the model are blind to our intervention and, like the characters on a stage or in a film, blind to the real audience sitting beyond the "fourth wall" of their environing illusion.⁷ While one of the aims of the scale model is to be as realistic as possible, there are two important exceptions to this realism. First, the terminus of the model functions also as an onoff switch triggering and extinguishing the "event" of the model. We go inside the model imaginatively to activate its illusion, and step outside to suspend or end it. Objective space becomes subjective time,

the boundaries of the event. Second, this on-off function is carried into the interior of the scale model; elements are then empowered by such "uncanny" qualities as voluntary motion, thought, and intentionality. Even where scale models have no literal scale subjects, our own imagined subjective presence is not our own but, rather, the model's. We animate the model by going inside it and converting this inside into an outside. In some sense, the scale model is like the team of the ventriloguist and the dummy. The ventriloguist must cultivate an internal schizophrenia that the audience can experience as two persons. The dummy, as a site for the transfer of the ventriloguist's voice, must be symbolically "emptied out," typically through some abjection: the dummy is usually a young child or dwarf, idiotic, and of course immobile. We think of scale as a matter of convenience in representation, but it is also a token of the control that representation affords us. Our power over the represented is embodied in (usually) our scale superiority, which is a way of "emptying out" the site of representation so that we can enter into it as an invisible, powerful presence.8

In the LTL, >1:1 scale model, it seems that power and control are sacrificed for a reversal of the usual miniaturization procedure. Our subjectivity is dwarfed by representations that abject us, rather than we them. From a position inside the LTL scaled space, we ourselves cannot see the terminus that is the cut-off switch of the illusion. Like the imagined scaled subjects of a miniature model, we are blind. In The Truman Show (1998), Truman Burbank (Jim Carrey) is the dupe of television producers who film his daily actions and set up scenes to create the ultimate reality show. They cleverly conceal the "fourth wall" of production equipment and instruct the actors whom he believes to be his friends and neighbors so that he does not notice the trick. There is no obvious scale difference to alert Truman to the model status of Seahaven, Florida, but his handlers enjoy a dimensional freedom he lacks. Truman complains only that his fellow residents seem detached and "scripted." His innocent attempts to leave town are thwarted by "accidents" and simulated obstacles, but he eventually escapes through a door in the wall of his constructed reality, to the cheers of the audience of millions who has, up to now, taken cruel pleasure in his mock captivity.

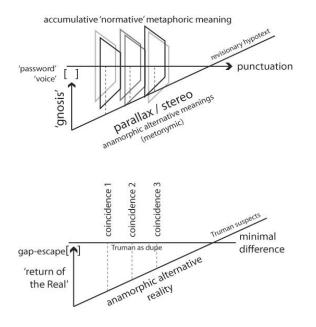


Figure 1. The anacoluthon uses a "retroactive" interpretation to account for a revised (anamorphic) interpretation based on a return to the origin.

The "Truman moment" is the point where Truman discovers the wall and must, in an instant, deduce the trick and "correct" his past. This moment takes the form of the rhetorical figure, the anacoluthon, which has emblematic importance for the LTL model and, by extension, other scale models as well (Fig. 1). The anacoluthon occurs on along a line that could be described as simultaneously linear and circular. The line seems to progress from past to a present point until it reaches a point of "minimum difference," where the subject becomes aware of a possible ruse. As space, the anacoluthon "encircles" Truman with an illusion that has a small gap he can use to escape. He won't realize the significance or utility of this exit unless he traverses the fantasy that has been constructed to entrap him. The mysterious door could be a part of the set or the "Real" of the terminus, simultaneously a spatial and temporal boundary of the illusion. His consideration compares the illusory experience with its "anamorphic" alternative. This rival to the illusory "reality" gains strength as it nears the option of escape.

The anacoluthon can be applied to an example of a ventriloquist's dummy who says "no" to the illusion that traps him.⁹ In the classic British thriller, *Dead of Night* (1945), guests at a house party recollect their personal encounters with the uncanny. A psychiatrist tells the story of his spooky encounter with a ventriloguist whose schizophrenic tendencies gradually gave way to full psychosis. The ventriloquist's dummy, Hugo, "began to get the upper hand" and bully his master, by declaring himself in search of a new business partner. A ventriloquist colleague is enticed into the illusion by clever set-ups and is shot by the jealous master after the dummy is planted in his hotel room. The moment of revelation comes when the recovering colleague visits his attacker in the prison hospital, just after the mad ventriloguist has destroyed the dummy and suffered a nervous breakdown. In response to his visitor's words of forgiveness, the ventriloquist struggles to speak, but the voice that eventually croaks through is that of the dummy, who has by now completely taken over his master's mind. Events along the way are now visible as landmarks along the "alternative" anamorphic path concluded by the escape of the Real voice (Fig. 2).

These two examples make quite different ideological use of the "straight line" of illusion. In The Truman Show, this is the neurotic world of "symptoms" that are invisible (normal) to the main character. They keep open the space of Seahaven. When Truman reaches the anacoluthic turning point, this space collapses and he escapes into the outside world, portrayed has having an "extra dimension" formerly occupied by the voyeuristic audience. In Dead of Night, the ventriloquist had staved off psychosis by maintaining the dummy's inner voice as a separate and competing presence. In the Truman Show example, the audience cheers. In Dead of *Night*, the effect is horror. Isn't this like the flip side of Chaplin's The Great Dictator, where the audience cheers whether "Hitler" is talking about world domination or (as his double, the kindly Jewish barber) universal peace? The anacoluthon suggests that the "Truman moment" has two sides and is both an escape and a horror, since the ideological result is the same: a collapse of a space that was maintained by blindness to the "anamorphic" qualities of a double residing within. Just as Freud advised us that neurosis was a defense against full-blown psychosis, the "bad" of symptoms (the neurotic gap in the subject and his created worlds) is better than the "worse" of spatial collapse with the "cashing in" of this gap.

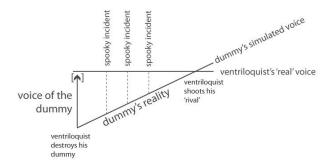


Figure 2. The ventriloquist's two voices fit within the anacoluthon's structure, setting up the story of the dummy's eventual domination of his schizophrenic master.

What is significant, whether the audience is cheering or screaming, is the comparison of symptoms with the creation and maintenance of *distance* through elements and strategies of stereognosis through such devices as the double. In the typical small-scale model, this is hard to see because of the conventional use of the on-off function of the model's edge and the expected consistency of scaled elements. In the LTL model, where scale contrast substitutes for the lack of a boundary, the double theme shows off the anacoluthic/anamorphic importance of a "distance" needed to sustain the illusion in the face of total subjective immersion. To what might we compare this creation and maintenance of distance? To magic, of course.

THE ANALOGY BETWEEN SCALE ILLUSION AND MAGIC

Human desire can only articulate itself symbolically, through systems of signifiers, as demands related to evident needs. But, desire's real goal is a-symbolic. For example, the child asks for a glass of water but really wants the parent's company and sympathy, which it cannot articulate symbolically. When desire reaches what it thinks is the symbolic object, it discovers "that's not it." Because desire continually recreates and reconfigures this goal it cannot attain, the demand that symbolizes it continually circles around a gap, held open by a placeholder.10 The moment when "it" is "not it" and a new cycle of demand begins can be materialized by an object that (1) partially serves the interests of desire by being a stand-in but also (2) incorporates the negative void created by desire. This is the famous Lacanian "partial object," the object-cause of desire, the objet petit a.11 It can be embodied as a function of the senses (the gaze, the voice), a token of the blurring of distinction between inside and outside (feces, breast), or the ambiguous presence of genitalia. The correspondence between the partial object and spatial behavior is clear in the use of phallic herms to mark the boundaries of ancient Roman fields. Without an understanding of how the phallus *as partial object* can combine the complex functions of boundary protection, rituals of the hearth, relations to the ancestral *lares* and *penates*, this custom of marking property would appear to us as simply arcane and meaningless.

The partial object is a general component of the "death drive," which is not the (idiotically misinterpreted) desire for death but exactly the opposite, the refusal to die, a state known as "between the two deaths," where after biological death the spirit of the deceased "does not know it is dead" or where culture has worked this condition into analogies of travel, heroism, love, ethnic identity, or religion. The partiality of the partial object can be found in the theme of the double, twins, rivals, the dream, and so on. For an object that can't be symbolized, the partial object "gets around guite a bit." It is hard if not impossible to find a mythical hero who is not a twin, or a foundation ritual/story that does not involve twins. It is hard if not impossible to find a subject's voice that does not display a "minimal degree of ventriloguism."12

The partiality of the partial object can be summed up by its quality as a clue or password, like the (anacoluthic) mental password used by Truman to escape Seahaven. It is a form of *qnosis*, or knowledge (but not a knowledge of anything) that arises from a direct confrontation of the gap between two alternative realities, set in stark dialectic. "Stereognosis," the medical term for "knowledge through touch," must involve the knower with the known, and so the subject's inherent split, gap, and "stereo" qualities - commonly symbolized in distinctions of left/right, mind/body, subjective/objective, and the idea of the face - suits the situation well. Stereognosis is what the anacoluthic figure brings about, and the minimal gap at its crisis point (as well as the alternative paths that create, simultaneously, straight lines and circles) is the dimension by which the space and the illusion of the scale model can exist. Why is this important? Because it is probably true that this is also the dimension that affords architecture its life as an "event" within the otherwise "collapsed space" of building functionality; and also the dimension of the human world in general — a space of neurotic symptoms maintained to forestall the total collapse of space into psychotic unity.

Magic has long held this view. Among the variety of magic practices to be found in all cultures, two main groups can be formed: "contagious" magic, which works by using an object belonging to who or what is to be charmed; and "sympathetic" magic, which creates a sympathetic duplicate condition, such as a mandala (LTL, immersable) or Kachina or Voodoo doll ("small scale"), where features and dimensions are manipulated to bring about a desired correction. This division relates, significantly, to the more general division between the "indicative" and "mimetic" gestures, which Ernst Cassirer claimed to be the basis of the development of language; the linguistic differences between metonymy and metaphor, which Roman Jacobson claimed as the basis of not only language but thought; and to the distinction between the two forms of aphasia, "contiguity aphasia" and "semblance aphasia," which Kurt Goldstein concluded were the basis of the mind's neural development. Magic is, thus, in good company when it decides that there are two paths to successful charming, one involving touch (i. e. stereognosis), one involving resemblance (i. e. metaphor as mistaken identity, blindness, etc.).

It's easy to see that magic regards "gnosis" as the point of its efforts, but how does it actualize this goal? Following the suggestion of magic's two kinds of techniques, we see that in the case of the "touch logic" of contagion, magic collapses dimensionality between the charmer and the charmed, whereas "spell" and "enchantment" suggest duration and maintenance of illusion and, hence, the maintenance of distance to support it. Can we go further?

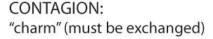
Magic, like all human transactions, involves embedding an "exchange value" within a "use value." This is based on the symbolic nature of thought and expression, which cannot articulate the "it" that is truly desired except through symbolic stand-ins (the glass of water demanded in the night). The proxy, the stand-in, is never "it"; the aim is always missing a goal; demand becomes circular. However, maintaining the difference between the use value and exchange value, while "neurotic" in its self-sustaining, self-referential logic, forestalls psychotic collapse that would occur if the subject actually got what it was asking for, in a "one-time buyout." The "bad" of demand would become the "worse" of discovering that desire is self-imposed.

A graphic picture of use and exchange would show two vectors at right angles to each other. Orthogonality would represent the ability of exchange to hide, silently and invisibly, inside the symbolic exchange. A collapse of the exchange vector on to the use vector would be the anacoluthic escape of Truman, the creepy voice emerging from the ventriloguist's mouth in Dead of Night, the "no" that re-contextualizes the origin through an anamorphic double, a twin. This model suggests why magic is, in general, a topic from which the scale model's illusionism, and the LTL model's paradoxical involvement of "partial objects," can supply so many of architecture's theoretical needs. Use and exchange values create magic's four stages of production, where the methods and logics of sympathy and contagion formalize conditions of invisibility, blindness, and enunciation that combine magic's two aspects, as curse (course) and spell (extension). These conditions (Fig. 3) help us in the project of theorizing about the scale model's effectiveness, its ability to sustain illusion, its ability to transport the viewer. The LTL model's immersability factor becomes the scale model's Rosetta Stone, allowing us to connect the *issue* of scale with other forms of art where it appears in discrete instances, where the boundary declaring scale difference is missing.13

use value: (motility, placement, "physics")

> SYMPATHY: "spell" (duration + extension)

exchange value: (audience access, fourth wall)



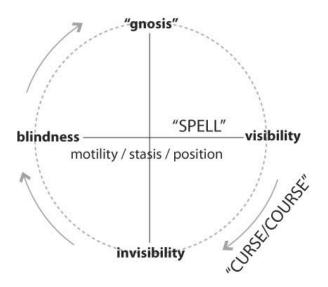


Figure 3. The four stages of "magic" production based on use and exchange values.

THE THERAPEUTIC MAGIC OF TRISTRAM SHANDY

Magic and theoretical issues of architecture art combine in Lawrence Sterne's Tristram Shandy, where the narrator's Uncle Toby, a war veteran trying to recover from a wound to his groin, devises a therapeutic walk-in model of the "site of his calamity," the battle of Namur and its subjective correlate, his groin.¹⁴ Large but not larger than life, the model's immersability allows Toby to regard the site as a womb that will effect a magic transformation not only of his wounded genitalia and also his anticipated future sex life with the Widow Wadman.¹⁵ Here, the function of the whole model site as a partial object, "abjected" or emptied out by scale and immobilized by the geometry of trajectories, demonstrates the thematic significance of the "impossible passage" demanded of all scale models (Fig. 4). Toby had tried studying maps and plans of the battle, but this "ichnographic" technique succeeded only in intensifying the old soldier's anxiety. The comparatively phallic method of orthography, the second of Vitruvius's three stages of architectural development and the one directly applicable to Toby's situation, afforded the third, "sciagraphy," where the reconstruction of Toby's trauma was possible in a fully stereometric space where viewer and viewed, subject and object, constitute a gnosis with magical therapeutic benefits. There is no arguing with Sterne's intentional combination of therapy with model-building, immersability, and stereo-gnosis. They are set into the text with clear precision. The question is, can architecture theory account for these juxtapositions in ways that clarify its own use of representations in general and, specifically, the scale model?



Figure 4. Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim advance on the model of Namur. Source: U. S. Library of Congress, British cartoon collection.

Resisting the temptation to give into the promised clarity and simplicity of domesticated explanations requires us to "hold open" our own gaps and contradictions, just as we find that gaps and contradictions form the "kernel of the Real" in our objects of study.¹⁶ For example, without its undomesticated "gnostic" element (the factor which makes all magic a case of "enunciation"), magic practices would not have their particular forms or effectiveness. In the Yoruba hoo-doo tradition of constructing cosmograms, African slaves in the American colonies believed they could influence their own and their masters' fates by superimposing diagrams as "force fields" that resonated and reinforced their curses and blessings.¹⁷ This was truly a larger-than-life model, made to be occupied. The house might be 1:1, but the diagram was more like 1:∞. The cosmogram required careful management of blindness and invisibility as preparatory to the enunciationgnosis of the curse. The acting magus maneuvered his "blind" victims to the "sweet spots" of the design. The invisibility of the cosmic diagram (charms were concealed in the woodwork and floors) guaranteed that the finishing touch would be effectively delivered along the dimension of the formulaic spell, the stereognostic juxtaposition of subject and object. This idea of enunciation and its connection with the "hidden dimension" of the scale-consistent construction is general and crucial. It is a non-reproducible "moment" that is an instance but not an "example of." It is a one-time effect that can be known only through encounter. It may be that the gnostic element establishes the scale model's unique contribution to architectural thinking: the dimensionality of a gap that must be held open in order for architecture that, as discourse, thought, and event, might find its true and proper site.

ENDNOTES

1. Correct use of the terms "larger scale" and "smaller scale" runs counter to the popular use. A smaller *scale* means that the represented space is actually larger. A 1:1000 map has a smaller *scale* (the "1" is smaller) than a 1:100 map, for example, although the extent covered is greater. This paper uses the popular (technically incorrect but less confusing) convention that the "larger than life" model is a "large scale" representation and the usual miniature scale model is a "small scale" representation.

2. Alfred Hitchcock frequently used out-of-scale objects to create conditions of suspense. *North by Northwest* exemplifies his typical attachment of largeness to the super-ego, the Other who commands respect but is empty upon closer examination. The film *Saboteur* (1942) ends with a chase scene in/on the Statue of Liberty. Aldo Rossi's statue story in his *Scientific Autobiography*, trans. Lawrence Venuti (Cambrige, MA: MIT Press, 1981), p. 5, suggests that at least part of the horror is that the statue is blind and must recruit its inhabitants to be its sense organs.

3. David Black, "Vico, Education, and Childhood Educational Theory," *Educational Theory* 34 (2): 103–112.

4. Mikel Dufrenne, *The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience*, trans. Edward Casey *et alia* (Evanston, IN: Northwestern University, 1973), p. 57.

5. The Greek philosopher Zeno authored a series of anecdotal "paradoxes" that demonstrate the subtle role played by scale. The most commonly cited are "the arrow that cannot reach the target" and "Achilles and the tortoise." The point made with the use of absurdity is that the arrow and the target, Achilles and the tortoise, create and live in two incommensurable spaces. Achilles can actually run past the tortoise but he can never "perfectly match" the tortoise's location. A brilliant account of this situation can be found in Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture*, an October Book (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 1-6. Žižek refers to the pivotal work, Jean-Claude Milner, *Détections Fictives* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985), pp. 45-71.

6. The loss of this "critical" dimension can be useful, however, wherever the viewer must be active within the scene. Action, here, amounts to "military action," which is perhaps why digital games often take the format of survival or search-and-destroy missions. The immediacy of digital immersion is the inverse of critical detachment, which would cancel the excitement of digital simulation. The maximum example of seeing critical thought as a dimension would be Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, where the "giant's" observation of the Lilliputian scene is afforded by his scale difference.

7. This convention can be broken for comedy purposes, as when, in Woody Allen's *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), the fictional cast loses one of its characters and peers out past the screen to see if he might be sitting in

the audience. This violation of the audience's complicity in denying the role of the fourth wall is radical in the sense that it goes to the "root" and origin of the illusion.

8. When the clearing-out process does not work, psychotic collapse results. A striking example of this is a sequence staring Michael Redgrave as a schizophrenic puppeteer in the film *Dead of Night* (1945). This anthology film uses the device of house-party guests retelling their own experiences with the uncanny. In the final episode, a puppeteer gives into voice he uses for his puppet in a stage show. The voice gradually dominates him, acquires some unusual magic powers, and, after he destroys the physical doll, takes over the master with his own stage voice. Arturo Cavalcanti *et alia*, director, *Dead of Night* (1947), Ealing Studios, England.

9. For skeptics who might protest that the ventriloquist-dummy is not a scale model, it must be admitted that the dummy itself is a model, like a manikin; that the film itself is model where scale is varied intentionally to create "scaled conditions" (close-ups, two-shots, panoramas, etc.); and that this film in particular, an anthology, uses a literary version of scale, the "story in a story." Besides, the ventroliquist's set up duplicates with precision the relationship of the user to the model in the "miniature" (<1:1) situation.

10. A clear and common example comes, paradoxically, from a non-human source: a dog who chases a thrown ball or stick incessantly, demonstrating that the object being tossed is only a substitute for the real and unsymbolizable object-cause of desire, the attention of the master. Without the master, the ball or stick has only a residual attraction.

11. There are many sources for psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's idea of the un-symbolizable object-cause of desire because Lacan reformulated his ideas on the subject from his earliest works up to the latest in the 1970s. For a useful summary, see Sean Homer, *Jacques Lacan* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 87-91.

12. See, for a complete review of the "uncanny" role of the voice, Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge MA: MIT, 2006).

13. The consideration of the scale of partial objects forces a reassessment of works of art and literature where scale has been overlooked. In Diego Velazquez's painting, "Las Meninas," for example, isn't it the *scale* of the dwarfs and dog in the corner of the painting, the traditional location of the signature and clearly a token of luck allied with the frame of the painting, that alerts us to the crucial out-sized "reflections" in the mirror at the rear of the room that force us to topologize the space of the artist's studio?

14. Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

15. There is a contemporary example that rings just as true: Pedro Almodavar's film, *Talk to Her* (2002), where

the director inserts a mock silent-film sequence about a shrinking lover who, no longer able to physically satisfy his beloved, contents himself with a journey into her womb. The beloved's name is, appropriately, "Amparo," meaning "shelter." See the web site, http://www. culturesnob.com/2007/12/rape_or_regression, last accessed August 16, 2008.

16. The boot camp for gap maintenance would include instructions in Plato's idea of dialog and Hegel's equally complex idea of dialectic, sources long skirted or even reviled by architectural theorists who have preferred "lite" New Age concepts from cognitive psychology and the "soft Heidegger" of Christian Norberg-Schultz to deep versions of such issues as repetition, sublation (Aufheben), idea, and form. Too often, theory adopts a Cartesian outlook that requires it to "settle" cultural practices within rational systems. Religious practices, superstitions, beliefs about death, psychoses and neuroses, eschatology - the full palette of the uncanny, in short - are subjected to domestication by showing that their "use value" is haunted by the culturally established "exchange value" - only to be exorcised by science. This misrepresents the nature of the uncanny and its role in architecture in particular. Confronting issues such as magic and gnosis, theory typically imports extraneous factors that obscure the real functional factors and distort the evidence at hand. This leads to opportunities missed by even the most promising research, as when the otherwise brilliant Joseph Rykwert misread Freud's example of hysteria in his analysis of Rome as a collective memory theatre. The characterization lost the relationship between memory and hysteria that, if Rykwert had applied it to The Idea of a Town, would have plumbed the full depth of the essential relationship between the living and the dead. By domesticating the idea of memory, Rykwert foreclosed an entire range of investigations. Joseph Rykwert, The Idea of a Town (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1976).

17. The practice of constructing cosmograms inside the houses of the master in the North American colonies is described by Timothy Ruppel, Jessica Neuwirth, Mark P. Leone and Gladys-Marie Fry, "Hidden in View: African Spiritual Spaces in North American Landscapes," *Antiquity* 77 (June 2003): 321-35.